

# **The Representation of Work in German Grammar Books**

Angela Leahy B.A. M.A.

Ph.D.

Dublin City University

School of Applied Language and Intercultural Studies

Supervisor: Prof. Jenny Williams

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I hereby certify that this material, which I now submit for assessment on the programme of study leading to the award of PhD, is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save and to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within the text of my work.

Signed: Angela Leahy

ID No.: 98971239

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# Abstract

## The Representation of Work in German Grammar Books

This dissertation explores the language of three German grammar books and accompanying exercise books which are produced in Germany for international students of German. It examines how the examples and exercises presented in these books constitute 'colony texts' which convey different representations of human activity to the reader. Analysis of the language used in the German grammar books centres on the Linguistics of Representation and borrows techniques used normally in Corpus Linguistics. By using WordSmith Tools this study shows how particular terms (nouns, verbs, adverbs and adjectives) occur with greater frequency than others in the books under analysis thereby representing certain human activities more strongly than others. The activity of 'work', in particular, emerges in the grammar books as a key human activity and consequently provides the main focus for analysis in this study. Concordances relating to 'work' are grouped and analysed in terms of what they reveal about popular professions, workplace hierarchy and attitudes and approaches to work. Findings are considered from three perspectives: what they reveal to the researcher and learners of German about the representation of 'work' in the chosen context, how they compare to findings from comparative analyses of German textbooks and how they can contribute to our overall understanding of 'text'. Grammar book examples and exercises emerge as 'texts' which have significant potential to reflect cultural norms and attitudes despite being considered generally as a source of innocuous and unremarkable language.

## Abbreviations

<b>DaF</b>	Deutsch als Fremdsprache
<b>ds</b>	Lehr- und Übungsbuch der deutschen Grammatik (commonly referred to as Dreyer Schmitt in the context of the teaching/learning of German grammar)
<b>gg</b>	Grundgrammatik Deutsch
<b>gr</b>	Grammatik à la Carte
<b>gs</b>	Grundstufen-Grammatik
<b>KWIC</b>	Key Word in Context
<b>OCR</b>	Optical Character Recognition

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*'Language in use transmits the culture'*

(Stubbs 1993: 21)

# **Chapter 1**

## **Introduction**

*'Wir sollten nicht vergessen, daß DaF-Fachleute nicht nur Sprachvermittler, sondern auch Image- und Sympathiebewerber sein müssen.'* (Földes 1995: 31)

## **1.1 Introduction**

This chapter puts the study carried out in this dissertation into its context. It begins by outlining the research question which forms the basis of the study. Following this it addresses the reasons why a study of this nature is important by describing the role of learner perceptions of the target country in the language learning context. It then describes the significant role of the textbook in the learning environment in general before dealing specifically with the textbook in the language learning environment. As well as illustrating what studies in this area have revealed in the past, it also addresses specifically the role linguistic analysis of language learning texts can play in discovering what representations of reality students are confronted with. Since this study examines grammar books and not textbooks, as is generally the case in analyses of educational material, one section at the end of this chapter focuses solely on the grammar book and the rationale for subjecting it to linguistic scrutiny. Finally a short summary of the chapter is provided.

## **1.2 The research question**

The primary question which this dissertation seeks to address may be summarised as follows: What representations of human activity are contained within a body of language as constituted by three particular German grammar books?

This dissertation examines the language of three commonly used German grammar books which are published in Germany and intended for use by German language students internationally. It is situated primarily in the context of an area of study referred to as 'linguistics of representation' and consequently seeks to establish what 'representations' emerge in the language selection offered by each of the three grammar books. It associates itself strongly with the research of Michael Stubbs (1992, 1993, 1994, 1996, 2001).

It assumes from the outset that linguistic choices are not neutral but related to social and cultural points of view which can be unveiled and made more explicit through local level textual analysis. These points of view construe human activity and various social issues from particular positions and have the potential to impact to varying degrees on the language learner in terms of how s/he is affected by the exposure of the language under analysis and the views it transmits. From the perspective of German as a Foreign Language, the language of the books in question may impact on the impressions the student forms on Germany and the Germans.

Intrinsically the main research question also deals with the related questions of how the emergent representations are delivered linguistically and to what extent some representations are more dominant than others. As will be seen in later chapters, some specific representations as construed in these books occur more frequently than others. They therefore receive more attention. It is not possible to explore all representations fully within the limitations of one dissertation. However, as all of the language of all three books has been stored electronically, future studies on aspects not explored fully at this stage can be carried out in the future.

This dissertation incorporates three main dimensions in its analysis of the grammar books. One dimension is that of applying and testing the validity of the notion of the 'linguistics of representation'. A second dimension is to test the benefits of using the computer to aid linguistic analysis while exploring linguistic representations. The third dimension relates to the fact that this study has relevance for both textual studies and foreign language pedagogy in that it is primarily a study in linguistics but its findings have a resonance for the teaching of German as a foreign language.

### **1.3 Background to this study**

When asked about the spontaneous associations they have with Germany and German people, first-year university students have, in my experience over ten years of lecturing, tended to mention such terms as 'punctual', 'hardworking', 'serious', 'industrial', 'environmental awareness', 'World War II', 'Autobahnen', 'Oktoberfest', 'Wurst' and 'Black Forest gâteau'. When asked what these associations are based on, students cannot always respond with definite answers

which would show exactly which sources are drawn upon when developing opinions on Germany and the Germans. Some refer to school-exchanges which they have engaged in, others refer to information which was provided by their teachers and some refer to learning materials used in German classes since they began learning the language. Many simply acquire impressions of Germany without a strong awareness of what has forged these.

Although anecdotal, this evidence shows that learners of German possess subjective knowledge of Germany and the Germans which covers clearly distinctive areas and may be described as stereotypical in nature. Scientific studies on different groups of language learners illustrate the fact that images and stereotypes of target language cultures are a given in the language learning context (Price 1999, Coleman 1996, Sammon 1996 and 1998, Schulz and Haerle 1998, Cain 1990). In Coleman's (1996) view, language learners tend to hold strong national stereotypes even if we might expect them to be more open-minded about other cultures.

Stereotypes can originate from a number of sources. Obviously the media, arts, encounters with German tourists in Ireland or German holiday-makers abroad can influence the perception of Germany which learners of German develop. To examine the role of these (and possibly other factors) in the formation of students' attitudes to Germany is a useful and interesting project for those involved in the teaching of German as a foreign language. It can help explain what expectations students will have of Germany/Germans and what might render Germany an attractive, unattractive, interesting or uninteresting country for them. Furthermore, the importance of any analysis of language learners' perceptions of the target culture is underlined by the fact that learners' attitudes towards the target language community have been found to impact significantly on motivation and ultimate success in learning the language (Gardner and Lambert 1972).

Yet, to fully assess the role of all origins of perceptions of Germany, no matter how important and helpful this would be, would be an impossible task. One would have to quantify the exposure of each learner to all sources of perception and at the same time define what exactly constitutes representation of Germany in any one context. Furthermore, not all learners will be / will have been exposed to the same sources.



Despite these obvious difficulties involved in tracing comprehensively the origins of the impressions of Germany which learners acquire, the researcher can nevertheless make valuable contributions to unravelling the various components involved. All formal learners of German have one feature in common, namely that they use textual material, in the form of textbooks, grammar books, dictionaries, glossaries and interactive DaF web-sites in the course of learning German. They will undoubtedly do so to varying degrees depending on such factors as motivation, learner-style, level of proficiency, pedagogical approach and availability of these 'texts', but it can at least be assumed that they share this type of exposure to German-related materials.

This is a key assumption in this dissertation. For this reason, it will specifically examine 'texts' which learners of German avail of in their studies, with the aim of unveiling what images of German and the Germans are provided through the language of the 'text'. The fact that many students of German have never been to Germany and have had little if any interaction with Germans, and yet still display clear associations with regard to Germany and the Germans suggests that teaching materials, one of which is 'text', have an important role to play in how students of German tend to view the target country and its inhabitants.

The significant role of texts in language learning contexts has been recognised by a number of researchers and explored in a number of studies. Each recognises the power of 'text' to influence the learner in one way or another. A number of arguments in this regard are described in the next section in order to both illustrate the relevance of textbook analysis and provide a backdrop to the study in this dissertation.

Following on from this, findings from various textbook analyses are presented in order to show the significant role this learning tool can have in conveying certain perceptions in general. A section which deals primarily with the analysis of textbooks which are used in foreign language learning situations is then provided. The inclusion of this is important since these are akin to the texts under analysis in this study and their findings are of comparative relevance in this study. Studies on German as a foreign language textbooks in particular are then described in a separate section. These provide insights into what images can potentially be contained within

such textbooks and will provide interesting points of comparison vis à vis the findings of this study and what they tell us in terms of Germany's representation.

It should be pointed out from the outset that this dissertation will not necessarily adopt the exact approaches to analysis that each of the studies discussed below involves. Its approach is much more linguistic in orientation than some and much less of a content-analysis based study than others. In addition, it incorporates analytical techniques which come from an area quite outside that of traditional textual analysis, namely corpus linguistics. Its methodology will be detailed in the next chapter. At this point, the focus is simply to highlight the importance of assessing the textbook as a powerful conduit of messages which can contribute to the learner's formation of opinions and attitudes in relation to any specific topic.

#### **1.4 Why the textbook? Its enduring importance in language learning.**

The textbook as a source of information on the target language community is significant for a number of reasons.

In many cases, as Brosh (1997) points out, the learning of a language takes place outside the culture to which the language relates. As a result, textbooks can function as 'the only access and the only exposure to the culture of the communities that use the language' (Brosh 1997:312).

The influential role of the language textbook in the language learning situation is further emphasised by Jaworski (1983). He argues that '(l)anguage textbooks are the first, and in many cases the primary sources of information for students, not only of the language, but of the whole culture and society whose language is learnt as well' (Jaworski, 1983: 13). Krumm (1992) also draws attention to the role of the textbook in affecting the language learner's views by arguing that texts and illustrations in language textbooks can often have unexpected effects on the 'Landesbilder' which the learner forms in relation to the target culture.

Sercu (1998) takes the perspective that foreign language textbooks (which she believes will continue to thrive) can unfortunately allow learners to maintain already

established perceptions of a foreign culture which come from the media and other people. Her study of German language textbooks pointed to the fact that textbooks do not always challenge the language learner's preconceived ideas relating to the target culture but can actually allow these to persist. As a result, their potential to encourage intercultural understanding is not as high as it could be. This too points to the importance of recognising and examining the potential for textbooks to influence the language learner.

While some language teachers and lecturers in this new millennium may argue that the textbook faces redundancy in an increasingly electronic learning environment which sees the computer, CD-Rom and world wide web replace the traditional textbook, the reality that educational bookshops, publishing companies and ownership of textbooks and grammar books are still a feature of the language learning context cannot be denied. One cannot overlook the fact that many language learners and teachers, for a number of reasons, do not fully embrace all the learning approaches which electronic progress makes possible. All of this means that despite possibly losing ground to technological developments, the printed book still firmly has a role to play in educational settings.

Even if one believes that the textbook will be made obsolete by electronic 'replacements', the importance of analysing it should not be overlooked for two additional reasons. Firstly, most textbooks available today have been around for a number of years and new editions often draw heavily on previous ones. As a result, certain textbooks have had a long lifespan and have influenced large numbers of learners and teachers over a long period of time. As such, it is important to see what representations have been involved and, in the context of this dissertation, what representations have circulated in the context of German as a Foreign Language. Secondly, even if textbooks are replaced by other teaching media, their content (vocabulary, exercises) may endure despite the change in form. Put another way, through developments in educational technology the 'messenger' may be changed but 'the message' may not vary too much or indeed at all. This means that what we refer to as textbook analysis can also be extended to incorporate text which does not appear in the form of a book. Two short examples from electronic German language exercises suffice to show how current examples and exercises do not differ from

those of more traditional sources. The first comes from a cloze test which aims to practise the declension of adjectives and is taken from the website 'www.sichtwechsel.com/materialien.html' while the second is taken from an exercise available from 'www.edition-deutsch.de/buecher/mez-uebung.php3' which tests the learner's ability to reformulate sentences using modal verbs.

Zur fünfzigjährig\_\_ Geburtstagsfeier des Direktors kam die ganze Firma. Die Kolleginnen trugen lang\_\_ Kleider und die Kollegen dunkl\_\_ Anzüge. ...

In vielen Flüssen ist es kaum noch möglich zu baden.  
In vielen Flüssen kann man kaum noch baden. ...

It is clear that each example constructs a particular image and imparts some cultural knowledge to the language learner (on norms as far as work-related celebrations are concerned and on the consequences of water pollution) in exactly the same way as an extract from printed teaching material might do.

Referring to the key role of the language textbook in a language learning context Wiczorek (1994: 487) argues that: 'Even though in the ideal language learning situation we seek a program that extends beyond the textbook, the limitations of the classroom (time, energy, resources, number of contact hours, learning styles, etc.) are such that the textbook and its ancillaries become a vital part of the language learning experience'. This is particularly true even today in the case of third-level students where all of these limitations clearly exist and where students are increasingly required to engage in an autonomous approach to language learning which inevitably involves the independent use of language learning materials, for example, in individual learning time.

Having acknowledged the important and dominant role of the textbook in the language learning context, the question must now be addressed as to the characteristics to be found in it which can influence a learner's opinions and attitudes with regard to the issues it presents. Findings of textbook analyses in this regard further highlight the importance of this medium in education albeit from another perspective. As will be seen below, the textbook can contain powerful messages which have the potential to shape the learner's views on a whole range of issues.

## 1.5 Findings of textbook analyses in general

Research relating to different types of educational texts (not necessarily relating to language learning) provides convincing evidence that educational texts have an important and influential role to play in the formation of learners' attitudes and reactions to specific issues because of the images and ideologies which they can convey. (See e.g. Hicks 1980, van Dijk 1987, Bourdillon 1990, De Castell, Luke and Luke 1990, Watt 1994, Pingel 1999.)

A topic which receives a considerable amount of scholarly attention in this regard is sexism. For the purposes of exemplification, we can see the importance of textbook analysis in general by looking at how revealing textbook analysis has been in this area. This concentration on sexism as a topic should not suggest this constitutes the main focus of the study being undertaken in this thesis. It is merely used to indicate the purposes for which investigations on educational text can be used.

When analysing textbooks which deal specifically with the area of syntax for learners, Macaulay and Brice (1997) show that gender bias and stereotyping are widespread in the example sentences provided by these books. Findings show a number of interesting features in the books. For example, in the ten books analysed, an average of forty-seven female to one hundred and ten male subjects was found, males appeared nearly twice as often as females in sentences describing intelligence, and violent activity was associated far more often with males than with females. This study concludes that despite a time-span of twenty-five years over which the books analysed in their study were published, a bias in favour of males remained largely constant and stereotyping of both genders was clearly demonstrated. Significantly, from the point of view of this dissertation, this study discovered that sexism is most often obvious in 'constructed examples' i.e. examples devised by the author(s) of syntax books. 'Constructed examples' are the norm in those grammar books chosen for examination in this dissertation. It will be important to bear this observation in mind when analysis of the selected grammar books is undertaken.

Looking at language patterns in English language textbooks used in German schools from the point of view of sexism, Hellinger (1980) discovered, for example, that of



all the women who occur in the texts analysed, the largest group remains anonymous while many are introduced as wives and mothers and that while in all texts analysed male activities represent a wide spectrum of educational and occupational options, women hardly ever perform demanding, interesting and successful tasks. Earlier studies carried out on German language textbooks similarly found sexist patterns of language use (Sollwedel 1970, Borries 1975, Wagner 1978 cited in Hellinger 1980) thereby illustrating how the linguistic choices made in these books created images which were reflective of the societal or cultural norms of the time.

A later study conducted by Bergvall (1994) considers how subtle messages can be delivered in textbook examples and examines the language used in specific chapters of introductory linguistics texts aimed at students embarking on a course of study in this field. Bergvall highlights how the texts under analysis under-represent females as subjects and objects and contain negative gender stereotypes in the examples they provide for students. Stressing the importance of examining texts, Bergvall (1994: 23) argues that they 'are powerful tools of replication of existing norms and power structures, and ... texts - which show a world where females are less numerous, if not absent, or are represented in negative ways - may signal to women that they are not completely welcome in the field.'

Sexism is, of course, not the only topic to be found to be worthy of analysis in textbooks. The analysis of racism in educational texts has, for example, proven to be a fruitful area of investigation. Klein's (1985) research provides a good illustration of this. Publications such as that of the Council on Interracial Books for Children (1980) on bias-free textbooks explore the need to focus on other topics such as ageism, classism and handicapism. Baker and Freebody (1987, 1988) explore the constructions of social order in school reading books while Soysal (2002) shows how important it is to be aware that historical references in educational texts (such as those which are used to 'construct' an identity for Europe) are also worthy of monitoring.

Without focussing on one specific issue such as sexism or racism, Luke (1989) draws particular attention to ideology in texts used in educational settings. He argues that as educational texts are social constructions, they can render reading a delimiting and

constraining ideological activity by presenting the reader (learner) with 'possible worlds'. Luke (1989: 64) draws on Olson's work (1986) to argue that language is the basis on which these 'possible worlds' are 'built up or stipulated'. He distinguishes between 'open' and 'closed' texts in this regard. An 'open' text, he argues, allows for a range of 'possible worlds' to be generated by the reader (learner). In contrast, a 'closed text' informs the reader how to think and can cancel readers' chances of forming their own hypotheses in relation to the text and delimit forecasting on their part. Luke sees closed texts in education as relying on highly fixed schemata with which the reader will be familiar. As a result, a reading of them may be seen as a process of recognition of the familiar. For a specific example Luke (1989: 71) refers to a paradigm textbook narrative which centres on the European male 'discovering' uncolonised lands, domesticating aboriginal people and implementing European state/economic systems. He argues that for the child reader of the textbook, interpretation is really a question of cooperating with the text which stipulates a 'reading' which is based on commonly held opinions and emotions shared by the majority of readers.

What is most interesting from the perspective of this dissertation, is a point made by Luke (1989) in relation to foreign language texts. With reference to the notion of 'closed texts', which were described above, he considers the foreign language textbook to be the most obvious example of 'closed text'. Luke argues that texts used to teach foreign languages require a simplification of lexicon and generally have constraints on the level of complexity of their narratives. As a result, they often repeat particular lexical sequences and syntaxes, the outcome of which is ideological overcoding which closes down the possibility to interpret the text in more than one way. Taking Luke's argument, together with the notions of 'possible worlds' and 'stipulated readings', may also well provide a useful perspective from which to analyse and interpret the characteristics of grammar books which may indeed exhibit some of the features which Luke associates with 'closed texts'.

## 1.6 The foreign language textbook

Since this dissertation deals specifically with texts used in the learning of a foreign language, it is now appropriate to consider what specific characteristics must be considered in this context.

Kramersch (1987: 116) points out that when using foreign-language textbooks the language learner can be required to 'repeat uncritically statements and opinions that have no other explicit agenda than their linguistic accuracy'. Kramersch argues that in doing so the learner is confronted with examples of language use which contain various voices, both objective and subjective. These voices can, she argues, reinforce cultural concepts and bias. Kramersch's point, like that of Luke (1989), is a powerfully significant one in the context of this dissertation. She highlights the fact that the foreign language text, be it in the form of a sentence, paragraph or something much longer, contains much more than the explicit linguistic form it serves to elucidate by also containing a voice which will direct the learner in one way or another.

When adopting Luke's (1989) notion of 'overcoding' and Kramersch's (1987) notion of 'voices', the question as to what exactly these might mean in terms of what is conveyed in the language textbook is an obvious one. Studies of language textbook representations can provide the answer. Initially, reference to two types of study which explore completely different representations in educational texts will suffice to show the scope and potential usefulness of textbook analysis in this regard.

Jaworski's (1983) research on textbooks illustrates the point that that which is 'said' on any topic by a foreign language text can influence what the reader thinks about the role of that topic within the foreign culture to which the foreign language relates. He argues that sexist patterns in language textbooks may lead to students developing sexist ways of thinking about the target culture when using the textbooks. Kramersch (1987) would seem to follow this argument. When looking at certain grammar drills in German language textbooks used in the USA she maintains that certain cultural concepts and political bias can be reinforced. The following is one example which Kramersch (1987: 113) uses to illustrate this point:



Say that you are doing the same thing ...: ich bin für die Demokratie – ich bin auch dafür.

Brosh (1997) shows how texts can induce unhelpful reactions on the part of learners to an entire people. By analysing Arabic textbooks used in Israel he unveils a view of Arab society which is partial, subjective and unbalanced and which overlooks contemporary Arab culture. As a result, it is argued that the learners of Arabic do not acquire an accurate understanding of Arab people and their culture.

Brosh (1997) points out that it is not surprising that numerous evaluations of different aspects of the textbook have been undertaken in the past given its significance in language learning. An analysis of the studies in this area reveals a broad variety of possibilities in textbook research. A large body of research relating to textbook analysis is held at the *Georg Eckert Institut für internationale Schulbuchforschung* in Braunschweig, Germany. Studies cover a whole spectrum of matters regarding all types of textbooks ranging from the 'Deutschlandbild' in Dutch schoolbooks for history, geography, social studies and German (Radkau, 1999) to the portrayal of sibling relationships in German primary school readers (Sticker and Schneider 1990) to the treatment of war and peace in German readers (Jahnke 1972).

Research which has been carried out specifically on cultural representations in educational texts, like that of Brosh (1997), has yielded findings of great significance to the study at hand here. It follows clearly from the examples provided above that the textbook, be it used in the language learning context or not, can induce particular responses vis à vis an issue or a culture(s) or society/societies which it refers to, directly or indirectly. The extent to which the grammar book may do likewise will be explored later in this chapter in the section which deals specifically with that type of educational text.

### **1.7 Related studies specific to German language textbooks**

Studies relating to foreign language textbooks have generally tended to explore the content of the books using content analytical approaches. As such, they usually concentrate on the explicit thematic content of the material under investigation.

Linguistic aspects, which are the prime concern in this study of grammar books, are not of immediate importance in these types of study and consequently receive little attention. However, despite this lack of focus on linguistic aspects, these types of studies still usefully illustrate the role of the textbook *per se* in transmitting significant messages vis à vis a particular country or culture. They offer an overview of what types of representations, frequently referred to as 'images', students of foreign languages can be confronted with and may prove to be interesting points of comparison for this study even though its linguistically oriented approach has a different focus.

A key study in this regard is that which was conducted by Byram (1993). This study deals specifically with German as a Foreign Language textbooks and their representations of Germany and the Germans and consequently merits specific attention for the study being undertaken here.

Byram's (1993) study examined five textbooks used for teaching German in Great Britain with a view to examining the way in which they represent Germany and the Germans. When evaluating one particular textbook used for teaching German Byram (1993) concluded that: 'In terms of human activity, the range is extremely limited, restricting itself almost entirely to four human activities i.e. eating and drinking, buying and shopping, travelling and spending holidays and leisure. This cannot be assumed to represent the totality of life for Germans' (Byram 1993: 190-191). Commenting on another textbook Byram concluded that there was a clear lack of coverage of ethnic and cultural minorities. As a result the image of Germany as a multicultural society was nowhere to be found.

Clearly such representations of Germany will not enhance a learner's perception of the country and its people. This type of study highlights the necessity to subject textbooks to detailed analysis.

In addition to Byram's research on the representations of Germany in textbooks a number of other studies which look at the portrayal of Germany in textbooks have also been identified. These studies assess the types of representations, frequently

referred to as 'images', in books and other materials used for teaching foreign languages.

Johnson's research (1973, 1974) concentrated on the image of Germany in English textbooks of German. He discovered what he described as an 'unsystematic presentation' of Germany in the textbooks he analysed. This resulted, for example, in what he found to be an over-concentration both on the Protestant North of Germany and on the middle class in Germany.

In Doerk's (1990 cited in Grothuesmann and Sauer 1991) study of the 'Deutschlandbild' as presented in English textbooks of German between 1968 and 1986 she was able to distinguish between three separate pictures of Germany which emerged in the textbooks analysed. These were described as follows:

(a) Germany as a conservative, materialistic Welfare State which was predominantly middle class (b) Germany as a society making the transition to a 'Freizeitgesellschaft' oriented towards 'partnership' and (c) Germany as a 'Freizeitgesellschaft Bundesrepublik' in which the German citizen was shown to be a 'geschäftiger, schlanker, modischer Freizeit- und Urlaubsfreak' (Doerk 1990: 161).

Doerk (1990) concluded from her analysis that while the changes identified between 1968 and 1986 led to what she considered to be the development of a more realistic image of Germany, the over-concentration on 'Freizeit' and 'Urlaub' led to the exclusion of political, historical and cultural dimensions in textbooks which in turn created an undifferentiated stereotype of Germany.

Krauskopf (1985, 1989 cited in Grothuesmann and Sauer 1991) found that French textbooks from the 1950s showed an idealised image of Germany while those from the 1970s, in contrast, tended to produce a more sober and political picture of Germany. While Krauskopf found the image of Germany in the French context to have become more honest and realistic over time, he noted with caution the disappearance of historical references to Franco-German relations in later textbooks.

Research conducted by Hierl (1972 cited in Grothuesmann and Sauer 1991) focused on the image of Germany which emerged in American textbooks of German published between 1945 and 1969. Hierl (1972) concluded that according to the books under analysis there was only one, uniform image of Germany represented. This image was that of a romantic, harmonious, friendly Germany which was shown to have no problems of any kind. Schulz (1987) made similar observations in her analysis of textbooks used to teach German in the USA. She concluded that the Federal Republic of Germany was generally represented as 'an idyllic place' which seemed to have no political, social or economic problems (Schulz, 1987: 99). Similar images were also unveiled in subsequent studies on American textbooks of German such as those carried out by Jacobmeyer (1988 cited in Grothuesmann and Sauer 1991) and Krampikowski (1991). Geographically, emphasis was placed on the usually over-exposed Heidelberg, Black Forest and Munich. The GDR was found to be presented throughout American textbooks in an extremely negative light.

A study of American textbooks, entitled *Twenty years of Cliché* (Beitter 1983 cited in Grothuesmann and Sauer 1991), found that what emerged was 'a judgement of Germans by American cultural standards' which resulted in America being portrayed more positively. (Beitter 1983: 119) The study also concluded that the lack of cultural relativity in the textbooks examined resulted in 'the perpetuation of the unfavourable image of Germany' which had also been found in other studies (ibid.).

The following paragraphs outline analyses of the portrayal of Germany in textbooks produced in Germany as opposed to elsewhere. As this dissertation deals exclusively with grammar books produced in Germany, these studies are considered an important backdrop against which findings will be assessed.

In 1977 the Cultural Department of the German Foreign Office commissioned a study of the image of Germany in German textbooks used for teaching German (Engel 1977). This study recorded what was considered both a lack of rationale for the topics presented in those textbooks analysed and a lack of integration of culture into language learning. It was argued that topics chosen for inclusion in German textbooks were determined by the 'implizite Präferenz für Institutionen einerseits und privatfamiläre Lebenshorizonte andererseits' with the result that any political

dimensions to life in Germany were overlooked (Engel 1977: 40). A second major finding related to the fact that the Germans were found to be presented in the textbooks as showing 'meist mittelständische Weisen' and 'besitzbürgerliche Züge' but without a cultural or social context (Engel 1977: 41).

Jung (1978) similarly concluded in another study of a variety of German textbooks aimed at adults and young people dating from the late 1960s and early 1970s that objective information on the Germany of the time, including East Germany, was not evident in the German textbooks in his study. His findings suggested that the Germany presented was, for example, an idealised, patriarchal welfare society which seemed to experience few if any problems. He described the image of Germany found in one particular textbook as a 'mehr oder weniger idealisierte Welt des komfortabel lebenden kinderlosen Deutschen der Wohlstandsgesellschaft, für den Auto und Ferienreisen, Eigentumswohnungen und Gleichberechtigung der Frauen, Parties mit Wein und Whisky selbstverständliche und dazugehörnde Attribute einer Welt sind, die in keiner Weise in Frage gestellt wird.' Jung (1978:248) argued that the non-German learner (particularly the many immigrants who came to work in German factories) using the textbooks analysed, remained excluded and distant from the Germany shown and that textbooks risked promulgating the then myth that Germany was nothing more than a 'Wirtschaftswunderland' (Jung 1978: 248).

Ammer (1988 cited in Grothuesmann and Sauer 1991) examined German textbooks from three decades, namely the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. As other studies had also highlighted, Ammer (1988) found that textbooks dating from the 1950s centred on such notions as 'harmony' and 'stability' in Germany thus, he argues, displaying a positive image of Germany which he viewed to be in keeping with the optimistic 'Zeitgeist' of the Germany of the 1950s. This optimistic view of Germany faded in the textbooks from the 1970s and was found to be replaced by a picture of Germany which showed more of the problems of the time. The textbooks taken from the 1980s were found to be dominated by 'problematisierende Texte'. These books showed life in Germany to be shaped by such factors as 'Staus auf den Straßen', 'Verkehrslärm', 'Verödung der Innenstädte', 'Umweltverschmutzung' and the high 'Ausländeranteil' in Germany (Ammer 1988: 273). Further work by Ammer (1994) shows how textbooks from the 1970s and 1980s present Germans as having many



problems as far as quality of life is concerned. These included insufficient income, high prices, a demanding working life which damaged health and having too little free time.

Ammer's (1988) study attributed the different images of Germany, which his study exposed, to the changes in Germany's 'Zeitgeist' which occurred over time. He predicted that the image of Germany in the textbook of the 1990s would be predominantly a positive one and would present fewer problematic and criticisable aspects. This assumption is based on what Ammer considered would be the influence of the 'Konsensdenken' of the 1990s (Ammer 1988: 286). As this dissertation focuses on grammar books from this decade its findings may be used to assess the relevance of Ammer's assumption.

Having looked at these studies on the images of Germany which exist in various textbooks, it becomes clear that considerable variation can exist in terms of how a representation of Germany emerges for the learner. (For further examples of studies which have not been discussed here but which similarly highlight specific 'Deutschlandbilder' in books used for teaching German in the Dutch and Danish contexts see also Becher 1996 and Fink 2003 respectively.) Each individual study shares a different perspective on images of Germany and reveals more information on the potential of any one textbook to establish a particular view of Germany.

When the three German grammar books selected for this study have been analysed, it is expected that findings will contribute to the body of work explored here by showing yet another image of Germany and Germans which is presented to students of German. It is also significant that this study's contribution is based on a type of book i.e. the German grammar book which has hitherto remained absent from the types of analyses described above.

### **1.7.1 Related studies specific to German grammar books**

Just one study relating specifically to grammar books was identified in the course of this research project (Römer 1974). It surveyed a selection of German grammar books aimed at German adults. It found significant differences between how males

and females were portrayed in everyday life in the grammar book examples analysed, with male agents dominating by far and appearing in a much broader range of contexts and roles when compared to females. It also found that school and university were heavily represented as topics in the books. Although this study is short, relatively dated and consists mainly of personal observations and lists of examples (e.g. 'Peter ist voller Ideen' and 'Sie ist schön, wenn auch dumm') it points to the potential for grammar books to convey what the author refers to as a 'Weltbild' and provides a useful contrast for this study (Römer 1974: 74).

### **1.8 The linguist and textbook analysis**

In their evaluation of many of the studies outlined above and others looking at textbook portrayal of countries other than Germany, Grothuesmann and Sauer (1991) conclude that textbook analysis may be approached in many different ways and that the researcher has the possibility of focusing on a variety of aspects. They point out that many factors affect the portrayal of a particular country in a textbook.

Influences include political outlook, pedagogical and social conditions as well as traditions and the particular type of school organisation. They also highlight that the country of origin can greatly shape the representation of a particular country. For the purposes of this piece of research, it is of relevance that Grothuesmann and Sauer (1991) make specific reference to the image of Germany which emerges in German textbooks for teaching German. They argue that the particularly negative image found in these books might be due to the development of the overtly critical outlook vis à vis Germany which emerged in 1968 amongst large sections of the German youth and intelligentsia and which led to a concentration on negative aspects of life in Germany.

The overview of textbooks studies which has been presented here shows that they may generally be classified under one of two headings. One group of studies focuses on the general correctness and/or appropriateness of textbook content. Other studies, which examine the various topics covered within textbooks may be classified as having a particular thematic focus. Grothuesmann and Sauer (1991) find the latter type of study to yield more insights into the images of those countries represented. This point will be taken up further in the next chapter which deals with the

methodology adopted for this dissertation and explains the thematic focus of the investigation here.

As one would expect, studies involving educational texts can focus on a variety of different features depending on one's interest and the field and ethos within which the researcher is operating e.g. didactic versus semiotic versus intercultural versus functional versus content-analysis and so on. The context, e.g. primary education versus third-level versus vocational training, may also determine the type of approach taken in a study. As can be seen from the various references to different studies provided above, even when a particular approach is taken there are numerous possibilities as to what can be explored in any one textbook.

While many educational researchers in the area of material and curriculum design and development are concerned primarily with the informative content and delivery of teaching materials, such as textbooks, the linguist also has an important role to play in this context. This investigation is not based on content-analysis. It concentrates specifically on the language of the books which are being analysed. A more linguistics-oriented approach is deemed appropriate for a number of reasons which will be outlined below. Linguistic analysis in educational texts explores how the *language* of the textbook can influence both how information is presented and what impact this might have on its reception.

Van Dijk (1981) advocates analysis of textbooks from the point of view of the 'linguist interested in education' and argues that since 'education is predominantly "textual" more insight into the nature of textual structures and process is a condition for a better understanding of educational processes' (van Dijk 1981: 2).

Findings of the studies carried out by Hellinger (1980), Kramsch (1987) Bergvall (1994) and Macaulay and Brice (1997) which were described above focussed specifically on linguistic features of educational texts and showed just how revealing analysis is at the level of the sentence.

In addition, the nature of the 'text' under analysis here, i.e. the grammar book, requires it to have a linguistic as opposed to content-analysis type of approach. This



can be explained by the fact that to assess the explicit content of a grammar book would be to bring a totally different focus into this study. It would clearly situate the study either in the area of grammar or syllabus design or both where the relative importance of the inclusion/exclusion of various grammar topics such as preposition, tense, conjunctions etc. would constitute the focus of the study. The analysis of 'representation' as provided to learners of German in the grammar books would not be possible with such an approach. For these reasons this piece of research can be described as being carried out by a 'linguist interested in education' and consequently concentrates on analysis of the language which is used in the three grammar books which have been selected for analysis.

Given that the selection of language or 'text' under investigation here has been created with very specific aims in mind i.e. to illustrate grammatical features in the German language, the question could reasonably be asked as to how one should refer to it and approach analysis. It is not comparable to that of a textbook since running text is not a common feature in grammar books. This is precisely where Hoey's (1986) notion of a distinctive type of text namely the 'colony text' is both relevant and helpful. It is described in the next section.

### **1.8.1 The 'Colony Text' and the Grammar Book**

As any survey of analyses in the general area of text analysis will show, analysis centres primarily on individual texts or collections of continuous, running texts (either spoken or written) which exhibit such traditionally recognised textual properties as those of textuality and cohesion. Newspaper texts, political speeches, propaganda and other commonly analysed texts all display the tendency for their sentences to show some kind of mutual dependency. However, because the 'text' involved in this dissertation, being taken from a collection of grammar books, is not one of this kind, the interpretation of 'text' must be adapted for the purposes of analysis here.

Hoey (1986) expands the definition of 'text' in a way which helps address the challenges faced in analysing unconventional texts like those drawn from grammar books. He has identified in his research in the area of textual analysis what he

describes as 'a neglected discourse type' or 'cinderella discourses', namely the 'discourse colony'. (Hoey, 1986: 1) He has borrowed the term from natural science where it is commonly used to describe, for example, such phenomena as ant-hills and beehives. The basic property of the discourse colony is that if one jumbles its components its meaning remains the same although its utility is altered. Hoey (1986) uses the example of dictionary entries to illustrate this point. He explains that if the entries of a dictionary, as 'colony texts', were totally reorganised on a random basis our ability to understand each entry would remain unaffected by the reorganisation. The only real difference would be that it would be extremely difficult to locate one particular reference within a short period of time. Other examples of discourse colonies include shopping lists, class lists, menus and concordances.

In identifying this category of 'text', Hoey (1986) challenges the constrained view of text as continuous prose which must exhibit particular semantic relations which hold between sentences or groups of sentences. He also challenges therewith the restricted notion of reading as a linear processing of text. Such a view of reading, he argues, has resulted in an over-emphasis on textual cohesion and the neglect of colony texts which by their nature may not be read in a linear fashion.

Adopting Hoey's (1986) classification of particular texts in this way is not to preclude the possibility of some semantic relations existing between colony texts which are located in the same source e.g. a dictionary or grammar book. It is possible that some constraints (genre, complexity/simplicity of language, target audience, cultural norms, ideological influences etc.) may result in certain semantic fields being represented more than others thereby forging particular semantic relations whether intended or not.

Most importantly from the perspective of this dissertation, Hoey's (1986) research on 'dictionary colony texts' affirms that this text type, like linear texts, displays particular value-systems. He focuses his analysis, for example, on examining how the male-oriented establishment is enshrined in language. His analysis of dictionary entries relating to the terms 'man' and 'woman' confirmed, for example, that the language of the entries gave undue representation to the male voice. As a result, he concludes that the particular dictionary under analysis not only reflects bias but also

helps perpetuate it (Hoey, 1986). The reader's attention is also drawn here to the potential of the small number of examples provided above to exhibit specific 'realities'.

Hoey's (1986) research illustrates how no text-type is unworthy of analysis and how no corpus of text, however constituted, can be considered to be value-free. With specific reference to textbook examples, Macaulay and Brice (1997: 799) reject the argument that examples should be viewed as 'uncontextualised data' which cannot have an effect on readers. In doing so they give support to the arguments made by Hoey (1986).

To draw a distinction between mainstream texts and 'colony texts' is particularly useful in the context of this dissertation. Colony texts differ from mainstream texts which are characterised by the fact that they consist of adjacent components which normally form one type or another of continuous prose (Hoey 1986). As grammar books generally consist, at least to a large extent, of 'entries' (to borrow the term which is usually applied to dictionaries) in the form of examples and (often unconnected) exercise sentences or phrases, they, like dictionaries, shopping lists, timetables and other 'colony texts' referred to by Hoey (1986) can also be considered to be an example of 'colony texts'.

Hoey's (1986) identifying this category of text and its obvious applicability in the context of this thesis allow for the 'grammar book' to be viewed as consisting of colony texts and to be aligned somewhat with 'the dictionary' where both appear to have a lot in common in terms of their both containing illustrative/explanatory sentences and phrases which appear in a random order.

Analyses of dictionaries in terms of their representations of particular issues or groups lend support to Hoey's arguments and have documented the fact that these 'colony texts' (although not referred to as such) are as capable of transmitting particular representations as any other type of text (Landau 1985, Prechter 1999). Landau (1985) demonstrates that illustrative sentences contained in children's dictionaries have been found to convey particular social values regarding child-adult relationships, family members, gender and male-female relationships. Examples

provided for the definition of 'sandwich' such as 'He was sandwiched between two large fat women' from a dictionary entry in 1968 and 'I was sandwiched between two large boxes in the backseat of the car' from an entry in 1983 along with many other illustrative entries in Landau's study highlight that the dictionary can exhibit particular perceptions of social values to its users. Prechter's (1999) later study on English learners' dictionaries reaches similar interesting conclusions. As grammar books are similar to dictionaries in that they mainly contain illustrative sentences, albeit for slightly different purposes, Landau's and Prechter's studies provide encouraging evidence that the analysis of these will unveil perceptions which will be equally insightful. This lends even more validity to the stance taken in this dissertation that the 'texts' which are found in grammar books, although a relatively neglected source of particular representations, should be open to the same scrutiny as other types of texts since there is no reason to suggest that they behave differently in offering particular representations to their readers.

The decision to analyse the language of grammar books as 'colony texts' should not suggest that these are considered to be a more worthy source of analysis in the educational setting than textbooks or other materials such as posters, textbooks, examination papers, audio-cassettes or video cassettes in terms of how they can influence a learner's perceptions and attitudes. Nor should it deny that less traditional sources of material such as those available in electronic form have, to greater or lesser extents in some institutions, almost replaced grammar books in language learning contexts. The grammar book was chosen as the subject of investigation for a number of important reasons. These will be presented below.

### **1.9 The Grammar Book and its characteristics**

In relation to grammar books it is quite possible that, when compared to textbooks, the perception generally exists that they are relatively 'neutral' in terms of their impact on the language learner's perception of the 'realities' or 'possible worlds' they construct and present. They may even be considered as somewhat innocuous and unworthy of the same examination as the textbooks they often accompany. The absence of any significant research conducted specifically on grammar books would suggest that this may well be the case. Any survey of pedagogical research and

studies in textual analysis reveals an overwhelming bias in favour of the textbook and the absence of any analysis of the grammar book.

The lack of research on grammar books can of course be accounted for by the concentration on textbooks which, as shown earlier, have been proven in many different studies to greatly influence the perceptions of the learner and to be fruitful subjects of investigation. It need not necessarily indicate, however, that the grammar book is an unworthy object of analysis or any less influential in affecting the language learner, given its ability to represent certain realities through the language it selects for its users. Indeed Kress's (1993: 190) view that critical analysis is 'done as potently through the bland text as it is through the most overtly ideological text' seems particularly pertinent in this regard and, like Hoey's (1986) arguments regarding the power of the colony texts, supports the examination of less obvious sources of representations through language such as that used in grammar books.

The importance of the grammar book as a significant 'carrier' of messages must also be assessed against the background that in many cases it is used or read by a relatively uncritical reader. It is safe to assume that the typical language learner refers to the grammar book for reasons relating to 'grammar' and an understanding thereof. What this dissertation addresses is the question as to what findings a critical reading of the grammar can yield in terms of the representations presented to a learner who may understandably not decode them as s/he focuses on that which is more relevant for his/her learning purposes.

In the study conducted by Bergvall (1994) which was referred to earlier the point is made that some linguists claim that the portrayal of the world in example sentences (such as those in a linguistics textbook or grammar book) is not a significant issue. They view example sentences simply as 'data' which is used to illustrate linguistic principles and paradigms. Bergvall (1994: 24) disputes this view by questioning whether presentations of syntax examples to linguistics students 'can assume that autonomy of meaning from form makes the semantic content of example sentences irrelevant.' She stresses that, unlike trained linguists, novices engaging with the relevant texts may not necessarily ignore content as they study form and concludes that the persuasive force of examples in texts must be recognised. Like Bergvall



(1994), Macaulay and Brice (1997) show that, despite the dismissive reactions of some researchers with regard to examples, bias and stereotyping play a significant role in such 'texts' and need to be taken more seriously.

The reader is reminded of the point made earlier in relation to the study by Macaulay and Brice (1997) that bias was found most obviously in constructed examples. Constructed examples are a norm in grammar books as will be discussed in the next chapter. It is also worth mentioning Kramsch's (1987) point again that although sentences in language textbooks aim primarily to convey a linguistic feature, they also contain subjective voices which the reader is sometimes forced to 'adopt' as s/he concentrates on the linguistic dimensions involved. Points made above in relation to the 'colony text' (Hoey 1986), which illustrated that all forms of text, no matter how short they are, are worthy of investigation in terms of what representations they deliver to readers, clearly underpin the arguments put forward by Bergvall (1994) and Macaulay and Brice (1997).

The way in which learners might use the language provided in the grammar book must also be considered in underlining the significance of the grammar book as a 'text' which presents a variety of 'realities' to its audience. It is unlikely that any language learner would simply skim the pages of a grammar book to gain a global impression of its content. It is much more likely that s/he would use it as a study aid or reference to provide details on how one particular linguistic structure is used, when a particular tense should be applied etc. In doing so, s/he will normally concentrate on particular sentences, clauses, passages etc. for a considerably longer length of time than if s/he was reading a novel or newspaper article. As a result, the learner may be exposed for a relatively longer duration of time to the representations encoded within the pieces of text on which s/he is focussing.

Given that the grammar book, consisting as it does of 'colony texts', differs in form so much from the textbook as outlined above, the question now arises as to how exactly one should analyse it. It does not display the same conventional features as the textbook in that it lacks consecutive paragraphs, cross-referencing, summarising and any type of thematically-based structure (apart from grammar themes) in its pieces of text. A pure content analysis approach such as that found in many of the

studies referred to above is therefore out of the question. In addition, its special nature means that traditional angles from which to analyse text offer little application. What does one do when comparable text types are not to be found and a framework for analysis is therefore largely lacking?

This is where a study of this nature must expand its boundaries into another area within linguistics, namely into corpus linguistic studies, and avail of textual analysis techniques involving electronic methods. To combine Hoey's notion of the 'colony text' with that of relevant practices in corpus linguistics offers insights for this dissertation which will prove to be both appropriate and helpful. This is discussed further in the next chapter on methodology.

### **1.10 Summary**

Texts used in educational settings can influence the way in which the learner views any particular issue to which they make direct or indirect reference. In the context of language learning the text can promote positive or negative reactions in relation to the target culture depending on what images it presents. Although content analysis can reveal much about the images provided by texts to the learner and quantify these, the text's linguistic features are equally worthy of analysis since research has shown how these too can combine to represent issues in a number of different ways.

Although different to textbooks in a number of features, the grammar book has the potential to influence its readers' opinions and attitudes with the language it employs.

The analysis in this dissertation of the language of the three grammar books, which consist primarily of 'colony texts' in the form of 'constructed examples' will reveal their capacity to provide students of German with certain 'representations' or 'realities' or what were described earlier in this chapter as 'possible worlds' (Luke 1989), 'voices' (Kramsch 1987) and 'value systems' (Hoey 1986). In providing these, the grammar books also affect the representations of Germany/the Germans which the German language learner receives.

This dissertation is concerned primarily with identifying 'representations' and less with assessing their impact on the reader. Given the quantity of colony texts

involved here and the capacity of each to 'represent' it is obviously not possible to explore each distinct 'representation' carried by the three grammar books under analysis. It is preferable to opt for depth and limit the focus to a selection of 'representations'. The next chapter shows how these will be identified and subsequently examined by outlining the methodology of this study. The following three chapters then provide details of each 'representation' chosen for this study.



## **Chapter 2**

### **Methodology**

*'Texts ... comprise much of the empirical foundation of society; they help to construct social reality.'* (Stubbs 1994: 219)

## **2.1 Overview of methodology**

This chapter describes the methodology which is used in finding the answers to the questions outlined in Chapter 1. It opens with a section which details the assumptions regarding the limitations of the language which can be chosen for use in grammar books. Then the grammar books which have been selected for investigation in this dissertation are described. An overview of the Linguistics of Representation, and in particular of the work of Michael Stubbs, follows. This leads to the presentation of methods of textual analysis which are drawn from the area of corpus linguistics. Finally, the chapter presents the precise method of analysis adopted for this study and the areas which it will focus on.

## **2.2 Assumptions regarding the limitations on linguistic choices in grammar books**

Although the authors of German grammar books have, like most authors, considerable freedom in terms of the linguistic forms they may choose to include in the various books on which they work, certain factors also exist which limit the choices which they can make and which ultimately shape the 'language selection' which finally appears in their grammar books.

For a start, the German grammar book is compiled for a very specific purpose, namely to aid the language learner in furthering his/her understanding of the German language. As such, its authors engage with its language with a particular readership in mind. It is to be expected, therefore, that they may seek to prioritise such matters as clarity of expression, simplicity, familiarity of the learners with vocabulary and so on.

In most cases the reader of the grammar book will be a non-native speaker who will be a member of an international community of students who learn German. The authors must therefore appeal to learners of many different cultural backgrounds in

their books. As a consequence of this, they may opt to rely on basic, international cultural 'common denominators' (such as eating breakfast in the morning, sleeping at night, studying at a university etc.) so as not to alienate any one particular section of their potential readership.

However, despite seeking to appeal to an international audience, German grammar books inevitably originate within a German context. Conventions within the area of 'Deutsch als Fremdsprache' as well as those within publishing of teaching-materials in Germany will undoubtedly shape the appearance and content of the German grammar book. Since grammar books are generally used in conjunction with textbooks it is likely that the textbook may exert a certain influence on the language content of the grammar book such that the two may exhibit similar linguistic features. Put another way, it would seem unlikely that the language of the textbook and the language of the grammar book, when used in the same teaching contexts, would differ greatly in terms of variation in vocabulary and degree of complexity in expression.

The grammar books under analysis in this dissertation will also be shaped by the numerous other grammar books (and possibly, although to a lesser extent, German language textbooks) which have either preceded them or which compete with them on the shelves of the shops in which they are sold. Some of these will have been developed and produced in Germany while others will come from other countries. As a result a certain degree of 'intertextuality' within the German grammar book market as a whole is presumably unavoidable.

Another aspect to be borne in mind is that grammar books often contain extracts from other sources which were not devised for the purposes of explaining grammar. Extracts from literary sources are, for example, frequently borrowed and included in grammar books. Clearly these pieces of literature were not created for the purposes of illustrating grammatical features but should nevertheless be examined along with all other pieces of text in order to assess what representations they deliver.

Each of the three publishers of the grammar books under analysis here was contacted in order to establish exactly how they approached devising examples and exercises in

their publications in terms of what language was selected. This was considered important so as to ensure knowledge of any particular norms on their part vis à vis the areas they would choose or omit to include through their selection of language. Two of the publishers responded (see Appendix A). One explained that no explicit criteria were involved in the selection of linguistic features contained in their grammar book and that wordlists were not referred to. The other explained that it no longer has any contact with the authors of the grammar book in question. From both responses, and in the absence of any reference to any specific, in-house selection criteria, it seems reasonable to conclude that the respective authors of the books had a great degree of freedom as regards what language choices they made when devising examples and exercises or when borrowing and adapting text from other sources.

To assess the degree of impact of any of the above-named factors on the grammar books under investigation here would be beyond the scope of this particular study. (In some cases it is perhaps not even possible.) However, not to refer to them at this point could erroneously lead to the assumption that the textual data gathered for this study is considered to be comparable to text drawn from any number of other sources or genres and that it does not exhibit a number of its own unique characteristics.

Being based on grammar books, the corpus used in this dissertation may, for the reasons outlined above, exhibit characteristics which contrast with those found in other corpora which consist of texts taken from sources which are subject to a set of limitations other than those of the grammar books. It is precisely these characteristics which are considered to be of significance. Subsequent studies could, in the future, explore the extent of the degrees of overlap and/or difference between the linguistic characteristics of the grammar books selected in this study and other texts.

### 2.3 The selection of the grammar books for this study

As bookshop shelves and internet searches show, a wide range of German grammar books are available internationally, with new grammar books appearing regularly and older books being up-dated and re-launched.

Three well-known German grammar books were chosen for analysis in this dissertation. They are also grammar books which the researcher has considerable experience of using with students in German language courses at different levels. These are *Lehr- und Übungsbuch der deutschen Grammatik, Grundgrammatik Deutsch* and *Grundstufen-Grammatik*. Each is produced by one of the best-known publishers in the area of German as a Foreign Language. All three are currently available on the market. All three cover a similar range of topics although the degree of detail in explanation varies in each. Each is suitable for beginner level in German as a Foreign Language. Both *Lehr- und Übungsbuch der deutschen Grammatik* and *Grundgrammatik Deutsch* are also suitable for more advanced levels with *Lehr- und Übungsbuch der deutschen Grammatik* being the most detailed in terms of its coverage of explanations for grammatical structures and more extensive in terms of the number of grammar features it covers.

*Lehr- und Übungsbuch der deutschen Grammatik* (Dreyer and Schmitt 1999) is the longest and most comprehensive of the three. It consists of three hundred and sixty pages (including a declension and conjugation sheet which is attached to the back of the book) and covers a broad variety of grammar points from the basic to the more complex. This book is published by one of the main publishers of German as a Foreign Language material namely 'Verlag für Deutsch'<sup>1</sup> which is based in Ismaning, Germany. It has been available to students of German since 1985 and is therefore the oldest of the three grammar books. The version analysed in this dissertation is the 'Neue Version' which was first published in 1999. *Lehr- und*

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<sup>1</sup> Verlag für Deutsch became a subsidiary of Max Hueber Verlag in 1987 and was integrated into it in 2000 (Anke, T. (thomas@hueber.de) 18<sup>th</sup> June 2001. Re: Formular: Kontakt. www.Hueber.de. E-mail to A. Leahy (aleahyl@eircom.net)). Books used in this study were, however, published under separate names.

*Übungsbuch der deutschen Grammatik* is accompanied by a key which provides the answers to the exercises contained in the book. Since exercises are included in the corpus, the key is also incorporated.

The second grammar book, *Grundgrammatik Deutsch* (Kars and Häussermann 1997), is also published by one of the other chief publishers of German as a Foreign Language material namely 'Verlag Moritz Diesterweg' which is based in Frankfurt am Main. It contains two hundred and eighty-six pages and has been on the market since 1988. The version used in this study is from 1997. This book does not contain any exercises and consequently has no key. However, two exercise books, entitled *Grammatik à la Carte* (Parts 1 and Part 2) (Apelt, Apelt and Wagner 1997) were devised to accompany this book and are therefore included in the corpus together with their respective keys.

*Grundstufen-Grammatik* (Reimann 1997), the third grammar book selected for analysis, is the most recent publication of the three and was first published in 1996. It is produced by 'Max Hueber Verlag' which is also based in Ismaning and it contains two hundred and thirty-seven pages. Like *Lehr- und Übungsbuch der deutschen Grammatik*, it contains a number of exercises for practice and is accompanied by a key which is also included in this analysis. The version of *Grundstufen-Grammatik* used here is from 1997. *Grundstufen-Grammatik* covers fewer grammar points than the other two books.

#### **2.4 The content of the corpus**

As would be expected, each of the grammar books provides explanations regarding the main grammar features of the German language and instructions for each exercise. The language of explanation and instruction is German. It is *not* included in this study. Predictably it serves a very clear purpose in each grammar book and displays many of its own distinct characteristics. Although worthy of analysis in its own right, it is not of interest in the context of this study.

The corpus consists solely of the examples provided to explain grammar features, the corresponding exercises, together with the solutions to these. An example might be a



single word e.g. 'dunkel', 'dunkler', a phrase e.g. 'das hohe Haus' or an entire sentence such as those given below. Two of the grammar books contained lists of irregular German verbs as appendices which, as one would expect, were very similar in terms of their content. The longer of the two is included in the corpus as it gives examples as well listing irregular verbs.

To enhance the explanation for most grammar points numerous examples are given. For example, the passive voice in a sub-clause is explained using the sentence 'Ich weiß, dass hier eine neue Autobahn gebaut wird' (*Grundstufen Grammatik*), while the coordinating conjunction 'aber' is explained using the following sentence: 'Er war 82, aber er heiratete noch einmal' (*Grundgrammatik Deutsch*). Exercises then reinforce the explanations for the various points which have been explained. For example in *Grundstufen Grammatik* an exercise answer for the passive voice in a sub-clause reads: 'Ich möchte gern wissen, warum bei Smog das Auto nicht zu Hause gelassen werden muss.'

As can be seen from these extracts from two of the grammar books, both the examples and exercise solutions can present the reader of the book with particular 'realities' which relate to greater or lesser extents to Germany. Both extracts from *Grundstufen Grammatik* pertain, for example, to the 'Germany of the car and pollution' while the extract from *Grundgrammatik Deutsch* provides insights into expectations relating to marriage, presumably in Germany. Other examples are much more direct in their reference to Germany and could even be considered as providing the reader with a 'fact' which may also affect his/her view of Germany. The following example from *Lehr- und Übungsbuch der deutschen Grammatik* illustrates this:

Wann kam es zum Zweiten Weltkrieg? (die deutschen Truppen unter Hitler im August 1939 in Polen einmarschieren)

The small selection of extracts which was provided here to illustrate the format of the grammar books chosen for analysis also serves another function. Despite the extremely small number of extracts involved and their relative brevity, we clearly see the capacity of each to represent a particular 'reality' to the reader and that a number

of different realities can be dealt with. When the vast quantity of other examples and exercises together with their solutions are added it is safe to assume that a huge number of different realities will emerge.

## **2.5 The creation of the corpus**

Studying each example, exercise sentence etc. in isolation as it occurs in each one of the three grammar books would undoubtedly reveal many representations of reality. It would, however, make for a chronological 'list' of unrelated and unprocessed realities and render cross-referencing and ultimately analysis difficult and superficial. For these reasons such a manual approach to analysis was considered inappropriate for this study. It draws instead from computer-assisted methods of analysis.

Using a scanner and ABBYY FineReader Professional Optical Character Recognition (OCR) software (Version 4.0) all text contained in each of the grammar books together with the text of the exercise books and keys was converted from print into computer-readable form and saved in text-files. As Hardt-Mautner (1995) points out, this can be the most laborious part of any research which involves electronic methods of analysis and meticulous editing is required. Editing was carried out to remove the language of explanation and instruction and to replace any letters or words which had not been recognised correctly. Following this, all of the language of instruction and explanation was removed. What remained was a collection of texts consisting of all examples, exercises and solutions – the corpus of colony texts.

## **2.6 Linguistics of representation**

This dissertation associates itself with the area of study known as the 'linguistics of representation' and asks questions in relation to what kinds of representations of reality/realities appear in the language of the grammar books chosen for investigation as described above.

Drawing from the work of Fowler (1991), Stubbs and Gerbig (1993) show that the central assumption of linguistics of representation is that the same events can always

be talked about, and therefore represented, in different ways. Consequently, the language of texts can be viewed as mediating reality by representing something in one way as opposed to another. Stubbs and Gerbig (1993: 66) refer to this as the 'grammatical encoding of human activities'. The over-riding questions relate, therefore, to what types of representations are chosen and to what the choices mean. Other questions which the researcher adopting this approach can pose include: How is the world talked about? How are relations between people and the physical world talked about? (Stubbs and Gerbig 1993: 63).

Approaching textual analysis from this perspective, Stubbs and Gerbig (1993) analyse geography texts to investigate how change, cause and effect, and agency are represented. By focussing on the use of passives, ergative constructions, subject nominal groups and -ing forms of nouns and verbs in a particular British geography textbook Stubbs and Gerbig (1993: 75) were able to find 'the representation of a world where human beings are largely absent as responsible agents, where processes take place spontaneously or are caused by other abstract processes.' A further study conducted by Stubbs (1994) involved analysis of two textbooks dealing with geography and the environment and a corpus of written English (one million words in size). This study concentrated on investigating how causality was expressed by ergative constructions and on how modality was expressed in 'projecting' that-clauses. The differences identified in the syntactic patterns of the texts analysed provided evidence of different ideological stances expressed in the books.

Since this research conducted by Stubbs (1994) and Stubbs and Gerbig (1993) aims to analyse particular aspects of the representations of human behaviour as expressed at local level in text, it very much mirrors the approach which this piece of research adopts by looking at how linguistic features in the grammar books serve to represent realities in particular ways. As mentioned in the section on the Research Question provided in Chapter 1, this study aims to address primarily the following question: What representations of human activity are contained within a body of language as constituted by three particular German grammar books?

Apart from having much in common with the research on the linguistics of representation, this dissertation also aligns itself closely with the practical analytical

approach advocated in the studies described above and also with those which are also put forward in Stubbs (2001) and Hardt-Mautner (1995). These relate to methodological conventions found in the area of Corpus Linguistics and more specifically to how the researcher can bring analytical techniques used in Corpus Linguistics into other forms of textual investigation.

## **2.7 The use of corpus linguistics analytical methods outside of corpus linguistics**

Stubbs (1994 and 1996) advocates the use of the computer in textual analysis for a number of reasons. A major advantage of incorporating computer-assisted methods of analysis, such as the concordancer, into text analysis is that they allow for every example of a particular feature to be identified. In this way, one can ensure that evidence is not picked to fit the researcher's preconceptions. Due to their comprehensiveness of coverage, computers also 'make it more difficult to overlook inconvenient instances and are ... a move towards descriptive neutrality' (Stubbs 1994: 218). Another important reason to support the use of the computer in text analysis where large quantities of text are involved is because the human researcher simply cannot remember all data and cope with it efficiently. Stubbs (1994) points out that 'deep patterning' is only observable with computer-assisted methods.

Although supporting computer-assisted textual analysis Stubbs (1994) also points out that the computer has its limitations in this context. While it can identify many linguistic features and trends and handle a vast quantity of text it cannot 'think' for the linguist. The researcher's intuition will always be involved particularly in deciding which features are to be studied, how items should be coded and how findings should be interpreted.

Hardt-Mautner's research (1995) identifies a useful and practical way to borrow techniques employed in corpus linguistic studies when analysing texts for purposes other than those traditionally located within that field. In doing so, she illustrates how by expanding research boundaries in linguistics a new approach can emerge which is supportive of any area involved. Her work presents a rationale for involving electronic textual analysis in this study. Hardt-Mautner (1995) seeks to enhance analysis of particular media texts using a traditional Critical Discourse

Analysis framework and at the same time using concordance programmes normally used in corpus linguistics combined with this type of qualitative analysis.

Like Hardt-Mautner (1995) and Stubbs (1994), other researchers such as Caldas-Coulthard (1993) and Fox (1993) draw on developments in corpus linguistics in their critical analysis of texts without necessarily situating their research in that area.

What each of these highlights is how the computer can greatly assist in the study of texts outside the area of corpus linguistics by allowing the researcher in text analysis to make useful contributions in their analyses of various texts without delving into lexicography and other corpus linguistics related areas.

From the point of view of this dissertation, Hardt-Mautner's (1995) views, like those of Stubbs (1994) are most relevant. She argues that in-depth qualitative analyses of large numbers of texts is only possible where substantial funding is available and teams of researchers are involved thereby allowing for the collation of various group findings and ultimately enhancing the representativeness of the overall findings. Where this is not the case, computer-assisted methods prove useful. Van Dijk (1988: 66) predicted this by arguing that 'only the work of large teams or, in future, of computers would enable the qualitative analysis to be quantified.'

Without the computer the critical analysis of a large quantity of text by a single researcher, as is the case in this study, is simply not possible. At the same time, critical discourse analysis is, as Hardt-Mautner (1995: 3) points out, 'not an obvious candidate for computer applications' since it is based more on a holistic approach which encapsulates the discourse/society interface.

Arguments against the use of computer programmes in textual analysis can of course be made. Chiefly these allude to the inability of the computer to deal with context. As Fowler and Kress (1979: 198) argue: 'to focus on one structure, to select one process, in fact to lift components of a discourse out of their context and consider them in isolation would be the very antithesis of our approach'. In addition, Fowler (1991: 68) points out that 'critical interpretation requires ... sensitivity, which can be possessed by human beings but not by machines.' In saying so, Fowler (1991) does not, however, seem to suggest the computer cannot or should not be used in textual



analysis. His point might be considered as being similar to that of Stubbs (1994) which served to highlight that the computer can enhance textual analysis but cannot replace the thinking of a researcher.

Such arguments would appear to be appropriate and valid where, as Hardt-Mautner (1995) points out, one finds oneself dealing only with small numbers of discourse samples. In such cases the depth is valued over breadth. However, where a large quantity of text is involved, these arguments are ill-placed and do little to address the concerns of the researcher working alone who wishes to examine a substantial quantity of text. Hardt-Mautner (1995: 4) puts this as follows '... the rich and varied potential of team work is not available to the researcher working individually, so alternative ways of broadening the empirical base must be found.' One alternative is the concordance programme which will be described later.

In addition it should be noted again at this point that 'colony texts' are characterised by a lack of context as it is normally understood in relation to text. For this reason arguments suggesting that computer-assisted analysis compromises textual analysis by ignoring context do not apply.

Incorporating a concordance programme into critical textual analysis provides a useful and supportive approach for the task at hand in this thesis. Hardt-Mautner (1995) illustrates how 'even the crudest techniques of corpus linguistics can make useful contributions to the study of discourse from a critical perspective' (Hardt-Mautner, 1995: 5). While acknowledging, like Stubbs (1994), that the computer lacks certain abilities, Hardt-Mautner (1995) shows how it allows the researcher to concentrate on features in the corpus that are frequent and salient enough to be investigated. She points out that, unlike the lexicographer, the linguistic analyst who is using computer programmes to analyse text critically will not be looking at the complete range of forms in the corpus. Instead they will use it to follow leads about which they may or may not have prior knowledge. The researcher will then concentrate on forms which are salient and which allow one to make meaningful statements about the particular discourse being analysed.



In particular Hardt-Mautner (1995) shows how the concordance can kick-start an analysis and enable the researcher to follow even tentative leads by providing him/her with wordlists which can then be explored further by using facilities which enable one to look at the contexts of the words appearing in the wordlist. In her own study she uses the concordance, which shows her, for example, the transitivity patterns for the commonly occurring word 'people' which she had identified in a wordlist based on tabloid newspapers. Having done so, she then returns to the qualitative techniques of what she terms 'the critical discourse analyst's traditional toolkit' to analyse these further (Hardt-Mautner 1995: 9). Where she finds particular references to an important search item to be of interest she expands her search to extended passages containing these search items. These extended passages, having been identified through a short concordance initially, then serve as 'sites' of discourse which reveal specific argumentative patterns that can then be analysed qualitatively. As such, as Hardt-Mautner (1995: 15) puts it, 'close-up and wide-angle views of data' are possible. Hardt-Mautner (1995) shows a variety of ways in which the concordance can aid critical discourse analysts and concludes that the use of concordance programmes does not have to restrict the researcher to 'below-sentence-level linguistic description'. Most importantly she shows how if the researcher has a particular searchable item (in her case, for example, the key term 'European') which s/he can use as a 'peg' to hang analysis on, this can open a window into larger-scale discursal processes. In the context of her particular study, for example, she discovers that the term 'European' has a number of different meanings and that in specific British newspapers the concepts of 'Europe' and 'Europeanness' are shown to be a matter of contestation. To illustrate this she argues that, since 'European' is found to mean 'pro-European' in many contexts, EU-opponents are forced to compete for possession of this term by creating a different interpretation of it for their purposes.

## **2.8 Borrowing the tools of corpus linguistics**

By combining the many examples, exercises and solutions from each of the grammar books chosen using a scanner and OCR so as to form one body of language, a large quantity of data (and the variety of representations contained therein) is made

available for analysis in electronic form. A 'grammar book corpus' which can be analysed efficiently as a unit is therefore made available.

Using text analysis software on computer-readable text a search for all occurrences of any term within a corpus is possible. As the name suggests, a frequency list provides the researcher with a list of all terms together with the number of occurrences in the corpus. A distinction is usually made between content words and function words, the former referring to nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs, the latter to grammatical words such as prepositions and determiners. Function words tend to feature heavily at the top of most frequency lists. Stubbs (2001) points out that content words carry most lexical content and are able to make reference outside the language while function words are internal to the language and serve to make explicit the relation of lexical words to one another. He also argues that the distinction between the two is not always a clear-cut one by drawing attention to the fact that a modal verb (a function word) by expressing obligation, permission or ability also conveys content. Given their capacity to carry content, thereby forming a representation, content words are the key focus of this study. As will be seen later in this dissertation, modal verbs, in particular 'müssen', are also taken into consideration and deemed to convey a certain content in the context of the grammar books under analysis here.

In relation to the computer-assisted analysis of specific terms, be they content or function, the basic tool of analysis is the concordance. The concordance is also frequently referred to a KWIC index i.e. Key Word in Context. As Stubbs (2001: 61) points out the three stages involved are: 'search, find, display'. An appropriate target term is identified and a search for all occurrences of this term is carried out. All occurrences of this term are identified and presented together with the word(s) which co-occur on either side of the search word. Results can be analysed both in terms of the number of occurrences of this term (frequency) and in terms of collocations, whereby the words occurring on either side of the search term are analysed to establish the senses/contexts within which the term appears. Because the concordance allows for every occurrence of a term to be identified, the evidence it supplies to the researcher is, in the words of Sinclair (1991: 42), 'quite superior to any other method'.

One example suffices to show how a concordance operates. Graddol, Cheshire and Swann (1994) provide an example of a Key Word In Context (KWIC)/concordance for the word *grammar* in a particular corpus consisting of English newspapers. The concordance result shows how frequently the word *grammar* appears together with notions of spelling, punctuation and correctness. Results are used to show how use of the term *grammar* outside of the academic study of linguistics differs greatly from that within this area. This particular study was then used to argue that the 'linguists will have an uphill struggle in persuading readers ... that non-standard dialects possess a grammar' (Graddol, Cheshire and Swann 1994: 111). (See Stubbs 1996 for examples of concordances for *happy* and *happiness* and Finegan 1999 for examples for *little* and *small*.)

## **2.9 Initial analysis – Looking for leads and finding a focus**

As mentioned above, Hardt-Mautner (1995) suggests that the researcher can have a 'peg' concept upon which to hang the linguistic investigation s/he wishes to pursue. One can identify such a 'peg' in one of two ways. One way would be to agree from the outset that one wishes to concentrate on a particular notion and not on any other and proceed to simply search for the chosen concept regardless of any initial indicators of its significance or otherwise. Such a study might for example set about exploring the representation of a randomly selected concept ('love', 'peace', 'war' etc.).

On the other hand, a researcher may, as was the case for Hardt-Mautner (1995), already have a particular interest in a subject area and may consequently wish to develop insights in the area by availing of corpus linguistic techniques. In this case, s/he starts the analysis with search terms in mind, controlling them in line with their relevance to the subject at hand. For example, if one is keen to explore the textual features relating to the subject of 'immigration' in a particular corpus one will presumably develop a list of search items containing, for example, such terms as 'border', 'flight', 'visa' and 'permit'.

In the case of this dissertation the researcher expects that certain areas of representation will be more dominant and therefore more important than others in the

corpus which has been formed of three unrelated grammar books. However, it is not obvious from the outset what these subjects might be and how important their role in the books might be. To put it another way, in the absence of a chosen topic from the outset the researcher must develop some criteria for deciding exactly what to look at in the corpus. A cursory reading of a randomly selected number of pages in each book shows that topics range from 'food' to 'car repairs' to 'pets' to 'arson'.

In this instance a frequency list can be helpful at the preliminary stage of the analysis of a corpus. Frequency rankings for the various words contained in this corpus will indicate which words require further investigation and/or promise to provide the most interesting insights.

#### **2.10 Initial analysis and frequency in grammar book corpus**

Using the well-known corpus linguistics software WordSmith Tools (Version 3) a frequency list for the grammar book corpus was drawn up. The frequency ranking carried out for the corpus provides the basis for this study as will be explained below. It found that commonly occurring function words and conjugated forms of the verbs 'haben' and 'sein' occur most frequently. The table on the next page illustrates this.

**Table 1 - Initial Word Frequency:**

	Word	Frequency
1.	Die	7,186
2.	Der	6,346
3.	Ich	6,340
4.	Sie	4,738
5.	Er	4,452
6.	Das	3,957
7.	Nicht	3,340
8.	Ist	3,271
9.	In	2,974
10.	Und	2,441
11.	Den	2,379
12.	Du	2,278
13.	Es	2,166
14.	Zu	2,128
15.	Hat	2,107
16.	Ein	2,046
17.	Wir	1,901
18.	Sich	1,676
19.	Mit	1,644
20.	Dem	1,551

As one moves down through the frequency list the relatively high frequencies for adverbs, particularly temporal adverbs, become apparent as the examples in following table show. Others can be found in the Appendix B which shows the one hundred most frequent terms in the corpus.

**Table 2 - Adverb Frequency:**

	Adverb	Frequency
1.	Noch	1,137
2.	Schon	776
3.	Hier	548
4.	Immer	511
5.	Heute	437

Appendix B shows how modal verbs feature strongly at the higher end of the frequency list. Forms of the auxiliary verb 'werden' similarly occur frequently.

However, content words are most revealing from a linguistics of representation perspective and analysis must therefore focus on these. These are listed here (Table 3) in order of frequency, starting with the most frequently occurring content term. As can be seen, some terms are presented in bold typeface<sup>2</sup>. This is because they will merit particular attention in the context of this study. They will be discussed in the next section.

It can also be seen that content terms which relate to 'time' feature strongly. This is not unusual for corpora. According to Krishnamurthy (1995) 'time' was the most frequent content word in the Bank of English in 1995 (then two hundred million words in size) and 'Uhr' was one of the most commonly occurring in German corpora. A list of the thirty thousand most frequently occurring words in German which is made available by the *Institut für Deutsche Sprache*, Mannheim, Germany, shows that the noun 'Uhr' is the most frequent noun and that it is followed (relatively) closely by the following terms: 'Jahren', 'Jahr', 'Jahre', 'jetzt' and 'Zeit' ([www.ids-mannheim.de/ku/30000wrdfoms.dat](http://www.ids-mannheim.de/ku/30000wrdfoms.dat)).

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<sup>2</sup> As the frequency list is not case-sensitive, it is not possible to determine how many occurrences for those terms which are marked with an asterisk relate to a noun, verb, adverb or declined adjective which corresponds to the form given. It is also possible for all infinitives of verbs (e.g. 'Sprechen') to function as nouns. However, these distinctions are not of relevance in the context of the focus of this study.



**Table 3 – Content Word Frequency:**

1) Gut: 412 entries
2) Uhr: 380 entries
3) Gehen: 368 entries
4) Geld/Morgen*: 347 entries
5) Zeit: 346 entries
6) Haus: 342 entries
7) Kommen: 342 entries
8) Frau: 321 entries
9) Machen: 317 entries
10) Fahren: 294 entries
11) Essen: 275 entries
12) Kinder: 260 entries
13) Mann: 257 entries
14) Geht: 254 entries
15) Arbeit: 252 entries
16) Kommt: 249 entries
17) Auto: 238 entries
18) Wohnung: 223 entries
19) Weib*: 220 entries
20) Lange/Mal: 214 entries
21) Urlaub: 204 entries
22) Herr/Stadt: 196 entries
23) Abend: 190 entries
24) Menschen/Kind: 184 entries
25) Alten*: 183 entries
26) Gehört: 181 entries
27) Tag: 180 entries
28) Jahr: 178 entries
29) Sagen*: 176 entries
30) Buch/Weg: 173 entries
31) Gesagt/Neue*: 172 entries
32) Eltern: 168 entries
33) Schnell: 167 entries
34) Brief: 162 entries
35) Leben*: 160 entries
36) Gemacht: 156 entries
37) Nehmen: 154 entries
38) Bleiben: 153 entries
39) Leute: 149 entries

40) Woche: 148 entries
41) Freund: 146 entries
42) Kam/Sprechen: 145 entries
43) Hund/Wissen*: 144 entries
44) Besser: 139 entries
45) Leider/Siehen: 138 entries
46) Firma/Jahre: 137 entries
47) Macht*: 134 entries
48) Schen/Tun: 133 entries
49) Gekommen: 132 entries
50) Arzt/Bekommen: 131 entries
51) Deutschland: 128 entries
52) Alte*/Gegangen/Helfen: 127 entries
53) Freundin: 123 entries
54) Sagte: 120 entries
55) Chef/Jahren/Vater: 119 entries
56) Film: 118 entries
57) Neuen*: 117 entries
58) Steht/Wagen/Zimmer: 116 entries
59) Arbeiten/Mutter/Nacht: 115 entries
60) Bett: 114 entries
61) Fragen*/Gefahren/Groß/Zug: 113 entries
62) Ging: 112 entries
63) Geßillt: 111 entries
64) Gab/Gefallen*/Hotel/Junge*: 110 entries
65) Blumen: 109 entries
66) Mark/Stelle/Wirklich: 108 entries
67) Anderen*/Gehe/Straße: 106 entries
68) Vielleicht/Warten/Wohl: 105 entries
69) Selbst: 103 entries
70) Angst/Jungen*: 102 entries
71) Geschen: 101 entries
72) Liegt/Vergessen/Zeitung: 100 entries
73) Kaufen/Sagt/Sicher: 99 entries
74) Büro: 98 entries
75) Geben/Großen*/Hören: 97 entries
76) Komme/Tür: 95 entries

This frequency list of content items illustrates the kinds of themes, and ultimately the kinds of human activity, which feature most strongly in the corpus. Subsequent analyses would reveal the extent to which certain forms of activity dominate by

assessing the degree to which they are expanded upon through use of synonyms and/or references to their 'subthemes'. For example, if the role of the term 'Buch' (No. 30) and the theme(s) to which it relates i.e. literature, reading, learning etc. were analysed in more detail it may emerge that it is often replaced by such terms as 'Roman' or 'Text' and that other related terms such as 'Schriftsteller' or 'lesen' serve to develop the theme of 'literature' or 'reading' by providing 'subthemes' of this main theme.

It is useful, therefore, to view these most commonly occurring content terms as guides for initiating analysis. At this stage it can be seen that along with the concept of 'time', 'family life' (as represented by 'Vater', 'Mutter', 'Kinder', 'Kind', 'Eltern' and the term 'Familie') features to a significant extent as does 'money' (as suggested by the terms 'Geld' and 'Mark') and 'travel' (as suggested by such terms as 'fahren', 'gehen', 'Auto', 'Urlaub' and 'Zug'.) Other terms, such as 'Hund' and 'Blumen' seem to stand alone. However, it could emerge if analysis of the corpus were extended that these particular terms cross-reference to a significant extent with other terms to build, for example, a strong representation for such themes as 'house-pets' and 'gardening'.

To analyse any one of these topics would no doubt be interesting and insightful from a linguistics of representation perspective. However, one theme which dominates in the frequency list clearly relates to a particular human activity, namely that of working, and merits attention for that reason.

### **2.11 The human activity 'work' in the grammar book corpus**

What is most striking in the frequency list for the corpus under investigation here is the fact that the human activity of 'work' plays a significant role in the initial group of key terms which are identified. While it is not unambiguously clear with other terms that they are related to a discrete area (for example, although it can be assumed that 'Auto' and 'Urlaub' are linked to the broader theme of 'travel', in fact each could also respectively relate to non-connected topics such as 'car pollution' and 'combating stress'), five terms on this initial frequency list clearly relate solely to the notion of 'work'. These are the nouns 'Arbeit', 'Firma', 'Chef' and 'Büro' and the

verb 'arbeiten'. Strikingly, the term 'Chef' occurs with the same frequency as the term 'Vater' while 'Arbeiten' occurs as many times as 'Mutter'. From a frequency point of view this highlights that two work-related terms are as important as such commonly occurring terms as 'father' and 'mother'. In addition to this, forty-three of the one hundred and eight entries for the term 'Stelle' relate to 'work' as they refer to the word for position or job. It is striking from the outset then that the activity 'work' occupies such an important place in the language of the selected grammar books.

In this context it is interesting to note that the term 'work' has been considered a 'sociologically important word' (Firth 1935: 40 cited in Stubbs 1992). Firth (1935) advocated research into what he called focal or pivotal words which are culturally important in sociologically significant contexts. He included in these such terms as 'work', 'labour', 'trade', 'leisure' and 'self respect' in all of their derivatives and compounds and stressed that any study of them would be an enlightening one (Firth: 1935: 45 cited in Stubbs 1992). Williams (1976) in his well-known publication *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* which focuses on how keywords used in society reflect the political climate and values of society also makes reference to the cultural keyword 'work'.

In the context of Hardt-Mautner's (1995) work on computer-assisted analysis of texts where the analogy is made of findings from an initial analysis providing the researcher with a 'peg' to 'hang' subsequent analyses on, the key term 'work' may be seen as becoming the 'peg' in this dissertation.

Having been identified as a suitable subject for analysis in this dissertation, the notion of 'work', as an area of human activity, will now become the focus of investigation. This is not to suggest that other concepts would prove any less worthy of analysis but concentration on one concept which appears to be a significant one allows for depth of analysis and avoids a situation where, if a greater number of concepts were selected, findings on a whole range of concepts could be reduced to a level of banality where everything is considered worthy of comment.

## 2.12 'work' concordances and deduction/induction

Having identified the general direction for the analysis of the corpus by selecting 'work' as the subject of investigation, WordSmith Tools can be used further to refine analysis in this context and ultimately allow for meaningful observations on how the grammar books represent 'work' in particular.

As can be seen from the list of the most frequent content words which is given above, a series of other 'sub-leads' for analysis already emerge within the general concept of 'work' at this stage. Occurring 137 times, the term 'Firma', although rather unspecific, clearly points to the importance of a particular type of work i.e. production or tertiary, sedentary work, while the term 'Chef' which occurs 119 times relates to workplace hierarchy and interaction. Expanding the frequency list for the entire corpus allows the researcher to identify such topics and to make meaningful observations as regards the relative importance of other individual work-related terms.

Analysis of content words can be broadened with the use of a wild-card function in WordSmith to include compound nouns, verbs/adjectives/adverbs with prefixes/suffixes, plurals of nouns/declined forms and participles relating to those which appear in the initial frequency list. This is made possible by selecting a lexeme and inserting an asterisk on each side before initiating a search. Using this, a search for the item \*arbeit\* revealed a total of eight hundred and forty-three entries. The asterisks allowed for all terms containing 'arbeit' such as 'Arbeiter', 'arbeiten', 'gearbeitet', 'Büroarbeit', and 'Arbeitsplatz' to be identified together with the term 'Arbeit' itself whenever it occurred. Analysis of these entries will reveal how 'work' is represented in general and with what it is associated.

Another angle from which to approach the specific analysis of the selected topic of 'work' is to select a work-related term which one anticipates will be contained in the corpus and to search for it in the corpus in order to confirm firstly that it is present and secondly, if present, to explore what representation of it emerges. For example, one can select the search item \*Gehalt\* in order to explore how payment is

represented. One will find references to salaries being quite meagre as the following two examples show:

Mein kleines Gehalt reicht dafür nicht aus, meine Frau muss mitarbeiten.  
gr

Wie hoch ist denn das Gehalt? - Viel können wir leider nicht zahlen.  
gr

Searching for ‘\*Fabrik\*’ reveals what the corpus tells us about factory work/employment and shows that textile and chemical factories are represented specifically and that an image of factories as being sources of constant labour/work, useful for employment but dangerous and damaging for the environment also emerges. The following occurrences illustrate this.

Eine Textilfabrik in einer kleinen Stadt hat 150 neue Arbeitsplätze geschaffen.  
ds

Wie wurden die Vorschriften zum Umweltschutz in der Chemiefabrik behandelt?  
/ allzu oberflächlich  
ds

Nach der Explosion in dem Chemiewerk hat man an einigen besonders zu kennzeichnenden Stellen auf dem Fabrikgelände rote Warnlichter aufgestellt.  
ds

Die Fabrik ist Tag und Nacht in Betrieb.  
ds

Similarly a search for the term ‘\*Feierabend\*’ reveals that it occurs only once in the corpus and that its one and only occurrence lacks impact. Its lack of representation could be considered as suggesting an over-concentration on ‘work’ as the expense of any representation of leisure-time in the corpus.

zu Boden fallen; zu Mittag essen nach / vor Feierabend; nach / vor Beginn; nach / vor Ende; vor Ende April, seit Januar; aber: seit dem 1. Januar.  
ds



Both approaches to analysis show the possibility of being either inductive or deductive. Both also show the richness of the corpus and that it is possible to identify many specific topics on which to base more detailed and insightful analysis regardless of which particular approach is taken.

Combining the use of the frequency list with that of the concordancer to examine specific work-related terms allows the researcher in this study to discover the contexts within which 'work' and its related topics are presented and more importantly to assess the resultant representation of the human activity of 'work' for the user of the grammar books under analysis.

The next three chapters detail the results of the analysis of work-related entries in the corpus. They illustrate what representations emerge in 'work-contexts' and how linguistic features in the grammar books render these specific representations possible. Each chapter deals with one specific aspect of the activity 'work' and the particular approach taken for analysis of this is outlined separately in each chapter.

The first of these three chapters concentrates on the representation of specific occupations in the corpus. The second examines how hierarchical structures in the workplace are represented. The representation of attitudes and approaches to work form the basis of analysis in the third of these chapters. Each of these chapters shows the potential of the texts which form the corpus to deliver clearly identifiable representations on a range of different work-related issues.

Each example and exercise which is analysed is extracted directly from the corpus in the form of a concordance and presented for reference in the appendices for Chapters 3, 4 and 5 at the end of this dissertation. Each is referred to in the course of analysis simply as an occurrence or as entry 1, 2, 3 etc. where direct reference is being made to a particular occurrence in an appendix. Where necessary, some concordances have been expanded in order to allow sufficient context to be made available. Some entries in the appendices are therefore longer than others.



## **Chapter 3**

### **Analysis 1 -**

### **Occupations**

### 3.1 Introduction

The frequency list which was discussed in Chapter 2 showed from the outset of this study the potential for some occupations to feature more significantly than others in the grammar books under analysis. Using that lead, this chapter aims to discover which particular occupations receive most attention in the corpus. It approaches this in a two-fold way. Firstly it examines which occupations are shown to be more attractive or sought-after than others. Having looked at these, it concentrates on those occupations which are found to be most common throughout the corpus and unveils the pictures of each which are constituted by evaluative concordances.

Initial impressionistic evidence gathered in preliminary concordance searches indicated that there is clear potential for the corpus used in this study to convey strong stereotypical images of individual professions. The following examples illustrate this very clearly.

Herr Koller ist ein typischer Jurist, er kennt nur seine Paragraphen.  
gr

This occurrence depicts the 'Jurist' as being narrow in his knowledge and as not being capable of seeing anything from a perspective other than that dictated by the legal texts with which he works. He consequently emerges as a rather one-dimensional character.

Another occurrence shows the familiar image of an actress as having an almost intoxicating effect on an admiring fan, presumably due to her beauty and charm. As such, the actress emerges as a powerful figure who can have a significant impact on those around her.

Er war wie betrunken, nachdem er mit der Schauspielerin gesprochen hatte.  
gr

In the next example one can see the common image of a restaurant waiter as an individual who is spoken about and observed by guests and is assessed on his level of manners or otherwise. The waiter emerges in this particular occurrence as a source

of annoyance or disappointment for both guests. His lack of politeness is the cause of this problem.

Dieser Kellner ist aber nicht höflich! Stimmt, er könnte höflicher sein.  
ds

A fourth occurrence relates to scientists. It shows them as indulging in endless discussion (for years in fact) about a particular research problem and at the same time failing to find any consensus amongst themselves. They are therefore seen not to be a terribly well organised or pragmatic group but as a group which fails to achieve. The recommendation is that they should bring their long discussions to a close.

Seit Jahren beschäftigen sich die Wissenschaftler mit diesem Problem und streiten sich darüber, welches die richtige Lösung ist. Man kann ihnen nur dazu raten, endlich mit dieser Diskussion aufzuhören.  
ds

Even such a small number of sample concordances indicates the strong potential for such colony texts to present the reader with powerful subjective images of individual professions. As can be seen from each, descriptions go beyond merely describing in matter-of-fact terms what an individual with any one occupation does (e.g. give legal representation, act in a film or play, serve food and drink and carry out experiments or studies).

### **3.2 Desirable occupations**

The most effective way to discover which occupations are seen to be more attractive than others involves tracking the use of modal verbs with the two infinitives 'werden' and 'sein' which are commonly used to indicate that a person is taking on a position in a certain area or has already done so. This allows for the analysis of how personal preferences are expressed regarding careers by looking, for example, at whether individuals are seen to want/not want to pursue a certain career (e.g. 'wollen'/'nicht wollen') or as having to do so (e.g. 'müssen'/'sollen').

Rather than searching for each the inflected forms of each modal verb in order to analyse as just outlined, searches were carried out for both infinitive verbs ('werden' and 'sein') since this is the more efficient manner in which to cover all permutations. While many concordances containing these infinitives were not relevant (given the multiple uses for each verb) those discussed below were of significance in terms of what they reveal regarding perceptions of certain occupations.

To complement the searches involving both of the infinitives 'werden' and 'sein' a search was also carried out for the adverb 'gern\*' since the use of this adverb is also revealing and helpful in this context. However, all relevant concordances containing 'gern\*' with the exception of one had already been identified in the earlier searches based on 'werden' and 'sein'. (There were no relevant concordances for 'ungern\*'.)

In addition to this, searches for the conditional forms of 'werden' and 'sein' were carried out as these also contain the potential to reveal whether certain occupations are desirable or not. The most effective searches here used the asterisk (wild-card) with 'wār\*' and 'würd\*' in order to allow for all conjugated forms.

Finally, to ensure that any other unanticipated formulations regarding preference and employment were sourced all searches for the terms 'Job', 'Stelle', 'Beruf' and all inflected forms of 'sich bewerben' were also analysed. 'Sich bewerben' was included based on the assumption that an application for a particular job expresses a desire to take on that job.

A number of different occupations emerge as being desirable in the corpus. These are listed now in order of frequency, starting with the most frequent. The relevant occurrences from all of the searches referred to in this section are listed in Appendix C.

- |                             |                                   |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Doctor (entries 1-4)     | 5. Babysitter (entries 17 and 18) |
| 2. Transport/Delivery (5-8) | 6. Engineering (entry 19)         |
| 3. Teaching (entries 9-12)  | 7. Legal profession (entry 20)    |
| 4. Creative (entries 13-16) | 8. Office worker (entry 21)       |

Traditional areas of employment (medical, transport, educational, engineering, legal and office) prove to be the most popular and by far outweigh creative jobs (four entries). As such, the corpus reveals a rather conservative image as far as career choices are concerned. No one occupation dominates to any great extent over another in terms of career choices as expressed in the concordances analysed since only eight categories have been found to exist in the corpus.

Apart from in Entry 2, no reasons are given as to why certain occupations are considered as desirable. In Entry 2, however, the learner is provided with phrases which s/he should use in order to create sentences explaining why s/he wishes to have a certain occupation. These give explicit reasons for the choice of the occupations listed. One example is given in full in Entry 2 and shows that an individual wishes to become a doctor because that is 'ein schöner Beruf'. The other reasons which are given for rendering an occupation desirable are that it allows one to help other people, that it provides one with the possibility of working in many different countries, that one can learn a lot from the occupation, that it provides varied forms of work and that it is an interesting career to have. As such, this entry gives insights into what factors are seen as important in influencing the decision to pursue some occupations over others.

In order to expand the analysis of which occupations are considered to be attractive or sought-after, a complementary analysis focussing on what individuals are shown to study having left secondary education was also carried out. Findings from this are now presented below.

### **3.3 Choices of study and training**

A search using search item \*stud\* in order to cover all nouns (e.g. 'Studiengang') and verb forms relating to study appearing in the corpus was carried out as was a search for \*lehre\*, \*lehrling\* and \*aus\*bild\*, to investigate (a) what individuals are seen to study/train for most and (b) what are they seen to wish to study/train for. Both indicate what occupations individuals wish/are likely to pursue. See Appendix D.

Medical courses are clearly the most dominant in the corpus (entries 1-11). Eleven occurrences out of a total of forty-seven relating to an individual's tertiary study or vocational training have to do with courses which lead to one or other type of medical qualification. Study of medicine as a discipline is found in nine of these eleven thereby appearing as a popular and common choice for school-leavers. The remaining two occurrences indicate that an individual has completed training in nursing (entry 10) and that an individual is studying pharmacy (entry 11).

The popularity of medical study correlates with the popularity of positions in the medical sectors described earlier.

Physics and Chemistry also emerge as common courses of study having eleven occurrences between them (entries 12-22). There are more for Chemistry (seven) than for Physics (four). Interestingly, not one occupation in either area is portrayed as desirable in the section above.

Apart from medical training (in the broadest sense) and the study of Chemistry and/or Physics the only other science-related courses of study which individuals are seen to engage in are zoology and mathematics. There is just one occurrence for each (entries 23 and 24 respectively).

Of the non-science courses the most common is 'Germanistik'/study of the German language. There are eight occurrences relating to this (entries 25-32). The relatively high frequency of this particular area is perhaps not surprising in books which are aimed specifically at students of German.

Entries 33 to 36 relate to more creative and artistic types of study with three relating to music and just one to art. The relatively small number of occurrences for these results in these emerging as uncommon options amongst students.

Law and Business/Economics receive equal coverage in the corpus with two entries each (entries 37-40).

Similarly, there are two entries for training in car mechanics (entries 41 and 42).



The only other non-science courses referred to are Philosophy and Communication Studies. They each have just one occurrence, entries 43 and 44 respectively.

The occurrences described here show that although a broad range of areas of study/training is apparent, traditional scientific disciplines still dominate with medicine, chemistry and physics having a total of twenty-two entries when taken together. The co-occurrence of courses of study/training with modal verbs indicates which are shown to be desirable. Only three, namely medicine (twice), physics (three times) and music (once), occur with some form of the modal verb 'wollen' thereby emerging as areas in which one is seen to wish to pursue study. Training in motor mechanics co-occurs with the modal verb 'mögen' once. Only medicine co-occurs with the modal verb 'sollen' and it does so only once. The analysis of the occurrences relating to study also revealed the use of the superlative 'beliebteste' (once). Where it is used it shows medicine to be the most popular course of study, followed by law.

### **3.4 Popular occupations and choice of study**

Having identified those occupations which are considered to be desirable as well as which courses of study/training are seen to be most popular, it is now appropriate to observe any possible similarities and differences between these.

The striking feature of analysis so far is that 'medicine' merits attention in its own right. Not only can it be seen so far that medical professions are the most sought-after, that more students are seen to pursue study in medical areas than in any other but it can also be seen that, where preference is expressed in relation to study choices, medicine stands out as being the most popular and the only area which an individual (a parent) believes should be pursued. As a result activity in this area emerges as being most dominant. (As shall be seen later in this chapter, the profession of doctor is the most frequently found profession in the corpus.)

In comparison, no references are found for individuals pursuing training in the area of 'transport/delivery' even though four entries show occupations in this area as

being desirable. Similarly, nobody is shown to study in order to become a teacher although this profession was also shown to be desirable.

The study of music which is mentioned three times appears more frequently than the actual occupation of 'Musiker' which is only mentioned once in desirable occupations. This creates an impression that study in this area does not necessarily lead to an occupation which has to do with music. The references to the study of music also display another striking characteristic namely that the study of music and medicine are shown to 'compete' with each other. In entry 33 a father is described as saying that his daughter should study medicine but she wishes to study music. In entry 34 the student in question is to decide whether she will study medicine or attend the 'Musikhochschule'. In the third reference to studying music (entry 35) an elderly musician explains that he began his 'Musikstudium' relatively late due to the fact that he had wanted to become a doctor. This might suggest that each area is considered to be as attractive and worthy of pursuit as the other but that 'medicine' is perceived as the more sensible option.

As was seen above, Physics and Chemistry are shown to be popular courses of study. However, neither area emerges in the list of occupations which are seen to be attractive.

While there is only one reference to studying art, two entries show the occupation of artist to be a desirable one. This may have to do with the fact that it is not always necessary to study art in order to be an artist.

The study of Business/Economics appears twice but the desire for an occupation in either area is not expressed in any entry dealing with desirable occupations. The same is true of the study of zoology and mathematics, training in the area of car-mechanics, the study of philosophy and communication studies which have no corresponding entries under desirable occupations.

### 3.5 Most common occupations

Having explored which types of work and study/ training are shown to be desirable/undesirable it is now important to investigate which types of work are actually seen to be most common. A useful place to look for indications of this is of course the frequency ranking for all of the terms contained in the corpus.

Starting with the most frequent, the most common occupations were 'doctor' as represented by the term 'Arzt' in the frequency list for the corpus, teacher as expressed by the term 'Lehrer' and farmer which, as will be explained below, was represented by the terms 'Bauer' and 'Bauern'.

Initially attention was drawn to the profession of doctor as the term 'Arzt' featured as the most common occupation on the corpus frequency list presented in Chapter 2 with one hundred and thirty-one references. (When compared to, for example, the number of references for 'Schreiner' – two, 'Buchhalter' - four, 'Schauspieler' – sixteen and 'Richter' – twenty-nine, it is can be seen that 'Arzt' is by far the dominant occupation in the corpus). A search using the wild-card function (i.e. \*arzt\*) saw the number of occurrences relating to doctors rise to one hundred and fifty-four (entries involving 'Zahnarzt', 'Tierarzt' and 'Augenarzt' were excluded). An additional search for the item \*ärzt\* to allow for all feminine and plural forms resulted in thirty-six occurrences being identified and this addition brought the overall total to one hundred and ninety occurrences for doctors as derived from the term 'Arzt' or variation thereof.

In order to explore the representation in the corpus of medical doctors as comprehensively as possible three additional related terms which were found to appear in the corpus will also be considered and their respective occurrences added to those of 'Arzt'. These terms (which may be considered as either synonyms or hyponyms of 'Arzt') are as follows: 'Chirurg', 'Mediziner' and 'Doktor'. Searches using the wild-card function were carried out for each.

The search for \*chirurg\* resulted in 7 occurrences while the search for \*mediziner\* resulted in three. Three occurrences were also found for \*doktor\* (in the medical sense).

The next most dominant profession after that of doctor was that of teacher with the term 'Lehrer' having seventy-five occurrences. The role of the teacher in the corpus grew in significance when a wild-card search for \*lehrer\* to identify feminine forms, compound nouns and declined forms was completed. This brought the number of entries for teachers to a total of one hundred and twenty-nine. Two additional occurrences of relevance to the teaching profession, emerged from the search for the search item \*pädagog\* (one for 'Pädagogin' and one for 'Pädagoge') were also identified. Three occurrences were also found in the search for \*erzieher\*.

On initial observation, with forty occurrences, the role of the farmer as represented by the term 'Bauer' in the corpus seemed less significant than it actually is, ranking below that of secretary ('Sekretärin'), for example, which has forty-nine entries. In addition, three of the occurrences for 'Bauer' were found to represent surnames as opposed to the occupation of farmer. However, since the noun 'Bauer' is an n-declension noun when the thirty-three occurrences containing 'Bauern' are taken into consideration a total of seventy emerges for the occupation of farmer. In addition there was one occurrence of 'Bäuerin' which was the only item identified in a search for \*bäuer\*. This renders the overall total for farmers seventy-one.

A number of compound nouns, such as 'Bauernhof', exist which may also offer insights into the portrayal of farmers in the corpus. A wild-card search for \*bauer\* totalled one hundred and six. When those previously identified under the searches for 'Bauer' and 'Bauern' were discounted together with surnames containing '-bauer' to form a compound (e.g. 'Mößbauer') and two references to 'Bauernbrot' twenty-five remained. As a result a total of ninety-six occurrences relating to farmers emerged as being useful for consideration.

Finally, as was the case with each of the previous occupations, for the occupation of farmer, the possibility of synonyms and/or hyponyms was considered. A wild-card search for \*landwirt\* was carried out and two occurrences containing 'Landwirt'

were identified and added to all other occurrences for farmers. The overall total number of occurrences to be considered then for the occupation of farmer came to ninety-eight.

In summary three sets of concordances were devised as follows:

<b>Doctor -</b>	Total number of concordances considered: 203 entries
<b>Teacher -</b>	Total number of concordances considered: 134 entries
<b>Farmer -</b>	Total number of concordances considered: 98 entries
<b>Total:</b>	435 concordances

### **3.5.1 Evaluative versus non-evaluative concordances**

Of the four hundred and thirty-five concordances identified not all were relevant for a study of the type being conducted in this dissertation. It should also be noted that in some cases two or more concordances can relate to the same piece of text whereby a specific search item appears more than once in the same (con)text, for example in a different word order but with the same content as another concordance.

Concordances which were not relevant were classified as such for one of the following four reasons:

1. they denote a commonplace action on the part of a doctor, teacher or farmer (e.g. 'untersuchen Der Arzt untersucht einen Patienten.' ds)
2. they show that an individual has one of these occupations (e.g. 'Er ist Arzt.' gs)
3. they present a phrase which uses one of these as a noun to illustrate a particular form of case or gender agreement which is not evaluative in any way (e.g. 'Evas altes Heft Evas alten Lehrer' ds)
4. they contain one of these occupations as part of a list which serves to illustrate a range of nouns which share a common feature such as gender or plural form (e.g.

'der: Elefant, Nachmittag, Cognac, Freund, Busfahrer, Morgen, Norden, Bauer, Februar, Frühling ...' gs).

Although significant because they create higher frequencies and therefore stronger representations for the occupations to which they relate, these concordances reveal little in terms of what detailed images of occupations emerge in the corpus. (This is not to suggest that they might not be of interest in another research context such as, for example, in an examination of transitivity or agency.)

The remaining concordances provide particular subjective insights into how an occupation is viewed. The next sections examine the representation of the doctor, the teacher and the farmer as contained in all remaining concordances and reveal many different evaluations of each occupation.

### **3.5.2 The generic agent 'man' and occupations**

In some concordances dealing with work an individual in a certain occupation is not referred to by their occupation but by the generic agent 'man'. In the occurrence 'Morgen entlässt man ihn aus dem Krankenhaus', for example, the subject ('man') is most presumably a doctor although the term 'Arzt' or any form or synonym of this is not stated explicitly. In order not to exclude such concordances from this study all concordances for the search item 'man' (seven hundred and seventy-eight in total) were examined to see whether any were related to doctors, teachers and farmers. Four such concordances were relevant and all four related to doctors only.

#### **Totals for evaluative concordances**

**Doctor (including four from 'man') - 50**

**Teacher - 34**

**Farmer - 50**



### 3.6 Doctors

The profession of doctor is a dominant one in the corpus, arising, in one form or another, as mentioned above a total of two hundred and three times. This finding clearly correlates with the findings referred to earlier in this chapter which show the profession of doctor and the study of medicine to be most popular. As a result the corpus presents the medical profession as being an important one. Evaluative concordances relating to doctors are varied in nature and reveal a number of different perspectives on this profession. These break down clearly into positive and negative depictions of doctors and are discussed below under those headings. There were more positive evaluations of doctors than negative so these will be presented first. All relevant occurrences are listed in Appendix E.

#### 3.6.1 Positive portrayal of doctors

Thirty-two entries show doctors favourably. This is seventeen more (more than double) than in the next section dealing with negative references to doctors. As a result the doctor emerges for the most part favourably. There are a number of different dimensions to this positive image.

Three entries (entries 1, 10 and 11) refer to doctors by using the positive adjective/adverb 'gut'/'besser' and show the doctor as having a good reputation. Entry 2 refers to the responsible nature of a doctor's work. It is striking that responsibility is associated with the profession of doctor in this entry while the 'Direktor' is associated with 'Einkommen'.

The collocation 'gründlich untersucht' occurs in a total of four entries and in addition reference is also made to 'gründlichen Untersuchung' thereby highlighting the thoroughness with which doctors carry out their examinations of patients (entries 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7). The next entry (entry 8) records the time taken for an examination. The result is that doctors are seen as not wishing to compromise their patients' health under any circumstances and put considerable effort into conducting their examinations. This impression of the doctor is strengthened in four other entries

which show doctors as being comprehensive in their assessment of patients (entries 12-15).

Entries 12 and 13 see doctors value as much information as possible from their patients and that they show understanding towards their patients. The doctor in entry 14 double checks his patient's condition before examining him further while the doctor in entry 15 regularly enquires after the condition of his patient. As a result a rather reassuring doctor emerges who is seen to deliver excellent patient care in a caring and conscientious fashion.

The authority associated with the profession of doctor is seen in two entries (entries 9 and 16). In entry 9 the doctor is asked for his assessment of an individual as part of a legal case. He is shown to speak authoritatively of his assessment using the indicative voice which suggests his opinion is fact. In entry 16 the doctor refuses to allow a patient to stand up and she does not wish to contradict him. Both entries also indicate the esteem in which the doctor is held.

Doctors are seen to exploit every possibility in trying to save their patients and to exercise quick thinking and efficiency in emergency situations. In entry 17 doctors are described as having tried everything when trying to save a patient. They appear to work like clockwork when faced with an emergency resulting from an accident (entry 18) and to be able to take appropriate decisive action immediately in six entries (entries 18-23). Entries 18, 20, 21, 22 and 23 lend a sense of heroics to their actions by describing how they saved a patient after a serious accident, a politician after an attempted assassination, a child who was choking, a man who was about to die (presumably from heart/lung failure) and an extremely ill infant who had contracted diphtheria.

Insights into the favourable social status of doctors are found in four entries (entries 24, 25, 26 and). Each reveals a different perspective on this status. In the first of these (entry 24), doctors are seen to have 'bessere Aussichten' than those in other professions. This is consistent with the image of the doctor as a desirable profession. The second of these entries (entry 25) is much more subtle in how it reveals the social status of a doctor. It refers to the fact that a particular woman ('sie') is

married to a doctor. It is significant that the profession of her husband is considered important enough to mention. Entry 26 is similar to entry 25 in that it also makes reference to being married to a doctor. Here other relationships and also reactions to 'dem Arzt' are also listed. These include being known by the doctor, agreeing with him and being satisfied with him. The speaker is also shown chatting with the doctor. These too reflect favourably on the doctor and point to his important social status. In entry 27 it is implied that, as a doctor, an individual should not plan to move to live in the country. This suggests that a rural dwelling might not be consistent with the image which a doctor is 'supposed' to have. The doctor's reaction to the surprise expressed by his companion serves to strengthen a favourable image of doctors in that it shows him to have no prejudice against life in a rural setting.

Entry 28 illustrates the challenging nature of doctors' work. It explains how they must constantly occupy themselves with new strains of the influenza virus which cannot be identified with the available resources.

In the next entry (entry 29) a positive hierarchical structure at a particular clinic is described. The 'Chefarzt' is seen to be popular with both patients and staff and the speaker describes how a particular employee is really impressed by the friendly atmosphere in the clinic. A particularly positive working environment emerges here.

The remaining three entries which cast positive light on the profession of doctor have to do with how a doctor's advice or reputation is shown to be taken seriously. Entry 30 shows an individual explain that a particular patient was forced to give up smoking as otherwise his doctor would no longer treat him. Here the doctor emerges as an assertive character who acts in his patient's best interest and achieves the desirable result. Entry 31 shows how people discuss what the doctor has told them with others. Here the doctor's advice is treated with respect and the patient advised to follow it. There is no question but that the doctor has recommended the correct course of action. In entry 32 a successful surgeon is shown to receive post from all over the world. He emerges therefore as someone whose success in surgery gains him an international reputation and popularity.

### 3.6.2 Negative portrayal of doctors

Fifteen entries out of fifty cast doctors in varying degrees of negative light (entries 33-47). Where they emerge in a negative light this is due to their being portrayed as cold and rather uncaring individuals who are unpopular and at times incompetent.

In entry 33 doctors cause a patient deep anxiety by talking loudly about his condition while he could hear them. This shows them to be insensitive towards their patient and to overlook his emotional well-being.

An unhelpful and uncooperative doctor emerges in entry 34. Here the doctor declines to give the patient a date for her operation even though she requests it and it has presumably been set (as indicated through the use of the definite article 'den Termin'). Another possible interpretation which could be derived from this particular occurrence is that the doctor being referred to is forgetful and had overlooked the patient's request. Either way, the occurrence reflects negatively on the doctor.

Forgetfulness and/or lack of consideration for the patient is/are clearly evident in entry 35 where the doctor fails to appear even though a patient has an appointment with him.

Doctors can also be seen to elicit a response of fear from individuals or simply to be unpopular and patients can be seen to avoid visiting the doctor even when they should seek medical advice in a relatively high number of entries (entries 36, 41, 42, 43, 44 and 45). In entry 36 the patient hides when the doctors appear while in the other entries various individuals postpone a visit to the doctor or do not intend visiting the surgery at all despite being unwell.

In entry 37 the speaker admonishes the doctor for not helping. This suggests that the doctor is either slow to realise there is an emergency or that he is unwilling to help. Both interpretations reflect poorly on him.

Disbelief at a doctor's behaviour is expressed in entry 38 and his qualifications are called into doubt. The implication here is that he has behaved in a stupid or inappropriate manner and not in a way in which a doctor is expected to behave.

Negligence on the part of doctors surfaces also (entries 39 and 40). In the first instance the mistake of a surgeon has drastic consequences for his patient who is shown to suffer years of backache (entry 39). The second is less serious in nature. Here the doctor refers a patient to a hospital without having examined him. As well as being negligent, this also suggests a certain laziness on the part of the doctor.

The 'Chefarzt' in entry 46 is linked with more than negligence. He is described in a newspaper article as being involved in a financial scandal at the hospital where he worked and it is expected that patients suffered as a result of his actions. This shows the doctor to have behaved in a dishonest, irresponsible and unethical manner.

In contrast to such clearly negative depictions of doctors entry 47 appears to be relatively unserious. In this entry a patient is described as recovering more quickly than the doctors had anticipated. While this suggests they were not accurate in their predications, thereby indicating a possible failing on their part, the outcome of this is not a negative one.

Similarly entry 48 shows a negative view of the doctor but one which is not as negative as those described above. In this entry he is shown to be overly reliant on the 'Sprechstundehilfe' whom he bombards with questions. The impression created here is that he simply gives orders to him/her. While he emerges as thorough by checking that all necessary procedures are carried out, the repetition of his questions and standard 'yes' response from the 'Sprechstundehilfe' presents him as a persistent and controlling individual who perhaps underestimates the abilities and sense of responsibility which others in the medical field can have.

### **3.6.3 Doctors as a collective**

In two entries (entries 49 and 50) doctors are presented as a united group which shares a common approach to its work or a common stance on particular issues. In



entry 49 doctors are described as avoiding demanding operations at a particular time of the year (i.e. during 'Föhnwetter') because of a conventional wisdom which has built up from their experiences while in entry 50 they are described as being against smoking. Each of these entries is presented in the indicative as facts. Entries 1, 27 and 28 also indicate that a standard view exists of what is expected of/for doctors. This suggests that doctors may be seen as a collective which has a standardised reaction to issues of relevance to it and which can therefore be spoken about in a general way.

#### **3.6.4 Gender in the medical profession**

It is a striking feature of the occurrences analysed in this section that doctors are in most cases male. A search for \*ärztin\* resulted in just nineteen concordances and a number of these were taken from the same context where the term was simply repeated to refer to the same female doctor. There was just one occurrence for the search item \*medizinerin\* and none for \*chirurgin\*. This underrepresentation of women in the role of doctor presents a view of medicine as a predominantly male domain.

#### **3.6.5 Conclusion for portrayal of doctors**

The analysis of all evaluative occurrences for the occupation of doctor reveals that the occupation is seen much more positively than negatively and as a result the doctor emerges as having many admirable traits and competencies.

Doctors are seen for the most part to be most thorough in how they carry out their work and to be capable and confident in what they do. They are shown to have a challenging occupation which requires quick thinking and efficiency. The fact that they are shown to cope with serious emergencies and to save lives in a relatively high number of entries lends a heroic dimension to their portrayal.

This occupation is clearly seen to be linked to a certain prestige and to carry with it respect and certain expectations from others. The role of doctor is also more often



than not occupied by a male and, as such, this representation delivers a rather dated and imbalanced view of the working world.

Despite the positive image of doctors, it is striking that as a character he is not shown to have many particularly positive individual or personal characteristics apart from in entry 12 where the 'Hausarzt' is seen to value a relaxed form of interaction with patients. As such, the doctor emerges as a rather one-dimensional character whose identity is formed on the basis of his work and the norms thereof.

It is also striking that people are shown not want to visit the doctor even if they should for medical/health reasons. Those entries described above which indicate this present a rather unpopular figure, a feature which is not easily reconciled with the stronger positive image of the doctor.

In summary, the doctor emerges as a complex figure. Those in this occupation are shown to have many capabilities and to display admirable forms of behaviour but at the same time not to emerge always as approachable figures.

### **3.7 Teachers**

As was the case with the occupation of doctor, a number of different characteristics for the occupation of teacher can be found in the corpus. These are presented below. Since the majority of entries for the occupation of teacher, unlike for that of doctor, are negative in nature, these will be presented first. All relevant occurrences are listed in Appendix F.

#### **3.7.1 Negative portrayal of teachers**

There are fourteen occurrences which are negative in how they present teachers. They do so in different ways and to varying extents.

The first of these (entry 1) is, on a surface level, most negative in that it depicts teachers as people who create problems which would not exist if teachers themselves were not to exist. This effectively implies that there would be fewer problems to

contend with if the teaching profession were not to exist. However, it should be noted that this statement is ambiguous in terms of how it is used. While its manifest content is clearly negative with regard to teachers, it is one of a particular type of statements about specific groups in society which have been in currency for some time and have taken on a type of affectionate tone vis à vis the group to which they refer.<sup>1</sup> As such, it is difficult to classify but nonetheless has a negative implication.

Other occurrences which relate in a more clearly negative way to teachers highlight a number of different negative features. The first of these is that the teacher is far too loud and speaks as though his pupils had hearing difficulties (entry 2). This implies a certain lack of self-awareness on his part.

The occurrence which follows (entry 3) shows the teacher to be somebody whom a pupil is afraid of. As a result the teacher emerges as an intimidating character. This is also true, although to a lesser extent, of the teacher in times past who, it is implied, had complete power of the classroom and controlled the behaviour of the pupils (entry 4).

Entries 5 and 6 indicate that the teachers in question were unsatisfactory to such a serious extent that rather severe measures were taken against them. In entry 5 individuals protested against the teacher while in entry 6 the employment of a teacher was terminated. Both of these indicate a serious problem with the teacher in each case.

In entry 7 the teacher is shown to issue one order after another to pupils. As a result the image of the teacher is a very autocratic and severe one.

A lack of thoroughness on the part of the teacher can be seen in entry 8. Here the teacher fails to notice an error (presumably in the work of one of his pupils).

Dissatisfaction with one's current teachers is expressed in entries 9 and 10. In the first of these the speaker states that s/he cannot understand anything since the new

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<sup>1</sup> Investigations amongst native speakers in this regard point to similar expressions for 'Diplomaten' and 'Psychologen'.

teacher has taken over. The implication here is that the teacher in question cannot explain points well to the learner and is therefore not fulfilling the very basic requirement of his profession. The statement contained in entry 10 depicts the teacher/teachers as being in need of replacement as better standards are sought.

Inconsiderate teachers are shown in two entries (entries 11 and 12). One teacher bores his pupils with reflexive verbs (entry 11) and is seen therefore not to have a particularly interesting style of delivery. The other teacher is seen to be unaware of or indifferent to the fact that he gives too much homework (entry 12).

In the last two negative references to teachers there is an element of ridicule apparent (entries 13 and 14). In entry 13 a school child is seen to frighten the teacher with a toy gun thereby showing a lack of respect for her. Entry 14 is based on the notion of having wishes and what one would wish for. Here one of the wishes requests that teachers would give grades but that nobody would be interested in them. The implication is that teachers' grades are something undesirable. This serves to mock the work carried out by teachers.

### **3.7.2 Positive portrayal of teachers**

In comparison to the fourteen negative references for teachers described above there are only seven references which could be described as positive in nature (entries 15-21).

Where teachers are seen positively this is due to their being helpful and considerate in relation to their pupils (entries 15-17), good at teaching (entries 18 and 19) and cautious as regards the physical abilities of their pupils (entry 20). Entry 20 also shows how politely a particular pupil addresses the teacher and could be considered as indicating the respect with which teachers are treated.

Entry 21 presents teachers as a type of lobby group within society which is on a par with other groups namely theologians and politicians. In this entry they are shown to monitor developments in modern society and to be concerned as to the direction such

developments are taking. This suggests that teachers have society's best interests at heart and use their voices when concerned about specific issues.

### **3.7.3 Teaching – an occupation that has not changed over time**

Conservatism in the teaching profession is also apparent since a total of 12 concordances imply this in one way or another. Entries 22 to 33 illustrate that the teachers described in the corpus operate in a traditional teaching fashion. Entry 7 which was referred to earlier also indicates this. They distribute books (entry 22), explain rules (entry 23), answer questions (entries 24, 29 and 31), highlight errors in pupils' work (entries 25 and 26), write words on the blackboard (entry 27), give instructions (entry 28) and discuss rules with their pupils (entry 30). As a result, a rather old-fashioned image of teaching which is very much oriented towards 'Frontalunterricht' and sees the teacher as the (sole) source of information emerges.

Teachers are shown to have great influence on their pupils in that the latter can be found to exhibit the same characteristics as those who taught them (entry 32). Again this suggests the traditional role of the teacher whereby the teacher is the source of information/learning and a role model for the learner.

Entry 33 also highlights the influence, or more so power, which those engaged in teaching are considered to have. It states that those involved in education have the ability to control the content of that which is taught (within the limitations of time and interests) and that every type of education has some type of goal. This occurrence also alludes to the aforementioned conservatism in the teaching profession by stating that today's learners are being shaped by that which their teachers learnt themselves despite the numerous possibilities which exist for teaching plans.

In entry 34 the speaker explains that s/he works as a taxi-driver but that his/her actual profession is that of a teacher. There are many reasons as to why the speaker might have chosen to work as a taxi-driver. However, in terms of how this choice reflects on the teaching profession, it could suggest that s/he is perhaps looking for a change

and/or is no longer content to remain in teaching. The occurrence does not suggest that teaching is an exciting activity.

#### **3.7.4 Conclusion for portrayal of teachers**

Together the entries described above clearly cast the teaching profession in a more negative than positive light and result in teachers appearing predominantly as difficult, often incompetent and inconsiderate characters. The positive occurrences identified, although pointing to the helpful and considerate side of teachers, are neither powerful nor numerous enough to counteract the negativity presented in the other occurrences. The perceived conservative nature of those in the teaching profession is made obvious in a sizeable number of occurrences and does not necessarily enhance their image in any way.

#### **3.8 Farmers**

As was the case with each of the occupations described above, those involved in farming also display a number of different striking characteristics. Unlike in the cases of the occupations of doctor and teacher, however, these do not break down easily into positive and negative characteristics but nonetheless are revealing in how they construct certain images of farmers. All relevant occurrences are listed in Appendix G.

Firstly, it can be seen that farmers seem to find themselves in a hazardous line of work which can be dangerous both to them personally and to their livelihoods. Entries 1-6 detail the kinds of risks and dangers with which farmers are confronted. Entry 1 shows how a farmer was struck by lightning. Other risks are shown to relate primarily to fire (entries 2-6). There are different sources for this particular risk. In entry 2 it is shown to come from storing hay in a shed before it has fully dried. In entry 3 children playing on the farmyard set part of it on fire while in entry 5 there is a suspicion that a neighbour intentionally set the farmer's farmyard on fire but in fact it seemed to have been caused by an electrical fault. In two other entries (entries 4 and 6) no cause of the fire is given.



This rather vulnerable image of the farmer is strengthened by references to his also having to deal both local and global threats i.e. with theft of his property as well as with regulations, policies and market forces which are imposed on him and affect him adversely. In entries 7 and 8 the farmer is shown to have to deal with people attempting to steal his produce (apples and sheep). In entries 9-14 an image emerges of the farmer as having difficulty with bigger issues which threaten the viability of his business and/or his development. Small farmers are described as being in difficult circumstances (entry 9) which perhaps reflects the challenges which market forces impose on them. Falling prices for produce are a source of bitterness for a farmer who has had a good harvest (entry 9), new laws displease others to such an extent that they demonstrate with black flags in their tractors (entry 11) and in another entry farmers are seen to demand a ban on imports of agricultural produce (entry 13). In entry 14 a farmer is forced to tear down a newly erected building because the 'Bauamt' had not granted permission for it. In these particular entries the farmer is seen to be very much on the receiving end of decisions/actions in which he was not involved but which affect him significantly. He emerges as a rather frustrated and disgruntled figure as a result. However, the farmer is shown to react to these circumstances by publicly demonstrating his dissatisfaction (entries 11-13) and consequently his character takes on a demanding and uncompromising dimension also. In entry 15 the farmer is seen to be so angry that he hits a table with his fist. No reason for his actions is given and he emerges as an ill-tempered character who expresses his dissatisfaction in an aggressive fashion.

Farmers are seen to engage in both tillage and livestock. In three entries the farmer is shown to plough the soil (entries 16, 17 and 20) while in entries 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 and 23 references (either direct or indirect) are made to animals. For the most part (entries 17, 18, 20, 21, 22 and 23) the animals concerned are cattle with just two references to sheep (entries 8 and 23) and just one reference to pigs in entry 17 and two to poultry (entries 20 and 23). In addition to working the land and keeping animals the farmer is seen to produce fruit (entries 7, 20, 23 and 24), vegetables (entry 23), cereal (entry 10) and eggs (entries 23 and 25).

Overall a very varied picture of farming activity which is shown to involve many different types of work such as ploughing soil, sowing seed, feeding and tending to



animals, felling trees, chopping wood, making hay and fertilising soil is presented in the corpus. Entries 17 and 20 are particularly interesting in that they present the farmer as an extremely busy individual who has a large number of tasks to carry out. The physically demanding nature of a farmer's work is also made evident (entries 16, 17, 20, 22 and 23) even if reference is made to the use of equipment such as milking-machines (entry 17) and tractors (entry 20).

As well as pursuing traditional farming activity, farmers are also seen to be involved in the tourism industry by offering farm-holidays (entries 20, 26, 27, 28, 29 and 32). This is perhaps indicative of diversification in farmers' traditional lines of work and also indicates a certain adaptability on their part. It can also be seen as indicating that farmers are forced to consider sources of income outside of farming itself which suggests financial vulnerability on their part.

Those involved in farming are also shown to have a sociable and friendly side to them (entries 20, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34). Entry 20 shows how a farmer puts a lot of effort into making holidays on his farm as enjoyable as possible for visitors to his farm. He buys two horses and a carriage and installs a small pool for them. In entry 30 the farmer in question explains the required route to a group of hikers so accurately that they find their destination without any difficulty while in entry 31 the farmer sells his little dog to the parents of some children who really liked the animal. Entry 32 sees a young farming couple (uncle and aunt of the speaker) invite three children to stay on their farm which appeals very much to the child who is speaking here. When some cyclists who are unable to continue their journey due to bad weather find themselves without accommodation they are able to spend the night in a 'Bauernhaus' and continue their journey by bus the next day leaving their bicycles in the farmhouse (entry 33). These entries present an understanding and accommodating image of the farmer (and of his family also perhaps) where he emerges as a warm and approachable character.

Entry 34, although rather brief and undetailed, also reveals an aspect of the social side of farmers' lives. It states that 'alle Bauern' know a particular schoolteacher since their childhood. This suggests that the farmers remain in their local surroundings when taking on the occupation of farming and spend their lives in close

proximity to those with whom they have grown up thereby forming a community which shares common experiences.

Like entry 34, entries 35-39 also show traditional aspects of the farming community. Entries 35 and 36 reveal how farms are passed on or inherited on the death of the farmer. It is interesting to see that in both cases the farm is left to a male. Entries 37 and 38 point to the fact that farmhouses can be in existence for many years with both entries using the adjective 'alt' when describing the farmhouses in question. The farmhouse referred to in entry 38 seems to have been built a very long time ago since the help of a specialist is required if it is to be altered. Entry 39 presents the traditional image of the farmhouse kitchen where wooden benches are used to form an 'Eckbank'.

Eight occurrences for farmers (entries 40-47) relate to times past and present historical views of farmers. The use of a historical context is striking with regard to occurrences relating to farmers and was not a feature for each of the other two occupations described above.

The first of these 'historical' references (entry 40) shows how farmers protected their village when soldiers arrived there. The image here is one of a small rural community of farmers who come together when under the threat from an invasion of some sort.

The social position of the farmer in society in earlier times is referred to in entries 41, 42 and 45. Here the position of the farmer in society is seen in relation to 'Fürsten' (entries 41 and 45) and a 'Vornehme' (entry 42). In all three entries he is seen to be in a subordinate position and great social distance is implied particularly in entries 42 and 45.

Entry 43 is taken from the text of a folk-song and refers to a farmer as having 'ein schönes Weib'. The same text also refers to a hunter going hunting ('es ging ein Jäger jagen') and flowers blooming in the field ('es blühen die Blumen auf dem Feld'). While it is not unexpected to suggest that a hunter should hunt or that flowers bloom in fields, it is striking that the expectation expressed here is as regards the

farmer is that he have a beautiful wife. When seen in relation the other occurrences for farmers described above this entry supports an image of the farmer as the hardworking breadwinner who fulfils the traditional expectations of the male while his wife is valued more for her physical appearance. The absence of concordances containing the feminine 'Bäuerin' (as mentioned, the corpus contains just one and it is non-evaluative) also supports this image of farming as being the preserve of men.

Entry 44 also takes one back in time. It describes how farmers travelled into the village on horseback.

Entries 46 and 47 both come from texts which are used in the grammar books to illustrate regional language use or linguistic variation. The first text constitutes part of a song. It shows the farmer as planting a beautiful pear tree and as a result he emerges in a favourable light. However, the same 'Bauer' is also described originally as a 'saudumma Bua'. This 'saudumma Bua' becomes 'a ganz großer Bauer'. This is clearly a negative description of him and presents the farmer as a rather pathetic individual with few prospects. He has physical strength but no intelligence.

The second of these texts shows the cruelty of the farmer. Here he is seen to have no sympathy for some calves which are bound up and clearly suffering. Instead he is seen to mock them. However, this entry (entry 47) (and to a lesser extent entry 15) contains the only explicitly negative depiction of farmers in that it displays a conscious nastiness on his part. Given that entry 47 is taken from a text which dates back a considerable time, its negative depiction does not impact strongly on the otherwise favourable or sympathetic view of farmers which the other entries referred to in this section create together.

In terms of farming trends which farmers are seen to embrace, just two occurrences are of relevance. These are entries 23, and 50 and they relate to the existence of organic-farming. As such, they show farming activity as being progressive. In particular entry 23 shows a well-developed organic farm in operation and the speaker finds this both correct and healthy. The farm in question is presented as one which operates most efficiently. Entry 50 refers to the expectation on the part of some

'Biobauern' that they will be able to sell more of their produce as time passes. This sounds an optimistic note for this section of the farming community.

Entry 48 relates to farmers in Greece by explaining that the Greek farmers in question could understand a (presumably German) professor who only had 'Altgriechisch'. Entry 49 indicates that one fifth of the inhabitants of an unnamed place are farmers. Both of these entries cannot be considered as yielding such useful insights on the images of farmers as all of the other entries discussed above have<sup>2</sup>. They nonetheless show farming activity to be of significance in that it is seen to be of interest to the professor and to be the occupation of a sizeable percentage of the population referred to in entry 49.

### **3.8.1 Conclusion for portrayal of farmers**

Unlike in the cases of the doctor and teacher as described above, the references to the farmer are not easily broken down into positive and negative references. Nevertheless the occupation clearly forges an identity in the corpus and the farmer is shown to display a number of striking characteristics. From the analysis of those concordances relating to the occupation of farmer it becomes clear that those who have this occupation emerge as hardworking individuals who do not always find themselves in favourable circumstances. The farmer displays a number of personal traits, ranging from being hot-tempered to hospitable and this gives personality to this figure. The high number of historical contexts apparent in his depiction lend a sense of tradition to this occupation. Furthermore, the presence of just two references to organic-farming suggest that this occupation is situated more in the past than in the future.

### **3.9 Conclusion**

The analysis of the occurrences selected for this chapter shows that the traditional occupations of doctor, teacher and farmer are seen to be most dominant in the corpus. As such, it is clear that the corpus allows for a somewhat conservative image

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<sup>2</sup> Entry 48 is considered in the next chapter which deals with hierarchy in the workplace and covers the image of professors as part of that analysis.

of the working world to remain intact. This image is also supported by the analysis of the occurrences relating to those areas in which individuals choose to study at third level. Consequently, 'work' is seen to centre on mainstream areas and to be largely resistant to change over time. Interestingly, Römer's study from 1974 found the occupation of doctor to feature very frequently and that of teacher to feature extremely frequently ('überaus häufig') in the grammar books she analysed (Römer 1974: 71).

Despite sharing this feature of 'traditionality' each of the three occupations has been found to have a clearly definable image which is strikingly different from each of the other two. The distinctiveness of each is remarkable for a number of reasons.

Firstly, it points to the capacity of the colony texts found in each of the three grammar books to create discrete images for different occupations even though in theory an example which aims to illustrate use of a grammatical feature need not necessarily fulfil any such function. This suggests that a certain 'script' may exist for each occupation which is derived presumably from perceptions of each on a macro-level (i.e. at the level of cultural norms or stereotype for example) and which filters down to the level of the grammar book colony text.

Secondly, it illustrates that as well as explaining grammatical features to the learner of German the concordances which have been examined here carry a high level of subjective detail to the reader. This, as has been seen throughout this chapter, has the potential to affect the image of any entity or figure, in this case an occupation, which the reader forms from his/her encounter(s) with the various texts.

A third reason for which the results of the analysis conducted in this chapter merit comment has to do with the scope for stereotyping (or a contribution to this) as far as colony texts are concerned. In light of the potential indicated in the occurrences observed in this part of this study to establish definite images for three separate occupations (especially where some emerge more negatively than others) the question arises as to what results might be yielded from a future survey on a grander scale. For example, were more grammar books to be included together with other sources such as dictionary entries and extracts from textbooks, it is likely that the



profile of each of the three occupations would grow in depth thereby revealing much stronger images.

This chapter clearly illustrates the scope and power of colony texts from another perspective also. From three different perspectives (use of modal verbs with the infinitives 'werden' and 'sein', expression of choices for study/training and frequency lists) the medical profession emerges as the most important of all. This consistency is revealing both in terms of what it tells us about the perceptions of the medical profession and also in terms of how it shows that random grammar examples and exercise (colony texts) can combine together to form a comprehensive picture of a profession.

In addition, the chapter reveals interesting correlations between what are perceived to be desirable occupations, the courses of study/training which individuals opt for and the frequency with which occupations occur in the corpus. In this context the most noteworthy observation is that the field of medicine emerges as a special case in all contexts. Being a doctor is shown to be at the top of the list for desirable occupations, medicine emerges as the most common choice of study at tertiary level and the term 'Arzt' occurs more frequently than any other term relating to an occupation. This is not only interesting in that it shows doctors to be key figures in everyday working-life but also because it indicates perhaps a ubiquitous role for medical issues per se (illness, health, medication etc.) in the corpus. Further analysis specifically in this direction could yield some significant findings as regards what role such notions as 'health' and 'illness' are seen to play in the corpus and/or other German language corpora and provide insights into perceptions of same in Germany.

From a gender studies perspective, this chapter highlights that for all three occupations protagonists are shown overwhelmingly to be male. This indicates a working-world where gender balance is not the norm and, as such, supports the notion of a conservative, male-dominated society.

In conclusion, it is evident that a number of observations can be made from the analysis carried out here. It reveals findings which relate to (a) the actual occupations identified, since they each take on a specific image of their which merits



consideration in its own right and to (b) the scope of grammar book text as a colony text to construct and convey images and to point to possible cultural norms and areas which merit further investigation.

Each of the next two chapters concentrates on other specific images which emerge in concordances relating to work. Points made here in relation to the colony text are clearly relevant in these analyses also and will be alluded to again in each but it is in the final chapter of this dissertation that this aspect of this study will be discussed to a greater extent.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Analysis 2 -**

### **Hierarchy**

#### 4.1 Introduction

As mentioned in the chapter detailing the methodology of this dissertation, a number of workplace figures which are indicative of workplace hierarchy feature in the upper end of the frequency list for the corpus. This indicates that the corpus reveals the presence of hierarchy in the context of work to a significant level. As a result this chapter investigates this general workplace hierarchy. It examines what figures form part of the hierarchy, what profiles they have and how they interact with one another.

Three distinct groups have been identified in relation to hierarchy. These have been classified as (1) positions of authority, (2) secretarial staff and (3) 'Arbeiter'. The last group relates to factory workers and labourers. Positions of authority are analysed under the headings of 'der Chef', 'der Direktor', 'der Betriebsleiter', 'Abteilungsleiter' and 'Professor'. It was not necessary to subdivide each of the other two groups i.e. secretarial staff and 'Arbeiter' into smaller groups.

In relation to area-specific positions of authority, the position of 'Professor', was considered significant enough to merit discussion in a separate section due to its high ranking on the frequency list for the corpus. The position of 'Professor' clearly relates to hierarchy in academic life. Other area-specific positions of authority such as that of 'Chefarzt', 'Küchenchef' or 'Personalchef' feature infrequently i.e. less than four times in the corpus and consequently do not dominate to the same extent. The low number of occurrences for these items means that it is not possible to explore their representation in any meaningful way from the point of view of hierarchy and they are not considered as part of this chapter. ('Chefarzt' featured in the analysis of the representation of doctors in Chapter 3.)

Analysis of the three general groups described above (where 'Professor' is included along with other figures under 'positions of authority') shows how each displays a distinct identity with its own specific characteristics. The analysis begins by looking at the image of those in positions of authority.

## 4.2 Positions of Authority

Each figure of authority is dealt with separately in the first half of this chapter. The first to be presented is that of 'Chef' which is by far the most frequently occurring in the corpus. This is followed by an investigation of how 'der Direktor' is portrayed. The third position of authority to be discussed is that of the 'Betriebsleiter'. The role of the 'Abteilungsleiter' follows this. Finally, the position of 'Professor' as presented in the corpus is discussed. It was not considered necessary to have a separate section for the feminine form of each of these positions. The reasons for this will become clear in the course of the discussion for each.

### 4.3 The 'Chef'/'Chefin'

As mentioned in the chapter detailing methodology a total of one hundred and nineteen concordances containing the term 'Chef' were identified in the corpus. Four more were identified when the genitive form 'Chefs' was added. This makes the term one of the most frequently occurring nouns in the corpus.

It is worthy of note, in contrast to 'der Chef', that only three references are found for 'die Chefin' in the corpus and two of these are simply variations of each other taken from the same exercise. These are shown in Appendix H. No plural forms were identified for this position. From the outset, it is obvious that those in positions of power are portrayed as being male. The only information provided on 'die Chefin' is that she is wearing a blue fur-coat (entry 1). This presents little by way of suggesting any competence or authority on her part and simply draws attention to her physical appearance. It is also possible that the reference to her clothing i.e. a fur-coat which indicates a rather dated outward sign of wealth and status. The other references made to a 'Chefin' simply serve to illustrate noun gender and to list the feminine form of 'Chef' by highlighting the suffix '-in' (entry 2) and do not illustrate an active role either on the part of the 'Chefin'.

As 'Chef' appears so frequently in the corpus, it is clear that 'the boss' emerges as a significant figure in the workplace. He consequently also appears in many different

contexts and exhibits a range of characteristics. Each of these is detailed in the sections below.

The first section explores the positive dimensions of 'der Chef's' portrayal while the second sections deals with negative dimensions. Entries which are deemed to be non-evaluative in terms of being either positive or negative, but are nonetheless indicative of the profile of 'der Chef', are then dealt with<sup>1</sup>. Any other concordances remaining were omitted from this analysis since they were deemed not to contribute to the image of this position in any significant way. In total ninety occurrences for 'Chef' are analysed. (One of these is used twice in the analysis (entries 21 and 66) because it covers many perspectives on 'der Chef' so ninety-one entries appear in the appendix for 'Chef'.)

The sequence of positive portrayal, negative portrayal and other evaluations is maintained throughout for each of the other groups analysed. Where the number of entries for some groups is not sufficient to merit presentation in distinct categories (i.e. positive, negative, non-evaluative) the order in which entries are described will still follow this sequence but will not do so explicitly under discrete headings.

All occurrences for 'Chef' are listed in the Appendix I.

#### **4.3.1 Positive portrayal of the 'Chef'**

Out of the ninety occurrences under consideration for 'Chef', twenty-one can be described as positive in nature. (Of these twenty-one, one relates to an entire dialogue involving a 'Chef' which covers more than one feature (entry 21) while another stems from a piece of running text which also covers more than one feature (entry 2). Both have nevertheless been recorded as single entries.) When positive references are identified, 'der Chef' emerges as a pleasant character who is professional, considerate and is seen to clearly care for his staff.

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<sup>1</sup> The term 'non-evaluative' is used in this analysis only in the sense of meaning neither 'positive' nor 'negative' and for want of a more appropriate term which would be useful for the purposes required in this context.

He is described as nice, cooperative and generous with his time as he pays attention to his employees when they are discussing their working conditions with him (entry 1). He is also seen to greet each individual in the workplace upon joining the company which shows him to be a fair and sociable character (entry 2). He is, therefore, seen to appeal to his employees.

Entry 3 illustrates a type of 'ideal boss'. Here he emerges as a dedicated, hardworking, efficient, and conscientious individual who wishes to create a harmonious atmosphere in the workplace. He is most thoughtful in how he treats his staff, never forgetting his secretary's birthday and treating her to a meal on this occasion. This occurrence clearly gives the 'Chef' in question a glowing endorsement and renders him an almost flawless character.

A caring 'Chef' is also presented in entry 4. This boss is seen to go beyond the expectation of an employee by visiting him/her in hospital. This gesture shows a concern on his part for the patient.

The 'Chef' is also seen to be an individual who inspires affection in his staff (entries 3, 5 and 6). Entry 3 points to how the 'Chef' in question was sorely missed by his staff when he left to work elsewhere. Another 'Chef' is shown to merit a thoughtful speech from an employee at his birthday celebration (entry 5) while another 'Chef' is described as receiving a postcard from employees who are on holidays in Rome (entry 6). We are also provided with a picture of a 'Chef' who never imposed on employees outside of working-hours (entry 3). As a consequence of these images the relationship between the 'Chef' and his staff is seen to extend beyond mere work-related interaction thereby highlighting a certain personal dimension from both parties and that each is well thought of and respected by the other.

A willingness on the part of a staff member to oblige the 'Chef' is also expressed and further supports the positive image of this figure of authority (entries 7, 8, 9 and 10). A particular staff member is described as doing almost everything for the 'Chef' (entry 7) and others are described as being on good, friendly terms with this figure (entries 8, 9 and 10). The 'Chef' also displays an ability to trust employees (entry 11). He is also seen to command respect by having members of staff apologise to



him for their lateness (entries 12 and 13). As such, he is seen as an individual who interacts well with those for whom he is a figure of authority.

In terms of his approach to work, 'der Chef' is seen to be well-informed on all aspects of work-related issues (entries 3, 14, 15, 16, and 17). He is also seen as somebody who is familiar with each single worker (entries 2 and 14) which suggests a certain sense of responsibility on his part. In addition to this, the boss is described as noticing when any employee was working particularly well (entry 3). This suggests a positive approach to appraisal on his part whereby he notes good behaviour as opposed to bad. The boss is also seen to be a key source of information for others since employees are shown to learn certain information from him (entries 15, 16 and 17).

This image of a well-informed and responsible boss who interacts well with his staff is enhanced by reference (in entry 18) to his being considered to be a good manager and to his being considered by the speaker in entry 19 to be a good boss even if he is very strict.

The 'Chef' is also seen to be meticulous and methodical in his approach to work (entries 3 and 20). In entry 3 he is described as beginning his day by reading through the post, as never putting any work on hold and as keeping to all of his appointments. Entry 20 shows how he wishes that every detail be included in the 'Protokoll'.

Entry 3 provides information on a 'Chef' who puts in long hours and shows much dedication to his work. He is described as being the last person to leave the office in the evening, as finishing work late in the evening and as starting early every morning. Mention is also made of the fact that he never takes more than three weeks holiday. While in another context such a situation might suggest an imbalance on the part of the 'Chef', thereby casting him in a negative light, this could not be said to be the case here. What is highlighted throughout this entry is the boss's commitment to his staff and their wellbeing as well as to the efficient running of the workplace. He is seen to lead by example.

One dialogue involving a 'Chef' and his secretary was identified in the corpus (entry 21). It is revealing in terms of the profile of 'der Chef' which emerges and constructs an image of the boss which contains additional positive characteristics. At the same time, the dialogue presents some aspects which do not reflect favourably on 'der Chef' and these will be presented in the section below.

Where the 'Chef' emerges favourably in this dialogue, it is in relation to how he reacts positively and promptly to a request to ban smoking at the workplace. He is also shown to be grateful to the secretary for reminding him to take his medication and he compliments her on her reliability. When he is informed that the 'Abteilungsleiterin' is unwell he shows kindness in conveying his best wishes to her. The 'Chef's' thoroughness and competence are reflected in his having checked the credit rating of a potential customer prior to conducting business with them. His business-like behaviour is further underlined in his reaction to the request for a 'betriebseigenen Kindergarten' from female employees. His immediate response is to see how many children would be involved in such a venture. He is shown not to make any hasty decisions and instead reflects on the matter. These last two situations mentioned in this entry also show how cautious 'der Chef' can be. The number and variety of messages filtered through the secretary to the 'Chef' can be seen to illustrate his being well-informed on all issues at the workplace and how approachable and accessible he would seem to be even if direct communication with him is not shown to be the norm.

In summary, in the entries discussed so far, 'der Chef' is found to display many positive characteristics, both professionally and personally, and is seen to successfully carry out his duties at the workplace without experiencing any difficulties, be they personal or professional. This image of a professionally competent and at the same time sociable character is however not as dominant in the grammar books as is the negative image of the boss which will now be discussed below.

### 4.3.2 Negative portrayal of the 'Chef'

In contrast to the relatively small number of positive references to 'der Chef' which were presented above (twenty-one in total), forty-nine occurrences are considered to reflect (to varying degrees) negatively on this workplace figure. Of these forty-nine, twenty-eight occurrences are overtly negative (entries 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 66 and 67). In addition, eighteen other occurrences reflect negatively on this figure through implications and/or other indirect features. Negative traits regarding the figure 'Chef' are also apparent in three further occurrences which are positive in terms of their manifest content but negative in what they could also imply (entries 3, 4 and 20). These are dealt with separately below after the overtly negative occurrences and those which cumulatively depict the boss negatively have been discussed. From all of these entries 'der Chef' emerges as a character who is capable of causing suffering and frustration and of treating staff inappropriately. He is also depicted as not being efficient and as being a distant figure who does not enjoy positive working-relationships with his staff.

The very presence of a 'Chef' in an office is presented negatively (albeit in a playful linguistic exercise) thereby suggesting a generally unfavourable image for this character in entry 22. Here the speaker would prefer to have a 'Schnaps' in their hand rather than a boss in the office.

The behaviour of 'der Chef' is seen as a source of anger and frustration for workers in three occurrences (entries 23, 24 and 25). The collocations of the verbs 'sich ärgern' and 'sich aufregen' with the term 'Chef' make this very clear and it is strengthened by the inclusion of the adverb 'sehr' (entry 24).

Although entry 26 does not indicate a specific problem with the 'Chef' the implication that difficulties can/might arise is evident. The addition of the temporal adverb 'bisher' suggests that 'Probleme' may indeed emerge at a later stage. It is also possible that the presupposition here is that the speaker expected to have some difficulties with 'der Chef' from the outset.

Much stronger negative reactions to the 'Chef' are also apparent and present him as a rather frightening figure. He is shown to make all of his staff suffer in entry 27 and in entry 28 a woman is described as suffering because of her 'brutalen Chef'.

Clearly 'der Chef' is shown to inflict suffering on his staff and to make working life very difficult for employees. Anticipation that an unsuitable individual may be appointed as 'Chef' is seen to be a possible cause of many problems in the future in another workplace (entry 29). This suggests that unsuitable candidates can reach positions of authority despite the difficulties staff may have with them. Each of these three entries also shows that those in the position of 'Chef' can abuse their power in a way which makes staff unhappy.

The 'Chef' can also be seen to display such idiotic behaviour as to cause an employee to terminate his employment (entry 30). Again, the impact of negative behaviour on the part of the 'Chef' is seen to be very strong.

While efficiency on the part of the boss was seen favourably in the previous section, it is also shown to turn into nit-picking (entry 31). One worker is shown to feel it necessary to warn another about the boss's nit-picking approach to work.

It is also suggested, however, that the boss is capable of an unprofessional or sloppy approach to his work (entries 32, 33 and 34). A group of workers are shown to be of the opinion that their boss may have forgotten his appointment with them (entry 32). An employee is shown to wait for over an hour for her boss to arrive (entry 33) and another is expecting his call but is informed that he is attending a meeting (entry 34). These incidents suggest unpunctual and unreliable behaviour from the 'Chef'.

A lack of authority or assertiveness on the part of the 'Chef' is expressed in entry 35. Here a 'Lehrling' is seen to oppose the order which the boss has made. As a result, he is not seen to command the respect of the apprentice.

An ill-informed 'Chef' also emerges (entry 36). Here, the 'Chef' is seen to provide incorrect information. This might also be considered to suggest deceitfulness on the part of 'der Chef' if the implication is that the 'Chef' knowingly stated something which was untrue. Despite the fact that he is wrong in what he states, the worker who

knows he is wrong does not contradict him. An additional interpretation of this occurrence is that this worker was possibly afraid of contradicting the boss which would suggest a negative relationship with him.

An inappropriate style on the part of the boss in terms of his interaction with employees has also been identified (entries 37 and 38). This contrasts starkly with those entries presented in the first section which showed the 'Chef' to be friendly and caring towards his staff. In these negative entries the boss is portrayed as speaking to an employee as if he were an idiot and as having an unattractive authoritarian style.

Yet another negative feature which emerges in entries pertaining to 'der Chef' is that of his not enjoying the confidence of his staff (entries 39, 40, 41, 42, and 43). Employees are seen to break the trust which their boss may have in them by recounting details which they had received confidentially from him (entry 39), engaging in actions which he would not condone (entry 40) and by taking leave without permission (entry 41). The 'Chef' is seen not to command basic respect in terms of how his staff communicates with him in general or how they convey serious matters, such as a resignation, to him. In entry 42 an apprentice is shown not to listen to what the 'Chef' is telling him while in entries 43 and 44 he is portrayed as not being informed of an employee's intention to leave the particular workplace. A similar lack of respect for the 'Chef' is also found in entry 45 where an employee is described as having sent his resignation to his boss from abroad. He is also shown to be the recipient of an unfriendly letter from an employee (entry 46). This too points to a lack of respect for him and presents a figure whose relationship with his staff has deteriorated to a very poor level.

This lack of respect for 'der Chef' also emerges in entry 47 where his inability to assert his authority with troublesome members of staff is depicted and where he is presented as somebody whose warnings are completely overlooked. Here a particular employee is shown to continue to arrive late for work despite having had frequent warnings from the boss.

Four entries (48, 49, 50 and 51) point to the fact that 'der Chef' possesses considerable power over and control of employees. He is seen as determining the



pace and duration of their working hours and as placing high demands on them. As a consequence, the staff is shown to be reactive while 'der Chef' emerges as a powerful, active figure. It is striking that in each of the four occurrences of relevance here the modal verb 'müssen' which expresses necessity appears. This feature underlines the authority of the 'Chef's' decisions vis à vis his staff and suggests an autocratic style of interaction in the workplace. In contrast, the 'Chef' is seen to enjoy a greater degree of freedom than other members of staff. Entry 52 illustrates this, albeit through an implication, by suggesting that 'der Chef' can afford to do more wrong than others in the workplace.

The authority and powerfulness on the part of 'der Chef' is communicated further through the depiction of the physical workspace and what will be referred to as 'office mobility'. This term is employed here to refer to the physical movement of staff and management in the workplace. In terms of 'office mobility', it would appear that 'der Chef' is a physically passive figure while members of his staff are mobile and move about the workplace when carrying out their various tasks. Staff members go to the 'Chef' but the converse does not seem to be the case. Six entries (53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58) convey this characteristic of 'der Chef'. It is made clear through the use of such prepositional phrases as 'zum Chef' (entries 53, 55 and 57) and 'beim Chef' (entries 54 and 56) and also through the expression 'Kommen Sie bitte mit' in entry 58 where a new employee is being brought to the boss's office. Even if very short, entry 59 also indicates the fact that the boss remains apart from other staff members. In this case reference is, however, simply made to the fact that he has his own individual office. An image of a powerful boss sitting in his office and keeping his distance from staff emerges from these entries. Although to a lesser extent than those pertaining to the anger he causes amongst staff, his idiotic behaviour or poor relationships with employees, these seven entries nonetheless contribute to a negative view of 'der Chef' in that they can convey a certain aloofness on his part.

The image of the 'Chef' as a somewhat distant and immobile character is compounded by the portrayal of him in six occurrences as a figure who communicates indirectly with his staff rather than on a person-to-person level



(entries 60, 61, 62, 63, 64 and 66). He is seen to rely on a third-party to communicate his messages and requests to workers.

A sense of urgency or possible panic pertaining to direct contact with 'der Chef' is conveyed in a number of occurrences through either the adverb 'rechtzeitig' (entry 61), 'sofort' (entries 55 and 65) or through punctuation, where an exclamation mark is used (entries 53, 55 and 64). While this underpins his image as an important figure of authority and power, it may also be considered as suggesting a type of fear on the part of employees of failing to see the 'Chef' as soon as is absolutely possible if requested to do so or of having him wait for an employee.

The dialogue between a boss and his secretary which was referred to earlier in relation to how it reflects positively on 'der Chef' also contains some references which are unfavourable towards him (entry 66). It illustrates six instances of indirect communication between 'der Chef' and another party, all of which are channelled through the secretary. One instance depicts the 'Chef's' dismissiveness of an employee's request relating to a pay increase. A communication in relation to an application for employment is deemed by him to be insufficient. An ambiguous response ('O.k.') to 'der Betriebsleiter's' reaction to a change in working hours is given. A possibly forgetful 'Chef' is also shown in this dialogue since the secretary must remind him to take his medication. In this regard, 'der Chef' appears to be rushed and stressed and possibly unable to cope with the demands which are made on him. His health is shown to be suffering and this may prevent him from attending a conference. He appears to over-rely on his secretary who must remind him to take his medication and must even remind him that she would like to have her lunch thereby suggesting his lack of awareness of time and/or employees' entitlements.

While, in the aforementioned dialogue, 'der Chef' is seen to communicate very economically with his secretary, he is also shown to be a rather blunt communicator who relies on actions as opposed to words to express a message. In entry 67 he passes a sheet of information across the table to those with whom he is dealing in order to express what he thinks, namely that rationalisation is necessary.

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, three occurrences which were deemed positive in terms of how they reflect on the figure of the boss also carry evidence of a negative view of this figure. In the first of these (entry 3) a wonderful boss is described. The implication contained in this occurrence, however, is that this type of boss, who is caring, committed and hard-working, is an exception rather than a norm. As a result it is suggested that, in general, bosses tend not to be so favourable. The implication is strengthened by the speaker's mentioning that the employees were very sad when this boss relocated elsewhere which suggests that it was unlikely that the next boss would be so popular. The second of this group of occurrences (entry 4) shows how a boss visits an employee who is in hospital much to this patient's surprise. This implies that bosses might not generally tend to make such caring, personal gestures. In the last of these entries (entry 20) the boss is described as wanting to have every detail recorded in the minutes of a meeting. While, as mentioned above, this suggests meticulousness on his part, it can also be construed as implying an overly pedantic approach to work on the part of the boss.

When all entries in this section have been considered it becomes clear that the negative significantly outweighs the positive with regard to 'der Chef's' portrayal. The positive images of 'der Chef' in the previous section have been clearly counteracted in the entries discussed above. As a result, his image wavers throughout from that of the affable, caring, efficient character to the more difficult, controlling, inconsiderate and at times cruel and incompetent one and is ultimately considerably more negative than positive.

#### **4.3.3 Non-evaluative but informative references to the 'Chef'**

While 'der Chef' is not seen to be mobile in the actual physical workplace he is shown to engage in travel outside of the workplace and is seen to spend time in other locations (entries 68, 69 and 70). His time outside the actual workplace can be relatively short (entry 68) or of considerable duration (entry 69). He is also seen to travel long distances, for example to Cairo (entry 70).

Another striking feature regarding the profile of the 'Chef' which is not shared with any other position described in this chapter is that of his changing jobs/moving

positions (entries 1, 2, 18, 71, 72 and 73). Five of these occurrences (entries 1, 2, 18, 71 and 72) refer to the 'Chef' as 'neu' while another (entry 73) refers to the fact that the secretary has been in the workplace for a greater length of time than the boss. This creates the impression that 'der Chef' enjoys a certain freedom in relation to career moves/choices.

Although not described in detail, it is suggested that a 'Chef' has a clearly recognisable role or profile amongst employees. This is conveyed indirectly (entries 52, 74 and 75). Individuals are described as behaving as though they were the 'Chef'. In order for this to mean anything a clear picture of how a 'Chef' generally behaves is presupposed. It is also suggested that a change in one's behaviour can be expected if one becomes 'Chef' (entry 76).

One aspect of a 'Chef's' work relates to solving disputes amongst employees and/or listening to their complaints (entries 77, 78 and 79). This shows him to be a figure who must solve difficulties which arise in the workplace.

The 'Chef' is also seen to have an impact on other employees' satisfaction/success in the workplace (entries 80 and 81). Advice is given to an individual to strike up good terms with the 'Chef' in one occurrence (entry 80) while in another a worker states that their job satisfaction correlates with the extent to which they like their boss (entry 81). This fact presents the boss as having sufficient power to affect a worker's professional life either positively or negatively and supports an image of the 'Chef' as being an important figure in the workplace.

In terms of what tasks a 'Chef' is seen to carry out, variety is evident. Apart from travelling on business, as mentioned above, the 'Chef' takes business decisions (entries 82, 83 and 84), asks questions (entry 85), dictates letters (entry 86), deals with applications (entry 87) and makes telephone calls to employees (entry 88). As such, he is seen to be a busy individual, an image which is supported by reference to the fact that he can have as many as three secretaries (entry 89). His having three secretaries also suggests, however, that he has a significant level of administrative support to help him to deal with his workload.

Entry 90 indicates, however, that 'der Chef' (this time one who presumably works in the food industry) may not always be involved in the actual physical carrying out of work. This is made apparent through the use of the particle 'selbst'. As such, there is a suggestion that he normally oversees the work of others and his role is more so one of supervision. This image is supported by references discussed earlier which show him to be watchful of what is happening in his workplace (entries 3, 14, 18 and 31).

Finally, the occurrences analysed for 'Chef' also illustrate the key role this workplace figure plays in general everyday chats both in the workplace and elsewhere. In entry 91, for example, the boss is shown to be the focus of four consecutive separate questions. The speaker asks whether the addressee understands the 'Chef', is inviting the 'Chef', visits/is visiting the 'Chef' and whether s/he calls/is calling the 'Chef'. Entries 1, 3, 4, 6, 7, 18, 23, 31, 36, 41, 65, 70, 71, 76, 89 and 90 similarly show individuals either asking questions relating to the boss or making comments about him. These are very varied in nature, ranging from asking how one rates the new boss (entry 1) to describing how some colleagues sent the boss a postcard from Rome (entry 6) to mentioning how many secretaries the boss has (entry 89). They show clearly the general importance which is attached to the 'Chef's' actions and the general level of interest in this figure. As such, they strengthen the representation created by all of the occurrences discussed above which show the central role this figure occupies in the workplace and generally in the corpus under analysis in this study.

The remaining concordances (thirty-three out of the one hundred and twenty-three total) relating to the search queries 'Chef' and 'Chefs' (for the genitive case) are deemed not to impact significantly on the image of the boss in any insightful way. (Example: 'Das ist seine Tasche. = Sie gehört dem Chef.') They are consequently not discussed here.

#### 4.4 The 'Direktor'

In relation to the search item 'Dircktor' a total of forty-seven occurrences was identified. This shows how this figure is less represented than 'Chef' which had a

total of one hundred and nineteen in the corpus. Three occurrences were found for the genitive form 'Direktors' and one for the plural 'Direktoren' which made an overall total of fifty-one occurrences for consideration. This relatively low number of references results in much less exposure in the corpus and further illustrates the relative importance in the corpus of the role of 'der Chef'. Of the fifty-one occurrences identified thirty-three could be considered as either positive, negative or evaluative in some other way. The remaining seventeen occurrences are not considered to contribute to the image of the 'Direktor' in any significant way and are not discussed.

Despite having fewer occurrences in relation to 'der Direktor' in the corpus, a similar feature clearly emerges as with 'Chef' whereby the male as opposed to female character ('Direktorin') is over represented. Only four occurrences were found which make reference to a 'Direktorin'. These are presented in Appendix J. Three of these simply point to the female form of this noun. The fourth simply illustrates how a 'Direktorin' was responsible for having a particular action taken. All in all, the 'Direktorin' is not shown to be an important figure in the workplace.

As with those entries relating to 'Chef' which are presented above, the majority of entries relating to 'der Direktor' create a negative depiction of this workplace character as will become clear below. Both figures share similar negative characteristics. The positive depictions of the 'Direktor', although also less frequent in his case, differ from those of the 'Chef' as can be seen in the next section. Appendix K covers occurrences for 'Direktor'.

#### **4.4.1 Positive portrayal of the 'Direktor'**

Just six occurrences were considered, to greater or lesser extents, as depicting 'der Direktor' favourably.

Unlike those positive occurrences relating to 'der Chef', those which relate to 'der Direktor' relate solely to his actions and not to any of his personal traits. As a result, 'der Direktor' emerges as a much more removed and one-dimensional character than does 'der Chef'.

Occurrences show him as a competent director who can single-handedly save a company from failure. He is also presented as someone who is shown to appreciate the work of his staff (entries 1 and 2).

A certain prestige appears to accompany the role of 'Direktor' (entries 3 and 14). Wives of 'Direktor' are shown to be proud of their husbands who have taken on this position, with one woman being described as having cried when she heard of his promotion (entry 14, line 7/8). This did not appear as a feature with the portrayal of 'der Chef'.

Mention is made of the way in which a 'Direktor' should be addressed. The formal form ('sehr geehrter Herr Direktor') is presented (entry 5). Mention of this form of address also illustrates the esteem in which this position is held.

Entry 6 presents the noun phrase 'das Einkommen eines Direktors'. Although relatively short, this occurrence suggests that the position of 'Direktor' is generally associated with a certain, presumably high, level of income.

The 'Direktor' is shown to command respect and possibly even to cause a little fear in those who were expecting his arrival (entry 4). A gathering of people is shown to go silent upon his arrival. This suggests there is great importance attached to any announcement the 'Direktor' will make. If the sudden silence is interpreted as suggesting a certain fear on the part of those in the gathering then obviously this particular entry can be considered to have a negative as opposed to positive impact on the representation of 'der Direktor'.

While entry 7 does suggest a positive view of 'der Direktor' by indicating that the speaker considers him to be a very friendly person, any positive image is negated by the preceding question which shows how the individual who is being addressed fears the same 'Direktor'. As such, it has not been recorded here as contributing to the positive portrayal of this character. It is discussed in more detail in the next section which illustrates the much more negative depiction of the 'Direktor' that has surfaced in the corpus.



#### 4.4.2 Negative portrayal of the 'Direktor'

As mentioned above, entry 7 indicates that the 'Direktor' is feared by a particular individual. It also suggests that 'der Direktor' might be somebody who abuses his position of power to create unpleasant circumstances for employees. Another possible interpretation of this entry is that 'der Direktor' is unpredictable in terms of how he behaves towards employees by treating some well and others not so well since one person finds him very friendly and the other is afraid of him.

Misunderstandings and incompetence on the part of 'der Direktor' are also presented (entry 8). The 'Direktor' is shown to apportion blame to a particular employee whom he accuses of constantly making mistakes and costing the company money. The employee, however, rejects this and blames the mistakes on the company itself. In doing so the employee displays a lack of respect for and confidence in 'der Direktor' who consequently emerges as a weak figure. A school child also weakens the position of a school 'Direktor' and shows no respect for him by simply not going to his office when expected to do so (entry 9).

As was the case in relation to 'der Chef', 'der Direktor' is shown to display forgetfulness or lack of attention as a letter is requested which has already been given to him (entry 9). In addition, like 'der Chef', he does not appear to enjoy the confidence of his staff. Staff members are portrayed as speculating as to whom he will hold responsible for a particular action (entries 11 and 12). Entries 11 and 12 also suggest that employees feel under observation by the 'Direktor'. In entry 11 the 'Direktor's' secretary is seen to pass on information to the member of staff whom he sees as being guilty of some particular action or other. In doing so the secretary displays a certain disloyalty to 'der Direktor' and an image of a figure whom employees second-guess or gossip about emerges.

The 'Direktor' is seen to be difficult to please and predictable in terms of how he will react to a given situation in entry 13. Here the speaker more or less speaks for him by stating that he will not be happy with a particular state of affairs.

While prestige is associated with one's being a director, the status of this position is nonetheless also seen to cause resentment (entry 14). This particular entry covers both 'Chef' and 'Direktor'. An individual who became a 'Direktor' is shown to have distanced himself from people to whom he had previously been close and to have addressed former colleagues more formally thereby coming across as being a much colder individual than before. His promotion to this position is also described as impacting on his wife's behaviour. She immediately wishes to be addressed as 'Frau Direktor'. The suggestion here is that this position can be abused by those who reach it in order to create a sense of superiority over other employees.

On a separate point, it is interesting to note that this situation (entry 14) together with entry 3 which was already discussed and another entry (entry 15) show how a wife comments on the fact that her husband is a 'Direktor'. Such an image of women referring to their husbands' workplace positions highlights further the point which was made earlier, namely that the position of 'Direktor' is seen to be one which is only taken by males. A possible conclusion from this is that women perhaps remain content with the fact that their husbands have reached this position but do not wish to achieve the same for themselves.

Entry 16 stems from a playful type of text where individuals are paired off together. In this text the secretary is paired off with the 'Direktor'. Given the playful nature of the text this pairing appears as an unlikely one and, as such, indicates the unlikelihood of each of these figures being matched. This implies a certain distance between the two positions.

Indirect communication appears to be a feature in the communication style of 'der Direktor' as was the case with 'der Chef'. He is shown to filter visits from individuals through a third party (entry 17) and to communicate with staff by notes (entry 18). When looking for a typed letter he has a third party find it for him (entries 10 and 19) and enquires about an individual also through a third party (entry 20). As a result, the 'Direktor' emerges as a somewhat distant figure who remains in the background as far as communication is concerned.

This image of his being in the background is strengthened in terms of the limited 'office mobility' he is shown to have. The use of the preposition 'bei' illustrates that,

like 'der Chef', 'der Direktor' is likely to remain in his office/at his desk with staff members going to him as opposed to his going to them (entries 21 and 22).

#### 4.4.3 Non-evaluative but informative references to the 'Direktor'

Other entries for 'der Direktor' imply that this position has a clearly recognisable profile as was the case for the 'Chef' (entries 23 and 24). The first of these (entry 23) expresses the amazement of the speaker that a particular individual wishes to become 'Direktor'. The implication here is that only individuals who fulfil certain criteria (and these are not given) should take on this position. The second suggests that a 'Direktor' (in this case in a school setting) has the power to do as he pleases in terms of what changes he can implement in a school (entry 24).

As was evident in the case of 'der Chef', the 'Direktor' is shown to engage in a number of different activities. He is shown to play an important role in the decisions which are taken regarding prices (entry 25) and as the person who decides to bring discussions to a close (entry 26). The 'Direktor' is also seen as somebody who signs letters (entry 27) and as a person to whom employees direct their complaints (entry 28). Unlike the 'Chef', he is not shown to travel much, with just one reference to his being out of the office for a short period (entry 29).

Although the 'Direktor' is described above as displaying a tendency to communicate indirectly with people, three cases of direct communication have been identified (entries 30, 31 and 32). One simply indicates that the 'Direktor' informed a group of individuals of something (entry 30). The other two, however, contain the adverb 'persönlich' and explain how the 'Direktor' personally received individuals (entries 31 and 32). The inclusion of the adverb 'persönlich' suggests perhaps that it is something of significance to have direct contact with the 'Direktor' and underlines the fact that he does not tend to meet individuals on a face-to-face level very often. The adverb 'persönlich' was also used in two occurrences relating to 'Chef' (entries 2 and 16) which also strengthens this particular impression of figures in positions of authority.

The final entry (entry 33) to be considered in relation to 'der Direktor' simply indicates that he reads the newspaper. However, it is suggested in this entry that the newspaper is brought to him. This indicates that he has others fetch items such as the newspaper for him and enhances the image of the authority figure as being somewhat removed from others in the workplace.

#### 4.5 The 'Betriebsleiter'

Just two occurrences were found in relation to 'der Betriebsleiter'. Both are negative in terms of how they present him and can be seen in Appendix L.

A piece of running text (entry 1) which involves a 'Betriebsleiter' was identified in the corpus. This story shows 'der Betriebsleiter' as having perhaps acted unfairly towards an employee. His actions are shown to have disastrous consequences for the company since the employee affected by his decisions dreams of taking revenge and of setting the business on fire. His revenge was fuelled by a sense of injustice at having been let go despite getting on so well with the 'Betriebsleiter'. As a result, the latter emerges as being disloyal and unfair in his treatment of the employee. This is not to suggest that the employee emerges favourably as his actions are seen to be extreme and dangerous even if he was only dreaming of them.

In line with the manner in which both 'der Chef' and 'der Direktor' are shown to communicate indirectly at the workplace, 'der Betriebsleiter' is also shown to be an indirect communicator (entry 2). He appears to convey his opinion on a change in working hours to 'der Chef' via the secretary.

The 'Betriebsleiter', however, does not emerge in the corpus as a significant figure in the workplace. When compared to others, especially the 'Chef', 'Direktor' and 'Sekretärin', he really has very little presence.

The query for 'Betriebsleiterin' revealed no concordances. This once again shows that females do not feature in positions of authority.

#### 4.6 The 'Abteilungsleiter'/'Abteilungsleiterin'

Moving from the higher end of the workplace hierarchy to a departmental level reveals nine occurrences which relate to the position of head of department where eight concordances relate to the term 'Abteilungsleiter' and one to 'Abteilungsleiterin'. This once again reveals clearly the image referred to above that positions of authority are overwhelmingly occupied by males. This finding in relation to head of department also indicates that this gender imbalance is not shown to discriminate between different levels in the workplace hierarchy since it prevails at the level of general management and at departmental level. Of the eight occurrences for 'Abteilungsleiter' three are simply variations of the same sentence and are therefore included as one reference, namely as entry 4, with all others in Appendix M.

The 'Abteilungsleiter' is seen to enjoy a certain degree of responsibility and authority (entries 1, 2, 3 and 4) but is also depicted in a negative way (entries 1, 5 and 6).

In terms of how this figure conducts himself in the department, he is seen to be thorough but possibly also distrustful of department employees in that he is watchful of everything they do (entry 1).

The power/authority of the 'Abteilungsleiter' is shown to be limited to the signing-off of particular orders and this creates an impression that he may be primarily concerned with paperwork (entry 2). His limited power is also shown in the entry which shows him working in tandem with the 'Personalchef' when deciding on a job offer (entry 3). In entry 4 this figure is shown to be attending a conference which is of great importance for the company being referred to. As such, this entry accords his role quite a degree of importance. However, as this is the only reference to his travelling, the mobility of the 'Abteilungsleiter' is shown to be limited.

There is a suggestion that in one particular business the 'Abteilungsleiter' may duplicate each others' tasks and may therefore not be required (entry 5). This

presents an image of the position as being superfluous in some instances and also implies that those referred to here may not be carrying out so much work.

The 'Abteilungsleiter' is also seen to be either making an unreasonable request for a pay-increase or to be a figure who cannot command sufficient attention from 'der Chef' who states that he has no time to deal with his request for a pay-increase (entry 6). This reflects poorly on both figures perhaps but, as far as the depiction of the 'Abteilungsleiter' is concerned, suggests that his requests are not really a priority in the eyes of more senior management.

The only female in this position ('Abteilungsleiterin') in the corpus is presented as being ill i.e. suffering from bad headaches and therefore unable to attend a scheduled meeting (entry 1 in Appendix N). She conveys this to the 'Chef' via his secretary and as a result she remains very much a background figure who lacks any impact. This finding is significant in that it provides the only mention in the corpus of a person who is high up in the workplace hierarchy as being ill. The impression given throughout the corpus is therefore, that competency prevails at all times in higher positions. From the perspective of gender it is worthy of note that within the very limited space accorded women, as far as positions of authority are concerned (eight entries in total across all such positions), one is based on her inability to carry out her work due to sickness.

On the whole, the 'Abteilungsleiter', whether male or female, is not represented as being an important figure in the workplace. This analysis of the depiction of those in this position shows, however, that s/he contributes to the overall hierarchical structure.

#### **4.7 The 'Professor'/'die Professorin'**

There are seventy-four occurrences for the term 'Professor' in the corpus which makes this position of authority/seniority a dominant one. It is the only position of authority/seniority (apart from a very small number of compound nouns e.g. 'Bankdirektor' which have, as mentioned, not been analysed due to their very low frequency) for which the work context is reasonably clear i.e. an academic or



educational one. In addition to the seventy-four occurrences found initially, six others were found which relate to the plural 'Professoren' and just four which relate to the search item 'professorin\*'. Seven occurrences appeared for the abbreviation 'Prof.' and two for the genitive form 'Professors'. This makes for an overall total of ninety-four occurrences. However, as was the case with occurrences for other positions in the workplace hierarchy, some relate to the same text (where the term 'Professor' appears more than once in the same context) and are therefore treated as one entry in the relevant appendix. Concordances which simply present the term in question as part of a list of nouns are not analysed. In total fifty entries for professors have been included and are listed in Appendix O.

Contact with students through lecturing, holding seminars and having discussions/meetings is shown to constitute much of the work of 'der Professor' (entries 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 15, 25, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49). He is shown to be an approachable character who, apart from carrying out these normal duties, also praises and advises his students (entries 6 and 7). The professor is seen to be patient and generous with his time for students as students are seen to talk for a long time with him (entry 8) and he shows a willingness to explain a particular point to a student for a second time (entry 9). His enthusiasm for works published by young authors casts him in a kind and supportive light and suggests he is not only interested or fond of the works of his peers. It further illustrates his positive relationships with young people (entry 10).

The social status of the professor is seen in just one entry in the corpus. This particular entry serves to illustrate how various figures should be addressed and reflects favourably on those in professorial positions by highlighting use of the adjective 'verehrt' thereby showing the respect which they should command (entry 12).

Yet another positive feature of the 'Professor' in this corpus is his commitment to his work. We see a hard-working individual who is driven by his work and fails to tire of it (entry 13).

In terms of what area a professor's work is likely to be situated in, it can be seen that more traditional faculties dealing with literature, language, history or medicine are the norm. Entries 14 to 24 create this picture. References to the University of Heidelberg, with its long tradition as a university (entry 14), to 'Altgriechisch' (entry 16) and to Hölderlin and Goethe (entries 23 and 24 respectively) strengthen this particularly traditional image of the professor. Apart from in entries 14, 15 and 33, where work in the natural sciences is implied, professors are shown to work primarily in the area of humanities covering such areas as Greek (entry 16), African literature (entry 17), Russian literature (entry 18), History (entry 19), Slavonic Studies (entries, 20, 21, 22) and German Literature (entries 23 and 24). Entry 16 is the only entry which shows a more contemporary dimension to the work of professors by referring to his working on a certain film in his seminar. In terms of how he delivers his lectures, the professor is shown as being capable of arousing the interest of his audience with his presentation being described as interesting (entry 11).

A key feature of the profile of the professor which emerges in the corpus is a tendency to travel (entries 20, 21, 24 and 26). This shows that a certain variety exists in the professor's routine and presents him as a rather worldly, knowledgeable figure.

Yet another dimension of the profile of professors is that they are also seen to be active in a non-academic environment. This enhances the view of professors mentioned above which shows a certain variety attached to a professorial position. In one case a professor gives a report on an alleged criminal (entry 31), in another professors take charge of the re-opening of a grave (entry 32), while in another a professor is involved in conducting a medical operation (entry 33).

Professors are also seen to enjoy a well-established reputation. This is indicated through the use of either the adjective 'bekannt' or 'berühmt' (entries 17, 33 and 34).

Unlike in entries relating to other figures of authority such as 'Chef' and 'Direktor', the professor's age is given some attention (entries 20, 21 and 35). Through the use of the adjective 'alt' the professor is seen as somebody who is reaching or has possibly passed retirement age. In entry 35 the professor's age is seen to possibly

hinder his ability to work effectively in that he is shown not to understand questions put to him by a student.

Another feature relating to the image of the professor which did not emerge for other positions (apart from once for 'Chef' and once for an 'Abteilungsleiterin') is that of ill health. The professor is not shown to enjoy good health in two entries (entries 36 and 37). A slight forgetfulness on the part of 'der Professor' is seen also in one occurrence where he cannot think of a particular name (entry 38). In entry 39 he is seen to be surprised by the knowledge of one of his assistants which may also suggest a lack of awareness on his part or that he underestimates his assistant.

Disrespect for the 'Professor' on the part of a student is shown in an entry which shows how the latter knowingly returned the wrong book to him after an examination (entry 40). Although this reflects negatively on the student and not on the professor in question it suggests that the professor may be easily taken advantage of.

One expectation of 'der Professor' found in the corpus is that he should be able to explain everything clearly (entry 41). However, four entries show how he is not capable of this (entries 42-45). Professors are shown to speak unclearly (entry 42), to lose the attention of their audience and to be indifferent to whether anybody is listening to them or not (entry 43), to be incomprehensible (entry 44<sup>2</sup>) and to speak too quietly (entry 45). As a result professors are depicted as being poor communicators.

As was the case for 'der Chef', 'der Professor' is seen to engage in indirect communication. Contact with him can be filtered by his assistant(s) which suggests a possible aloofness on his part (entries 46 and 48). However, since just two entries relate to this and numerous others indicate direct communication with professors (entries 5, 6, 8, 9 and 47), it is not a striking feature of his profile. Furthermore, the professor's contact with students is not seen to be limited to relating only to teaching and discussions. Entries 49 and 50 show that interaction between both parties can also relate to non-academic issues. In entry 49 a student is seen to interview

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<sup>2</sup> In this entry (entry 44) there is an implication that, although the professor in question explains things clearly, others do not tend to do so.

professors and students about a particular issue while in entry 50 students and professors join in their opposition to a new law.

From the point of view of gender, as can be seen from the various entries discussed in this section, professors are presented as being male in the vast majority of cases. Where the term 'Professorin' emerges or a female is shown to occupy the position of professor (entries 12, 33 and 49), little information is provided on the women involved.

In summary, the professor emerges as being almost exclusively male, committed to his work and as being a kind and supportive individual who interacts well with his students. He works primarily in traditional disciplines and travels quite a lot as part of his work. His chief failing is his difficulty in communicating effectively. He is not seen to interact with his peers in any entry and, as such, emerges very much as an individualist.

#### **4.8 The 'Sekretärin'**

In total there are fifty-one occurrences for the position of 'Sekretärin' (including two plural forms) which indicates that the secretary is also a key workplace figure in the corpus. At the same time, however, the number of occurrences for this position is less than half the number for 'Chef' and therefore shows the difference in the relative importance of each in the corpus. Occurrences are listed in Appendix P. A number of these fifty-one occurrences refer to the same context and in each case are therefore treated where appropriate as one entry (See for example entry 31 which shows three occurrences of the term 'Sektretärin' and therefore yielded three separate concordances but is given as just one entry for the purposes of analysis.)

Occurrences which were based simply on lists of nouns to illustrate gender or revealed nothing as regards the image of the secretary were once again discounted. In total thirty-three entries are included for the position of 'Sekretärin'.

A striking feature which appears from the outset of the analysis of secretarial positions is that, except in a very rare number of entries, they are occupied by females. Only six occurrences were found for the search item 'Sekretär' and these

will be discussed in the next section. In contrast to the positions of authority described above, secretarial posts are shown to be almost exclusively the domain of women.

Unlike the image of the 'Chef' and other figures in positions of authority which were seen to waver from positive to negative, the image of the secretary is mostly either positive or neutral. Where it emerges less favourably this relates more to how the position itself is viewed rather than to any inadequacy or failing on the part of the secretary.

The first two occurrences identified for the 'Sekretärin' make reference to her physical appearance. Only one entry does so for those in positions of authority, namely entry 3 in the 'Chef' appendix. For the secretary, it is her well-groomed appearance and beauty which are referred to (entries 1 and 2). Neither of these occurrences evaluates her on her abilities in the work context and, although objectively positive in nature, each also serves to reduce reference to this figure to the level of 'appearance' rather than that of 'ability' or 'competency'.

'Der Chef' is seen to be totally satisfied with how his secretary carries out her duties and describes her as being perfect and as never making any mistakes. She is therefore seen to be capable and thorough (entry 3). As well as being so competent, the secretary is also shown to be trustworthy as the 'Chef' is described as trusting her (entry 4). The reliability of 'die Sekretärin' is also shown (entry 5). Her boss is shown to take it for granted that she will have already carried out a particular task.

In two entries (6 and 7) she may be described as being on familiar terms with the boss (who in one case is a 'Minister'). In one of these entries an individual is asked why they allow their secretary to open their private post. This underlines the trustworthiness of the secretary which is referred to above. In the other entry it is stated that the 'Minister' and his secretary address each other with the 'du' form. This conveys a friendly working-relationship.

The secretary also appears to be treated well by her boss. As was mentioned in the section on 'der Chef', he is seen to always remember the date of her birthday and to



treat her to a meal on that occasion (entry 8). This suggests that she is both liked as an individual and that her work is valued.

While in the earlier section which looked at the depiction of 'der Chef' it was noted that the boss was seen to be deserving of an apology (commanding respect) for the lateness of an employee, the secretary is shown to be in need of calming-down after the same incident (entry 9). If viewed positively, this shows her to be somebody who values punctuality and who does not like to see her 'Chef' experience any inconvenience. On the other hand, it also potentially presents her as an overly emotional character when office matters are not running smoothly. It might also suggest an inability to cope with unplanned circumstances on the part of the secretary.

Entry 10 shows the secretary to be a busy individual who has a number of different tasks to carry out. Eight tasks which she must carry out are listed and these range from noting the arrival of visitors to writing to business associates. Other shorter entries also show that her work involves carrying out a number of different tasks, such as taking messages for her boss (entry 11), typing letters (entry 23), booking accommodation (entry 24), desk work (entry 25) and taking/recording messages/information (entry 26).

As was seen in the section dealing with the dialogue between 'der Chef' and his secretary (in the section on representation of the 'Chef'), the secretary plays a key role in filtering communication for 'der Chef' and does so for many different parties (entry 12 here). The aforementioned entry 10 also shows how the secretary facilitates indirect communication with the boss as does entry 11 where somebody asks her to ask the 'Chef' to contact them. The position of secretary is therefore shown to be demanding in that it involves a lot of interaction with others.

Apart from involving a number of different tasks and skills, the secretarial position is also presented as a position which necessitates a level of proficiency in foreign languages (entries 13 and 14). Knowledge of foreign languages is seen to improve the chances of an individual finding a good secretarial position. However, secretarial positions are also seen to be a means to an end and not to have an attraction as



positions in their own right (entries 15 and 16). In entry 15 the woman in question simply took on a secretarial position in order to earn money for building a family home. In entry 16 the position of secretary is seen to be interchangeable with other jobs since if the speaker's mother is not successful in finding a secretarial position she will simply place another advertisement in the newspaper.

This position of secretary is also demeaned in three other entries. When an individual asks which secretary s/he should give something to the response given is - 'egal' (entry 17). This suggests that the speaker views all secretaries as one group and does not treat them as individuals. Her relative unimportance as a workplace figure (when compared to the 'Chef' for example) is also clear in the occurrence which shows one 'Chef' to have three secretaries (entry 18). In addition, the secretary is not shown to enjoy the best working conditions (entry 19). A cramped working environment appears to be the case for her as three secretaries work in one small room.

The secretary is usually defined in relation to the individual for whom she works. Ten concordances containing the term 'Sekretärin' contain a possessive article (entries 4, 5, 7, 8, 12, 22, 24, 27, 28 and 30) thereby ranking her according to the position of her boss (e.g. 'seine Sekretärin'). One entry (entry 29) uses the genitive case to express the same ('Der Mann, dessen Sekretärin ich bin ...'). This magnifies the gender divide throughout those occurrences discussed so far which show males to occupy higher positions in nearly all cases.

Negative reference to 'the secretary' as an individual is found in a suggestion that she made a spelling error in recording a student's name. It is suggested that problems may arise with her/for her as a result (entry 20). She is also seen to recount information which her boss has shared with her to other employees (entry 22). This suggests that she might abuse the trust which he puts in her.

One entry can be classified as ambiguous in terms of how it reflects on the secretary (entry 21). It describes her as being a 'gute Sekretärin' but at the same time shows that the individual who is being spoken about wants to have a better secretary. A possible interpretation is that a lot of importance is attached to having a good secretary in the workplace.

Entry 31 asks whether a 'Frau Klein' works as a secretary and it is confirmed that she does. Although 'Frau' need not necessarily indicate that this woman is married, previous entries, namely entries 15 and 16, have indicated that married women/women with families work as secretaries. There is an indication, therefore, that the position of secretary is presented as one which older women with children occupy.

Finally, in two entries the position of secretary is presented as contrasting significantly to that of the 'Direktor' (entries 32 and 33). This contrast is conveyed subtly in both entries. The first comes from an exercise where the aim is to form a sentence using pronouns. In it the message conveyed is that a note is brought to the secretary. In the same exercise a newspaper was brought to the 'Direktor' (entry 33 in 'Direktor' appendix). This shows that the secretary receives work-related deliveries while the 'Direktor' can even have non-work-related items brought to him personally. In entry 33 the hierarchical distance between each of these workplace figures is highlighted further. The reasons for this have already been discussed above (entry 16 in 'Direktor' appendix) as the same concordance appears for both 'Direktor' and 'Sekretärin'.

It is clear from the entries pertaining to the secretary that the depiction of this character is one which presents her in favourable terms in what is shown to be a demanding position. However, despite her positive profile, the 'Sekretärin' does not appear to enjoy attractive working conditions or to hold a position which is valued in its own right. She remains a rather faceless background figure clearly on the lower end of the workplace hierarchy.

#### **4.9 The 'Sekretär'**

As mentioned above, only six occurrences were found which contain the term 'Sekretär'. These can be seen in Appendix Q. This is further evidence of the particular reality which is presented in the corpus that secretarial work is carried out by women. Three of these occurrences (entries 1, 2 and 3) merely point to the existence of the term 'Sekretär' as a masculine noun. The fourth has been referred to

in the section on the 'Chef' and simply shows that the 'Sekretär' has worked in a particular office for longer than the boss and is also older than him. Entry 5 is the only entry in the entire selection of concordances under analysis in this study which shows a male carrying out some kind of work for a female. In this case the 'Sekretär' is shown to bring a file to a female minister.

#### 4.10 The 'Arbeiter'

Thirty-six occurrences emerged in the corpus for the term 'Arbeiter'. When compound nouns<sup>3</sup> (e.g. 'Metallarbeiter') as well as declined forms (e.g. 'Arbeitern') and the feminine form (two entries) were added, this total rose to fifty occurrences. As some occurrences related to the same piece of text, they are grouped together in some cases to form Appendix R which consists of thirty-four entries. In terms of quantity of references, this group is on a par with that of 'secretary'.

The image of 'Arbeiter' in the corpus, like that of the 'Sekretärin', is not strictly describable as being either positive or negative but does emerge nevertheless unfavourably. As will be seen below, 'Arbeiter' are portrayed in contexts which involve dispute, protest and in relation to issues relating to insufficient payment. Twelve out of the total of thirty-four entries for 'Arbeiter' involve verbs or nouns relating to dispute (such as 'streiken' or 'protestieren') and underpin the image of 'Arbeiter' as a dissatisfied and demanding group of individuals (entries 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 and 12). A key issue in this regard is shown to be unsatisfactory working conditions, predominantly relating to payment, for 'Arbeiter'.

'Arbeiter' are seen in active roles in situations which relate to demands for payment, strikes and protests. They emerge throughout as an organised group which is capable of taking measures to improve their working conditions and/or resist changes (entries 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12 and 25). They are shown not to give in easily and to be prepared to protest for long periods of time (entries 2, 3 and 12). Measures taken by 'Arbeiter' in times of protest range from calling for a socialist 'Räterepublik' at

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<sup>3</sup> While compound nouns were not considered for other positions, they are taken into consideration for 'Arbeiter'. Compound nouns for other positions were infrequent and relate more to a particular branch than to the position (e.g. 'Küchenchef'). This is not the case for compound nouns for 'Arbeiter' which are not so branch-specific.

the end of World War I (entry 1) to occupying the premises of a business which has gone bankrupt (entry 5). They are seen to have to contend with some resistance from the side of management (entry 3). Their actions are shown in one entry to have brought success. However, in another they were forced to fight for a long time before their requests were met (entry 12).

In non-dispute contexts, 'Arbeiter' appear to find themselves on the receiving end of less favourable situations where they are seen in reactive as opposed to active roles. They are shown to face unemployment (entries 13 and 14), sometimes at short notice (entry 13). The quantity/duration of their work is determined for them either by market forces (entries 15, 23 and 26) or a particular individual (entry 16). Their work is seen to be appreciated in just one entry where the 'Direktor' thanks them for it (entry 17).

For other positions in the workplace (e.g. boss or secretary) social status outside of the work context and any material symbols of this were not found in the corpus. However, 'Arbeiter' are seen as constituting a distinct social group which lives in a specific area or type of accommodation (entries 18, 19, 20 and 22). Entries 18 and 22 show that the most poorly paid 'Arbeiter' live in clearly distinctive areas with entry 22 pointing out that these are shared with 'Dieben, Gaunern and Opfern der Prostitution'. Three entries (19, 20 and 21) use the term 'Arbeiterfamilie(n)' thereby indicating the fact that the family is defined by employment status of the 'Arbeiter'.

For 'Arbeiter', a ranking order which is determined by level of payment is also shown to exist (entries 18, 22, 24 and 26). When seen in the context of other references to 'Arbeiter' as demanding better payment (entries 2, 8 and 12) or seeing payment as a priority (entry 25), it becomes clear that 'Arbeiter' are seen largely in the context of how much/little they earn as opposed to what they do. Entry 23 which is a quote from G.C. Krishker also highlights the financial vulnerability of 'Arbeiter' since it suggests that their payment depends on how 'die Aktien' are performing.

'Arbeiter' are shown to work together with other groups and other 'Arbeiter' at the workplace (entries 16, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29 and 30) and within the general group 'Arbeiter' a small number of distinctions are made between different types of

'Arbeiter'. Entries 3 and 31 refer to a 'Metallarbeiter', entry 24 to 'Hilfsarbeiter', entry 28 to both 'Facharbeiter' and 'Hilfsarbeiter' and entry 32 to 'Vorarbeiter'. However, no detail at all is provided on the type of work they carry out. For other figures this was not the case. For example, information was provided on how the boss took decisions, read the post, attended meetings and so on, while the secretary was shown to prepare letters, accept queries etc. There is only one instance where workers are shown to be active in decision-making (entry 34) and mention is made of the fact that one 'Metallarbeiter' works for eight hours a day (entry 31) but apart from these no other occurrences provide detail on the nature of the 'Arbeiter's' work or routine. As a result, apart from being shown to be driven by issues of payment, little else is made available regarding the identity of 'Arbeiter'.

This lack of detail accorded to 'Arbeiter' is also expressed by the fact that in twenty-six entries the term 'Arbeiter' is used without any prefix or additional noun to form a compound noun. This results in an image of a faceless, homogenous group which is simply set apart from others by virtue of the work it carries out even if this is not described.

'Arbeiter' are shown to form a distinct group which distinguishes itself from other types of employees in entry 27. There is also evidence of a feeling of solidarity amongst 'Arbeiter'. This can be seen in entry 10 where a group of 'Arbeiter' decide to take strike action without discussing their plans to do so with the management of the trade union. It is also apparent in entry 23 where one 'Arbeiter' asks another how company shares are performing, the implication here being that each will be affected in the same way by the performance. Entry 24 also points to 'Arbeiter'-solidarity through the choice of the pronoun 'uns' in the expression 'mit uns schlecht bezahlten Hilfsarbeitern'. In addition, no occurrence revealed a lack of harmony or collaboration amongst 'Arbeiter' with all instances of these involving 'Arbeiter' and management.

With just two references to female 'Arbeiter' in the corpus (entries 13 and 33), neither of which reveal anything which relates specifically to the feminine form, an image is created that this group of employees is, like others already described above (apart from that of secretary), predominantly male.



#### 4.11 Conclusion

In this chapter a workplace hierarchy is shown to be represented clearly in the corpus. It is not conveyed through any particular forms of address or titles accorded to workplace figures or through any explicit references to any such hierarchy but is presented through the frequency with which certain nouns appear in the corpus and developed through the distinct profiles which are constructed through the linguistic choices made in the occurrences which relate to various workplace figures.

The workplace hierarchy has been conveyed both quantitatively and qualitatively. In quantitative terms, positions at the higher end of the hierarchy dominate by far with, for example, one hundred and nineteen references for 'Chef' alone, forty-seven for 'Direktor', seventy-four for 'Professor' and, in contrast, just forty-nine for 'Sekretärin' and thirty-six for 'Arbeiter'. Since many more references are made to those positions at the top of the hierarchy, a correlation between frequency of representation and higher ranking in the workplace hierarchy is clearly in evidence.

In qualitative terms, the profiles of those who are involved in the hierarchy have been constructed through linguistic choices which indicate

- the power and authority which specific figures are shown to possess/not to possess in the work context
- how one party is shown to interact/not interact with another
- what types of tasks a particular party is involved in and what issues are shown to be of concern to them
- how a party is seen to treat others or be treated by others

Those individual figures involved at the various levels of workplace hierarchy display both positive and negative characteristics. Negative characteristics dominate for those in positions of authority, with the exception of 'der Professor', while secretaries emerge in a more positive or neutral light. 'Arbeiter' are not evaluated



negatively for how they go about their work or behave in general but are associated with problematic working-relationships and are presented as a faceless mass with no significant positive characteristics at all.

Leaving the occurrences based on the term 'Professor' aside, a traditional, business-type scenario in which a powerful authority figure, efficient secretary and centralised decision-making are to be found emerges. Power and decision-making are seen to be concentrated at the top of the workplace hierarchy with disgruntled workers appearing at the other end. Those at the top of the hierarchy enjoy a certain prestige, have support (e.g. three secretaries), do not have financial difficulties and are never shown to be dissatisfied with their positions. In contrast, those further down in the hierarchy either take a certain position out of necessity or are unhappy with the financial vulnerability associated with their positions.

The hierarchical structure identified in the corpus may be described as one which is problematic and a lack of harmony is evident at all levels. Those in management positions are seen to be a source of difficulty for those who are not, with conflictual relationships emerging frequently. The image of antagonistic relationships and disharmony in the workplace hierarchy creates a negative representation of work in general within the corpus.

The analysis carried out for this chapter also shows that positions at the top of the workplace hierarchy ('Chef', 'Direktor', 'Betriebsleiter' and 'Professor'), in the middle of it ('Abteilungsleiter') as well as at the bottom of the hierarchy ('Arbeiter') are occupied clearly much more often by males than by females. The underrepresentation of the feminine forms of the nouns for each of the positions analysed (with the exception of 'secretary') is striking. It presents an outdated view of the workplace (whatever its nature) and results in a totally gender-biased use of agency in occurrences dealing with the workplace. Such a representation is enhanced by the fact that secretarial positions are shown to be occupied almost exclusively by women in the corpus.

By exposing such an imbalance from the perspective of gender and the workplace, the analysis from this chapter draws parallels with studies such as those by Macauley

and Bricc (1997) and Hellinger (1980) and others which were referred to in Chapter 1 which focussed in particular on gender. When it is considered, in particular, that Jung's (1978: 249) study of German textbooks found an image of 'die ihrem Direktor treu ergebene Sekretärin, die bei ihrer Verlobung ... erklärt, daß sie einen Chef, dem sie noch so viel verdanke, nicht verlassen werde, als der sich (ängstlich?) nach einem möglichen Ausschneiden seiner Sekretärin erkundigt', it is reasonable to conclude that although such extreme depictions have disappeared, representations of similar gender-specific roles and hierarchy are still in existence. Evidently the boss-secretary relationship found in this study shares features with that identified by Jung in 1978.

Like the aforementioned studies, this piece of analysis highlights the underrepresentation of women and the overrepresentation of men in certain roles. It is interesting to note that this study did not aim to focus specifically on the representation of gender from the outset (as was the case with these other studies) but that it nonetheless unveils useful findings in this context which support the observations made by others.

The concordances analysed here have shown the potential of a corpus which has no direct relation to 'work' to nevertheless represent a variety of norms associated with this area of activity. They have proven to be most revealing by both representing a workplace hierarchy in the first instance and by furnishing insightful details on this hierarchy, and ultimately on workplace interaction, which subsequently allows a nuanced depiction of the workplace to emerge.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Analysis 3 -**

### **Attitudes and Approaches to Work**

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter is based on an analysis of concordances which reflect the attitudes and reactions to work which are displayed in the grammar books. Firstly, it deals with those occurrences which display general attitudes and reactions to work. This reveals three main themes, namely a compulsion to work, a prioritisation of work over other activities and a perception of having to do a lot of or too much work. Each of these is addressed separately. The chapter then presents those attitudes and reactions to work which convey a negative view of work. Negative approaches to work are also dealt with here. An analysis of those occurrences which show a favourable view of work and positive approaches to it then follows. A conclusion which summarises attitudes and approaches to work draws the chapter to a close.

The most effective way in which to carry out this analysis was to identify firstly all references to work as reflected through concordances containing the noun 'Arbeit' whether in singular, plural, compound noun or derivative form and/or any forms of the verb 'arbeiten'. In order to identify these, a search using the search item \*arbeit\* was carried out which would allow for all terms containing 'arbeit' to be identified. This search, as referred to in Chapter 2, yielded eight hundred and forty-three concordances.

Those relating exclusively to school or college work were discounted as were those which did not express an attitude to work and those which revealed nothing in relation to how work is shown to be approached or carried out. In addition, because every single occurrence of \*arbeit\* generates a concordance, it was found that some of the eight hundred and forty-three concordances were derived from the same context whereby the same form(s) of \*arbeit\* was/were repeated in close succession and generated two or more identical concordances for just one short piece of text. Taking these points into account, the collection of concordances was distilled so as to allow for an effective focus on attitudes and approaches to work specifically. In all a total of one hundred and eighty-four concordances were considered in this analysis. Where a concordance was deemed to represent more than one attitude, or both an attitude and an approach (because of its length or level of detail), it was split and

each relevant piece included as a separate entry in the relevant appendix. This occurred in just five cases.

Occurrences relating to general attitudes and reactions to work are listed in Appendix S. Appendix T deals with occurrences which cover negative attitudes and approaches to work. It is divided into two parts, i.e. Part (a) and Part (b). Part (a) lists all occurrences which relate to negative attitudes to work while Part (b) lists occurrences dealing with negative approaches to work. Appendix U provides the occurrences which relate to positive attitudes and approaches to work. Similarly, it consists of two parts (a) and (b) with the first referring to positive attitudes and the second to positive approaches to work.

## **5.2 General attitudes and reactions to work**

Two particular occurrences (entries 1 and 2) which were identified at the early stages of analysis revealed from the outset the capacity of the corpus to hold strong views on work. Both reveal general attitudes to work which show it to be taken very seriously indeed. Entry 1 shows it to be absolutely essential. Here it is shown to play such a central role in the speaker's life that s/he explains that s/he would not like to live without it. The second occurrence relates to the Germans in general (entry 2). In it 'die Deutschen' are described literally as having no talent for living because they only know about work. Both of these occurrences are significant in that their serious view of work and the apparent importance they attach to it also surface in various forms in a number of other concordances which show general attitudes to work. These are discussed below under various headings starting with 'Work and Compulsion'.

### **5.2.1 Work and compulsion**

A striking feature in relation to the way work is portrayed throughout is the high frequency of its co-occurrence with the modal verb 'müssen' which results in its being shown to be compulsory. In thirty-three concordances out of the one hundred and eight four analysed it appears together with this modal verb. This suggests that work is seen as playing an unavoidable role in everyday life (entries 3-35). This co-

occurrence of 'müssen' and \*arbeit\* also means that a necessity to work is seen to be the norm as opposed to, for example, an ability (using the modal verb 'können') which was expressed less than five times or desire (using either 'möchten', 'wollen') which occurred only eight times in total

This necessity to work, as expressed by the use of 'müssen', is accompanied in some cases by a lack of desire to work. This is obvious in the fourteenth, twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth entries. In entry 14 the speaker adds the adverb 'leider' when explaining that s/he must work. In entry 27 the speaker states that they would rather stay where they are than have to go to work, while in entry 28 it is stated that nobody wanted to take on a particular piece of work and the speaker almost had to take it on himself/herself as a result. Unwillingness to work is discussed further later in this chapter in section 5.6

Thirteen of the thirty-three occurrences dealing with the necessity to work also refer to a situation where an individual might have to work for a longer duration than might be expected i.e. at the weekend, in the evening or more hours (entries 7, 8, 9, 10, 13, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 34 and 35). As such, they emphasise long working-hours and convey a sense that the worker cannot always determine when s/he will stop working but must often continue working. This notion of working for long periods of time is addressed further in section 5.5

A necessity to work hard is also expressed in these occurrences. Entry 5 includes the adverb 'schwer' while entries 32 and 33 both include the adverb 'hart'. Entries 32, 33 and 34 relate to times past and point to the reality of hard work in the past, even for children (entry 34). This notion of working hard is also expressed strongly through the use of the quantifier 'viel' which is discussed further in section 5.2.3

It is interesting to note that the modal verb 'müssen' appears in various tenses, namely Present, Imperfect and Perfect (which sometimes relates to the future e.g. entries 10, 11 and 29). This allows past and present perspectives to emerge and strengthens the suggestion that in general work is seen as compulsory



### 5.2.2 Prioritisation of work

The representation of work as being compulsory is strongly supported by occurrences (thirty-two in total) which show how it is given priority over other activities and areas of life. Entry 2 shows this clearly by describing how the Germans are so preoccupied with work that they value it over everything else while other entries show how it is given priority over specific activities/areas

People are shown to concentrate on work to such an extent that they put pressure on or neglect family life (entries 12, 36 and 37). In entry 12 a child asks her/his father why he has to work so much while in entry 36 another individual is described as consistently giving more attention to his work than to his family. Similarly, in entry 37 a woman is shown to find little time for her family when carrying out some work for examinations.

Over-prioritising one's work to the detriment of one's health is also shown to be the case (entries 38, 39, 40, 41). One individual (entry 38) is shown to risk having a heart attack due to overwork. It even appears that the individual's heart problem is a fact as opposed to a possibility given the use of the indicative future. In entries 39 and 40 individuals are shown to go to work even though they are unwell and in entry 41 a woman is described as always having worked even if she was ill. Overwork is shown to put pressure on an individual's nerves also (entry 42) thereby affecting him/her mentally. These occurrences show how workers compromise their health and wellbeing in order to continue working. Only two occurrences (entries 43 and 44) suggest that a worker may not go to work because of illness and in each case it is pointed out that they were very ill. In entry 43 the individual is described as having a 'Fieber' which suggests that, being serious, this is valid enough to prevent him from going to work. The occurrence does not, however, say for certain that he will not work as it contains the adverb 'vielleicht'. In entry 44 the speaker explains that he had to go to the doctor, was 'stark erkaltet' and needed to stay in bed.

In three entries (45, 46 and 47), what could be described perhaps as an obsession with work is evident. In entry 45, in response to a question as to whether an individual is thinking of his/her work, s/he replies that s/he is always thinking of it

In entry 46 an individual is described as always being the last person to leave the office in the evenings and as somebody who is known to take work home with him in the evenings. Entry 47 shows a person going to work as normal even though it was a 'Feiertag'. S/he did not realise that this was the case because they had not been told about it. While these entries might also be considered as showing such positive traits as commitment and a sense of responsibility, they nonetheless also indicate an imbalanced attitude to work which sees it consume individuals who prioritise it so much. This strengthens the impression that work is considered to be essential and of great importance.

Prioritising work is also shown to prevent involvement in leisure and social activities and this is shown in ten entries (entries, 8, 13, 27, 48, 49, 20, 50, 51, 52, 53). In entry 8 the speaker explains how s/he would have liked to go to the cinema but was unable to do so because of work. In entry 27 the speaker expresses the wish to remain where s/he is as opposed to going to work.

An individual is seen to have to make up for lost time in the workplace due to having been on holidays in entry 48. As a result s/he cannot visit friends for some time. A holiday is therefore seen to have negative consequences as it emerges as somewhat of an interruption as opposed to an integral part of normal working-life. The speaker appears to be so overwhelmed by the workload that s/he cannot commit to a time for meeting friends but hopes that s/he might soon find the time to do so.

In entry 20 an individual is shown to have been unable to watch a football match since they had to work for longer than expected. They appear disappointed (as illustrated through the adverb 'leider') at not having been able to see the game and would have done so had they not had to work.

Similarly, in entries 13 and 14 (which are linked), an invitation to join some friends for an evening meal cannot be accepted since the person in question must work and once again disappointment is expressed through the adverb 'leider'. It is suggested that the parties involved might undertake some activities at the weekend instead. Work clearly infringes upon normal evening social activities which take place outside of what would be normally considered working hours. In entry 49 the

speaker cannot say for certain whether s/he will join others on the next day. S/he may decide to work at home instead. In entry 50 the failure of another individual to join others on a certain occasion is presumed to have to do with his having a lot of work. Each of these shows again how work prevents individuals from meeting others and also how it seems to be accepted that work can stand in the way of other activities.

Enjoyment of good weather also seems to be given less priority than work (entry 51). There is an implication that an individual might consider not working during a period of good weather but it seems that they wish to do so. Having one's weekend free is also seen to be given less priority than taking on some additional work (entry 52). Here the speaker is willing to oblige the addressee (perhaps a boss or manager) by completing some work at the weekend. Working in one's garden is also given priority over taking a farm-holiday (entry 53). Here 'Fritz' is described as preferring to work in his garden than to go to a farm on holiday.

In general, enjoyment is seen only to follow the successful completion of work with eight occurrences indicating the relative importance of work by showing how a particular activity will only be engaged in after work has been completed (entries 54-61). In entry 54 it is stated that a big celebration will be possible when the work in question has been completed successfully. The use of the conjunction 'nachdem' and/or the preposition 'nach' in six occurrences illustrates the ranking of activities where work is placed ahead of others. Eating and drinking as a social activity in a bar or cafe and visiting a friend are seen to come after work (entries 55, 56 and 57). A birthday celebration is similarly shown, through the use of the preposition 'nach', to take second place to work (entry 58). Here the individual states that s/he will celebrate his/her birthday with a friend after work. In entries 59 and 60, other activities such as attending a language course and making excursions are also seen to be enjoyed after or outside of work time.

Entry 61 shows that in order to have some additional free time over Christmas a father had to work a lot beforehand. Like the occurrences described above, this suggests that work cannot be neglected but must be adequately addressed before other activities are considered.

In the context of taking time off work it appears that only well-established breaks are referred to, namely weekends and the period of time between Christmas and New Year (entries 52, 62-64). These occurrences along with those just described suggest a strict division and organisation of time which is determined in the first instance by the need to work and only after this by other activities.

Together these occurrences suggest that work is the starting point from which the timing of all other activities, such as socialising, celebrating a birthday, taking up a new language, spending time with family, relaxing and pursuing hobbies is determined. As a result work emerges as a most important priority which is well-anchored in daily life.

Only four occurrences (entries 65, 26, 66, 67) have been found in the corpus which illustrate instances where work was not given more importance than some other activity. In the first of these (entry 65) it is simply a question of somebody suggesting that those involved in the work at hand eat something before continuing on. It does not, however, indicate strongly that the work is given less priority than another activity, i.e. eating food. Eating is, of course, essential and, as such, appears as something functional as opposed to an alternative to working. In the second and third of these entries (entries 66 and 26) other activities, namely reading or going to a concert and chatting until late in the night, are given priority over work. However, in each case an awareness that this is unusual is evident. Entry 66 shows how an individual leaves work 'pünktlich' because she wants to go home to read, paint or attend a concert. In the preceding sentence we are told that she had no interest in her work. There is a suggestion, therefore, that she leaves work each evening without delay due to lack of interest rather than due to any explicit prioritisation of the other activities over work. In addition, the woman in question is shown to still work for the required number of hours before leaving. In entry 26 the speaker describes how s/he and another person chatted until well into the night even though they both had to work the next day. However, the suggestion created through the link adverbials ('trotzdem' and 'dennoch') and the conjunction ('obwohl') is that the individuals concerned should not have chatted until so late before a working day. The fourth of these occurrences describes how a grandmother used to tell her grandchildren stories even though she had a lot of work (entry 67). None of these occurrences shows a

complete disregard for or indifference to work in general and nor do they suggest that another activity was consciously prioritised over it

### 5.2.3 Quantity of work

In eleven concordances (entries 18, 48, 50, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 78) for the noun 'Arbeit' a co-occurrence with the quantifier 'viel' is found. It appears twice in entry 71 i.e. both in the question and in the answer given. Having to carry out a large quantity of work is presented therefore as being usual. This notion that a lot of work must be carried out generally is strengthened by the use of 'viel' as an adverb with the verb 'arbeiten'. In six concordances (entries 6, 12, 61, 74, 75, 77) 'viel' appears together with some form of 'arbeiten'. Furthermore, two entries which will be discussed later as relating to positive attitudes to work also imply that a large quantity of work is the case (entries 9 and 10 in Appendix U). In total the notion of having a lot of work therefore appears twenty times in the concordances analysed here.

The perception of having to do too much work is also evident. In entry 16 the speaker believes that s/he and his/her companions have to work twice as much as others. Working overtime is also referred to (entry 17). Workers are required to work overtime so that delivery deadlines can be met. Working to excess is also described (entries 38, 42, 80). Excessive work is shown to have negative effects on the health of individuals who risk heart attack, suffer with their nerves or are deprived of sleep as a result. In entry 79 the speaker describes how their work almost became too much for them and in entry 81 the possibility that a worker is overstretched with a particular task is expressed.

This image of having generally to do a lot of or too much work is compatible with the image described above of work being prioritised over other activities. It is made all the more normal when the phrase 'viel arbeiten' is presented alongside such common phrases as 'mit dem Auto fahren' or 'Zeitung lesen' (entry 75) and when 'viel Arbeit' is put on a par with the phrase 'viele Kinder' (entry 69). In addition, by co-occurring with 'viel' in references to work, the adverb 'immer' (entries 12, 67 and 70) also suggests that having to do a lot of work is not uncommon.

Only one occurrence was identified which makes reference to the fact that an individual is required to carry out only a small amount of work (entry 76). The absence of any similar occurrences supports the point that a large quantity of work, as opposed to a small or reasonable one, is seen to be usual. The frequent collocation of 'viel' with the verb 'arbeiten' or the noun 'Arbeit', where a range of other adverbs and quantifiers are possible, reinforces the impression that having to do a lot of work is seen as something usual or to be expected.

Dissatisfaction with this heavy workload is seen where an individual states that s/he would be happier if s/he were not to have so much work (entry 77) and where the speaker expresses dread at the prospect of having to do a lot of work (entry 78).

Dissatisfaction is also implied where the adverb 'leider' collocates with 'viel Arbeit' (entry 48). Having to do a lot of work is therefore not seen to be desirable even if it is usual.

References to work requiring a considerable amount of time or more time than was expected also indicate that having to do a lot of work or making it a priority is often the case. People are shown to work for long periods, i.e. overtime, all day, night and day (entries 17, 34, 35, 46, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 97) to start early in the morning (entries 26, 46 and 72) and to work in the evenings (entries 7, 8, 9, 13, 15<sup>1</sup>, 23, 90). Interestingly, even references to the past (entries 30 and 34) and to a fairytale (entry 35) reflect the practice of working for long periods of time. People are also shown to work well into the night/early hours of the morning (entries 82 and 89) and at the weekends (entries 10, 52 and 88). Working for longer than expected is shown to be usual and indicated through the use of the adverb 'langer' (entries 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 92 and 98). In addition, entry 91 implies that it is expected that individuals carry out some work for their companies even outside of normal working hours and entry 92 shows how one makes up for lost time by staying late in the workplace. People are therefore presented as spending a lot of time working and as staying on at work if this is required of them. Work is clearly taken seriously and is shown to impact on how workers arrange their day-to-day lives.

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<sup>1</sup> It is presumed that the context here is an evening but it could also realistically be a weekend. Either way, the point is made that the individual in question is working outside of what are perceived to be normal working-hours.



However, preferences to work for a shorter time or to have different working times are also expressed (entries 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99) In entry 93 the speaker describes how s/he dislikes early starts and wishes that s/he could go into the office towards midday Entry 94 describes how a working mother came home early from work while entry 95 shows that an individual started work at 10 a.m. instead of at the normal time of 8.30 a.m. A wish to have 'keine langen Arbeitstage' is expressed in entry 97 and entry 98 describes how a particular worker did not want to work in the evening Entry 99 makes a general statement that 'alle' want to work less These occurrences show that even if working long hours is a general norm or expectation this is not necessarily something which is welcomed

In these occurrences relating to work it is also striking that people are shown frequently to ask questions about when and for how long a person has to/will have to work and whether somebody has a lot of work to do Eleven entries involve such questions and suggest that duration and quantity of work feature strongly as topics in general everyday conversation (entries 7, 9, 10, 11, 13, 29, 70, 71, 74, 95 and 96) Occurrences which take the form of friendly advice in relation to work have also been identified (entries 100 and 101) Both of these encourage the addressee to give work less attention presumably because s/he has been working too much. Such occurrences also indicate the priority and importance which individuals are shown to attach to work

### **5.3 Negative attitudes and approaches to work**

As mentioned above, occurrences depicting individuals as having to do a lot of work/working long hours do not always represent work positively (entries 77, 78) This was also the case for occurrences relating to the amount of time spent working where the desire to spend less time working was expressed (entries 97, 98 and 99) In addition, occurrences relating to the compulsion to work which were described above showed that this too is not viewed favourably (see entries 14, 27 and 28) A large number of other occurrences, twenty-four in total, which have not yet been discussed also display negative attitudes and reactions to work A negative view of work is also conveyed in seventeen other occurrences which show how it is carried out to a poor standard with insufficient effort

### 5.3.1 Negative attitudes to work

The occurrences which reflect negative attitudes and reactions to work do so by illustrating an unwillingness of individuals to work at all or to work harder than expected. Entry 1 shows how an individual wishes to finish a certain task sooner rather than later. This shows a lack of interest in or enthusiasm for the work being undertaken or indicates perhaps that s/he no longer wishes to spend time on the same task. Entry 2 indicates that the addressee of the question 'Wann wollen Sie endlich mit der Arbeit anfangen!?' is clearly hesitant about starting to carry out work and/or lacks initiative with regard to his/her work. The addressor's impatience for this is expressed both through the addition of the temporal adverb 'endlich' and the exclamation mark which follows the question mark. Consequently, the question can also be seen to function as an order for the individual to actually start working. A hesitation to work is also conveyed in entry 3. Here the speaker tells how s/he and others persuaded or encouraged an individual to take on some work.

An unwillingness to tackle a specific task simply because it is difficult is also apparent (entry 4). An individual is seen to opt to abandon the work which is difficult rather than to tackle it. A similar willingness to take on demanding work can also be seen on the part of finance officials (entry 5). They are described as preferring uncomplicated tax declarations which are easy to process.

An unwillingness to take on work in general is conveyed in two occurrences (entries 6 and 7). As such, these show how the compulsion to work which was highlighted above is not always shown to be attractive or satisfactory. In entry 6 the speaker emphatically declares that s/he will not carry out a particular piece of work. The exclamation mark at the end of his/her statement strengthens this. In entry 7, it is reported that an individual always found an excuse not to take on a piece of work whenever he was expected to so. Clearly he is shown not to display any willingness to exert himself in the workplace and the inclusion of the adverb 'immer' suggests that this was the norm for him.

Workers are also shown to be possibly avoiding work when it is expected that they would be busy. Entry 8 contains the suggestion that a colleague is taking an

extended lunch break as she is not at her desk when she should be. In entry 9 a worker is shown to be working on his/her own and is asked where his/her other colleagues are.

Entry 10 shows how some workers believe they were wrong to have taken on some work. This suggests that in hindsight they regret having to do the work and are unwilling to do so. Displeasure at work is also expressed in entry 11. Here a worker is described as having gotten agitated by his work.

This negative attitude to work is supported further where people are shown to eagerly anticipate a break from work. Such anticipation indirectly conveys negativity which is directed towards work. In entry 12 the speaker describes how s/he and fellow workers must work 'nur noch eine halbe Stunde' and then they can go home. The exclamation mark underlines the eager anticipation of the end of their work. In entry 13 the speaker explains how s/he is really looking forward to his/her holiday. In this occurrence s/he is shown through the inclusion of the expression 'mein Gott, diese Arbeit' and two exclamation marks to be really fed up with work. Similarly, the speaker in entry 14 is shown to be fed up with his/her work in an office and does not wish to see any more of it.

In entry 15 one of the speakers describes how s/he is much better since s/he does not have to work so much. This suggests that s/he was not coping well with having to do so much work or did not want to work a lot and is happier now that that has changed. The person described in entry 16 attaches more importance to going 'in Kur' than to the fact that his colleagues were forced to do his work in his absence. This suggests that he was not keen on taking on his share of the workload and was happy to let others do so for him.

In entry 17 the speaker decides to stop working altogether because s/he does not like the work in question and because s/he believes that s/he is not earning enough. The person spoken about in entry 18 consistently fails to take up offers of employment. He is shown to have no desire at all to work despite efforts to encourage him to do so. Nor does he appear to be concerned about not having a job. Unlike the speaker in

entry 17 he seems to have no valid reason for not wanting to work except perhaps for the laziness implied in the description of him

Laziness is clearly the case in two entries (entries 19 and 20). In entry 19 the addressee is described as being lazy and as not having worked enough. It is argued that if he had done so he would now have a better position and would earn more money but that he never listened to such advice. The worker referred to in entry 20 is described as being lazy and as pretending to work. This attempt to hide laziness suggests that an unwillingness to work is not acceptable. Although not explicitly mentioned in entry 21, laziness also seems to be the case in this occurrence. As was the case in entry 20, the worker in question only pretends to work.

Entry 22 describes how the speaker will stop working if s/he receives all of his/her aunt's inheritance. This makes a negative attitude to work very clear and suggests that s/he derives no satisfaction from work but is only working because s/he has to.

Entries 23 and 24 take the form of sayings and both ridicule work thereby casting it in a negative light. By stating that anyone who is familiar with work and still engages in it is crazy, entry 23 implies that work should normally be avoided. Entry 24 considers celebrating or staying off work (depending on one's translation of the verb 'feiern' in this context) to be preferable to working even if one is ill while doing the former and in good health for the latter. It suggests therefore that work is an activity which should be disliked.

The impression created by all of these occurrences is that work is an activity which clearly gives rise to negative attitudes and reactions and is viewed in terms of being an activity which people generally wish to avoid or complain about. References which reflect positive attitudes and reactions, being fewer and in many cases less powerful, as will be seen later in this chapter, do not provide a sufficient counterbalance to such a negative representation. As a consequence, the more dominant representation is one of people having a negative response to work.

### 5.3 2 Negative approaches to work

Where work is seen to be carried out in a careless and inefficient manner and/or where a successful outcome of work is not reached it is also portrayed negatively

Entry 1 reveals that a particular employee has been found not to have worked well His boss is forced to bring his dissatisfaction with his performance to the worker's attention

In entry 2 the speaker has had negative experiences while working with a colleague This is because he is deemed to think differently and to work too slowly The result is that s/he does not wish to work with him again Working too slowly also emerges in two other entries (entries 3 and 4) In entry 3 the speaker expresses a wish that a colleague would not work so slowly while in entry 4 the speaker describes how the official who is working on his/her application is taking a lot of time in the process

An awkward approach to work or making heavy weather of work (depending on one's translation of 'umständlich arbeiten') is also referred to (entry 5) An individual is criticised for working too awkwardly/for making heavy weather out of a task as this is deemed to require much more time Clearly, s/he is not shown to be working as efficiently as possible as the speaker tells him/her that s/he will need three times as much time doing the work his/her way (At the same time though, this occurrence also serves to show an expectation that work should be completed in a time-efficient manner and, as such, could also be described as portraying a positive approach to work )

Entry 6 shows how an individual is slipshod in his work even though he can be enthusiastic and competent as regards motorbike racing The clear distinction he makes between these two activities indicates that the successful completion of work takes second place for him

A distinction is also made between an individual's personal qualities and the way they approach their work (entry 7) This particular occurrence forms part of a long description of one character at the workplace which casts her in a positive light as an individual by highlighting what a pleasant person she was Where reference is made to her approach to her work, however, she is shown not to care to any great extent

about what was happening in the workplace and described as 'kein harter Arbeitstyp' Her indifference to work-related matters illustrates a negative approach to her work by her

Poor punctuality in a work context also displays a negative approach to work (entry 8) A worker is described as continuing to arrive late for work despite having received frequent warnings from his boss He also appears to show little respect for his boss since he pays no heed to his warnings This suggests an indifference towards positive working relationships on his part and disregard for his work

Another negative approach to work is much more serious and relates to drunkenness (entry 9) A worker is described as coming to work in the morning while drunk Clearly this shows an irresponsible approach on his part to his work He is dismissed as a result (As was the case in the occurrence previously described, while a negative approach to work is apparent, a positive one also emerges Unprofessional conduct, be it unpunctuality or drunkenness, is shown not to be tolerated as the workers in question are shown either to be given warnings or to be dismissed )

Poor coordination of work is seen in entry 10 In this case each worker assumed wrongly that another was taking responsibility for a particular task However, nobody actually took the initiative to undertake the task with the result that it was not carried out and each colleague apportioned blame to another

The most significant occurrence (entry 11) regarding a negative approach to work involves a description by a worker of a workplace where a number of different problems are in evidence Colleagues are described as having a chaotic and inefficient approach to work which highlights poor channels of communication and lack of cooperation amongst colleagues from different sections Tasks are not completed on time and coordination of duties is clearly lacking In addition the office is compared to a 'Saustall' This entry constructs an extremely negative image of how work is approached

Disregard for workplace rules features in entry 12 Here a worker who dismisses rules is presented This indicates either indifference to workplace rules or arrogance



on her part and therefore suggests that she is not very concerned about her work. Disregard for a colleague's contribution in entry 13 also highlights a negative approach to work. The worker in question suffers disappointment as his work receives no recognition which suggests indifference on the part of his colleagues and managers.

Two occurrences illustrate failure to complete a task/meet a deadline (entries 15 and 16). They may therefore suggest a certain inefficiency, indifference or incompetency on the part of those concerned, especially in view of their factual nature and the absence, for example, of an adverb such as 'leider'. They might also be considered as supporting an image of poor time management. (It must also be considered, however, that these occurrences could also be interpreted as suggesting that too much was expected of the individuals and not that they worked inefficiently, indifferently or were incompetent.)

Finally, an inability to concentrate on one's work is mentioned, although only once (entry 17). Here the speaker simply explains that s/he cannot concentrate on his/her work. In a sense, this also reflects a negative approach to one's work but to a lesser extent than all of those occurrences listed above since it is always possible that the speaker was willing to concentrate on his/her work but, through no fault of his/her own, was unable to do so. Furthermore, the inclusion of the adverb 'heute' also indicates that not concentrating might be unusual/an exception for the speaker thereby suggesting that normally s/he concentrates sufficiently on his/her work.

In the main, it can be seen from the seventeen occurrences classified here as displaying negative approaches to work that a number of different reasons can be found for explaining a poor approach to work. However, these negative approaches are neither condoned nor tolerated but criticised instead in many cases.

It is also worthy of note that in some cases the occurrences described above can also be interpreted as having a neutral interpretation as well as a negative one. It could also be argued that particular entries have a second, more positive, interpretation even if a negative interpretation is also plausible. Entry 16 provides a good example of this. As was discussed above, this entry can indicate inefficiency or incompetency

and can therefore be seen as negative but, if interpreted neutrally, it might simply point to the impossibility of having a piece of work finished. Interpreted positively, it can also indicate that the speaker is a good judge of time and remains aware of deadlines. So, while negative approaches are presented, the overall impression is not that work tends to be carried out very badly.

As will become clear in the latter part of the next section, these references to negative approaches are completely outweighed by positive ones (seventeen entries versus thirty-four respectively). Furthermore, it is worth pointing out that those which can be described as reflecting a negative approach to work are not as powerful as those which are classified as positive.

#### **5.4 Positive attitudes and approaches to work**

In contrast to the large number of occurrences which illustrated negative attitudes and reactions to work, just thirteen entries were deemed to reflect positive attitudes and reactions to work. Interestingly, however, many more occurrences show that where work is carried out it is done so in a positive manner.

##### **5.4.1 Positive attitudes to work**

The first two occurrences reflecting positive attitudes to work (entries 1 and 2) include the verb 'arbeiten' together with the adverb 'gern'. The first includes simply the adverb 'gern' and the infinitive 'arbeiten' to form a phrase and, as such, merely points to the possibility of enjoying one's work. Entry 2 describes an individual as liking to work.

Three other occurrences show that enjoyment is derived from work by referring to 'Spaß' (entries 3, 4 and 5). Entry 3 shows how an individual has enjoyed his/her work/job to date and hopes that this continues to be the case. However, the hope expressed could also be considered to imply an expectation that the pleasure derived from the work/job might not continue. Entry 4 shows that the speaker enjoys his/her new position and hopes to gain a place at university in two years. The indication is therefore that s/he has no plans to remain in this particular position even though s/he

enjoys it. In entry 5, enjoyment of work as a teacher is described as being dependent on certain conditions, i.e. the cleverness and level of application of her students and is therefore not seen as a given. Similarly, the level of enjoyment for another worker is also seen to depend on an external factor (entry 6). Here the speaker explains that the degree to which s/he enjoys working depends on how nice his/her boss is. Entry 7 also makes reference to an individual's relationship with her boss. It explains how a worker works as well with her third boss as she did with her first and second and therefore indicates an overall positive attitude/reaction to work on her part.

Entry 8 describes how the speaker's father misses work. The use of 'aber' in this entry implies that while his/her mother is keeping well, his/her father is not so content. This indicates that his/her father enjoyed work.

Entry 9 shows how an individual never complained about having to do a lot of work. This particular entry is positive but only weakly so as it is implied that it could have been expected that the worker in question would have complained about having a lot of work. Entry 10 also shows how a worker does not complain about having to take on a large amount of work but how s/he is not bothered by the prospect. Again, while this is positive, it is not strongly so as it contains an implication that the speaker may reasonably have felt bothered by the amount of work to be done. Entry 11 also displays a positive attitude to work but also does not do so strongly. It simply explains that a worker is confident that s/he can manage to do the work at hand.

The remaining two entries relating to positive attitudes and reactions to work (entries 12 and 13) show how individuals do not delay in starting with their work and are enthusiastic about starting. In entry 12 the speaker reminds fellow workers that they have a lot to do and calls on them to make a start straight away while in entry 13 the speaker describes how she and her husband tackled their work with vigour.

Although these thirteen occurrences present some positive attitudes and reactions to work, being both fewer in number and weaker, either because of the possible implications of negative attitudes which they also contain or lack of explicit

favourable references, they do not counteract the dominant impression of negative attitudes and reactions to work which was described above

#### **5 4.2 Positive approaches to work**

In total thirty-four occurrences were identified which, to greater or lesser extents, pertained to positive approaches to carrying out work. These positive approaches are shown to relate primarily to concentration, efficiency and commitment

Diligence is expressed in the first of these entries (entry 1) Here the worker in question, 'Frau Levin', is described as being an extremely hardworking individual In addition to this she is also shown to be responsible, committed to her work and friendly to her colleagues She therefore emerges as a flawless character In entry 2 another individual, Herr Steiner, is described as being an excellent employee and similarly emerges in a most positive light

Confidence that work will be completed on time is expressed in entry 3 This conveys an impression of efficiency and effective scheduling The entry which follows (entry 4) includes two adverbs, namely 'wirkungsvoll' and 'effektiv', and therefore also relates to effectiveness in the context of work

Working thoroughly or carefully features in five occurrences (entries 5, 6, 7, 8 and 29) In entry 5 a thorough approach to work is shown to be rewarded with success Similarly, careful work is shown to be rewarded with 'mehr Aufträge' (entry 8) In entry 7 the imperative is used to ask that somebody work carefully Each of these suggests that thorough, careful work is noted and valued

Reference is also made to reliability in the workplace (entry 9) Three workers are ranked using the comparative and superlative of the adverb 'zuverlässig' All three are shown to work reliably here even if 'Maier' and 'Schulze' are ranked as being more reliable than 'Müller'

Entry 10 describes a disciplined approach to work. It states that the individual being referred to is really very disciplined in how he goes about his work. As a result of his discipline he succeeded in finishing his studies within four years.

Entry 11 shows how an individual efficiently carries out all tasks required of him and manages to meet all requirements in the workplace. He is also described as always arriving punctually at the office and the overall impression is that this man is noted for the positive ways in which he goes about his work.

Preparation for various tasks for the next two days is referred to in entry 12. This also conveys a sense of efficiency in how work is approached by indicating that the worker has good timing and all tasks under control.

Starting work without any delay is also seen to be the case (entries 13 and 14). In entry 13 the worker in question begins immediately with the work at hand in order to come to a result as soon as possible. Similarly, in entry 14 an immediate start with work on the part of 'Parteifreunde' is encouraged by the 'Parteivorsitzende' referred to.

In entry 15 the addressee is told by his/her companion to pull him/herself together when at work the next day as otherwise s/he will have problems once again. This suggests that unprofessional conduct will not be accepted in the workplace.

A total of nine occurrences (entries 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23 and 24) refer to the need to remain undisturbed when working and to concentrate on one's work. This renders focus and concentration key factors in positive approaches to work and suggests that work merits a worker's undivided attention.

In the first of these (entry 16) an individual is described as giving his undivided attention to his work to such an extent that he is actually rude in the manner in which he responds to any colleagues who might interrupt or disturb him. If interrupted or disturbed he looks at them furiously. His concentration on his work is therefore seen to be of paramount importance. The second occurrence (entry 17) highlights a worker's ability to concentrate on his work despite what appears to be a significant

distraction which might otherwise validly cause him to be unable to concentrate. Only after work does he allow himself to be distracted. In entry 18 another worker is similarly shown to be capable of total concentration as far as his work is concerned. He concentrates to such an extent while working that he fails to hear either the doorbell or the telephone when they ring.

A request not to be disturbed while working in order to enable an individual to concentrate is expressed in entry 19. The use of the imperative of the verb 'stören' together with an exclamation mark adds some force to the request that the individual not be disturbed and be allowed to concentrate on his/her work. The use of the modal verb 'müssen' with 'sich konzentrieren' points to the seriousness of the intention of the speaker to concentrate on their work. Entries 20, 21 and 22 similarly point to the importance of having no disturbances while working. In entry 20 the speaker shows his/her impatience at having noise disturb him/her while s/he is trying to work. S/he insists by using the imperative of the verb 'aufhören' that the noise cease. In entry 21 the imperative of 'stören' together with 'nicht' is used to prevent somebody from disturbing somebody else who is working. This order is made more forceful by the addition of a second imperative namely 'Lass ihn in Ruhe!' which suggests that peace is required. Peace is also seen to be important in entry 22 where the speaker reports that s/he did not disturb somebody so that they could continue working. The importance of having peace and concentrating fully on one's work is also seen in the form of a strong recommendation from one individual to another. Here the point is made that one should not listen to music while working thereby indicating once again that work deserves one's full attention (entry 23). In entry 24 it is suggested that it is not possible to get in touch with a worker while s/he is at work. In this case work is seen to preclude any interruptions.

Entry 25 relates to working intensively. Here the speaker reports that intensive work has led to the successful completion of most of the task at hand.

Precision in carrying out work is referred to in three entries (entries 26, 27 and 28). In entry 26 the work of an interpreter is described and she is described as striving to give as exact ('genau') an interpretation of a speech as possible. The second entry relating to precision (entry 27) simply refers to the precise ('genau') and detailed



work of the artist Albrecht Durer In entry 28 the speaker is impressed at the exactitude of the work of the performers at a circus In all three instances precision is seen to be the key factor in the work being undertaken

In entry 29 the suggestion is made by a physicist that rational, careful, experimental work in science should also be accompanied by a degree of imagination and feeling If this is not the case it is suggested that the putting together of facts will not be possible

Entries 30 and 31 both point to an awareness on the part of workers that tools of poor quality and old machines should not be used for work Both occurrences also imply an unwillingness on the part of the speakers to tolerate such tools and machines As a result they suggest that better standards should apply

An emphasis on the successful completion of work features in two occurrences (entry 32 and entry 54 in Appendix S) This conveys a sense of purpose in relation to work and suggests that it is approached with the aim of successful completion The first of these occurrences (entry 32) merely presents examples of nouns in the genitive case and presents 'Erfolg' and 'Arbeit' together It is nonetheless a strong indication of a norm when seen in the context of other pairings in the same concordance e.g. 'die Frau des Hauses' and 'Anfang der Woche' The second (entry 54 in Appendix S) is more striking in that it includes the modal verb 'müssen', as discussed, and states that the work at hand must be completed successfully before any celebrations can take place

In the last two entries representing positive approaches to work a person in authority shows that they have been appraising the performance of an employee (entries 33 and 34) In the first of these they inform the employee that they are satisfied with his/her work which indicates that s/he has gone about his/her work well In the second, reference is made to a boss who always noticed when an individual was working well As well as showing good performances on the part of workers, these occurrences also show that monitoring of performance at the workplace is not unusual which can also itself be seen as a positive approach to work

In summary positive approaches to work are plentiful and varied, revolving around a number of themes. The overall picture which emerges in this context is that work should be carried out successfully and is therefore worthy of concentration, attention, efficiency, and precision.

## 5.5 Conclusion

The analysis of the concordances selected for this chapter shows the capacity of these to convey many different insights into the ways in which work is viewed and approached. Evidently much can be inferred from the representations of work which concordances for the search item \*arbeit\* deliver. It is striking how, when analysed, occurrences forge links with the result that distinctive representations of attitudes and approaches to work can be identified.

Analysis shows clearly that work is seen to be of considerable importance regardless of whether it is viewed favourably or unfavourably. It is frequently spoken about and shown to feature strongly in everyday life. This perceived importance of work is attributable largely to its being seen as a necessity and a priority which should be taken seriously by those carrying it out. The fact that one's work is also seen to require considerable time (often in excess) and to impact on one's daily life in so many ways underlines this perceived importance. Having analysed the concordances from the grammar books, it is interesting to observe how findings from Ammer's (1994) research which was referred to in Chapter 1 also showed how such problems as having too much work and too little free time featured in the textbooks of the 1970s and 1980s.

In terms of how it is carried out, analysis shows that positive approaches dominate much more clearly than negative ones. This too points to a serious view of work in the sense that, once undertaken, it is generally seen to be given significant attention and energy.

However, despite the important and obvious role occupied by work in so many occurrences and the relatively high frequency of reference to positive approaches to work, it clearly does not emerge as a feature of daily life which is viewed very

favourably. Significantly, negative attitudes and reactions to it are clearly more dominant and forceful than are positive ones. In addition, a number of the occurrences representing negative approaches to work were powerful in how they showed a disregard for it. It appears, therefore, that while work is portrayed as an unavoidable activity which must be taken seriously, it does not qualify as an activity which is associated with pleasure or a sense of satisfaction. Its perceived importance is clearly not matched by a display of enthusiasm for it even if it is seen to merit considerable attention and energy.

Analysis has shown that there is a marked discrepancy between the strong representation of work as a serious and essential activity which requires time and attention on the one hand and its representation on the other as an activity which fails to be seen as attractive or rewarding. In terms of how it is represented by people's views of it, work certainly fails to emerge in a positive light but reflects a complex and partially contradictory identity.

## **Chapter 6**

### **Conclusions**

## **6 1 Introduction**

Having set out to explore the representations of human activity in the language selection of three commonly used German language grammar books, this dissertation revealed the potential for a number of such representations to exist within such a selection. Its focus on one particularly dominant activity, namely 'work', allowed for significant depth of analysis of this activity and for the discovery of insightful observations in that context.

At the same time, findings relating to the representation of work also allow for observations which relate to wider issues. These include the potential impact of grammar book representations on the German language learner, the role of the grammar book text in reflecting cultural norms and the definition of text itself.

As the concluding chapter for this dissertation, this chapter addresses the chief findings and observations of this study and the salient points arising which cover linguistic, cultural and educational issues. It also outlines implications for further research.

## **6.2 Representations of work in the grammar books**

The striking observation which was made from the outset of analysis was that work played a hugely significant role in the grammar book corpus. Work and work-related terms featured heavily amongst the most frequently occurring content terms. In addition, as chapters 3, 4 and 5 show, work was not only an omnipresent activity in the corpus but its representation was characterised by both breadth and depth.

Each of the three chapters of analysis reveals many insights into the representation of work in the grammar books which were chosen for this study. When taken together the observations and findings from each chapter illustrate how rich the grammar books are in terms of how they can represent 'work' linguistically.

The analysis conducted for Chapter 3 is most significant for showing how three professions, namely doctor, teacher and farmer, are represented strongly with each having a distinct identity in the grammar books and how work in the medical field is

represented more frequently and more favourably than work in any other. Teachers fare poorly in their representation while farmers are shown neither very positively nor very negatively but in a traditional fashion. All in all, such representations reveal how some professions, like that of doctor, are held in a certain esteem while others are not, how well-established, traditional professions define the professional landscape, and how the collection of colony texts analysed can define and delimit the representations of such professions through the linguistic choices they entail.

In relation to Chapter 4 which deals with the notion of hierarchy in the workplace, what is most interesting and striking is that firstly, a clearly identifiable sense of hierarchy is in evidence in the corpus and secondly, that figures in the hierarchy - from the unpopular and dominant 'Chef' through to the vulnerable and often dissatisfied 'Arbeiter' - just like doctors, teachers and farmers, each have distinct identities. Together their identities construct a rather disharmonious view of hierarchy and represent a male-dominated, autocratic approach to the running of workplaces.

In the analysis which formed the basis for Chapter 5, it was seen how a variety of specific attitudes and approaches to work were represented in the grammar books. A key finding in this analysis was that work was represented as a compulsory activity which is frequently prioritised over social and leisure activities and which occupies a key role in everyday life and general conversation. However, analysis also revealed that despite its being seen as an important activity, work also emerges as an activity which is for the most part not seen favourably and which individuals are frequently shown to be reluctant to engage in. This significant difference between the perceived importance of work and people's hesitancy to carry it out was a striking feature of the representation of work. It was also striking that although work is not viewed all that favourably it is nevertheless shown more often than not to command considerable attention and energy from workers. A mismatch between the aforementioned reluctance to work and the care and attention which it was seen to receive clearly also exists.

When the findings of all three analysis chapters are taken together, a representation of a 'work landscape' for Germany emerges which contains a lot of detail and many



dimensions. The overall result is that a clearly identifiable picture of work is developed. While the creation of such a representation is clearly *not the purpose or aim* of a grammar book and none of the grammar books analysed purported to have any such image-creating function, Chapters 3, 4 and 5 show that they clearly do.

### **6.3 The grammar book and the German language learner**

Although the learner or teacher may not consider the grammar book a source of cultural 'knowledge', findings of this study show that the possibility of its contributing to the formation of attitudes towards Germany and the Germans can nonetheless not be overlooked. For the student of German, it can be argued that when using the grammar books which were selected for this study, s/he will potentially either consciously or unconsciously develop reactions and attitudes towards Germany/the Germans as s/he engages with the selection of language provided in the three books. From the findings of this study it can be argued specifically that the learner of German who uses the books which were under investigation will be exposed to images of certain professions, workplace hierarchy and attitudes and approaches to work which will either contribute to strengthening previously held assumptions, or to weakening these or else to leading to the creation of completely new ones. While it is recognised that a student of German will not approach any grammar book with the same aims as the researcher in this study and will therefore not group texts according to the theme of 'work', it is conceivable that the cumulative effects, for example, of the many positive occurrences for doctors, the many negative occurrences for bosses or those which strongly represent work as an activity which many people wish to avoid will in some way shape the grammar student's view of working life in the context of Germany.

This study points to the need for users of grammar books, both learners and teachers, as well as linguists and intercultural scholars, to re-assess the conventional understanding of what a grammar book is. This is not to suggest that any questioning of its role in explaining grammar is necessary (that is, of course, a given) but rather that its role as an 'image-creator' and 'carrier of culture' through the language it employs in the language-learning context must be considered. Put another way, the 'definition' of the grammar book, as viewed in light of the findings

of this study, must be extended to incorporate its capacity to represent 'cultural realities' and convey these to its users. This study raises awareness of how grammar book examples and exercises (and indeed examples and exercises devised independently by teachers) should be viewed as critically as the texts of language textbooks have been for a number of decades.

From an intercultural learning perspective, this piece of research opens up the possibility of giving more consideration to the use of colony texts and corpora such as those used here for raising cultural awareness in the teaching and learning context. The relationship between language teaching and cultural awareness is generally considered to be somewhat problem-fraught, with discussions centring on what constitutes which and on general definitions (Byram 1994). A positive step in this context would be to employ the foreign language text as a conduit of culture (however defined) in the actual language-learning setting. This dissertation illustrates that even the shortest and least complex texts which are used to explain features of the German language can involve an intrinsic exposure to the culture of that language. The analysis of the grammar books under investigation in this study shows that this frequently occurs regardless of whether or not a cultural dimension has been explicitly and consciously built into the learning pathway. Exploration with students of representations in culture-specific corpora, such as that used in this study, provides a platform for more innovative approaches to the 'teaching' of culture in the language learning environment. A concrete example of such a new approach would take the form of setting learners of German (a) the task of identifying which modal verbs 'work' tends to co-occur with and (b) the task of looking for reasons as to why 'work' is so frequently associated with compulsion. In undertaking such a task, the language learner not only engages with the target language but is also encouraged to reflect on culture-specific issues. Students could also carry out comparative analyses by carrying out the same tasks using corpora from their native language(s).

#### **6.4 The role of the grammar book colony texts in reflecting cultural norms**

In light of its findings, this study points to the need to consider the significant representative power in relation to German culture of the short texts and textual fragments which appear in the grammar books under investigation. The findings of

chapters 3, 4 and 5 highlight what could be considered a documentary function of grammar book texts

The grouping and systematic analysis of all concordances relating to the human activity of work allowed consistency across grammar book texts in terms of how they represented this activity to be exposed. This then allowed the researcher to unveil the discrete representations which were discussed in chapters 3, 4 and 5. Such consistency and distinct representations together provide evidence that the representations contained in colony texts are clearly not random. Otherwise no consistency would have been discovered and it would not have been possible to identify clearly distinctive representations. On the contrary, each single concordance would have represented a single representation of its own and any meaningful discussion of common trends which formed the basis of chapters 3, 4 and 5 would have been impossible. It follows from this that the colony texts analysed must be culturally bound and informed by the cultural context within which they have originated. The concrete parallels found between findings here and those of Römer 1974, Jung 1978 and Ammer 1994 also suggest that this is the case.

The perceived non-necessity for grammar books to have manifest cultural themes or ideologies, which are arguably at the centre of most other texts about culture, leaves the grammar book with a blank slate as far as such textual 'content' is concerned. This study indicates that this freedom, and perhaps a concomitant lack of both self-consciousness and linguistic creativity, result in the use of texts which are perceived to be innocuous but at the same time tend to focus on norms and practices, such as those of the work context, which are perhaps taken for granted. From a cultural study perspective, it is this possible taken-for-grantedness of such texts which renders them all the more revealing and interesting.

If a different source for the provision of examples and exercises in grammar books were selected, such as, for example, one based entirely on humorous texts or pure linguistic creativity, it could be expected that entirely different representations to those found in this study would emerge. In such contexts, work might not feature so strongly, or in such a multi-dimensional way or indeed at all. The fact that such images as the capable and respected doctor, the unappealing boss or a reluctance to

work are clearly apparent in the language of the grammar books studied here can only be accounted for by arguing that their origins lie in a source which seems to draw primarily on everyday life and culture in Germany

### **6.5 Definitions of narrative text**

The same representations of work as those identified in this study could arguably appear in any notional descriptive narrative on the subject of work. Such a narrative might, for example, aim to illustrate a traditional workplace complete with a dominant male authority figure, faceless workers and an efficient female assistant who tends to keep everything running smoothly. Another might aim to impart information on how seriously work tends to be viewed even if it is not liked very much.

In the context of this study what is striking is that findings have shown that a random collection of (predominantly) decontextualised strings of language from disparate sources can be seen to cumulatively form a type of narrative which is no less insightful than a conventional piece of running text on the topic of work would be. Even though they are characterised by a distinct lack of links between each other in the linguistic sense it can still be argued that they form a type of narrative text which allows the 'reader' to follow the development of an idea.

The point is made that to overlook these texts in the research context simply because they do not exhibit such usual textual cohesive features as anaphoric and cataphoric ties and substitution etc. is to overlook what seems to the researcher to be their highly interesting and useful textual function. This function relates to how they can still narrate cultural norms without constituting narrative text or using typical narrative devices.

Even if their 'narrative' is consistently interrupted and diluted by virtue of the fact that they are often characterised by gaps which are filled by either the language of instruction or other random texts with which no obvious link can be established, when a collection of these texts based on a thematic lead is distilled, as was the case in this study, they are found to automatically weave themselves into a narrative.

This study also shows that, as colony texts, the ordering of these texts is insignificant and if rearranged they still impart the same picture. Consequently, the conclusion can be reached that an independence of 'normal' textual features does not at all imply that texts are devoid of representative qualities. Their capacity to represent (i.e. 'tell a story') centres on the degree of overlap and consistency amongst such colony texts which allows for a type of narrative, albeit unconventional, to emerge.

### **6.6 Implications for further research projects**

Having exposed the potential for three German grammar books to carry detailed and insightful representations of 'work', it follows that subsequent studies of the corpus used here could explore the representation of other human activities or themes. The frequency list of content words found in Chapter 2 suggests, for example, that analysis of the representation of other relatively dominant human activities and areas of life such as 'money' (as conveyed by 'Geld', 'Mark' and 'kaufen') or 'family' (as conveyed through 'Frau', 'Kinder' and 'Mann') looks promising. Smaller studies could concentrate on the representation of those activities and areas which are less dominant, for example, 'pets' (as conveyed by 'Hund').

The method of analysis developed and applied in this particular study has proven itself to be a valid and effective one. As such it provides a template which future analyses, such as those outlined above, can exploit.

In view of the research scope provided by the grammar book corpus analysed here, this study also signals the potential for other German language corpora to represent work in a meaningful and insightful way. Further studies comparing representations of work (and other human activities) as constructed in different corpora would no doubt provide interesting findings and further contribute to the observations made here.

## 6.7 The role of the computer in studies outside of corpus linguistics

Since the methodology developed and adopted for this project facilitated the identification of representations which would have otherwise remained undetected or incomprehensive, it follows that any meaningful and systematic examination of representations in a large quantity of colony texts can only proceed if electronic tools traditionally reserved for corpus linguistics studies are borrowed. This study validates the use of such software as WordSmith tools in studies outside the area of corpus linguistics by highlighting its capacity to also identify patterns for rather different purposes.

## 6.8 Overall conclusion

The German grammar books analysed in this study have delivered as comprehensive an overview of issues relating to work as any piece of running text, such as a chapter in a textbook on Germany, might do. Indeed a chapter on 'Arbeit' in a notional textbook on 'Germany and the Germans' may well be capable of producing the same pictures discovered here. This shows that the capacity of grammar book texts to 'represent' is similar to that of the textbooks which were addressed at the beginning of this study. Furthermore, just as German textbooks were found to show less than favourable views of Germany, the grammar books examined here have been found to produce representations of work which seem unlikely to enhance an outsider's view of working life in Germany. This has clear implications relating to which *Deutsch als Fremdsprache* materials should be viewed as 'cultural' or not and, more generally which kinds of educational texts are worthy of textual analysis.

The examination of the representation of human activity in these hitherto unexplored text types has, using the activity of work as a focus, exposed a range of representations clearly. In doing so, it has highlighted how cultural norms can be carried through such relatively unlikely sources to the language learner. At the same time this study points to the need to question conventional views of text and textual analysis. It suggests that to overlook such colony texts as those analysed here is to leave a rich source of 'textually-stored' cultural knowledge untapped and to neglect their potential to affect readers in the same way as other texts do.



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## **Appendix A, Chapter 2**



Max Hueber Verlag  
Redaktion 7

Max-Hueber-Straße 4  
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Telefon +49 - (0 89) 96 02-3 63  
Telefax +49 - (0 89) 96 02-2 50

Internet [http //www hueber de](http://www.hueber.de)

E-Mail [sailer@hueber de](mailto:sailer@hueber.de)

Max Hueber Verlag Postfach 11 42 D 85729 Ismaning

School of Applied Language and  
Intercultural Studies

Angela Leahy  
Glasnevin  
Dublin 9  
Irland

22 Mai 2001

sai

### **Dreyer / Schmitt Lehr- und Übungsbuch der deutschen Grammatik**

Sehr geehrte Frau Leahy,

entschuldigen Sie bitte die späte Antwort, ich habe Ihre Anfragen an die Autoren der Grammatik weitergeleitet und sie haben mir erst heute darauf geantwortet. Nun zu Ihren Fragen.

Alle Beispiele und Übungssätze sind frei formuliert, jeweils dem grammatischen Muster folgend. Übungen in Textzusammenhängen sind manchmal von Zeitungsartikeln, von Geschichten oder mündlichen Erzählungen inspiriert, aber immer neu geschrieben, jeweils den grammatischen Vorgaben folgend.

Der Wortschatz bezieht sich auf das ungefähre Niveau der Grundstufe II bis Mittelstufe. Eine Wortliste wurde zur Auswahl der Lexik jedoch nicht herangezogen.

Ich hoffe, Ihnen ein bisschen geholfen zu haben und wünsche Ihnen viel Glück bei Ihrer Arbeit. Vielleicht ist es Ihnen möglich, mir eine Kopie davon zukommen lassen zu können, da wir natürlich immer sehr an fundierten Untersuchungen unserer Lehrmaterialien interessiert sind.

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School of Applied Language and  
Intercultural Studies  
Angela Leahy  
Dublin City University  
Glasnevin  
IRLAND Dublin 9

Hedderichstraße 108 – 110  
D 60596 Frankfurt am Main  
Postfach 70 11 61  
D 60561 Frankfurt am Main  
Telefon (069) 42081 123  
Telefax (069) 42081 270  
www.diesterweg.de

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### Grundgrammatik Deutsch

Sehr geehrte Frau Leahy,

wir können Ihnen leider keine Auskunft geben über die konzeptionellen Überlegungen, weil die verantwortlichen Personen nicht mehr im Verlag tätig sind. Es besteht auch keine Verbindung mehr zu den Autorinnen und Autoren. Es tut mir leid, dass ich Ihnen nicht weiterhelfen kann.

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A. Martin Heike

## Appendix B, Chapter 2 – Most frequently occurring terms

1	DIE	7,186	51	KANN	653
2	DER	6,346	52	BEI	644
3	ICH	6,340	53	DOCH	633
4	SIE	4,738	54	UM	625
5	ER	4,452	55	HATTE	565
6	DAS	3,957	56	NUR	549
7	NICHT	3,340	57	HIER	548
8	IST	3,271	58	MEHR	546
9	IN	2,974	59	VOR	537
10	UND	2,441	60	ZUM	526
11	DEN	2,379	61	AUCH	524
12	DU	2,278	62	WIRD	516
13	ES	2,166	63	IMMER	511
14	ZU	2,128	64	IHN	510
15	HAT	2,107	65	JA	510
16	EIN	2,046	66	UNS	501
17	WIR	1,901	67	ÜBER	490
18	SICH	1,676	68	MUSS	488
19	MIT	1,644	69	EINEM	479
20	DEM	1,551	70	VIEL	467
21	HABEN	1,445	71	KONNEN	462
22	AUF	1,426	72	BITTE	460
23	HABE	1,416	73	BIN	458
24	EINE	1,334	74	EINER	449
25	VON	1,281	75	DENN	445
26	IM	1,194	76	SEHR	441
27	AN	1,164	77	IHM	440
28	NOCH	1,137	78	HEUTE	437
29	MIR	1,090	79	WURDE	436
30	DASS	1,033	80	MEINE	418
31	NACH	992	81	GUT	412
32	WAR	958	82	ETWAS	408
33	SO	941	83	HAST	403
34	IHR	926	84	DIR	397
35	EINEN	887	85	JETZT	381
36	ABER	851	86	UHR	380
37	MICH	815	87	MUSSEN	376
38	AUS	806	88	GEHEN	368
39	SIND	802	89	DICH	367
40	DES	790	90	NEIN	358
41	MAN	777	91	NICHTS	355
42	SCHON	776	92	IHNEN	349
43	WIE	775	93	GELD	347
44	ALS	758	94	MORGEN	347
45	AM	750	95	ZEIT	346
46	WAS	733	96	SEINE	345
47	SEIN	728	97	MEIN	343
48	WERDEN	728	98	HAUS	342
49	WENN	711	99	KOMMEN	342
50	FÜR	704	100	WIEDER	340



## Appendix C, Chapter 3 – Desirable occupations

- 1 Sie will später Ärztin für Lungenheilkunde und Allergie werden  
ds
  
- 2 den Menschen helfen können schöner Beruf sein in vielen Ländern arbeiten  
können viel Neues lernen können abwechslungsreiche Arbeit haben  
interessanter Beruf sein Arzt Lehrer Musiker Ärztin Maler Lehrerin  
Musikerin Malerin Ich möchte Ärztin werden, weil das ein schöner Beruf  
ist  
gs
  
- 3 Ja wissen Sie, bevor ich mit dem Musikstudium begann, wollte ich Arzt  
werden Seit wann spielen Sie überhaupt Klavier?  
gs
  
- 4 annehmen mein Bruder / den Facharzt / machen // er / praktischer Arzt /  
werden der Arbeitslose / die angebotene Stelle / annehmen // er / die Ar  
ds
  
- 5 Er ist Automechaniker, aber er wäre gern Rennfahrer  
gs
  
- 6 Können Sie sich noch an ihn erinnern? Er hatte sich damals um eine Stelle als  
Fahrer bei uns beworben.  
gr
  
- 7 Als ich ein Kind war, wollte ich Lokomotivführer werden  
gs
  
- 8 Florian will einmal Lokomotivführer werden  
gg

9 Er will Lehrer sein

gr

10 Am liebsten wurde ich an einer Universität in Süddeutschland arbeiten

gr

11 Er weiß nicht, was er werden soll Ich an seiner Stelle wurde Lehrer

gr

12 den Menschen helfen können schöner Beruf sein in vielen Ländern arbeiten

können viel Neues lernen können abwechslungsreiche Arbeit haben

interessanter Beruf sein Arzt Lehrer Musiker Ärztin Maler Lehrerin

Musikerin Malerin

gs

13 Manuela will Designerin werden

gr

14 Er wollte gern Maler werden, jedoch er hatte zu wenig Talent

ds

15 den Menschen helfen können schöner Beruf sein in vielen Ländern arbeiten

können viel Neues lernen können abwechslungsreiche Arbeit haben

interessanter Beruf sein Arzt Lehrer Musiker Ärztin Maler Lehrerin

Musikerin Malerin

gs

16 den Menschen helfen können schöner Beruf sein in vielen Ländern arbeiten

können viel Neues lernen können abwechslungsreiche Arbeit haben

interessanter Beruf sein Arzt Lehrer Musiker Ärztin Maler Lehrerin

Musikerin Malerin ist

gs

17 Suchst du dir wieder einen Job als Babysitter? Ja, wenn keine andere Arbeit finden Ja, wenn ich keine andere Arbeit finde  
gs

18 Ich suche eine Stelle als Babysitter  
gr

19 Mein Bruder will Ingenieur werden, ich studiere Germanistik  
c \mydocu~1\corpus~1\ds21-2~1 txt 69

20 Sie will/mochte Rechtsanwältin werden und hofft, dass sie gleich einen Studienplatz bekommt  
gs

21 Hier ist eine Dame, die sich um die Stelle als Büroangestellte bewirbt C  
Sagen Sie ihr, sie möchte sich schriftlich um die Stelle bewerben Ich kann ja nicht auf alle Zeugnisse verzichten.  
ds

## Appendix D, Chapter 3 – Choices of study and training

- 1 Ich will Medizin studieren  
gg
- 2 Jonas will Medizin studieren  
gr
- 3 Nach Medizin ist Jura das beliebteste Studienfach  
ds
- 4 Der Medizinstudent hat die erste Prüfung bestanden.  
Der Medizinstudent besteht/bestand  
ds
- 5 Heidis Vater sagt, sie soll Medizin studieren, aber Heidi will Musik studieren  
gr
- 6 Helga / Medizin / studieren // sie / die Musikhochschule / besuchen  
Entweder studiert Helga Medizin oder sie besucht die Musikhochschule  
ds
- 7 Vor der Ankunft des Krankenwagens an der Unfallstelle wurde der Verletzte  
von einem Medizinstudenten versorgt Während des Transports des  
Verletzten in ein Krankenhaus wurde er  
ds
- 8 Seit Anfang April arbeitet Martin in Österreich als Krankenpfleger Seine  
Freundin Inge, geboren in Deutschland, studiert jetzt in der Schweiz Medizin  
Sie will später Ärztin für Lungenheilkunde und Allergie werden Sie hat  
leider noch Probleme mit der Sprache Sie studiert nämlich in Genf  
ds

- 9 Das ist mein Sohn Richard Karl, was macht dein Sohn? Studiert er noch?  
Und deine Tochter? - Mein Sohn studiert nicht mehr, er ist jetzt Arzt, und  
meine Tochter ist verheiratet  
gr
- 10 Während des Studiums arbeitet sie bereits an ihrer Doktorarbeit Sie hatte  
vor dem Studium eine Krankenschwesternausbildung mitgemacht  
ds
- 11 Sieh dir das dicke Buch an Als Pharmaziestudent muss ich das alles (alles  
das) auswendig lernen.  
ds
- 12 Ich will Physik studieren  
gs
- 13 das Ende der Welt das Ende der Nacht das Studium der Physik und der  
Chemie die letzte Woche des Praktikums die Hauptstadt der Bundesrepublik  
gr
- 14 Die Kenntnisse derer (derjenigen), die Physik studieren wollen, sind  
ausreichend  
ds
- 15 Mit denen, die Physik studieren wollen, muss ich noch sprechen.  
ds
- 16 Wenn es genügend Laborplätze gäbe / Gäbe es genügend Laborplätze,  
könnten alle Bewerber Chemie studieren  
ds
- 17 Es gibt nicht genügend Laborplätze Nicht alle Bewerber können Chemie  
studieren  
ds

- 18 Ich studiere in Köln/ Chemie Wir studieren in Köln/ Chemie  
gr
- 19 Er studiert Chemie, seine Schwester studiert Germanistik  
ds
- 20 das Ende der Welt das Ende der Nacht das Studium der Physik und der  
Chemie die letzte Woche des Praktikums die Hauptstadt der Bundesrepublik  
gr
- 21 Er studierte Chemie  
ds
- 22 sich entschließen Er hat sich entschlossen Chemie zu studieren  
ds
- 23 Wen habt ihr um Rat gebeten? Einen Arzt Was hat er euch gegeben?  
Tabletten Wem habt ihr 200 Mark borgen müssen? Einer  
Zoologiestudentin  
ds
- 24 Mathematik studierten Sie? Hier an/auf der Universität? - Nein, an/auf der  
Technischen Hochschule  
gr
- 25 Mein Bruder will Ingenieur werden, ich studiere Germanistik  
ds
- 26 Er studiert Chemie, seine Schwester studiert Germanistik  
ds
- 27 Wir haben zu Hause einen Studenten aus Frankreich, der studiert  
Germanistik gr

- 28 Sie schätzt über alles Studenten, die die Partizipialkonstruktion beherrschen  
über alles Partizipialkonstruktionen beherrschende Studenten schätzende,  
reizende, altere Dame  
gr
- 29 Woher kommen/sind Sie? B Ich komme/bin aus Japan Und Sie? A Aus  
Spanien A Was studieren Sie hier an der Universität? B Germanistik A  
Ich studiere auch Germanistik  
gr
- 30 Haben Sie Ihren Studenten schon den Konjunktiv erklärt? Ja, ich habe ihn  
ihnen schon erklärt  
gs
- 31 Haben deine Studenten auch Probleme mit der Adjektivdeklination?  
gs
- 32 Die Aussprache meiner Studentinnen ist sehr gut  
gs
- 33 Heidis Vater sagt, sie soll Medizin studieren, aber Heidi will Musik studieren.  
gr
- 34 Helga / Medizin / studieren // sie / die Musikhochschule / besuchen Entweder  
studiert Helga Medizin oder sie besucht die Musikhochschule  
ds
- 35 Und wann haben Sie dann mit dem Musikstudium begonnen? (26 Jahre alt)  
Als ich 26 Jahre alt war Das ist doch ungewöhnlich spät Wie kam das?  
(Arzt werden wollen) Ja wissen Sie, bevor ich mit dem Musikstudium  
begann, wollte ich  
gs



- 36 Seine Freundin ist auf/an der Kunstakademie in Dusseldorf, sie studiert  
Malerei  
gr
- 37 Nach Medizin ist Jura das beliebteste Studienfach  
ds
- 38 Studienbeginn in Koln in Jura und Betriebswirtschaft Stipendium für die  
USA Studium in Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1973/74 Fortsetzung des Studiums  
in Munchen Beendigung der Diplomarbeit im Frühjahr 1976  
gr
- 39 1984 begann ich mein Studium in Volkswirtschaft an der Universität  
Munster gr
- 40 Studienbeginn in Koln in Jura und Betriebswirtschaft Stipendium für die  
USA Studium in Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1973/74 Fortsetzung des Studiums  
in Munchen Beendigung der Diplomarbeit im Frühjahr  
gr
- 41 Ich will mit der Schule aufhören, weil ich endlich eine Ausbildung als  
Automechaniker anfangen möchte Meine Eltern erlauben das nicht und  
wollen mich zwingen, weiter zur Schule zu gehen und das Abitur zu machen  
Wie  
gs
- 42 anvertrauen Er hat dem Lehrling die Werkstattdschlüssel anvertraut  
ds
- 43 Je länger ich Philosophie studiere, umso weniger verstehe ich die Welt  
gg
- 44 Mein Sohn geht zur Universität, er studiert Kommunikationswissenschaft  
gr

## Appendix E, Chapter 3 - Doctors

- 1 das Einkommen eines Direktors/von Direktoren die Verantwortung eines  
Arztes/von Ärzten das Weinen einer Frau/von Frauen  
gr
- 2 Er ist Arzt Er ist ein guter Arzt  
gs
- 3 Der Arzt hat mich gründlich untersucht  
gr
- 4 Sofort nach der Ankunft des Verletzten im Krankenhaus haben Fachärzte ihn  
untersucht Bei der Untersuchung des Verletzten stellte man innere  
Verletzungen fest Vor der Operation des Patienten gab man ihm eine  
Bluttransfusion. Vor dem Beginn der Operation legte man alle Instrumente  
bereit Nach der Operation brachte man den Patienten auf die Intensivstation  
(die Operation beenden) Nach einigen Tagen brachte man den Patienten in  
ein gewöhnliches Krankenzimmer (Tage vergehen) Vor seiner Entlassung  
hat man ihn noch einmal gründlich untersucht  
ds
- 5 Er war fast eine Woche im Krankenhaus, man hat ihn gründlich untersucht,  
alles Mögliche ausprobiert, aber nichts Verdächtiges gefunden  
gr
- 6 Der Mann war bei dem Unfall so schwer verletzt worden, dass er sofort in ein  
Krankenhaus emgehiefert werden musste Dort wurde er gründlich untersucht  
und dabei (wurde) festgestellt, dass er sofort operiert werden muss Nachdem  
er drei Wochen im Krankenhaus behandelt worden war, konnte er entlassen  
werden Zu Hause wurde er noch einige Wochen von seinem Hausarzt  
versorgt  
gs

- 7 Nach der grundlichen Untersuchung des Patienten schickte der Arzt ihn ins Krankenhaus  
Nachdem der Patient grundlich untersucht worden war, schickte  
ds
- 8 Der Arzt hat mich eine Stunde untersucht, mir fehlt nichts, ich bin vollig  
gesund  
gr
- 9 Ein arztliches Gutachten Professor B über den Angeklagten F „Es handelt  
sich bei dem Angeklagten um einen uberaus einfältigen Menschen ”  
ds
- 10 Ich kenne keinen anderen Arzt, der dir besser helfen konnte  
ds
- 11 Ich kenne eine gute Arztn  
gr
- 12 Fur meinen Hausarzt ist es wichtig, dass die Patienten frei über ihre  
Krankheit sprechen  
ds
- 13 Arzt fragte den Patienten, wie lange er schon die Kopfschmerzen habe, ob die  
Schmerzen standig da seien oder ob sie nur manchmal auftraten (aufreten  
wurden), ob die Schmerzen hinter den Augen lägen (liegen wurden), ob er  
auch nachts Kopfschmerzen habe, ob er Tabletten nehme, was für Tabletten  
er genommen habe, ob der Schmerz so stark sei, dass er es ohne Tabletten  
nicht aushalte, was für eine Arbeiter im Buro verrichte, wie lange er vor  
dem Bildschirm sitzen müsse, ob er die Möglichkeit habe, seine Tätigkeit zu  
wechseln - Der Patient fragte den Arzt „Wie oft soll ich die Tabletten  
nehmen? Muss ich im Bett liegen bleiben, oder darf ich ?”  
ds

- 14 Der Arzt legte dem Fieberkranken vor der Untersuchung prüfend die Hand auf die Stirn  
ds
- 15 Erkundigt sich der Arzt nicht regelmäßig nach dem Zustand des Kranken?  
er erkundigt sich regelmäßig nach dem Zustand des Kranken  
ds
- 16 Der Arzt erlaubte der Dame nicht aufzustehen Der Chefarzt wollte die Kranke noch nicht entlassen Die Frau wollte dem Arzt nicht widersprechen Die Pfleger mussten der Frau beistehen  
ds
- 17 Die Ärzte haben alles versucht, trotzdem/dennoch konnten sie den Patienten nicht retten.  
ds
- 18 Vor der Ankunft des Krankenwagens an der Unfallstelle wurde der Verletzte von einem Medizinstudenten versorgt Während des Transports des Verletzten in ein Krankenhaus wurde er bereits von einem Notarzt behandelt Sofort nach der Ankunft des Verletzten im Krankenhaus haben Fachärzte ihn untersucht Bei der Untersuchung des Verletzten stellte man innere Verletzungen fest Vor der Operation des Patienten gab man ihm eine Bluttransfusion. Vor dem Beginn der Operation legte man alle Instrumente bereit Nach der Operation brachte man den Patienten auf die Intensivstation (die Operation beenden) Nach einigen Tagen  
ds
- 19 Man muss den Verletzten sofort operieren Der Verletzte muss sofort operiert werden Man musste den Verletzten sofort operieren Der Verletzte musste sofort operiert werden Man hat den Verletzten sofort operieren müssen  
ds

- 20 Die Ärzte konnten das Leben des Politikers durch eine sofortige Operation nach dem Attentat retten. (indem sie ihn )  
ds
- 21 Der Arzt entschloss sich zu einem Lufröhrenschnitt (das Kind / ersticken)  
sonst/andernfalls wäre das Kind erstickt  
ds
- 22 Man musste den Patienten an eine Herz-Lungen-Maschine anschließen (er / nicht mehr / zu retten sein) sonst/andernfalls wäre er nicht mehr zu retten gewesen sonst/andernfalls wäre  
ds
- 23 Eine junge Ärztin erzählt ein Erlebnis von einer Expedition. Sie berichtet, dass vor einiger Zeit „Vor einiger Zeit kam eine Mutter mit einem schwerkranken Säugling zu mir. Das Kind war schon blau im Gesicht und atmete schwer. Nach einer kurzen Untersuchung konnte ich feststellen, dass eine leichte Form von Diphtherie vorlag. Nachdem ich, weil mir andere Instrumente fehlten, das altmodische, aber scharfe Rasiermesser unseres Kochs desinfiziert hatte, wagte ich einen Schnitt in den Kehlkopf des Kindes. Das Herausspritzende Blut versetzte die Mutter in helle Aufregung. Sie schrie verzweifelt: „Sie tötet mein Kind! Sie schlachtet es wie ein Schaf!“ Viele Einwohner des Dorfes liefen mit drohenden Gebärden herbei, so dass ich das Schlimmste für mein Leben und das des Kindes fürchten musste. Zum Glück war der Weg vom Dorf bis zu unserer Station steil und steinig und als die erregten Leute an meinem Zelt ankamen, atmete das Kind schon wieder ruhig und hatte seine natürliche Gesichtsfarbe zurückgewonnen. Seitdem behandeln die Dorfbewohner mich wie eine Heilige und es ist schwierig, sie davon zu überzeugen, dass ich keine Toten erwecken kann.“  
ds
- 24 Sie als Mediziner haben natürlich bessere Berufsaussichten!  
ds

- 25 Sie ist mit einem Arzt verheiratet Wann bist du mit der Arbeit fertig?  
gr
- 26 Ich bin bekannt / Ich bin einverstanden / Ich bin verheiratet / Ich bin  
verwandt / Ich bin zufrieden / Ich diskutiere / Ich rechne / Ich rede / Ich  
spreche / Ich unterhalte mich mit dem Arzt  
gg
- 27 Du willst dich als Arzt doch nicht etwa auf dem Land niederlassen? Da kann  
man doch nicht leben!- Ja, warum denn nicht? Dort wohnen doch auch  
Menschen  
gr
- 28 Die Mediziner müssen sich ständig mit neuen Grippeviren beschäftigen, die  
sie mit den vorhandenen Mitteln nicht identifizieren können  
ds
- 29 in einer Klinik, die bekannt für ihre Heilerfolge ist Er ist ganz begeistert von  
der freundlichen Atmosphäre dort Der Chefarzt ist beliebt bei Personal und  
Patienten  
ds
- 30 Er musste aufhören zu rauchen (ihn / der Arzt / nicht mehr behandeln)  
sonst/andernfalls hatte ihn der Arzt nicht mehr behandelt  
ds
- 31 Tu das, was der Arzt gesagt hat! Schlafen ist das Beste, was du jetzt machen  
kannst  
ds
- 32 Der Chirurg wurde von Patienten aus aller Welt angeschrieben Seine  
Herzoperationen waren fast immer erfolgreich verlaufen  
Der Chirurg, dessen Herzoperationen verlaufen waren, wurde  
ds

- 33 Der Kranke war tief beunruhigt, nachdem die Ärzte, laut über seinen Fall diskutierend, das Krankenzimmer verlassen hatten.  
ds
- 34 Sie bat die Ärztin um den Termin für die Operation, aber sie teilte ihn ihr nicht mit  
ds
- 35 Der Arzt war nicht da, obwohl ich einen Termin bei ihm hatte  
gr
- 36 (Jedes Mal) wenn der Arzt kam, versteckte sie sich im Schrank  
gg
- 37 Du bist doch Arzt! Warum hilfst du nicht?  
gr
- 38 Und der sagt, dass er Arzt ist? Da muss ich ja lachen! Er will Arzt sein!  
gr
- 39 Wegen eines nicht restlos aufzuklarenden Fehlers eines Chirurgen litt der Patient jahrelang an Rückenschmerzen. Wegen eines Fehlers eines Chirurgen, der nicht restlos aufgeklärt werden kann (der nicht restlos aufzuklären ist), litt  
ds
- 40 Der Arzt überwies den Patienten ins Krankenhaus. Er hat ihn nicht untersucht ohne dass er ihn untersucht hatte  
ds
- 41 Zwar hatte er seit langem Kopfschmerzen, aber er wollte doch keinen Arzt aufsuchen. Er hatte zwar seit langem Kopfschmerzen, er wollte aber doch keinen Arzt aufsuchen  
ds



- 42 Sie geht nicht zum Arzt, obwohl sie krank ist Obwohl sie krank ist, geht sie nicht zum Arzt  
gs
- 43 von einem Arzt beraten, der wird dir sagen was du zu tun hast Ich habe aber keine Lust extra deswegen zu einem Arzt zu gehen Dann sehe ich dich immer dicker werden. Und bald wirst du nicht mehr in deinen Stuhl passen.  
gr
- 44 Gehen Sie doch endlich zu einem Arzt  
ds
- 45 Es wäre besser, sie ginge zum Arzt und ließe sich untersuchen / und würde sich untersuchen lassen  
sie wäre zum Arzt gegangen und hatte sich untersuchen lassen  
ds
- 46 In einem Zeitungsartikel wird berichtet, dass der Chefarzt in der vorigen Woche 900 000 Mark von seinem Konto abgehoben hat Sehr wahrscheinlich haben die Patienten unter den ungeordneten Zuständen in diesem Krankenhaus sehr gelitten. Vielleicht wird der Prozess gegen den Chefarzt und den Gesundheitsminister noch in diesem Jahr eröffnet Im Krankenhaus der Stadt B sollen im letzten Jahr viele Millionen Mark  
ds
- 47 Der Patient erholte sich schneller, , als die Ärzte angenommen hatten  
ds
- 48 Beim Arzt Frau Kapp den Verband anlegen Arzt Haben Sie Frau Kapp schon den Verband angelegt? Sprechstundenhilfe Ja, er ist schon angelegt Ja, ja, der ist schon angelegt Herrn Müller den Arm röntgen dem Jungen einen Krankenschein schreiben diesem Herrn den Blutdruck messen Frau Neumann wiegen Frau Kubler Blut abnehmen dem Verletzten die Wunde reinigen den Krankenwagen benachrichtigen das Rezept für Frau Klein

ausschreiben gerontgt? Ja, er ist schon gerontgt geschrieben? Ja, er  
ist  
ds

49 Ärzte vermeiden bei Fohnwetter schwierigere Operationen (Sie wurden  
durch negative Erfahrungen gewarnt ) Durch negative Erfahrungen gewarnt  
vermeiden Ärzte bei Fohnwetter schwierige Operationen Ärzte vermeiden,  
durch negative Erfahrungen gewarnt, bei Fohnwetter  
ds

50 Ärzte sind gegen das Rauchen  
ds

## Appendix F, Chapter 3 - Teachers

- 1 Lehrer sind Menschen, die uns helfen, Probleme zu beseitigen, die wir ohne sie nicht hatten  
gr
- 2 Der Lehrer sprach so laut, (seine Schuler / alle schwerhörig sein)  
ds
- 3 Ist das die Lehrerin, vor der du Angst hast?  
gg
- 4 Früher mussten die Kinder in der Schule immer ganz still sitzen. Sie durften nicht aufstehen, ohne den Lehrer vorher zu fragen  
gs
- 5 Sie haben gegen den Lehrer protestiert  
gr
- 6 Weißt du etwas von dem Lehrer, den man entlassen hat?  
gr
- 7 Was sagt Ihr Lehrer? du Lies den Text vor! ihr Lest den Text vor! Sei/Seid leise! Mach/Macht das Fenster zu! Schreib/Schreibt die Regel auf! Sprich/Sprecht lauter! Schlag/Schlagt das Buch auf! Sieh/Seht im Wörterbuch nach! Komm/Kommt an die Tafel!  
gs
- 8 Der Lehrer übersieht den Fehler  
ds
- 9 einen neuen Lehrer haben - gar nichts mehr verstehen. Seitdem wir einen neuen Lehrer haben, verstehe ich gar nichts mehr  
gs

- 10 Wir brauchen einen besseren Lehrer Wir brauchen bessere Lehrer  
gg
- 11 Der Lehrer langweilt die Schuler mit den reflexiven Verben.  
ds
- 12 Unser Lehrer gibt uns immer zu viele Hausaufgaben Sag mal, wo ist denn  
deine Lehrerin?  
gs
- 13 Der Schuler erschreckte den Lehrer mit seiner Spielzeugpistole  
ds
- 14 es kame eine Fee und du hattest drei Wünsche! es gäbe Urlaub und alle  
blieben zu Hause! es gabe keine Menschen und die Welt bestande trotzdem!  
der Lehrer schriebe Noten und niemand interessierte sich dafür!  
gr
- 15 Die Lehrerin hilft den Studenten viel  
gs
- 16 Der Lehrer spricht immer langsam und deutlich, aber Joe versteht kein Wort  
gr
- 17 Ich diskutiere gern mit meinem Lehrer  
gs
- 18 Frau Lindner ist Lehrerin, sie ist eine gute Padagogin  
gr
- 19 Mit dem Unterricht und der Lehrerin (ich kann mich leider nicht mehr an  
ihren Familiennamen erinnern) war ich sehr zufrieden, wir haben viel bei ihr  
gelernt  
gs

- 20 Der Lehrer sagt zu der Schlerin „Schließ den Mund und atme durch die Nase! Mach die Übungen ruhig mit, aber achte darauf, dass nichts weh tut! Wenn es dir zu anstrengend wird, hor' auf!" - Uta sagte zum Lehrer „Entschuldigen Sie mich bitte, ich fühle mich nicht wohl und will (mochte) nach Hause gehen "
- ds
- 21 Der Zustand der heutigen Gesellschaft hat nicht erst in den sechziger und siebziger Jahren seinen Ursprung Er wird von vielen Erziehern, Theologen und Politikern beklagt Die Gesellschaft ist orientierungslos und splittert sich auf Dieser Prozess läuft heute mit einer rasanten Geschwindigkeit ab
- gr
- 22 Der Lehrer gab dem Schuler das Buch vor dem Unterricht Der Lehrer gab ihm das Buch vor dem Unterricht Der Lehrer gab es dem Schuler vor dem Unterricht Der Lehrer gab es ihm vor dem Unterricht
- ds
- 23 Der Lehrer erklärt dem Schuler die Regel Der Wirt serviert dem Gast die Suppe
- ds
- 24 Wir fragen die Kinder / die Verkäuferinnen / die Lehrerinnen  
Ich frage / Wir fragen das Kind / die Verkäuferin / die Lehrerin
- ds
- 25 Lehrer / durchstreichen / ganzer Satz Der Lehrer hat den ganzen Satz durchgestrichen.
- ds
- 26 er streicht durch Der Lehrer streicht das falsche Wort durch
- ds
- 27 Der Lehrer schreibt das Wort an die Tafel
- ds

- 28 Der Turnlehrer sagte zu den Schülern „Stellt euch gerade hin und streckt die Arme nach vorn! Bringt jetzt die Arme in weitem Bogen nach hinten, lasst den Kopf zurückfallen  
ds
- 29 Fragen Sie doch den Lehrer!  
gr
- 30 Heute sprachen die Lehrer mit den Schülern über die neuen Bestimmungen  
ds
- 31 Der Schüler fragte Der Lehrer antwortete ihm.  
ds
- 32 Die Sprechweise des jungen Schauspielers ahnt der seines Lehrers  
ds
- 33 Unsere Erzieher sind auf dieselbe Weise und mit denselben Informationen gemacht worden, aus denen wir gemacht werden. Die Auswahlmöglichkeiten beim Zusammenstellen eines Lehrplans sind unendlich. Wer einen Lehrplan gestaltet, muss auswählen Seine Auswahl wird eingeschränkt durch die Zahl der Stunden, die unterrichtet werden kann und durch seine Interessen oder was er für seine Interessen halt Eine Erziehung, die nichts Bestimmtes will, gibt es nicht (Aus E A Rauter, Wie eine Meinung in einem Kopf entsteht)  
gr
- 34 Ich arbeite als Taxifahrer, aber mein eigentlicher Beruf ist Lehrer  
gg

## Appendix G, Chapter 3 - Farmers

- 1 Der Bauer wurde vom Blitz getroffen  
gg
- 2 Für Bauern gilt die Regel 'Heu nur trocken in der Scheune lagern!' Wenn das Heu feucht und das Wetter warm ist, kann ein Brand entstehen.  
ds
- 3 Auf einem Bauernhof spielten Kinder mit Feuer und steckten dabei die Stallungen in Brand. Die Feuerwehrleute banden die Tiere los und jagten sie aus den Ställen.  
ds
- 4 Der Bauer, dessen Scheune abgebrannt war, erhielt Schadenersatz  
ds
- 5 Ein Feuer vernichtete den Hof des Bauern Obermüller samt Stall und Scheune. Dank der Hilfe der Nachbarn konnte der Bauer wenigstens seine Möbel und die Haustiere retten. Einem Nachbarn gegenüber äußerte der Bauer den Verdacht der Brandstiftung. Aber entgegen diesem Verdacht stellte man später fest, dass ein Kurzschluss die Ursache des Brandes war.  
ds
- 6 Der Bauernhof ist aus unbekanntem Grund in Brand geraten. Brandstiftung kommt sehr wahrscheinlich nicht in Frage.  
ds
- 7 Der Bauer droht dem Apfeldieb (-e)  
ds
- 8 Unbekannte Täter haben dem Bauern zwölf Schafe gestohlen  
ds



- 9 Den kleinen Bauern geht es nicht gut  
gr
- 10 Der Bauer ist mit seiner Ernte sehr zufrieden, aber er ist verbittert darüber,  
dass durch die reiche Getreideernte die Preise fallen  
ds
- 11 Die Bauern zeigten durch Demonstrationen mit Traktoren und schwarzen  
Fahnen ihren Protest gegen die neuen Gesetze Die Bauern zeigten ihren  
Protest gegen die neuen Gesetze, indem sie mit Traktoren und schwarzen  
Fahnen demonstrierten.  
ds
- 12 Die Bauern durchquerten mit ihren Wagen die ganze Stadt  
ds
- 13 Der Importstopp für landwirtschaftliche Produkte ist eine bekannte Forderung  
der Bauern  
gr
- 14 Der Landwirt musste das Gebäude wieder abreißen Das Bauamt hatte es ihm  
nicht genehmigt  
ds
- 15 Der Bauer schlug vor Arger mit der Faust auf den Tisch  
Vor Arger schlug der Bauer mit der Faust auf den Tisch  
ds
- 16 Der Bauer pflugt den Acker  
ds
- 17 Der Landwirt berichtet von der Tagesarbeit Ich muss das Vieh füttern  
Von der Tagesarbeit auf dem Bauernhof Das Vieh muss gefüttert werden  
Ich muss die Felder pflügen die Saat aussaen die Acker dungen die Stalle

saubern die Melkmaschine reinigen Baume fallen Holz sagen ein Schwein schlachten Gras schneiden Heu wenden Äpfel und Birnen pflücken Die Felder müssen gepflügt werden. Die Saat muss ausgesat werden Die Äcker müssen gedungt werden Die Ställe müssen gesäubert werden Die Melkmaschine muss gereinigt werden Baume müssen gefällt werden Holz muss gesägt werden. Ein Schwein muss geschlachtet werden Gras muss geschnitten werden. Heu muss gewendet werden. Äpfel und Birnen müssen gepflückt werden

ds

18 Auf dem Bauernhof gibt's frische Milch

ds

19 Der Stall liegt rechts neben dem Bauernhaus

ds

20 Wozu braucht der Bauer einen Traktor? - Zur Bearbeitung der Felder Der Bauer braucht einen Traktor um die Felder bearbeiten zu können Wozu dungt er im Frühjahr die Felder? - Zum besseren Wachstum der Pflanzen Wozu halt er Kuhe? Zur Gewinnung von Milch Wozu braucht er eine Leiter? Zum Ernten der Äpfel und Birnen Wozu nimmt er einen Kredit von der Bank auf? - Zur Einrichtung einer Hühnerfarm Wozu annonciert er in der Zeitung? - Zur Vermietung der Fremdenzimmer in seinem Haus Wozu kauft er eine Kutsche und zwei Pferde? - Zur Freude der Gäste (sich daran freuen) Wozu richtet er unter dem Dach noch Zimmer ein? Zur Unterbringung der Gäste (dort unterbringen) Wozu baut er ein kleines Schwimmbecken? Zur Erfrischung der Gäste und zu ihrem Wohlbefinden

ds

21 Sie ziehen die Kalber nicht in dunklen Ställen groß (Manche Bauern lehnen es ab,) Manche Bauern lehnen es ab, die Kalber in dunklen Ställen großzuziehen Von der Tierhaltung Die Kalber werden nicht von ihren Muttertieren getrennt

ds

- 22 Die Kuhe reißen sich los Der Bauer bindet sie wieder an  
Die Kuhe haben sich losgerissen Der Bauer hat sie angebunden.  
ds
- 23 Mein\_ Verwandten haben auf ihr\_ Bauernhof allerdings ihr\_ eigene Methode  
Mein\_ Onkel verwendet keinen chemischen Dünger, er düngt sein\_ Boden  
nur mit dem Mist sein\_ Schafe und Kuhe Ebenso macht es sein\_ Frau Ihr\_  
Gemüsegarten düngt sie nur mit natürlichem Dünger Ihr\_ Gemüse und ihr\_  
Obst wachsen völlig natürlich! Sie braucht keine gefährlichen Gifte gegen  
Unkraut oder Insekten und ihr\_ Obstbäume wachsen und gedeihen trotzdem  
Deshalb schmecken ihr\_ Äpfel und Birnen auch besser als unser\_ gekauften  
Fruchte Ihr\_ Hühner und Gänse laufen frei herum, nur abends treibt sie  
mein\_ Onkel in ihr\_ Ställe Dort legen sie Eier und brüten ihr\_ Küken aus,  
das wird dem\_ kleinen Bruder interessieren! Die Landwirtschaft mein\_  
Verwandten ist übrigens sehr modern Ihr\_ Haushalt versorgen sie mit  
Warmwasser aus Sonnenenergie, sogar die Wärme der Milch ihr\_ Kuhe  
verwenden sie zum Heizen! Die Maschinen sind die modernsten ihr\_ Dorfes  
Mein\_ Verwandten sind noch jung Mein\_ Onkel ist 30, mein\_ Tante 25  
Jahre alt Ich finde ihr\_ Leben und ihr\_ Arbeit sehr richtig und sehr gesund  
ds
- 24 Der Bauer erntete mehr, Er erntete so dicke Äpfel,  
ds
- 25 Die frischesten Eier bekommen Sie direkt beim Bauern frisch  
gr
- 26 Am Ende des Urlaubs auf dem Bauernhof verabschiedeten sich die Gäste von  
ihren Gastgebern  
ds
- 27 T verbringt den Urlaub auf einem Bauernhof im Odenwald U geht in eine  
Pension in Interlaken in der Schweiz  
ds

- 28 Ich verbringe nicht auf einem Bauernhof, sondern ich bleibe zu Hause,  
denn ich muss sparen  
ds
- 29 Fritz macht keinen Urlaub auf dem Bauernhof Er arbeitet lieber in seinem  
eigenen Garten. Ruth bleibt dieses Jahr zu Hause  
ds
- 30 Ein Bauer hatte den Wanderern den Weg zur Berghütte erklärt Sie fanden  
ihr Ziel leicht, denn er hatte ihn ihnen sehr gut beschrieben.  
ds
- 31 Den Kindern gefiel der kleine Hund auf dem Bauernhof so gut, dass die  
Eltern ihn schließlich dem Bauern abkauften  
ds
- 32 Sein\_ Einladung habe ich gestern bekommen Er ladt dich, dein\_ Bruder und  
mich auf sein\_ Bauernhof em Mein\_ Freude kannst du dir vorstellen Es  
war ja schon lange unser\_ Plan, zusammen zu verreisen Mein\_ Verwandten  
haben auf ihr\_ Bauernhof  
ds
- 33 In dem Ort gab es keinen Gasthof, aber wir kamen in ein Bauernhaus unter,  
und da der Wind am nächsten Morgen nicht nachgelassen hatte, stellten wir  
dort unsere Räder unter und fuhren mit dem Bus weiter  
gr
- 34 Den Lehrer kennen alle Bauern seit ihrer Kindheit  
ds
- 35 Er hinterlasst seinem Sohn einen Bauernhof  
ds

36 Der Erbe schreibt sein Testament für einen Bauern Der Kuchen backt den  
Backer Der Sklave verkauft den Herrn.  
Ein Bauer schreibt sein Testament für den Erben  
ds

37 Dort auf dem Hügel steht ein alter Bauernhof  
ds

38 So ein altes Bauernhaus kann nur mit Hilfe eines Fachmanns umgebaut  
werden  
ds

39 Viele Kuchen in den Bauernhäusern haben Eckbanke aus Holz  
gr

40 Als die Soldaten kamen, verteidigten die Bauern ihr Dorf  
ds

41 Ein Bauer hat getreten bei einer Jagdgesellschaft aus Versehen auf den  
Fuß seinem Fürsten  
ds

42 Der Bauer geht hinter dem Pflug, der Vornehme aber geht hinter ihm und  
dem Pflug und treibt ihn mit den Ochsen am Pflug, er nimmt das Korn und  
läßt ihm die Stoppeln. Das Leben der Bauern ist ein langer Werktag, Fremde  
verzehren seine Acker vor seinen Augen, sein Leib ist eine Schwiele, sein  
Schweiß ist das Salz auf dem Tisch des Vornehmen. (aus einem Flugblatt  
von 1834)  
gr

43 Es hatt' ein Bauer ein schönes Weib Es ging ein Jäger jagen Es blüht die  
Blumen auf dem Feld Es dunkelt schon in der Heide Jetzt fängt das schöne  
Frühjahr  
gr

- 44 Die Bauern reiten ins Dorf Wer reitet ins Dorf?  
Die Bauern ritten ins Dorf Die Bauern sind ins Dorf geritten  
ds
- 45 Der Bauer befiehlt dem Fursten Die Zeitung druckt den Drucker Der Zeuge  
befragt den Richter Der Hase frisst den Lowen Der Furst befiehlt dem  
Bauern Der Drucker druckt die Zeitung Der Richter befragt den Zeugen  
Der Lowe frisst den Hasen Der Polizist verhaftet den Studenten  
ds
- 46 A wunderscheans Kind Was wird aus dem Kind? A saudumma Bua Was  
wird aus dem Bua? A ganz großer Bauer Und was tuat dann der Bauer? Er  
pflanzt a wunderschean Birnbaum (Refrain ) Birnbaum vom Bauern, Bauer  
vom Buam, Bua (aus dem Kind )  
gr
- 47 Der Wind im Korn lacht, den ganzen Tag und die halbe Nacht Weil das  
Kalbchen weint, sagt der Bauer warum bist du ein Kalb Solltest lieber ein  
Vogel sein Dumme Kalber bindet man, und man schlachtet sie mit Recht  
Wer Flugel hat, kann wegfliegen, und  
gr
- 48 Obschon der Professor nur Altgriechisch gelernt hatte, verstanden ihn die  
griechischen Bauern  
ds
- 49 Ein Funftel der Einwohner sind Bauern  
ds
- 50 Sie können langsam immer mehr landwirtschaftliche Erzeugnisse verkaufen  
(Die Biobauern erwarten,)  
ds

## Appendix H, Chapter 4 – ‘Chefin’

- 1 Da geht eine Dame in einem blauen Pelzmantel Das ist meine Chefin  
ds
- 2 Nachmittag Cognac Freund Frau Chefin Busfahrer Schulerin Morgen  
Asiatin Norden Munchnerin

Der Elefant, Nachmittag Bauer, Februar, Fruhling, Freitag, Wein, Schnee  
die Frau, Chefin, Schulerin, Asiatin, Munchnerin, Lehrerin, Schrift, Rose  
gs

## Appendix I; Chapter 4 – ‘Chef’

- 1 Was denkst du über unseren neuen Chef? Ich finde ihn sehr nett und kooperativ. Wir haben gestern lange mit ihm über unsere Arbeitsbedingungen diskutiert, und wir konnten ihn davon überzeugen, dass  
gs
- 2 Der neue Chef hat alle persönlich begrüßt, er hat niemand(en) vergessen  
gr
- 3 Wir hatten einmal einen sehr guten Chef. Er gefiel uns allen sehr gut. Er sah sehr elegant aus und trug immer die neuesten Krawatten. Er war unverheiratet und man sah ihn nie mit einer Freundin. Er kam immer früh ins Büro, meistens begann er schon um acht mit der Arbeit. Zuerst las er die Post durch. Er ließ keine Arbeit liegen und hielt alle Termine ein. Abends verließ er immer als letzter das Büro und oft saß er noch bis nach neun am Schreibtisch. Manchmal nahm er auch Arbeit mit nach Haus. Er vergaß nie den Geburtstag seiner Sekretarin und lud sie dann immer zum Essen ein. Er sprach mit allen Mitarbeitern und es fiel ihm immer auf, wenn jemand gut arbeitete. Er tat alles um das Betriebsklima zu verbessern. Es gab selten Ärger im Büro und in der Freizeit rief er nie seine Mitarbeiter an. Im Urlaub fuhr er immer nach Italien, aber er blieb nie länger als drei Wochen. Als er nach zwei Jahren eine andere Stelle bekam und in eine andere Stadt zog, waren wir alle sehr traurig.  
gr
- 4 Gestern hat mich mein Chef im Krankenhaus besucht, was ich nie erwartet habe  
gs
- 5 Er hatte damit gerechnet, dass sich seine Verwandten um die Kinder kümmern, weil er sich darauf konzentrieren wollte, eine Rede zum Geburtstag seines Chefs zu schreiben  
ds



- 6 Meine Kollegen haben dem Chef eine Ansichtskarte aus Rom geschickt (aus Rom / eine Ansichtskarte / dem Chef)  
ds
- 7 Für ihren Chef tut sie fast alles  
gr
- 8 Trotz ihrer guten Kontakte zum Chef kann sie ihrer Freundin keinen Arbeitsplatz besorgen Obwohl  
gr
- 9 Dem Chef gegenüber war er immer freundlich  
gg
- 10 Sie arbeitet mit ihrem dritten Chef genauso gut zusammen wie mit ihrem ersten und zweiten (Chef)  
ds
- 11 vertrauen Der Chef vertraut seiner Sekretarin verzeihen Ich verzeihe dir  
ds
- 12 Er kam 45 Minuten zu spät in der Firma an, entschuldigte sich beim Chef und  
ds
- 13 Ich habe beim Chef mich schon entschuldigt Ich habe mich beim Chef schon entschuldigt  
gs
- 14 Der Chef ist immer über alles informiert, was im Büro passiert, und er kennt auch jeden seiner Mitarbeiter  
gr

- 15 Der Chef hat uns das gerade mitgeteilt Das ist uns gerade vom Chef mitgeteilt worden.  
gr
- 16 Von wem weißt du das? - Vom Chef persönlich, er hat es mir heute beim Essen gesagt  
gr
- 17 von+dem vom Ich habe das vom Chef gehört  
gs
- 18 Man sagt von dem neuen Chef, dass er ein guter Manager sei  
gr
- 19 Er ist zwar sehr streng, aber trotzdem halte ich ihn für einen guten Chef  
gs
- 20 Der Chef will nichts auslassen/weglassen, er will alles ins Protokoll aufnehmen  
gr
- 21 Gespräch zwischen einem Chef (C) und seiner Sekretarin (S) S Vorhin hat sich Frau Lahner über ihre Arbeitsbedingungen beklagt Sie kann sich nicht daran gewöhnen in einem Zimmer voller Zigarettenqualm zu arbeiten C Sagen Sie ihr, sie kann sich darauf verlassen, dass in den nächsten Tagen ein Rauchverbot ausgesprochen wird S Ich soll Sie daran erinnern, dass Sie Ihre Medizin einnehmen C Ja, danke, man kann sich doch auf Sie verlassen S Unsere Abteilungsleiterin entschuldigt sich bei Ihnen, sie kann an der Besprechung nicht teilnehmen, sie leidet an starken Kopfschmerzen C Ich hoffe auf baldige Besserung! S Sie hatten die Auskunft Detex um Informationen über die Firma Schussler gebeten Die Auskunft warnt Sie davor, mit dieser fast bankrotten Firma Geschäfte zu machen C Man muss sich doch darüber wundern, wie gut die Auskunft über die Firmen Bescheid weiß! S Die Frauen unseres Betriebes beschweren sich darüber, dass die

Gemeinde keinen Kindergarten einrichtet Sie bitten Sie darum, einen betriebseigenen Kindergarten aufzumachen C Das hängt natürlich davon ab, wie viele Kinder dafür in Frage kommen S Ich habe mich dabach erkundigt, es handelt sich um 26 Kinder C Darüber muss ich noch nachdenken ds

22 Lieber einen Schnaps in der Hand als einen Chef im Buro Lieber klein und meins als groß und seims gr

23 Über wen argerst du dich? - Über den Chef gg

24 Sie hat sich sehr über ihren Chef aufgeregt gs

25 Otto argert sich über seinen Chef gs

26 bisher Bisher hatte ich keine Probleme mit dem Chef gs

27 Unter diesem Chef leiden wir alle gg

28 Er leidet an Asthma Sie leidet unter ihrem brutalen Chef gg

29 Gesetzt den Fall, dass Herr H unser Chef wird, so/dann gibt es viel Arger im Buro Gesetzt den Fall, Herr H ds

30 Ich kündige, weil der Chef ein Idiot ist gg

- 31 Ich warne dich vor diesem Chef, er ist sehr genau Ich bin Ihnen dankbar für diesen Rat  
gr
- 32 Vielleicht hat der Chef unseren Termin vergessen Der Chef durfte/konnte unseren Termin vergessen haben  
gr
- 33 Ihr Chef kommt nicht Sie wartet/warten schon eine Stunde  
gr
- 34 Worauf warten Sie? Auf einen Anruf vom Chef Darauf brauchen Sie nicht zu warten Der ist jetzt in einer Besprechung  
gs
- 35 Der Lehrling widersetzte sich der Anordnung des Chefs  
ds
- 36 Was der Chef sagte, war falsch Ich habe ihm trotzdem nicht widersprochen.  
gr
- 37 Der Chef sprach mit dem Angestellten wie mit einem dummen Jungen.  
ds
- 38 Einen solchen Chef wie dich möchte ich nicht haben Solch einen autoritären Stil  
gr
- 39 Er sagte mir vertraulich, was er vom Chef gehört hatte  
gr
- 40 Ich mache einiges, was mein Chef besser nicht wissen sollte worüber sich meine Eltern argern  
gs

- 41 War Christian gestern im Büro? - Nein, der hat blau gemacht, aber er hat  
Massel gehabt, sein Chef war nicht da  
gr
- 42 Der Lehrling hat gesagt und der Chef hat zugestimmt Der Chef hat  
gesagt und der Lehrling hat nicht zugehört  
ds
- 43 Der Angestellte verschwieg dem Chef seine Kündigungsabsicht / hat  
verschwiegen  
ds
- 44 Hat der Angestellte dem Chef seine Kündigungsabsicht verschwiegen? Ja, er  
hat sie ihm verschwiegen  
ds
- 45 Hans schickte dem Chef die Kündigung aus Frankreich / hat geschickt  
ds
- 46 Er schrieb dem Chef einen unfreundlichen Brief  
ds
- 47 Trotz der häufigen Ermahnungen vom Chef kam er weiter zu spät zur Arbeit  
Obwohl der Chef ihn häufig ermahnte, kam er  
gr
- 48 Ich muss die Arbeit bis spätestens Montag fertig haben, denn dann braucht sie  
mein Chef  
gr
- 49 A Und fast hatte ich länger arbeiten müssen hatte mich der Chef länger  
festgehalten  
gr

- 50 nicht, ob ich morgen Zeit habe, wahrscheinlich muss ich lange im Büro bleiben Das hängt davon ab, ob mein Chef morgen zurück ist oder nicht  
gr
- 51 Warum mussten Sie gestern solange im Büro bleiben? (der Chef bitten mich darum) Weil der Chef mich darum gebeten hatte  
gs
- 52 Was er da gemacht hat, war falsch Selbst wenn er der Chef wäre, dürfte er sich das nicht erlauben!  
gr
- 53 Du sollst/musst zum Chef! - Was soll ich denn da  
gr
- 54 bei Ich war gerade beim Chef Ich bin gerade zu Hause  
gs
- 55 Frl Müller, Sie sollen sofort zum Chef kommen, er wartet schon auf Sie!  
gr
- 56 Jemand fragt „Wo ist Frau M ? In ihrem Büro ist sie nicht “ Sie musste beim Chef sein, denn dort ist eine wichtige Besprechung  
ds
- 57 Ich gehe jetzt zum Chef Ich gehe jetzt nach Hause  
gs
- 58 Und da ist auch Ihre neue Mitarbeiterin, Frau Paulsen Und jetzt kommen Sie bitte mit, ich möchte Sie Ihrem/ (meinem) Chef vorstellen  
gr
- 59 das Büro des Chefs die Frau des Hauses der Erfolg der Arbeit  
gr

60 Brigitte, der Chef mochte mit dir sprechen

gr

61 Er bat die Sekretarin, dass der Chef ihn rechtzeitig anruft Er bat die Sekretarin, dass sie ihn

ds

62 Bitte geben Sie das dem Chef! Bitte sagen Sie das keinem Mitarbeiter!

gr

63 Der Chef lasst Ihnen sagen, dass Sie ihn irgendwann anrufen sollen

gs

64 Du, der Chef wartet auf eine Antwort von dir!

gr

65 Ich spreche sofort mit dem Chef Wann sprichst du mit ihm?

ds

66 Gespräch zwischen einem Chef (C) und seiner Sekretarin (S) S

Abteilungsleiter Muller mochte mit Ihnen sprechen, es geht um seine Gehaltserhöhung C Im Augenblick habe ich keine Zeit mich um diese Sorgen zu kümmern. S Wollen Sie an dem Kongress der Textilfabrikanten teilnehmen? C Schreiben Sie, dass ich für die Einladung danke, meine Teilnahme hängt aber davon ab, wie ich mich gesundheitlich fühle S Hier ist eine Dame, die sich um die Stelle als Büroangestellte bewirbt C Sagen Sie ihr, sie mochte sich schriftlich um die Stelle bewerben. Ich kann ja nicht auf alle Zeugnisse verzichten S Der Betriebsleiter halt nichts davon, dass die Arbeitszeiten geändert werden C O k S Ich soll Sie daran erinnern, dass Sie Ihre Medizin einnehmen C Ja, danke, man kann sich doch auf Sie verlassen S Ich mochte jetzt darum bitten, mich zu entschuldigen. Um 14 Uhr schließt die Kantine und ich mochte nicht gern auf mein Mittagessen verzichten

ds

- 67 Indem der Chef seinem Prokuristen das Papier über den Tisch reichte, meinte er „Wir rationalisieren oder wir müssen zumachen“  
ds
- 68 Der Chef ist im Moment nicht da. Wollen Sie später noch einmal anrufen?  
gr
- 69 Der Chef ist seit Oktober weg  
gg
- 70 Aus Kairo ruft mich der Chef bestimmt nicht an  
ds
- 71 Ich bin auf den neuen Chef neugierig  
gr
- 72 A Uwe Kirschmann heißt der neue Chef. B Kenn ich nicht  
gg
- 73 Der Sekretär ist längere Zeit im Geschäft als sein Chef. Der Sekretär ist älter als sein Chef  
ds
- 74 Ja, ich hatte auch mal einen Kollegen, der war zwar nicht mein Chef, aber er tat immer so, als ob er mein Chef wäre  
gr
- 75 Er tut so, als ob er der Chef wäre  
gr
- 76 Nein, ich finde nicht, dass er sich geändert hat, seit(dem) er jetzt ja unser Chef ist  
gr



- 77 Die Kollegen streiten dauernd miteinander - Was muss der Chef tun?  
ds
- 78 sich beklagen bei dem Chef (darüber), dass über die Mitarbeiter  
ds
- 79 Worüber hat sie sich denn beim Chef beschwert? Sie hat sich darüber  
beschwert, dass  
gs
- 80 Und stell dich gut mit dem Chef!  
gr
- 81 Chef nett sein Je netter ein Chef ist, desto/umso lieber arbeite ich  
gs
- 82 Hast du dich bei deinem Chef erkundigt, an welchem Fortbildungskurs du  
teilnehmen kannst?  
gs
- 83 Der Chef hat am Ende der Verhandlungen eine Entscheidung getroffen  
ds
- 84 Der Chef ist einverstanden - Ich habe nun noch eine zweite Bitte  
gg
- 85 Hast du dem Chef die Frage beantwortet?  
ds
- 86 Der Chef diktiert der Sekretarin einen Brief  
ds
- 87 Hat der Chef den Bewerbern schon eine Nachricht zugesandt?  
ds

88 Falls mein Chef anruft, Obwohl er krank war, Können Sie mir bitte  
sagen, ob  
gs

89 Unser Chef hat drei Sekretarinnen  
gs

90 Hier kocht der Chef selbst Der Minister selbst hat den Brief  
unterschrieben gg

91 Verstehst du den Chef? Ladst du den Chef ein? Besuchst du den Chef?  
Rufst du den Chef an?  
gr

## Appendix J, Chapter 4 – ‘Direktorin’

- 1 Architekt Architektin Lehrer Lehrerin Direktor Direktorin Hausmann  
Hausfrau Busfahrer Busfahrerin Sekretar  
gr
- 2 der Berg, Berge das Foto, Fotos die Direktorin, Direktorinnen der  
Priester, Priester der Baum  
gs
- 3 das Foto, Fotos die Direktorin, Direktorinnen der Priester, Priester der  
Baum Baume  
gs
- 4 Das wurde auf Veranlassung der Direktorin gemacht Anstelle eines  
vierzehnten Monatsgehalts  
gr

## Appendix K, Chapter 4 – ‘Direktor’

- 1 Dass die Firma gerettet werden konnte, ist allein das Verdienst des Direktors  
gr
  
- 2 Der Direktor dankte in seiner Rede allen Arbeitern  
gs
  
- 3 Mein Mann ist Direktor geworden, ich bin richtig stolz auf ihn  
gr
  
- 4 Als der Direktor eintrat, verstummte die Versammlung  
gr
  
- 5 Liebes Schwesterherz! Sehr verehrter Herr Bundeskanzler! Liebe Frau Sommerlatte! Sehr geehrter Herr Direktor! Verehrte Frau Professorin, Verehrte Damen und Herren! Liebe Freunde, Liebe Familie Mayer, Lieber Herr Kornmann  
gr
  
- 6 das Einkommen eines Direktors/von Direktoren die Verantwortung eines Arztes/von Ärzten  
gr
  
- 7 Wie kannst du dich nur vor dem Direktor fürchten? Ich halte ihn für einen sehr freundlichen Menschen  
ds
  
- 8 Der Direktor sagte dem Angestellten, dass er seit einiger Zeit ständig Fehler mache und dadurch die Firma viel Geld koste, woraufhin der Angestellte sagte, die Fehler lagen bei der Firma selbst warf vor - erwiderte  
gr

- 9 Didi hat seine Vokabeln nicht gelernt Uschi hat die Unterschrift des Vaters nicht mitgebracht Wolfgang ist nicht zum Direktor gegangen.  
ds
- 10 Ich hab es ihr schon gegeben Das Foto für Herrn Kellermann? Das hab ich ihm Ich hab es ihm Der Brief für den Direktor? Den hab ich ihm gr
- 11 Der Direktor meint, wir hatten das getan - Nein, er denkt, ich hatte das allein gemacht Ich kenne seine Sekretarin, und die hat mir gesagt, dass er mich schon längere Zeit verdächtige Er ginge davon aus, dass nur ich als Schuldiger in Frage kame  
gr
- 12 Der Direktor denkt, dass wir das geschrieben hatten  
gr
- 13 Das gefällt dem Direktor bestimmt nicht!  
gr
- 14 A Findest du, dass Herr Klemschmidt anders geworden ist? B Nein, ich finde nicht, dass er sich geändert hat, seit(dem) er jetzt ja unser Chef ist Ich kannte aber einen, der redete niemanden mehr mit dem Vornamen an, als er Direktor geworden war A Ich finde aber doch, dass sich der Klemschmidt geändert hat, seit er Direktor ist, irgendwie ist er kühler geworden und seine Frau hat sich sofort mit „Frau Direktor“ anreden lassen, als sie von der Beförderung horte B Ich habe auch gehört, dass sie vor Freude weinte, als sie erfuhr, dass er Direktor geworden war  
gr
- 15 Mein Mann ist Direktor an der hiesigen Oberschule Mein Kind soll einmal auf die Oberschule gehen  
gr

16 mit ihr? Sie mit dir? (Am Klavier) Du mit ihm? Sie mit ihm! Ich und du?  
Who is who? Die mit dem! Die Frau Hartmann mit dem Lehrer! Die  
Sekretarin mit dem Direktor

gr

17 sich anmelden Ich mochte den Direktor sprechen - Haben Sie sich  
angemeldet?

ds

18 Woher kommt der Zettel? - vom Direktor

gr

19 Ist der Brief noch nicht fertig? - Der Direktor hat danach gefragt - Ich fange  
gerade damit an

gr

20 Der Direktor hat nach Ihnen gefragt

gr

21 beim vom Direktor - beim von meiner Freundin - bei deiner

gr

22 Warst du beim Direktor? Du musst zum Arzt!

gr

23 Und so einer will Direktor sein!

gr

24 Was würden Sie anders machen, wenn Sie Direktor Ihrer Schule wären?  
Wenn ich Direktor dieser Schule wäre, würde ich in jeder Pause Getränke  
servieren An seiner Stelle würde ich in jeder Pause Getränke servieren

gs

25 Hast du mit Herrn Lechner über den Preis gesprochen? - Ja, aber er wollte darüber nicht mit mir sprechen, nur mit dem Direktor

gr

26 nach zwei Stunden - der Direktor - beenden - die Diskussion Nach zwei Stunden hat der Direktor die Diskussion beendet

gs

27 Der Direktor unterschreibt den Brief (hat unterschrieben)

ds

28 sich beschweren bei dem Direktor (darüber), dass über den Kollegen

ds

29 Der Direktor kommt so gegen (= ungefähr) 13 Uhr zurück

gs

30 Das hat uns der Direktor gesagt Das wurde uns von dem Direktor gesagt

gr

31 Nachdem ich eine Stunde gewartet hatte, wurde ich vom Direktor persönlich empfangen. Mir wurde erklärt, was ich tun muss Wie war's an der Grenze? Gab es Probleme? - Kaum, nur unser Gepäck wurde

gr

32 Wir wurden vom Direktor persönlich empfangen

gr

33 das Buch - Christine das Buch - es - Christine die Zeitung - der Direktor die Zeitung - die - dem Direktor die Post - die Studenten die Post - sie - den Studenten der Zettel - die Sekretarin der Zettel - ihn - der Sekretarin die Karten -- Bergmanns

gr

## Appendix L, Chapter 4 – ‘Betriebsleiter’

- 1 Werner Stubinreith erhält seine Entlassung. Das erscheint ihm ungerecht. Er arbeitet schon viele Jahre dort und kennt den Leiter gut. Er kennt auch alle Kollegen und nennt sie beim Vornamen. Er denkt an Rache, weiß aber noch nicht wie. Im Traum sieht er den Betrieb. Es ist dunkel. Er nimmt ein paar Lappen, trinkt sie mit Öl und legt damit im Betrieb an drei Stellen Feuer. Dann rennt er schnell weg. Dabei verliert er seinen Hausschlüssel. Der Betriebsleiter nennt der Polizei die Namen der Entlassenen. Werner Stubinreith ist auch dabei. An der Brandstelle findet man einen Schlüssel.  
ds
- 2 S (=secretary) Der Betriebsleiter hält nichts davon, dass die Arbeitszeiten geändert werden. C (= Chef) O k  
ds



## Appendix M, Chapter 4 – ‘Abteilungsleiter’

- 1 Ein Abteilungsleiter hat seine Augen überall  
ds
  
- 2 Aufträge über DM 25 000,- müssen vom Abteilungsleiter unterzeichnet  
werden.  
gr
  
- 3 Ich habe mit dem Personalchef und dem Abteilungsleiter gesprochen, beide  
haben mir die Stellung zugesagt  
ds
  
- 4 Der Abteilungsleiter nimmt zur Zeit an einer Konferenz teil  
Der in unserem Betrieb für den Export zuständige Abteilungsleiter nimmt  
zur Zeit an einer für uns alle äußerst wichtigen Konferenz teil  
gr
  
- 5 Ich weiß nicht, warum diese kleine Firma so viele Abteilungsleiter braucht  
gr
  
- 6 Abteilungsleiter Müller möchte mit Ihnen sprechen, es geht um seine  
Gehaltserhöhung C (=Chef) Im Augenblick habe ich keine Zeit mich um  
diese Sorgen zu kümmern  
ds

## **Appendix N, Chapter 4 – ‘Abteilungsleiterin’**

- 1 C Ja, danke, man kann sich doch auf Sie verlassen S Unsere  
Abteilungsleiterin entschuldigt sich bei Ihnen, sie kann an der  
Besprechung nicht teilnehmen, sie leidet an starken Kopfschmerzen  
ds

## **Appendix O, Chapter 4 – ‘Professor’/‘Professorin’**

- 1 Gehst du morgen auch zum/zu dem Vortrag von Prof Klunke?  
gr
  
- 2 In welchem Raum ist die Vorlesung von Prof Bogner? - Kommen Sie mit,  
ich gehe auch zu ihm  
gr
  
- 3 Wer reicht die Examensarbeit endlich ein? (die Studentin / bei ihrem  
Professor)  
Die Studentin hat endlich die Examensarbeit bei ihrem Professor eingereicht  
ds
  
- 4 Professor Keller gestern // Vorlesungen halten / Versuche durchführen  
ds
  
- 5 Der Professor sprach mit der Studentin über ihre Dissertation.  
Der Professor führte mit der Studentin ein Gespräch über ihre Dissertation  
ds
  
- 6 Der Professor lobt den Studenten  
ds
  
- 7 Der Professor berat  
ds
  
- 8 Er unterhielt sich lange mit seinem Professor  
ds
  
- 9 Zum Glück hat es ihm der Professor noch mal erklärt  
ds

- 10 Der Professor liebt die Bücher junger Schriftsteller  
ds
- 11 Der Vortrag des Professors war interessant  
ds
- 12 Verehrte Frau Professorin, Verehrte Damen und Herren! Liebe Freunde  
gramm
- 13 Der niemals müde Professor sitzt immer noch am Schreibtisch  
gg
- 14 Der Heidelberger Professor Heinrich Schipperges schreibt dazu „Die Diät  
war die Grundlage der arabischen Medizin  
gg
- 15 Prof Merseburg spricht morgen im Seminar über Ndptt-Lösungen  
gr
- 16 Obschon der Professor nur Altgriechisch gelernt hatte, verstanden ihn die  
griechischen Bauern  
ds
- 17 Als wir den Professor kennen lernten, wussten wir nicht, dass er der  
bekannteste (Professor) für afrikanische Literaturgeschichte ist  
ds
- 18 sich beschäftigen Der Professor beschäftigt sich mit russischer Literatur  
ds
- 19 Wir haben zusammen bei Prof Engsfeld Geschichte gehört Und wo  
arbeitest du jetzt?  
gr

- 20 Der alte, gestern von Sofia heimgekehrte Professor für Slawistik hat kein Geld mehr  
gg
- 21 Der alte, gestern von Dresden zurückgekehrte Professor für Slawistik mochte um acht frühstücken.  
gg
- 22 Ich habe den alten Professor für Slawistik noch nie gesehen  
gg
- 23 Einen neuen Gedanken haben, den man nicht in einen Holderlinvers einwickeln kann, wie es die Professoren tun  
gr
- 24 Ein Professor aus Rom hat am 4.5. eine Vorlesung über Goethe gehalten  
Wer hält eine Vorlesung? (ein Professor aus Rom / am 4.5. / über Goethe)  
ds
- 25 Weißt du, ob Prof. Kleinfeld morgen in dem Seminar diesen Film behandelt?  
gr
- 26 Ein Professor, der nachts um 12 Uhr mit dem Flugzeug nach New York (reisen wollen)  
ds
- 27 A Wann fliegt Professor Maurer nach Zürich? B Nächste Woche, am Sonntag  
gr
- 28 A Wann kommt Prof. Maurer aus Dresden? - B Heute Abend  
gr

29 Ich mochte einmal als Professor an einer Universität in Österreich lehren  
gr

30 Der Professor ist verreist Er kommt heute nicht  
ds

31 Professor B über den Angeklagten F „Es handelt sich bei dem Angeklagten  
um einen überaus einfältigen Menschen ‘  
ds

32 Die Gefallenen werden in Massengräber gelegt, wo sie ruhen, bis die  
Professoren sie ausgraben lassen  
gr

33 Die berühmte Ärztin Frau Professor Müller untersuchte den Patienten vor  
der Operation.  
ds

34 andere bekannte Professoren - einer der bekanntesten Professoren andere  
gute Filme - einer der besten Filme  
ds

35 Der alte Professor hat die Frage des Studenten gar nicht begriffen  
Der alte Professor begreift/begriff  
ds

36 Ist der Professor krank? - Ja, er hat eine Grippe  
gr

37 Der Professor ist erkältet Er spricht heute sehr leise  
gr

38 gegenwärtig Der Name war dem Professor im Augenblick nicht gegenwärtig  
ds

- 39 Der Assistent überrascht den Professor mit seinen guten Kenntnissen  
ds
- 40 Nach dem Examen gab er dem Professor mit Absicht das falsche Buch  
zurück Er gab zurück das falsche Buch mit Absicht dem Professor  
nach dem  
Examen  
ds
- 41 Ein Professor soll alles verständlich erklären = Das ist seine Pflicht  
ds
- 42 Wir haben von dem Vortrag kaum ein Wort verstanden, denn der Professor  
hat  
sehr undeutlich gesprochen und im Saal war es  
gr
- 43 Dem Professor hört kein Mensch mehr zu, er spricht trotzdem ruhig weiter  
ds
- 44 „Zu welchem Professor gehst du?“ - „Zu Professor M, er soll alles  
verständlich erklären.“ = Das haben mir andere Studenten gesagt, das habe  
ich gehört  
ds
- 45 Der Professor spricht so leise Ich verstehe ihn nicht  
g
- 46 Hast du mit dem Professor selbst gesprochen? - Nein, nur mit dessen  
(seinem) Assistenten  
ds
- 47 Hast du dich beim Professor erkundigt, ob er mit dir über deine Doktorarbeit  
sprechen will? Er hatte damit gerechnet, dass sich seine  
ds

48 Du musst endlich den Professor, seinen Assistenten oder den Tutor danach fragen

ds

49 Der Student befragt nicht nur die Professoren und Kommilitonen, sondern auch die Professorinnen und Kommilitoninnen.

den Professor, den Kommilitonen, die Professorin, die Kommilitonin

ds



## Appendix P, Chapter 4 – ‘Sekretärin’

- 1 eine gepflegt aussehende Sekretärin - ein perfekt organisiertes Hotel  
gr
- 2 den alten Chef die alte Telefonnummer die schöne Sekretärin die alte  
Adresse das italienische Geschäft  
gr
- 3 Ich habe eine perfekte Sekretärin, sie kann alles und macht me Fehler  
gr
- 4 *Der Chef vertraut seiner Sekretärin*  
ds
- 5 Das hat meine Sekretärin längst erledigt Das muss meine Sekretärin längst  
erledigt haben  
gr
- 6 Warum lässt du die Sekretärin deine Privatpost öffnen?  
gr
- 7 Der Minister und seine Sekretärin duzen sich  
gg
- 8 Er vergaß me den Geburtstag seiner Sekretärin und lud sie dann immer zum  
Essen ein  
gr
- 9 Er kam 45 Minuten zu spät in der Firma an, entschuldigte sich beim Chef und  
beruhigte die Sekretärin.  
ds

10 Besucher anmelden Aufträge durchführen Gäste einladen Termine  
absprechen die Post abholen Besprechungen vorbereiten wichtige Papiere  
bereithalten Geschäftsfreunde anschreiben Sie meldet Besucher an Sie  
führt Aufträge durch Sie lädt Gäste ein Sie spricht Termine ab Sie holt  
die Post ab Sie bereitet Besprechungen vor Sie hält wichtige Papiere  
bereit Sie schreibt Geschäftsfreunde an. Was hat die Sekretarin alles  
gemacht? Sie hat Telefonate weitergeleitet Sie hat hat angemeldet hat  
durchgeführt hat eingeladen hat abgesprochen hat abgeholt hat  
vorbereitet hat bereitgehalten hat angeschrieben  
ds

11 Er bat die Sekretarin, dass der Chef ihn rechtzeitig anruft Er bat die  
Sekretarin, dass sie ihn rechtzeitig anruft Er bat die Sekretarin ihn  
rechtzeitig anzurufen  
ds

12 Gespräch zwischen einem Chef (C) und seiner Sekretarin (S) S  
Abteilungsleiter Müller möchte mit Ihnen sprechen, es geht um seine  
Gehaltserhöhung C Im Augenblick habe ich keine Zeit mich um diese  
Sorgen zu kümmern. S Wollen Sie  
ds

13 Ohne Fremdsprachenkenntnisse findest du heutzutage keinen guten Job als  
Sekretarin  
gs

14 Die Sekretarin spricht viele Fremdsprachen, sie findet leicht eine gute  
Stellung  
ds

15 Frau Müller hat wieder als Sekretarin gearbeitet, weil die Familie mehr Geld  
für den Hausbau hat sparen wollen  
ds

- 16 Entweder erhalt meine Mutter jetzt eine Stelle als Sekretarin oder sie gibt eine neue Stellenanzeige in der Zeitung auf  
ds
- 17 Bitte geben Sie das einer Sekretarin - Welcher? - Das ist egal  
gr
- 18 Unser Chef hat drei Sekretarinnen  
gs
- 19 In diesem kleinen Zimmer arbeiten drei Sekretarinnen  
gr
- 20 Entweder hat sich die Sekretarin verschrieben oder in meinem Pass steht der Name falsch So habe ich nicht nur Arger, sondern bestimmt gibt es auch Streit mit der Sekretarin  
ds
- 21 Er hat eine gute Sekretarin, aber er mochte eine noch bessere Sekretarin.  
gs
- 22 Ich kenne seine Sekretarin, und die hat mir gesagt, dass er mich schon langere Zeit  
gr
- 23 Der Chef diktiert der Sekretarin einen Brief  
ds
- 24 Ich hatte Ihre Sekretarin darum gebeten, mir ein Zimmer in einer deutschen Familie zu besorgen, damit ich möglichst viel Deutsch sprechen kann  
gs

- 25 Der Chef hat die Schreibtischschublade zugeschlossen Die Sekretarin am  
anderen Morgen wieder aufgeschlossen  
ds
- 26 Bitte sagen Sie das der Sekretarin!  
gr
- 27 Das ist meine neue Sekretarin Ich mochte sie Ihnen vorstellen  
gr
- 28 Sie soll seine Sekretarin gewesen sein.  
gr
- 29 Der Mann, dessen Sekretarin ich bin, ist Architekt  
gg
- 30 Wann ist denn Ihre Sekretarin in Urlaub? Von nächster Woche an  
gs
- 31 Arbeitet Frau Klein als Sekretarin?  
Nein, sie arbeitet nicht als Sekretarin - Doch, sie arbeitet als Sekretarin  
ds
- 32 die Studenten die Post - sie - den Studenten der - die Sekretarin der Zettel  
- ihn - der Sekretarin  
gr
- 33 Who is who? Die mit dem! Die Frau Hartmann mit dem Lehrer! Die  
Sekretarin mit dem Direktor!  
gr

## Appendix Q, Chapter 4 - 'Sekretär'

- 1 Herr - Kellner - Amerikaner - Student - Schuler - Direktor - Vater - Sekretar  
- Mann - Mond - Hund - Arbeiter - Hamburger - Lehrer  
gr
- 2 Direktor Direktorn Hausmann Hausfrau Busfahrer Busfahrerin Sekretar  
Sekretarin Arzt Arztn Verkäufer Verkaufem Theologe  
gr
- 3 Beamter Präsident Lotterie Bürger Gebiet Bibliothek Betrieb Sekretar  
Interesse Anwalt Angehörigkeit Partei Oberhaupt Wille  
gr
- 4 Der Sekretar ist längere Zeit im Geschäft als sein Chef Der Sekretar ist alter  
als sein Chef  
ds
- 5 Der Sekretar bringt der Ministerin die Akte  
ds

## Appendix R, Chapter 4 – ‘Arbeiter’

- 1 1918, während der Unruhen am Ende des 1. Weltkriegs, bildeten sich in vielen deutschen Städten Arbeiter- und Soldatenräte und in München wurde im November sogar kurzfristig eine sozialistische Räterepublik ausgerufen  
gr
- 2 Die Arbeiter streikten lange Zeit. Sie konnten die geforderte Lohnerhöhung nicht durchsetzen  
ds
- 3 Die Metallarbeiter streikten schon den vierten Tag, die Arbeitgeber gaben jedoch nicht nach  
gg
- 4 Die Arbeiter haben den Streik beendet,  
gs
- 5 Die Arbeiter besetzten ihre bankrotte Firma  
ds
- 6 Die Arbeiter protestieren gegen die schlechten Arbeitsbedingungen  
gs
- 7 Hier demonstrieren die Krankenpfleger einer Klinik – die Arbeiter einer Fabrik  
ds
- 8 Die Arbeiter forderten mehr Lohn, Sie wollten bei sinkender Kaufkraft der Mark wenigstens keinen Einkommensverlust haben. Ihr Einkommen sollte wenigstens die alte Kaufkraft behalten  
ds

- 9 Wenn die Arbeiter streiken, obwohl die Gewerkschaft nicht dazu aufgerufen hat, ist es ein wilder Streik  
gg
- 10 Eine Gruppe Arbeiter streikte, ohne Sie hatte sich nicht mit der Gewerkschaftsleitung abgesprochen Die Gewerkschaftsleitung war davon nicht informiert worden sich mit der Gewerkschaftsleitung abzusprechen dass die  
ds
- 11 streiken für Die Arbeiter streiken für höhere Löhne  
gs
- 12 Die Arbeiter haben eine Lohnerhöhung bekommen, für die/wofür sie lange gekämpft haben.  
gs
- 13 Der Arbeiter / Die Arbeiterin / Die Arbeiter dessen / deren Betrieb schließen musste, war(en) plötzlich arbeitslos  
ds
- 14 Man entlässt die Arbeiter! - hat man noch jemand(en) entlassen!  
ds
- 15 Die Arbeiter müssen zur Zeit Überstunden machen, (die Firma / andernfalls / die Liefertermine nicht einhalten)  
ds
- 16 Der Ingenieur zeigt dem Arbeiter den Plan  
ds
- 17 Der Direktor dankte in seiner Rede allen Arbeitern  
gs

- 18 Hier wohnen die Arbeiter, die am schlechtesten bezahlt werden  
gr
- 19 die Hauser der Arbeiterfamilien die Instrumente der Musiker  
ds
- 20 das Haus der Arbeiterfamilie das Instrument des Musikers  
ds
- 21 die Arbeiterfamilie (-n)  
ds
- 22 Hier wohnen die Armsten der Armen, die am schlechtesten bezahlten  
Arbeiter mit Dieben, Gaunern und Opfern der Prostitution bunt  
durcheinander (Friedrich Engels)  
gr
- 23 ein arbeiter fragt einen arbeiter wie stehen die aktien (G C Krischker)  
gr
- 24 Du armes Kind! Mir ehrlichem Steuerzahler bleibt nichts erspart wir  
kleinen Rentner, mit uns schlecht bezahlten Hilfsarbeitern An der  
Garderobe ist einiges hangen bzw hegen geblieben  
ds
- 25 Natürlich stellten die Arbeiter Fragen nach der Hohe des Lohnes  
ds
- 26 Nach dem Krieg verdienten die Bergleute im Ruhrgebiet am meisten von  
allen Arbertern.  
gr



- 27 Neben Arbeitern braucht die Firma Fachleute für Computertechnik,  
Schreiner, Schlosser und LKW-Fahrer oder -Fahrerinnen.  
ds
- 28 Auf einen Facharbeiter kommen zehn Hilfsarbeiter  
ds
- 29 Der Arbeiter will den Meister sprechen Der Arbeiter wollte den Meister  
sprechen Der Arbeiter hat den Meister sprechen wollen Der Arbeiter hatte  
den Meister sprechen wollen  
ds
- 30 durch einen älteren Arbeiter  
durch ältere Arbeiter  
ds
- 31 Hans ist Metallarbeiter, er arbeitet von 6 30 bis 14 30, das sind acht Stunden  
gg
- 32 Herr Kapf ist Vorarbeiter Pablo ist Spanier Frau Tandler ist Katholikin  
gg
- 33 der Herr - Kellner - Amerikaner - Student - Schuler - Direktor - Vater -  
Sekretar - Mann - Mond - Hund - Arbeiter - Hamburger - Lehrer - Präsident  
- Bruder - Taxifahrer die Freundin - Arbeiterin - Dame - Katze - Frau -  
Studentin - Lehrerin - Schulerin - Mutter - Professorin - Schwester - Sonne  
das Kind - Mädchen - Baby - Fraulein das Land  
gr
- 34 Die Arbeiter können selbst entscheiden  
ds

## **Appendix S, Chapter 5 – General attitudes and reactions to work**

- 1 Ich möchte ohne Arbeit nicht leben  
ds
- 2 Ich glaube, dass Deutsche kein Talent zum Leben haben, sie verstehen nur etwas vom Arbeiten  
gr
- 3 Ich muss arbeiten.  
gs
- 4 er will / wollte schlafen wollen sie muss/musste arbeiten müssen  
gs
- 5 Sie mussten schwer arbeiten  
gr
- 6 aber bis dahin müssen die Wissenschaftler noch viel arbeiten  
gr
- 7 Musst du denn wirklich jeden Abend arbeiten?  
gs
- 8 Gestern wollte ich um sechs ins Kino, aber ich konnte leider nicht gehen, ich musste bis acht Uhr arbeiten  
gr
- 9 Wie lange musst du noch arbeiten? - Mindestens noch bis sieben Uhr, vielleicht auch länger  
Gr

10 Musst ihr am Wochenende arbeiten?

gr

11 Musst du morgen arbeiten?

gr

12 Papa, warum musst du immer so viel arbeiten? Weil

gs

13 Musst du heute Abend arbeiten oder kannst du mit uns essen gehen?

gs

14 Ich muss heute leider arbeiten. Aber vielleicht können wir am Wochenende etwas zusammen unternehmen.

gs

15 weil Warum kommst du denn nicht mit ins Kino? Weil ich keine Zeit habe. Ich muss noch arbeiten.

gs

16 Wir müssen doppelt so viel arbeiten wie die anderen

ds

17 Die Arbeiter müssen zur Zeit Überstunden machen, (die Firma / andernfalls / die Liefertermine nicht einhalten)

ds

18 Ich habe viel zu arbeiten =Ich habe viel Arbeit, die ich tun muss

gg

19 Entschuldigung, ich konnte nicht früher kommen, ich musste heute länger arbeiten

gr

- 20 Hast du gestern Abend das Spiel Bayern Munchen gegen Werder Bremen gesehen? Ja, natürlich hab' ich es gesehen Nein, leider nicht Ich musste langer arbeiten Wenn ich Zeit gehabt hatte, hatte ich es natürlich angeschaut  
gs
- 21 er muss namlich langer arbeiten  
gs
- 22 Er muss heute langer arbeiten  
ds
- 23 Im Interesse der Mitarbeiter liegt es mcht, wenn wir am Donnerstagabend langer arbeiten müssen  
gr
- 24 die anderen für ihn arbeiten mussten  
gr
- 25 Und fast hatte ich langer arbeiten müssen (Und ich habe im Buro nicht langer arbeiten müssen.)  
gr
- 26 'Wir mussten beide am nachsten Tag fruh zur Arbeit Wir unterhielten uns bis spat in die Nacht (trotzdem, dennoch, obwohl)  
ds
- 27 'Ich wunschte, ich konnte hier bleiben und musste mcht zur Arbeit gehen '  
gr
- 28 Niemand wollte die Arbeit übernehmen, fast hatte ich das tun müssen  
gr

- 29 Wann musst du morgen zur Arbeit? - Spät, ich brauche nicht vor zehn dort zu sein.  
gr
- 30 Ich finde, früher war das Leben viel schwieriger, man musste viel mehr arbeiten und verdiente viel weniger Geld. Auch gab es viel weniger Freizeit.  
gr
- 31 Trotz des niedrigen Lohnes mussten sie die Arbeit annehmen.  
gr
- 32 Ich hab' in meinem Leben immer hart arbeiten müssen, mir wurde nie etwas geschenkt.  
gr
- 33 Mein Großvater musste in seinem Leben immer hart arbeiten. Ihm wurde nichts geschenkt.  
gs
- 34 Sogar Kinder mussten 10 bis 15 Stunden täglich arbeiten, als in Deutschland die Industrialisierung begann.  
Wann mussten sogar Kinder 10 bis 15 Stunden täglich arbeiten? (in Deutschland / die Industrialisierung beginnen)  
ds
- 35 Als das Fest zu Ende war, heft Aschenputtel fort. Als Aschenputtel noch zu Hause wohnte, musste sie von früh bis spät in der Küche arbeiten. Immer wenn der Prinz das Mädchen umarmen wollte, verschwand es in der Nacht.  
gg
- 36 'Er soll seine Arbeit nicht immer wichtiger nehmen als seine Familie.'  
gs
- 37 Während ihrer Arbeit fürs Examen findet sie wenig Zeit für ihre Familie.  
ds

- 38 'Er wird einen Herzinfarkt bekommen, weil er zu viel arbeitet '  
gr
- 39 Trotz ihrer Erkältung ist sie heute zur Arbeit gekommen Sie ist erkältet,  
trotzdem ist sie heute zur Arbeit gekommen  
Obwohl sie erkältet ist, ist sie heute zur Arbeit gekommen  
gr
- 40 obwohl Er ist zur Arbeit gegangen, obwohl er krank ist Er ist krank  
Trotzdem geht er zur Arbeit  
gs
- 41 Sie hat immer gearbeitet, selbst wenn sie sich krank fühlte  
ds
- 42 Ich bin mit den Nerven fertig, ich bin total überarbeitet  
gr
- 43 Vielleicht kann er morgen noch nicht zur Arbeit kommen, seine Frau sagte  
mir, dass er noch etwas Fieber habe  
gr
- 44 Warum waren Sie letzte Woche nicht im Büro? - Weil ich krank war und zum  
Arzt musste - Und was hatten Sie? - Grippe, ich hatte mich stark erkältet  
und musste im Bett bleiben  
gr
- 45 'Denkst du an deine Arbeit? Ich denke immer daran '  
ds
- 46 ' Er kam immer früh ins Büro, meistens begann er schon um acht mit der  
Arbeit Zuerst las er die Post durch Er ließ keine Arbeit liegen und hielt alle  
Termine ein Abends verließ er immer als letzter das Büro und oft saß er  
noch bis nach neun am Schreibtisch Manchmal nahm er auch Arbeit mit

nach Haus Er vergaß nie den Geburtstag seiner Sekretarin und lud sie dann immer zum Essen ein

gr

47 Gestern bin ich wie immer um sechs Uhr aufgestanden und zur Arbeit gegangen. Aber das Institut war geschlossen. Niemand hatte mir gesagt, dass gestern ein Feiertag war

gr

48 'Ich bin nach dem Urlaub wieder nach Lissabon zurückgekehrt und habe leider zur Zeit viel Arbeit Aber ich hoffe, dass ich bald einmal Zeit habe zu besuchen'

gs

49 Ich weiß noch nicht, ob ich morgen komme Wahrscheinlich/vielleicht bleibe ich zu Hause und arbeite

gr

50 'Er hat bestimmt viel Arbeit, sonst wäre er gekommen '

ds

51 'Und bei diesem schönem Wetter willst du arbeiten?'

gr

52 Können Sie die Arbeit am Wochenende erledigen? - Laut Vertrag brauche ich Samstag und Sonntag nicht zu arbeiten, aber ich tu's Ihnen zuliebe

gr

53 Fritz macht keinen Urlaub auf dem Bauernhof Er arbeitet lieber in seinem eigenen Garten

ds

54 Wir müssen die Arbeit erfolgreich zu Ende bringen Dann machen wir ein großes Fest

gr

55 'Nachdem wir mit der Arbeit fertig waren, gingen wir immer in die Kneipe  
Nach Arbeitsschluss

gr

56 'Gehen wir nach der Arbeit ins Cafe?'

gs

57 'Ich komme nach der Arbeit zu dir Aber vorher muss ich noch kurz nach  
Hause '

gs

58 Nach der Arbeit feiere ich heute mit meinem Freund Geburtstag

gr

59 Seit wann lernen Sie Spanisch? - Erst seit ein paar Wochen, aber nur abends  
nach der Arbeit

gr

60 'Nachste Woche fangt die Arbeit an, aber bis dahin werden wir noch ein paar  
Ausfluge in die nahere Umgebung machen '

Nachste Woche fange die Arbeit an, aber bis dahin wurden sie noch ein paar  
Ausfluge machen

gr

61 Der Vater hat vorher viel gearbeitet Er konnte nach Weihnachten ein paar  
Tage frei nehmen Der Vater hatte vorher so viel gearbeitet, dass er nach  
Weihnachten ein paar Tage freinehmen konnte / Der Vater hatte vorher viel  
gearbeitet, so dass er nach Weihnachten ein paar Tage freinehmen konnte

gs

62 Zwischen Weihnachten und Neujahr wird in vielen Betrieben nicht  
gearbeitet

ds



63 Man arbeitet sonntags nicht Es wird sonntags nicht gearbeitet Sonntags  
wird nicht gearbeitet

ds

64 Ich bin gegen Sonntagsarbeit

gr

65 Jetzt essen wir erst einmal etwas, nachher können wir mit der Arbeit  
weitermachen

gr

66 die kein Interesse an der Büroarbeit hatte und abends meistens pünktlich  
mit der Arbeit aufhorte, weil sie zu Hause lesen oder malen oder in ein  
Konzert gehen wollte

gr

67 Meine Großmutter erzählte uns Kindern Geschichten, als wir noch klein  
waren um uns zu unterhalten nachdem/sobald wir Zähne geputzt hatten  
und im Bett lagen nie ohne etwas Neues zu erfinden wenn das Wetter  
schlecht war und wir nicht draußen spielen konnten. damit wir uns nicht  
langweilten. weil uns das so gut gefiel obwohl sie immer viel Arbeit hatte

gs

68 Wir haben viel zu tun, machen wir uns an die Arbeit!

gr

69 erfolgreich = mit viel Erfolg viele Kinder, viel Arbeit wertvoll = von hohem  
Wert

gr

70 Wie geht es ihr? Hat sie noch immer so viel Arbeit?

gr

71 Macht so ein Garten viel Arbeit? Ja, so ein Garten macht viel Arbeit!

ds

- 72 Die Kochinnen eines Restaurants haben viel Arbeit. Schon früh kommen die Boten und bringen Obst und ... Die Kochin eines Restaurants hat viel Arbeit. Schon früh kommt der Bote und bringt  
ds
- 73 Warum hilfst du Oma nicht? Du weißt doch, dass sie viel Arbeit hat. Ich weiß nicht, wie ich ihr helfen kann  
gs
- 74 Haben Sie heute viel gearbeitet? Sind Sie heute früh aufgestanden? Sind Sie mit dem  
gs
- 75 Ich habe einen Film im Fernsehen gesehen. viel arbeiten mit dem Auto fahren etwas Schönes machen Zeitung lesen Radio hören  
gs
- 76 Er braucht nicht / nur wenig / kaum zu arbeiten  
ds
- 77 ich - nicht so viel arbeiten müssen. Ich wäre froh, wenn ich nicht so viel arbeiten musste. du - abends früher nach Hause kommen. Es wäre schon, wenn du abends früher nach Hause kämest/kommen würdest  
gs
- 78 Wir fürchten, dass wir nächste Woche viel Arbeit haben, wir haben viel Arbeit. Wir nehmen an, dass wir zu nichts anderem Zeit haben. wir haben Zeit  
ds
- 79 fast hatte ich sie am Telefon nicht abwimmeln können. wäre mir die ganze Arbeit zu viel geworden. (Die ganze Arbeit ist mir nicht zu viel geworden.)  
gr

- 80 Ich bin völlig überarbeitet - Ja, du siehst so unausgeschlafen aus  
gr
- 81 Mit dieser Arbeit ist sie vielleicht überfordert Die Telefonleitungen hier sind  
völlig überlastet  
gr
- 82 Gisela hat heute Nacht bis drei Uhr gearbeitet,  
darum/daher/deshalb/deswegen braucht sie jetzt Zeit zum Schlafen.  
ds
- 83 Ich habe den ganzen Tag gearbeitet Du bist ja ganz nass Oh, das habe ich  
ganz vergessen  
gr
- 84 Warum bist du denn gestern Abend nicht mehr zu uns gekommen? Ich war  
einfach zu müde Nachdem ich den ganzen Tag am Computer gearbeitet  
hatte, taten mir die Augen weh, und ich wollte nur noch ins Bett  
gs
- 85 Falls du mit mir ins Kino gehen willst, kannst du mich jederzeit anrufen, ich  
werde den ganzen Abend zu Hause sein und arbeiten  
gr88
- 86 Wir sind bankrott, obwohl wir Tag und Nacht gearbeitet haben (Wir haben  
Tag und Nacht gearbeitet Das wäre ein Grund, dass unsere Firma in  
Ordnung ist Aber unsere Arbeit hat nichts genutzt Jetzt sind wir bankrott )  
gg
- 87 Er arbeitet Tag und Nacht, Jahr für Jahr  
ds
- 88 Ich arbeite zur Zeit jedes Wochenende Das hast du schon jedem erzählt  
gs

- 89 Wir haben bis spät in der/die Nacht gearbeitet  
gr
- 90 Ich hatte ein Schlafmittel genommen Ich war nicht aufgeregt Niemand  
hatte mich geargert Ich hatte bis spät abends gearbeitet Ich war sehr müde  
Das Hotelzimmer hatte eine ruhige Lage  
ds
- 91 Außerhalb der regulären Arbeitszeit tut er nichts für die Firma  
gr
- 92 Wegen meiner Verspätung heute Morgen arbeite ich nachher etwas länger  
Ich habe mich heute morgen verspätet, deswegen arbeite ich nachher etwas  
länger Weil ich mich heute Morgen  
gr
- 93 um elf ins Bett gehen, der Schlaf vor Mitternacht ist für mich der beste Ich  
arbeite auch abends nicht gern. Am liebsten sitze ich von morgens bis mittags  
am Schreibtisch Meine ganze Doktorarbeit habe ich z B zwischen sechs  
Uhr morgens und zwei Uhr nachmittags geschrieben " - „Das ist grasslich  
Ich werde vor zehn überhaupt nicht richtig wach und wurde am liebsten erst  
gegen Mittag ins Büro gehen "  
gr
- 94 Meine Mutter kam früher von der Arbeit zurück  
gs
- 95 Fangst du immer um 8 30 Uhr mit der Arbeit an? - Normalerweise ja, aber  
heute habe ich um 10 00 Uhr angefangen Isst du immer mittags in der  
Kantine? - Normalerweise ja, aber heute  
gs
- 96 Wann fangen Sie mit der Arbeit an? Wann hörst du mit der Arbeit auf?  
gr

- 97 schnelle Autos - fremde Lander - hubsche Manner - chinesische Restaurants -  
faule Wochenenden - starke Frauen - laute Discos Aber keine großen  
Hunde - weinenden Kinder - langen Arbeitstage - lauten Straßen - kitschigen  
Filme - langweiligen Leute  
gr
- 98 Sie hat heute nicht langer arbeiten wollen. Sie wollte heute nicht langer  
arbeiten  
gs
- 99 Einerseits will jeder mehr Geld haben, andererseits wollen alle weniger  
arbeiten  
ds
- 100 Nimm/Nehmt nicht viel Geld mit an den Strand! Vergessen Sie Ihre Arbeit!  
Vergiss deine/Vergesst eure Arbeit! Schlafen Sie viel! Schlaf/Schlaft viel!  
Erholen Sie sich gut! Erhol dich/Erholt euch gut!  
gs
- 101 Bitte antwortet mir! Arbeitet nicht so viel! Hört endlich auf zu rauchen!  
Holt mich morgen gegen acht Uhr ab! Bitte antworte mir! Arbeite nicht  
so viel! Hör endlich auf zu rauchen!  
gr

## **Appendix S, Chapter 5 – General attitudes and reactions to work**

- 1 Ich mochte ohne Arbeit nicht leben  
ds
  
- 2 Ich glaube, dass Deutsche kein Talent zum Leben haben, sie verstehen nur etwas vom Arbeiten  
gr
  
- 3 Ich muss arbeiten.  
gs
  
- 4 er will / wollte schlafen wollen sie muss/musste arbeiten müssen  
gs
  
- 5 Sie mussten schwer arbeiten  
gr
  
- 6 aber bis dahin müssen die Wissenschaftler noch viel arbeiten.  
gr
  
- 7 Musst du denn wirklich jeden Abend arbeiten?  
gs
  
- 8 Gestern wollte ich um sechs ins Kino, aber ich konnte leider nicht gehen, ich musste bis acht Uhr arbeiten  
gr
  
- 9 Wie lange musst du noch arbeiten? - Mindestens noch bis sieben Uhr, vielleicht auch länger  
Gr

10 Musst ihr am Wochenende arbeiten?

gr

11 Musst du morgen arbeiten?

gr

12 Papa, warum musst du immer so viel arbeiten? Weil

gs

13 Musst du heute Abend arbeiten oder kannst du mit uns essen gehen?

gs

14 Ich muss heute leider arbeiten. Aber vielleicht können wir am Wochenende etwas zusammen unternehmen

gs

15 weil Warum kommst du denn nicht mit ins Kino? Weil ich keine Zeit habe  
Ich muss noch arbeiten

gs

16 Wir müssen doppelt so viel arbeiten wie die anderen

ds

17 Die Arbeiter müssen zur Zeit Überstunden machen, (die Firma / andernfalls /  
die Liefertermine nicht einhalten)

ds

18 Ich habe viel zu arbeiten =Ich habe viel Arbeit, die ich tun muss

gg

19 Entschuldigung, ich konnte nicht früher kommen, ich musste heute länger  
arbeiten

gr

- 20 Hast du gestern Abend das Spiel Bayern Munchen gegen Werder Bremen gesehen? Ja, natürlich hab' ich es gesehen Nein, leider nicht Ich musste langer arbeiten Wenn ich Zeit gehabt hatte, hatte ich es natürlich angeschaut  
gs
- 21 er muss nämlich langer arbeiten  
gs
- 22 Er muss heute langer arbeiten  
ds
- 23 Im Interesse der Mitarbeiter hegt es mcht, wenn wir am Donnerstagabend langer arbeiten müssen  
gr
- 24 die anderen für ihn arbeiten mussten  
gr
- 25 Und fast hatte ich langer arbeiten müssen (Und ich habe im Buro nicht langer arbeiten müssen )  
gr
- 26 'Wir mussten beide am nächsten Tag früh zur Arbeit Wir unterhielten uns bis spat in die Nacht (trotzdem, dennoch, obwohl)  
ds
- 27 'Ich wünschte, ich konnte hier bleiben und musste nicht zur Arbeit gehen '  
gr
- 28 Niemand wollte die Arbeit übernehmen, fast hatte ich das tun müssen  
gr



- 38 'Er wird einen Herzinfarkt bekommen, weil er zu viel arbeitet '
- gr
- 39 Trotz ihrer Erkältung ist sie heute zur Arbeit gekommen Sie ist erkaltet,  
trotzdem ist sie heute zur Arbeit gekommen  
Obwohl sie erkaltet ist, ist sie heute zur Arbeit gekommen
- gr
- 40 obwohl Er ist zur Arbeit gegangen, obwohl er krank ist Er ist krank  
Trotzdem geht er zur Arbeit
- gs
- 41 Sie hat immer gearbeitet, selbst wenn sie sich krank fühlte
- ds
- 42 Ich bin mit den Nerven fertig, ich bin total überarbeitet
- gr
- 43 Vielleicht kann er morgen noch nicht zur Arbeit kommen, seine Frau sagte  
mir, dass er noch etwas Fieber habe
- gr
- 44 Warum waren Sie letzte Woche nicht im Büro? - Weil ich krank war und zum  
Arzt musste - Und was hatten Sie? - Grippe, ich hatte mich stark erkaltet  
und musste im Bett bleiben
- gr
- 45 'Denkst du an deine Arbeit? Ich denke immer daran '
- ds
- 46 ' Er kam immer früh ins Büro, meistens begann er schon um acht mit der  
Arbeit Zuerst las er die Post durch Er ließ keine Arbeit liegen und hielt alle  
Termine ein. Abends verließ er immer als letzter das Büro und oft saß er  
noch bis nach neun am Schreibtisch Manchmal nahm er auch Arbeit mit

nach Haus Er vergaß nie den Geburtstag seiner Sekretarin und lud sie dann immer zum Essen ein

gr

47 Gestern bin ich wie immer um sechs Uhr aufgestanden und zur Arbeit gegangen. Aber das Institut war geschlossen. Niemand hatte mir gesagt, dass gestern ein Feiertag war

gr

48 'Ich bin nach dem Urlaub wieder nach Lissabon zurückgekehrt und habe leider zur Zeit viel Arbeit Aber ich hoffe, dass ich bald einmal Zeit habe zu besuchen'

gs

49 Ich weiß noch nicht, ob ich morgen komme Wahrscheinlich/vielleicht bleibe ich zu Hause und arbeite

gr

50 'Er hat bestimmt viel Arbeit, sonst wäre er gekommen '

ds

51 'Und bei diesem schönem Wetter willst du arbeiten?'

gr

52 Können Sie die Arbeit am Wochenende erledigen? - Laut Vertrag brauche ich Samstag und Sonntag nicht zu arbeiten, aber ich tu's Ihnen zuliebe

gr

53 Fritz macht keinen Urlaub auf dem Bauernhof Er arbeitet lieber in seinem eigenen Garten.

ds

54 Wir müssen die Arbeit erfolgreich zu Ende bringen Dann machen wir ein großes Fest

gr

55 'Nachdem wir mit der Arbeit fertig waren, gingen wir immer in die Kneipe  
Nach Arbeitsschluss

gr

56 'Gehen wir nach der Arbeit ins Cafe?'

gs

57 'Ich komme nach der Arbeit zu dir. Aber vorher muss ich noch kurz nach  
Hause.'

gs

58 Nach der Arbeit feiere ich heute mit meinem Freund Geburtstag

gr

59 Seit wann lernen Sie Spanisch? - Erst seit ein paar Wochen, aber nur abends  
nach der Arbeit

gr

60 'Nachste Woche fangt die Arbeit an, aber bis dahin werden wir noch ein paar  
Ausflüge in die nähere Umgebung machen.'

Nachste Woche fange die Arbeit an, aber bis dahin wurden sie noch ein paar  
Ausflüge machen

gr

61 Der Vater hat vorher viel gearbeitet. Er konnte nach Weihnachten ein paar  
Tage frei nehmen. Der Vater hatte vorher so viel gearbeitet, dass er nach  
Weihnachten ein paar Tage freinehmen konnte. / Der Vater hatte vorher viel  
gearbeitet, so dass er nach Weihnachten ein paar Tage freinehmen konnte

gs

62 Zwischen Weihnachten und Neujahr wird in vielen Betrieben nicht  
gearbeitet

ds

- 63 Man arbeitet sonntags nicht Es wird sonntags nicht gearbeitet Sonntags  
wird nicht gearbeitet  
ds
- 64 Ich bin gegen Sonntagsarbeit  
gr
- 65 Jetzt essen wir erst einmal etwas, nachher können wir mit der Arbeit  
weitermachen  
gr
- 66 die kein Interesse an der Büroarbeit hatte und abends meistens pünktlich  
mit der Arbeit aufhorte, weil sie zu Hause lesen oder malen oder in ein  
Konzert gehen wollte  
gr
- 67 Meine Großmutter erzählte uns Kindern Geschichten, als wir noch klein  
waren um uns zu unterhalten nachdem/sobald wir Zähne geputzt hatten  
und im Bett lagen nie ohne etwas Neues zu erfinden wenn das Wetter  
schlecht war und wir nicht draußen spielen konnten damit wir uns nicht  
langweilten weil uns das so gut gefiel obwohl sie immer viel Arbeit hatte  
gs
- 68 Wir haben viel zu tun, machen wir uns an die Arbeit!  
gr
- 69 erfolgreich = mit viel Erfolg viele Kinder, viel Arbeit wertvoll = von hohem  
Wert  
gr
- 70 Wie geht es ihr? Hat sie noch immer so viel Arbeit?  
gr
- 71 Macht so ein Garten viel Arbeit? Ja, so ein Garten macht viel Arbeit!  
ds

- 72 Die Kochinnen eines Restaurants haben viel Arbeit. Schon früh kommen die Boten und bringen Obst und Gemüse. Die Kochin eines Restaurants hat viel Arbeit. Schon früh kommt der Bote und bringt das Obst.
- 73 Warum hilfst du Oma nicht? Du weißt doch, dass sie viel Arbeit hat. Ich weiß nicht, wie ich ihr helfen kann.
- 74 Haben Sie heute viel gearbeitet? Sind Sie heute früh aufgestanden? Sind Sie mit dem Auto gefahren?
- 75 Ich habe einen Film im Fernsehen gesehen. Ich arbeite viel mit dem Auto. Ich fahre etwas Schönes machen. Zeitung lesen. Radio hören.
- 76 Er braucht nicht / nur wenig / kaum zu arbeiten.
- 77 Ich muss nicht so viel arbeiten. Ich wäre froh, wenn ich nicht so viel arbeiten müsste. Du kommst abends früher nach Hause. Es wäre schon, wenn du abends früher nach Hause kämst/kommst.
- 78 Wir fürchten, dass wir nächste Woche viel Arbeit haben. Wir haben viel Arbeit. Wir nehmen an, dass wir zu nichts anderem Zeit haben. Wir haben keine Zeit.
- 79 Ich konnte sie am Telefon nicht abwimmeln. Die ganze Arbeit ist mir zu viel geworden. (Die ganze Arbeit ist mir nicht zu viel geworden.)

- 80 Ich bin völlig überarbeitet - Ja, du siehst so unausgeschlafen aus  
gr
- 81 Mit dieser Arbeit ist sie vielleicht überfordert Die Telefonleitungen hier sind  
völlig überlastet  
gr
- 82 Gisela hat heute Nacht bis drei Uhr gearbeitet,  
darum/daher/deshalb/deswegen braucht sie jetzt Zeit zum Schlafen  
ds
- 83 Ich habe den ganzen Tag gearbeitet Du bist ja ganz nass Oh, das habe ich  
ganz vergessen.  
gr
- 84 Warum bist du denn gestern Abend nicht mehr zu uns gekommen? Ich war  
einfach zu müde Nachdem ich den ganzen Tag am Computer gearbeitet  
hatte, taten mir die Augen weh, und ich wollte nur noch ins Bett  
gs
- 85 Falls du mit mir ins Kino gehen willst, kannst du mich jederzeit anrufen, ich  
werde den ganzen Abend zu Hause sein und arbeiten.  
gr88
- 86 Wir sind bankrott, obwohl wir Tag und Nacht gearbeitet haben (Wir haben  
Tag und Nacht gearbeitet Das wäre ein Grund, dass unsere Firma in  
Ordnung ist Aber unsere Arbeit hat nichts genutzt Jetzt sind wir bankrott )  
gg
- 87 Er arbeitet Tag und Nacht, Jahr für Jahr  
ds
- 88 Ich arbeite zur Zeit jedes Wochenende Das hast du schon jedem erzählt  
gs

- 89 Wir haben bis spat in der/die Nacht gearbeitet  
gr
- 90 Ich hatte ein Schlafmittel genommen Ich war nicht aufgereggt Niemand  
hatte mich geargert Ich hatte bis spat abends gearbeitet Ich war sehr mude  
Das Hotelzimmer hatte eine ruhige Lage  
ds
- 91 Außerhalb der regularen Arbeitszeit tut er nichts für die Firma.  
gr
- 92 Wegen meiner Verspatung heute Morgen arbeite ich nachher etwas langer  
Ich habe mich heute morgen verspatet, deswegen arbeite ich nachher etwas  
länger Weil ich mich heute Morgen  
gr
- 93 um elf ins Bett gehen, der Schlaf vor Mitternacht ist für mich der beste Ich  
arbeite auch abends nicht gern Am liebsten sitze ich von morgens bis mittags  
am Schreibtisch Meine ganze Doktorarbeit habe ich z B zwischen sechs  
Uhr morgens und zwei Uhr nachmittags geschrieben " - „Das ist grasslich  
Ich werde vor zehn überhaupt nicht richtig wach und wurde am liebsten erst  
gegen Mittag ins Buro gehen "  
gr
- 94 Meine Mutter kam fruher von der Arbeit zuruck  
gs
- 95 Fangst du immer um 8 30 Uhr mit der Arbeit an? - Normalerweise ja, aber  
heute habe ich um 10 00 Uhr angefangen Isst du immer mittags in der  
Kantine? - Normalerweise ja, aber heute  
gs
- 96 Wann fangen Sie mit der Arbeit an? Wann hoist du mit der Arbeit auf?  
gr

97 schnelle Autos - fremde Lander - hubsche Manner - chinesische Restaurants -  
faule Wochenenden - starke Frauen - laute Discos Aber keine großen  
Hunde - weinenden Kinder - langen Arbeitstage - lauten Straßen - kitschigen  
Filme - langweiligen Leute

gr

98 Sie hat heute nicht langer arbeiten wollen Sie wollte heute nicht langer  
arbeiten

gs

99 Einerseits will jeder mehr Geld haben, andererseits wollen alle weniger  
arbeiten

ds

100 Nimm/Nehmt nicht viel Geld mit an den Strand! Vergessen Sie Ihre Arbeit!  
Vergiss deine/Vergesst eure Arbeit! Schlafen Sie viel! Schlaf/Schlaft viel!  
Erholen Sie sich gut! Erhol dich/Erholt euch gut!

gs

101 Bitte antwortet mir! Arbeitet nicht so viel! Hört endlich auf zu rauchen!  
Holt mich morgen gegen acht Uhr ab! Bitte antworte mir! Arbeite nicht  
so viel! Hör endlich auf zu rauchen!

gr



# **Appendix T, Chapter 5 –Negative attitudes and approaches to work**

## **Part (a)**

- 1 Ich hore lieber heute als morgen mit dieser Arbeit auf  
gr
- 2 Wann wollen Sie endlich mit der Arbeit anfangen!?  
gr
- 3 Wir haben ihm zugeredet die Arbeit anzunehmen zusehen Wir haben dem  
Meister bei der Reparatur zugesehen  
ds
- 4 Die Arbeit ist mir zu schwer, ich lasse das  
gg
- 5 Unkomplizierte Steuererklärungen, die man leicht bearbeiten kann, werden  
von den Finanzbeamten bevorzugt  
ds
- 6 Diese Arbeit mache ich nicht!  
gr
- 7 Wenn er eine Arbeit übernehmen sollte, fand er immer eine Ausrede  
gr
- 8 Sie sollte (eigentlich) an ihrem Arbeitsplatz sein, denn die Mittagszeit ist  
schon vorbei = Das ist im Allgemeinen Pflicht, aber anscheinend wird die  
Regel nicht befolgt  
ds

- 9 Warum arbeitest du allem? Wo sind die anderen Kollegen? Sind das deine neuen Fotos?  
gr
- 10 Es war falsch die Arbeit angenommen zu haben Es war falsch, dass wir die Arbeit angenommen haben  
gr
- 11 aufgeregt- Arbeit - er - uber - sehr -sich - hat - seine Er hat sich sehr uber seine Arbeit aufgeregt  
gs
- 12 Bald können wir nach Hause gehen, nur noch eine halbe Stunde Arbeit!  
gr
- 13 Mein Gott, diese Arbeit! Ich freue mich so auf meinen Urlaub!  
gs
- 14 Ich kann diese Büroarbeit nicht mehr sehen, ich habe es satt  
gg
- 15 seit/seitdem Wie geht es Ihnen? Danke, gut Seitdem ich nicht mehr soviel arbeite, geht es mir viel besser  
gs
- 16 Er ging jedes Jahr in Kur, ohne Rücksicht darauf, dass die anderen für ihn arbeiten mussten  
gr
- 17 Ich kündige, weil mir die Arbeit nicht gefällt und weil ich zu schlecht verdiene  
gg

18 Sie hat ihm geraten sich endlich um eine Stelle zu bewerben, aber er schlägt ja jeden Rat in den Wind Er will ja nicht arbeiten und geht jedem Angebot aus dem Weg

ds

19 - Und wenn du nicht so faul warst und mehr gearbeitet hättest, hättest du jetzt eine bessere Position und würdest mehr Geld verdienen Aber du hast ja mich auf mich hören wollen! Das sagt meine Mutter auch

gr

20 Er ist faul, aber er tut so, als ob er arbeiten würde

gs

21 Er tut so, als ob er arbeiten würde

gs

22 Gesetzt den Fall, dass ich das gesamte Erbe meiner Tante bekomme, so höre ich auf zu arbeiten

ds

23 Wer die Arbeit kennt und nach ihr rennt und sich nicht drückt der ist verrückt!

gr

24 Lieber krank feiern als gesund arbeiten!

gr

## Part (b)

- 1 Herr Welter, ich muss Ihnen leider sagen, dass ich mit Ihrer Arbeit sehr unzufrieden bin  
gr
- 2 Mit einem, der so denkt, der so langsam ist, kann ich nicht zusammenarbeiten gr
- 3 Er arbeitet langsam (schneller) Wenn er doch schneller arbeitete! Wenn er doch nicht so langsam arbeitete! Sie spricht undeutlich (deutlicher)  
ds
- 4 Der meinen Antrag bearbeitende Beamte nimmt sich viel Zeit/nahm sich viel Zeit/hat sich viel Zeit genommen. Der Beamte, der meinen Antrag bearbeitet, nimmt sich viel Zeit/bearbeitete, nahm sich viel Zeit/bearbeitet hat, hat sich viel Zeit genommen  
ds
- 5 Wenn du so umständlich arbeitest, brauchst du die (3) dreifache Zeit  
ds
- 6 Standig hat der Junge den Kopf voll von dummen Gedanken! Er ist besessen von schweren Motorrädern, aber nachlässig in (bei) seiner Arbeit, begeistert von Motorradrennen und fähig zu den verrücktesten Wettfahrten!  
ds
- 7 die eine angenehme Mitarbeiterin und ein sehr freundlicher Mensch war, der aber bei der Arbeit vieles mehr oder weniger egal war, weil sie kein harter Arbeitstyp war und der die Improvisation lieber war, als eine straffe Organisation  
gr

- 8 Trotz der häufigen Ermahnungen vom Chef kam er weiter zu spät zur Arbeit  
Obwohl der Chef ihn häufig ermahnte, kam er  
gr
- 9 Er war bereits morgens betrunken, wenn er zur Arbeit kam. Deshalb war es  
nicht verwunderlich, dass er entlassen wurde  
ds
- 10 Das Ergebnis davon war, dass jeder dachte, dass jemand anderes die Arbeit  
erledigen würde, aber niemand machte sich klar, dass es auf diese Weise  
niemand tun würde. So warf jeder jedem vor die Aufgabe nicht erledigt zu  
haben, weil tatsächlich niemand das getan hatte, was jeder hatte tun können  
gr
- 11 Wissen Sie, wie bei uns im Betrieb gearbeitet wird? Manchmal konnte man  
die Arbeit bei uns als chaotisch bezeichnen beziehungsweise das Büro mit  
einem „Saustall“ vergleichen. Nichts funktioniert richtig, niemand sorgt für  
gute Zusammenarbeit. Die Koordination zwischen den beiden klappt aber  
nicht. Schon in (innerhalb) der Werbeabteilung selbst gibt es Probleme, wie  
soll da die Zusammenarbeit mit den anderen gut gehen! Das Material, das die  
Werbeleute zur Verfügung stellen sollten, ist noch nicht fertig. Die  
Broschüren über/für den neuen Computertyp sind noch gar nicht gedruckt.  
Dabei werden diese Broschüren schon seit Wochen dringend für die Werbung  
vor Ort gebraucht. Diese Broschüren sollten über unsere Verkaufsstellen an  
die Öffentlichkeit gelangen. Wenn man mit den Verantwortlichen spricht,  
erzählen sie einem lang und breit von ihren Problemen, erklären alles  
Mögliche, kommen dabei vom Hundertsten ins Tausendste, nur von der  
Sache selbst reden sie nicht.  
gr
- 12 eine Mitarbeiterin, die sich über alle Regeln hinwegsetzte eine sich über alle  
Regeln hinwegsetzende Mitarbeiterin alle Daten die bisher gespeichert  
wurden alle gespeicherten Daten  
gr

13 Er war enttäuscht, denn seine Arbeit wurde von niemand(em) anerkannt  
ds

14 Seine Arbeit an dieser Schule hat keine Anerkennung gefunden  
Seine Arbeit an dieser Schule wurde nicht anerkannt  
gr

15 Ich habe die Arbeit nicht mehr geschafft  
ds

16 Ich habe die Arbeit morgen noch nicht fertig Fertig habe ich die Arbeit  
morgen noch nicht  
gr

17 sich konzentrieren auf Ich kann mich heute nicht auf meine Arbeit  
konzentrieren  
gs

# Appendix U, Chapter 5 – Positive attitudes and approaches to work


## Part (a)

- 1 häufig spazieren gehen viel verdienen gern arbeiten eine gute Figur bekommen schlecht schlafen  
gs
- 2 Er arbeitet gern Fleißig  
gr
- 3 Bisher macht mir die Arbeit sehr viel Spaß Ich hoffe, es bleibt so  
gs
- 4 Mir macht meine neue Arbeit Spaß sagt er ich hoffe in zwei Jahren bekomme ich dann einen Studienplatz  
„Mir macht meine neue Arbeit Spaß“, sagt er, „ich hoffe, in zwei Jahren bekomme ich dann einen Studienplatz “  
gg
- 5 Je klüger und fleißiger ihre Schüler waren, desto mehr Spaß machte ihr die Arbeit  
ds
- 6 Je netter ein Chef ist, desto/umso lieber arbeite ich Je älter ich werde, desto/umso toleranter werde ich  
gs
- 7 Sie arbeitet mit ihrem dritten Chef genauso gut zusammen wie mit ihrem ersten und zweiten (Chef)  
ds

- 8 Wie geht es denn deinen Eltern? - Meiner Mutter, gut, aber meinem Vater fehlt die Arbeit  
gr
- 9 Ich kann mich nicht daran erinnern, dass sie sich auch nur ein einziges Mal über zu viel Arbeit beschwert hatte  
gs
- 10 Die viele Arbeit, die das bedeutet stört mich nicht  
gr
- 11 Ich traue mir zu die Arbeit zu schaffen  
gr
- 12 Wir haben viel zu tun, machen wir uns an die Arbeit!  
gr
- 13 Dann machten wir uns mit viel Elan an die Arbeit Während mein Mann und ich die Wände strichen, mussten die zwei größeren Kinder auf ihre kleinen Geschwister aufpassen Nachdem wir mit viel Mühe und Zeit  
gs



## Part (b)

- 1 Frau Levin ist eine äußerst fleißige Mitarbeiterin, verantwortungsvoll,  
engagiert und immer freundlich zu den Mitarbeitern  
gr
  
- 2 Herr Steiner ist ein ausgezeichnete Mitarbeiter Das ist ein ausgezeichnetes  
Ergebnis Ein ausgezeichnete Film von Wim Wenders!  
gr
  
- 3 Ich verspreche Ihnen, dass die Arbeit pünktlich fertig wird Dass die Arbeit  
pünktlich fertig wird, verspreche ich Ihnen Bevor die Woche vorbei ist, ist  
die Arbeit fertig Die Arbeit ist fertig, bevor die Woche vorbei ist Ich  
verspreche Ihnen, dass die Arbeit fertig wird, bevor die Woche vorbei ist  
Dass die Arbeit fertig wird, bevor die Woche vorbei ist, verspreche ich Ihnen  
gr 
  
- 4 Er arbeitet wirkungsvoll effektiv  
gr
  
- 5 Du arbeitest gründlich, dein Erfolg wird groß sein.  
Je gründlicher du arbeitest, desto größer wird dein Erfolg sein  
ds
  
- 6 Er arbeitet sorgfältig Dein Auto steht da hinten  
ds
  
- 7 Arbeite bitte sorgfältig! Fahr bitte vorsichtig! Sei bitte ordentlich! Ub bitte  
viel! Ich werde jetzt schneller schreiben als bisher deutlicher sprechen  
genauer rechnen besser zuhören leiser sein langsamer laufen freundlicher  
bedienen sorgfältiger arbeiten vorsichtiger fahren  
ds

- 8 Du arbeitest sorgfältig, du bekommst viele Aufträge  
Je sorgfältiger du arbeitest, desto mehr Aufträge bekommst du  
ds
- 9 Müller arbeitet zuverlässiger als Maier am zuverlässigsten (zuverlässig /  
Schulze)  
ds
- 10 Thomas arbeitet wirklich sehr diszipliniert Er hat innerhalb von vier Jahren  
sein Studium beendet  
gs
- 11 Er kam immer pünktlich zur Arbeit kommen Er tat alles, was man ihm  
sagte tun - sagen Er aß immer alleine zu Mittag essen  
gr
- 12 Um sieben Uhr habe ich die Arbeit für den 18. und 19. vorbereitet Um neun  
Uhr bin ich mit Anna essen gegangen  
gr
- 13 Sie begann, um bald zu einem Ergebnis zu kommen, sofort mit der Arbeit  
ds
- 14 Der Parteivorsitzende sagte, dass sie stolz auf ihren Erfolg sein konnten sie  
konnten stolz sein auf ihren Erfolg er danke seinen Parteifreunden herzlich  
jetzt heiße es für sie, sofort mit der Arbeit zu beginnen  
ds
- 15 Nimm dich bloß morgen bei der Arbeit zusammen, sonst bekommst du  
wieder Ärger! Und stell dich gut mit dem Chef!  
gr
- 16 Wenn man ihn bei der Arbeit stört, schaut er einen immer so wütend an  
gr

- 17 Seitdem das Telegramm am Montag ihre Ankunft angekündigt hatte, konnte er sich auf nichts mehr richtig konzentrieren. Nur während der Arbeitszeit gelang es ihm, die Erinnerungen kurze Zeit hinter sich zu lassen, aber am Abend zu Hause dachte er nur an die alten Zeiten  
gs
- 18 Während er in seine Arbeit vertieft ist, hört er weder die Klingel noch das Telefon  
ds
- 19 Bitte stör mich jetzt nicht! Ich muss mich auf meine Arbeit konzentrieren.  
gs
- 20 Hör endlich mit diesem Lärm auf! Ich muss arbeiten  
gs
- 21 Stör ihn nicht, er arbeitet! Lass ihn in Ruhe  
gr
- 22 Ich habe sie nicht gestört, sondern in Ruhe arbeiten lassen  
gr
- 23 Bei der Arbeit solltest du keine Musik hören  
ds
- 24 Während der Arbeit kannst du mich nicht erreichen  
gr
- 25 Nach einer Woche intensiver Arbeit war das meiste geschafft  
gr
- 26 Von der Arbeit einer Chefdolmetscherin. Die Chefdolmetscherin bemüht sich um eine möglichst genaue Wiedergabe der Rede des Außenministers (die Rede wiedergeben)  
ds

- 27 Die Tier- und Pflanzenbilder Albrecht Durers - zeichnen sich durch sehr genaue Detailarbeit aus (der berühmte Nürnberger Maler und Graphiker)  
ds
- 28 Ich war gestern im Moskauer Staatszirkus. Es war erstaunlich zu sehen, wie exakt die Artisten arbeiten  
ds
- 29 In Wirklichkeit spielt die Phantasie im Reich der Wissenschaft und gerade auch der Naturwissenschaft eine entscheidende Rolle. Denn selbst wenn viel nüchterne, sorgfältige, experimentelle Arbeit nötig ist, so gelingt das Zusammenordnen der Tatsachen doch nur, wenn man sich in die Phänomene eher hinein fühlen als hinein denken kann. Werner Heisenberg. Der Teil und das Ganze  
gg
- 30 Wie lange müssen wir noch mit diesen alten Maschinen arbeiten?  
gr
- 31 Mit solchem alten Werkzeug kann man nicht arbeiten  
ds
- 32 die Frau des Hauses, der Erfolg der Arbeit, Anfang der Woche, das Ende des Films  
gr
- 33 Ihre Arbeit gefällt mir, ich bin damit sehr zufrieden  
gr
- 34 Er sprach mit allen Mitarbeitern und es fiel ihm immer auf, wenn jemand gut arbeitete  
gr