



The
University
Of
Sheffield.

Access to Electronic Thesis

Author: Anna Linthe
Thesis title: Exploring the function and distribution of generic pronouns: The example of German man and du
Qualification: MPhil
Date awarded: 20 October 2010

This electronic thesis is protected by the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988. No reproduction is permitted without consent of the author. It is also protected by the Creative Commons Licence allowing Attributions-Non-commercial-No derivatives.

If this electronic thesis has been edited by the author it will be indicated as such on the title page and in the text.

Exploring the function and distribution of generic pronouns

The example of German *man* and *du*

Anna Linthe

Submitted for the degree of MPhil in July 2010

Department of Germanic Studies, University of Sheffield

Abstract

This work examines the research to date on generic pronouns – that is, items such as English *one* and German *man* – and suggests how this can be advanced through empirical means. Issues of reference, deixis and pragmatic function are critically discussed from the perspectives of cognitive linguistics, text and discourse analysis. Past research has primarily concerned itself with written discourse, or with data gathered under controlled conditions, such as researcher–participant interviews or elicited narratives. This work proposes spontaneous spoken discourse as a rich source of data for the investigation of generic pronouns, and uses a corpus of conversations between L1 German speakers to exemplify this. Quantitative and discourse analyses are combined with participant interviews to present a profile of the two dominant generic pronouns – *man*, and the second person pronoun *du* – and results challenge the widely held assumption that speakers prefer to use *man* over *du* when expressing generic reference. Interlocutors are shown to use particular generic pronouns in combination with other discourse features – such as modality and relational language – to dynamically construct identities for themselves and others as the conversation progresses, and to manipulate participant roles and relationships. Suggestions are ultimately made for future research directions, based on the findings of this study.

Table of contents

Introduction	1
Chapter 1 Generic pronouns	3
1.1 Man and du: naming the category	3
1.2 Generic pronouns in different languages	7
1.3 The challenge of generics.....	9
1.3.1 Personal and generic pronouns and usage.....	9
1.3.2 The continuum of genericness	10
1.3.3 Multiplicity of function.....	10
1.4 Referent focus	12
1.5 Function focus.....	14
Chapter 2 Deixis and reference	21
2.1 Determining reference.....	21
2.2 Deixis and referentiality.....	28
2.2.1 Deixis	28
2.2.2 Referentiality.....	33
Chapter 3 German generic pronouns and usage	38
3.1 Referents and functions of man.....	38
3.2 Referents and functions of du	42
Chapter 4 Methodological approaches to generic pronoun research	45
4.1 Identifying a research paradigm.....	45
4.2 Pilot study.....	56
4.2.1 Main study.....	60
Chapter 5 Quantitative analysis	68
5.1 Identifying items for analysis.....	68
5.2 The problem of ellipsis.....	72
5.3 Coding.....	75
5.4 Frequency counts	81
5.5 Other applications of quantitative analysis	86
Chapter 6 Discourse and qualitative analysis	90
6.1 Discourse analysis.....	90
6.2 Applying principles of DA to the data	92
6.2.1 Overview of transcript F2	93
6.2.2 Detailed analysis	98

6.3 Participant interviews.....	117
Conclusion	121
References	124
<i>Appendix A: Transcript F2</i>	129
<i>Appendix B: Interview transcripts (F2)</i>	147
Participant A.....	147
Participant B.....	149
Participant C.....	151

Introduction

Pronouns have long been the subject of categorisation by grammarians, and their role especially in establishing and manipulating reference has drawn the interest of cognitive linguists and discourse and conversation analysts. However, generic pronouns – that is, those which have unspecified reference, such as German *man* – have rarely provided a focus for analysis within spoken discourse. This work begins to redress this by exploring theoretical assumptions about generic pronouns, examining applied approaches to pronoun analysis, and proposing an empirical research paradigm to examine the function and distribution of these pronouns using quantitative and discourse analysis. German generic pronouns provide a focal point throughout the chapters, as the language provides a rich resource for internal comparison between pronouns fulfilling the generic role. As the data will demonstrate, the two pronouns *man* and *du* are prominent in this role, and compete for dominance within the conversations recorded for analysis.

Chapter 1 begins by explaining the decision to refer to ‘*man*-type’ pronouns as ‘generic’. It then goes on to discuss the challenges faced by researchers of these pronouns, and the different ways in which theorists and empirical analysts have addressed them. These challenges include the flexibilities of pronouns which traditional paradigms do not take into account, but which are enabled within a discourse context, such as shifting fields of reference and multiplicity of function. **Chapter 2** pulls together the common threads from the various approaches highlighted in the previous chapter to examine the important issues of reference, referentiality and deixis in depth. **Chapter 3** focuses on German generic pronoun research, looking specifically at how *man* and generic *du* are discussed in the literature. **Chapter 4** outlines a proposal for a paradigm for researching generic pronouns within spoken discourse, presenting a methodology for data collection and analysis which builds on past empirical studies, and which takes into account the complexities of the target items as discussed in previous chapters. **Chapter 5** demonstrates the quantitative element of this

paradigm with reference to German data, and **Chapter 6** continues with a detailed discourse analysis of these same data, concluding with a discussion of the value of participant interviews for triangulation in a study such as this.

Chapter 1 Generic pronouns

1.1 *Man* and *du*: naming the category

An immediate challenge to this work is to identify a suitable label for consistently referring to *man*, *du* and any other functionally similar pronouns (initially I will call these *man*-type pronouns), both for German and more generally (expanding the label to include pronouns in other languages is important as the literature on this subject is typologically diverse. This will be discussed later on in the chapter).

Man-type pronouns are contrasted in the literature primarily with personal pronouns (as opposed to interrogative, relative, possessive, demonstrative or distributive¹). The personal pronouns are usually defined as referring to a specific speech participant or external person or group: “a pronoun which denotes a grammatical person, as (in English) *I*, *you*, and *he*, in its various genders, numbers, and cases” (Oxford English Dictionary). By contrast, *man*-type pronouns denote a person or thing which is “unbestimmt ... hinsichtlich Geschlecht ... und Zahl.” [non-specific in terms of gender and number] (Bußmann 2002: 296). The various labels applied to this type of pronoun highlight this contrast, implying that *man*-type pronouns are everything which personal pronouns are not – or, rather, that they are nothing which personal pronouns are (e.g. *impersonal*, *indefinite*, *non-specific*). A range of these labels, along with any accompanying complexities and ambiguities, is given below:

Impersonal Biq (1991) and Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990) use the label ‘impersonal’ to refer to one function of the *man*-type use of the 2nd person pronoun in Mandarin and English respectively, whereas Reilly et al (2005: 189) use it to categorize a range of pronouns and quantifiers:

¹ The Oxford English Dictionary lists these pronominal categories in addition to ‘personal’ and ‘indefinite’.

<u>Personal</u>	<u>Impersonal</u>	<u>Other</u>
1st person: I, <i>we, me,</i> <i>us</i>	1st person: <i>we, us</i>	Relative: <i>that, what,</i> <i>which, whom, who</i>
2nd person: <i>you</i>	2nd person: <i>you</i>	Demonstrative: <i>that,</i> <i>these, this, those</i>
3rd person: <i>she, he, it,</i> <i>they, her, him, them</i>	3rd person: <i>one</i>	
	Existential: <i>it, there</i>	
	Extraposition: <i>it</i>	
	Partitive: <i>any,</i> <i>anybody, anyone,</i> <i>anything, some,</i> <i>somebody, someone,</i> <i>something</i>	
	Universal: <i>all, both,</i> <i>every, everybody,</i> <i>everyone, everything</i>	

This label is also used by some authors to refer to the ‘dummy pronoun’ in English (Berman 2004, Oxford Compact English Dictionary 2003) and German (Durrell 2002) – being *it* and *es* respectively.

Indefinite

This is the term employed by most grammars and dictionaries. Bußmann (2002), Duden Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache (2005) and Zifonun et al (1997) offer extensive examples of German pronouns which come under this heading:

Bußmann (2002: 296):
man, jeder, jemand, etwas, etliche, mancher, niemand,
alle, irgendwer, jedermann.

Duden Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache (1995: 343):
jemand, etwas, alle, kein, man, sämtlich, nichts,
niemand.

Zifonun et al (1997: 43):
ein, etwas, irgendein, irgend(et)was, irgendjemand,
irgendwer, jemand, jedermann/jederafrau, man/frau,
wer auch immer.

Whilst each publication lists *man* as an indefinite pronoun, *du* is unanimously excluded, and this shall be discussed further later on in the chapter. This does, however, highlight a contrast which some authors make and others ignore, that

being the difference between pronouns in use and pronouns as abstract lexemes. The three texts cited here would seem to be listing abstract pronouns as they exclude the canonical personal pronouns (such as *du*) from the list of possible indefinites. A contrasting example is shown in the table taken from Reilly et al (2005) and reproduced above, which allocates many of the personals to the list of ‘impersonals’, indicating duality of function in use. Kremer (1997) is explicit in her approach to contrasting the abstract and the applied, using ‘definite’ and ‘indefinite’ only with reference to context-independent, syntactic structures (i.e. definite ‘the man’ v. indefinite ‘a man’). She then uses the labels ‘specific’ and ‘**non-specific**’ to distinguish between personal and *man*-type uses of pronouns. A definite noun phrase, for example, can therefore be specific or non-specific as the context determines. Brown and Yule (1983) similarly use ‘indefinite pronoun’ to refer to noun phrases with an indefinite article, rather than to *man*-type pronouns.

Haspelmath (1997, pp. 11-12) subsumes four further categories under the heading of ‘indefinite pronouns’ (mid-scalar quantifiers, such as *many*, *few*; **generic** pronouns, such as French *on* and German *man*; universal quantifiers, such as *all*, *every*; and identity pronouns/ determiners, such as *other*, *same*).

Generic

Haspelmath’s 2nd sub-category of **indefinite pronouns**, which appears to be primarily based on the abstract lexeme and therefore caters for *man* rather than *du*. Berman (2004) and Ragnarsdóttir and Strömqvist (2005) also employ the term ‘generic pronoun’ to describe *man*-type pronouns and usages in discussions of empirical research on discourse stance.

Less commonly employed labels include **homophoric pronoun** (Wales 1980), **neutral pronoun** (Weinrich 2003) and Haiman et al's (unpublished) **Generic Indefinite Personal Pronoun (GIPP)**, coined as a label for the 2nd person pronoun used non-personally.

Given the wealth of labels and the inconsistency in how each is applied, the decision as to which to use when discussing *man*-type pronouns becomes largely arbitrary. However, I do consider it to be important that a system of labelling:

1. can be used to refer to uses of both *man* and *du*, giving them equal standing in a common category – this therefore rules out, for example, Haiman et al's (unpublished) GIPP, which could only refer to *du*;
2. distinguishes between the function of each pronoun in discourse and its abstract, non-contextualised form – as we have seen, many authors do not make this explicit;
3. minimises confusion as to which items are included within the category – a decision regarding this will be based primarily on the reviewed labelling conventions.

I propose using the following system to achieve these three objectives:

<i>man/ du</i>	= abstract lexeme
personal <i>man/ du</i>	= personal use
generic <i>man/ du</i>	= <i>man</i> -type use

The explicit marking of each instance of pronoun use (i.e. personal/ generic) levels the playing field for *man* and *du* and also allows for the labelling of further pronouns as required according to these two basic functions (e.g. personal *ich*, generic *ich*). It also avoids the assumption that *du* is personal unless explicitly identified as being otherwise. This is important as generic *du* is often seen as exceptional (see, for example, Kitagawa and Lehrer 1990 and Chapter 3 of this work) and therefore peripheral to its personal function. I have chosen the label **generic** for *man*-type pronoun use for three reasons:

firstly, its application in the grammars, dictionaries and research literature is less diverse than some of the other options, meaning that any ambiguity as to the items to which it can refer is limited; secondly, it has been used in recent pragmatic research to refer to *pronouns in use* (Berman 2004; Ragnarsdóttir and Strömquist 2005) and therefore its meaning is on the one hand relatively distinct from purely grammatical, abstract labels, and, on the other, should be relatively familiar to researchers in the field; and thirdly, the term **generic** does not immediately suggest that the relationship between *man*-type pronouns and personal pronouns is one of polar opposites (as does, for example, *impersonal*).

1.2 Generic pronouns in different languages

This thesis will first of all provide a typological perspective on pronoun theory before moving on in Chapter 2 to explore the German pronouns *man* and *du* in more depth. The nature and function of generic pronouns varies from language to language, meaning that researchers approach analysis differently depending on what is perceived to be the most interesting feature in a specific language, and direct typological comparisons are rare (although see Ragnarsdóttir and Strömquist 2005). For example, English generic *one* and generic *you* now contrast socially when used to refer to the speaker alone, *one* being: “Associated esp. with British upper-class speech, and now freq. regarded as affected” (Oxford English Dictionary). Research indicates that this was not always the case: we can compare Wales’ 1980 study of the ‘increasingly egocentric’ *one* with Kitagawa and Lehrer’s 1990 description of the ‘life drama’ function of generic *you* – in both cases, the speaker is using *one* and *you* to refer to themselves; however, by 1990, the use of *one* to achieve this is no longer a primary concern of the research. Generic *you* has effectually replaced generic *one* as an empirically ‘interesting’ topic, possibly due to the increased use of generic *you* in the spoken language, or because greater quantities of informal spoken English are being recorded and analysed. This project also displays a bias determined by the specific features of German in choosing to focus its analysis on *man* and *du*: a modal (i.e. written v. spoken) or social contrast does not exist so obviously between *man* and *du* as between *one* and *you*, meaning that

the empirically interesting aim is to begin to establish other contrasts in the nature and function of the two generic pronouns in informal spoken German. I will therefore inevitably approach my analysis differently from Wales (who focuses on *one*) or Kitagawa and Lehrer (who focus on generic uses of the 2nd person pronoun).

Adding to the international diversity in pronoun research is the fact that several different sub-disciplines have contributed frameworks for analysis – most significantly, discourse analysis, cognitive linguistics and various areas of pragmatics. Afonso (2003), for example, examining impersonal constructions in European Portuguese, uses construction grammar to compare the generic 1st, 2nd and 3rd person pronouns and the reflexive impersonal construction. Biq (1991), on the other hand, approaches the use of generic *ni* in conversational Mandarin from a discourse analytical perspective; and Ragnarsdóttir and Strömqvist (2005) explore the involvement of Icelandic *maður* and Swedish *man* in the expression of discourse stance.

Studies such as that of Ragnarsdóttir and Strömqvist (2005) mentioned above, which offer direct typological comparisons, often challenge broader pronoun theory as they are forced to account for the cross-linguistic similarities and differences. Ragnarsdóttir and Strömqvist assert that *maður* and *man* differ, for example, in their inclusion of the speaker in the range of implicit referents (in Icelandic, this is always the case, whereas in Swedish the speaker may or may not be included as a referent). The authors state: "... describing *maður* and *man* merely as generic pronouns under-specifies the constraints that account for the non-obvious differences in how the two are used." (2005: 145). They even challenge claims that a generic pronoun is non-specific in number (Bußmann 2002: 296; Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990: 177), proposing that: "...the generic pronoun can be best defined as a quantifier which exhausts a set of referents established in the relevant discourse context." (Ragnarsdóttir and Strömqvist 2005: 145).

The collective findings of the international research community are thus eclectically diverse and informationally rich, yet are sometimes difficult to amalgamate. The following section presents the major lines of thought in the literature on generic pronouns, highlights the issues which emerge as a result of their comparison, and attempts to extract those ideas which are most valuable to the analysis of generic pronouns such as *man* and *du*.

1.3 The challenge of generics

It seems most appropriate to present an outline of the linguistic conditions facing researchers who attempt to provide an accurate account of generic pronouns before going on to examine how these attempts have fared. Three issues especially come to the fore: firstly, in languages which employ formally distinctive personal and generic pronouns, items from each of these classes often can and do make cameo appearances in instances where a generic and personal discourse role is cast respectively; secondly, the boundaries separating generic from personal reference are fluid rather than being clear and fixed; thirdly, generic pronouns are highly dependent on multiple aspects of the context of use for the establishment of reference and meaning, thus making them difficult to describe and compartmentalise without detracting drastically from their actual functional potential.

1.3.1 Personal and generic pronouns and usage

As will be demonstrated extensively below, personal pronouns can be and are used generically in several languages, just as generic pronouns can be and are used personally, indicating that “[s]table grammatical systems for pronouns such as those portrayed by grammarians ... appear to be atypical for human languages.” (Mühlhäusler and Harré 1990: 196). So, for example, English *I* can refer to anyone in the given situation, as exemplified by the following newspaper extract cited in Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990: 741–2):

We form a frame of script for this kind of situation ... Thus, in order to be able to take the subway in New York *I* simply need a ‘taking a subway’ script or frame, if *I* have one, and supply now relevant specific information about the situation ... [italics in the original]

A reversal of this phenomenon is noted by Wales (1980: 109, taken from *The Times*, 18/08/75), *one* being used to refer to self:

[For each production] what I don't want to do is start all the time from an ad hoc basis. A strong root of it all is a very personal relationship with the people around one. I've been working with Timothy West ... since 1964, and this autumn he's joining one in the artistic direction of Prospect. I think we should be in fewer places more often ... [underlining in original]

1.3.2 The continuum of genericness

The relationship between propositional (the term used by, for example, Biq 1990 to refer to a pronoun which points to specific individuals or groups) and generic reference, or existential and universal quantification, is not polar; rather, there exists a continuum along which the use of a generic pronoun can be placed: "...it must be stressed that for pronouns, the boundary between 'specific' and 'homophoric' reference is frequently hard to distinguish: *you*, *we* and *one* all exhibit varying degrees of generalisation." (Wales 1980: 93 – see also Berman 2004). This is reflected in the range of referents which we will see can be incorporated by a generic pronoun: Biq cites a short extract from her spoken data in which Mandarin generic 2nd person pronoun *ni* refers in different instances to "an indefinite person in the American medical system ... an indefinite Chinese barefoot doctor" and "whoever is in the position of making policy decisions about medical education in China" (1991: 310). Thus, the line drawn between 'personal' and 'impersonal' pronouns in Reilly et al's table given in section 1.1 of this chapter still fails to present a true picture of usage.

1.3.3 Multiplicity of function

Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990: 200) claim that: "...the features of indefinite pronouns change with functions and other external aspects of the speech situation". Unfortunately for the researcher, "functions and other external aspects" covers an almost infinite number of scenarios which could potentially add to a generic pronoun's characteristics. As mentioned earlier on in this chapter, generic pronouns can differ in their potential field of

reference² and in their sociolinguistic connotations. Moreover, these connotations have led some authors to allocate changes in pronoun use an elevated social significance. A claim made by Wales in 1980 illustrates how the process of language change leads to language-specific pronoun usage: defining the three main fields of reference of *one* – indefinite, generic/egocentric, advanced-egocentric – she notes that speakers of English (presumably British English) were at that time increasingly including themselves in the generic pronoun, causing a “drift towards egocentricity of reference” (ibid: 95). Mühlhäusler and Harré (1990) add to and update this assertion, stating that the use of generic pronouns is on the increase in many European languages and that “... the switch to *one*-type pronouns signals a change away from individual responsibility and uniqueness to reduced responsibility and individuality” (ibid: 196). That is, the authors assume that, rather than merely adding to the generic pronoun’s list of possible referents (as Wales 1980 seems to suggest), speakers are replacing the singular 1st person pronoun with an egocentric generic pronoun, thus ‘dressing up’ personal perspectives as generally acknowledged opinions and consequently avoiding explicitly allocating themselves the role of author. Increased egocentricity coupled with increased use of generic pronouns “helps speakers to conceal the subjectivity of their arguments” (ibid). When changes in pronoun usage are interpreted in this way, generic pronouns are seen to be intrinsically involved in shaping the sociolinguistic and cultural landscape, which in turn plays a significant role in defining their functions and range of possible referents. This suggests that any examination of generic pronouns should include a sociolinguistic element.

Other authors approach generic pronouns from the perspective that functions are determined more locally. Biq (1991), Haiman et al (unpublished) and Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990) all indicate that the 2nd person pronoun used generically can have several pragmatic functions, the relevant function then being intrinsically linked to the field of reference, discourse-type (e.g. narrative) and so on (these three papers will be discussed again later on in the chapter). This multiplicity of

² Ragnarsdóttir and Strömqvist (2005) mention the inclusion and exclusion of the speaker as a referent in Icelandic *maður* and Swedish *man* respectively.

contextual factors makes it difficult for the researcher to identify a starting point for analysis. However, the fact that researchers such as Biq, Haiman et al and Kitagawa and Lehrer have found that certain contexts and text-types have a particular and consistent effect on generic pronouns means that their use is governed by norms in much the same way as any other item in the language. Convention does, then, impose restrictions on a referential and semantic ‘free for all’ and it is the researcher’s job to identify the nature of these restrictions across multiple contexts.

Faced with these complex conditions, researchers from several areas of linguistics (the key areas here being, broadly, semantics, pragmatics and cognitive linguistics) have often resorted to modifying traditional terminology and assumptions about pronouns to accurately describe the characteristics of particular generic pronouns. For example, Biq (1991) suggests that pragmatic reference makes a generic pronoun deictic, and Kamio (2001) proposes that different conceptual spaces account for functional differences between pronouns. Whilst these approaches differ in terms of the linguistic sub-discipline from which they stem, they tend to fall into two broad groups: those studies which focus on reference and those which focus on function – although these are sometimes difficult to separate and I will expand on this later. The issues which emerge from research which examines generic pronoun **referents** are: the possibility or not of reference retrieval and the type of reference made, and the suggestion that choosing a generic pronoun invokes in- and out-grouping. When looking at the **functions** of generic pronouns, the shifting roles of the hearer and the speaker are brought to the fore, as are the participants’ emotional distance from an utterance, their spatial and temporal distance or proximity from one another, and their involvement in each other’s opinions and experiences. These perspectives are discussed in sections 1.3 and 1.4.

1.4 Referent focus

Vahl-Seyfarth (1987) distinguishes between three main referents of German *man*: 1) **all people**, 2) a particular **group**, and 3) **the speaker**. Wales (1980) uses a more detailed system of classification for English *one*, identifying the

'indefinite' (meaning *anyone/everyone* – similar to Vahl-Seyfarth's first class), **'generic-egocentric'** (meaning *I*, possibly + *anyone else/others*) and **'advanced egocentric'** (meaning *I*, possibly + *others, same as me*) uses and integrating them with the personal and generic uses of the personal pronouns into a paradigm of endophoric and exophoric contexts. Halliday and Hasan, writing about cohesion, also discuss generic use of the English pronouns *one, we, you, they* and *it* in terms of exophora, more specifically, "generalized exophoric reference." (1976: 53). The authors go on to explain that the rules governing the use and interpretation of particular pronouns to fulfil particular referring functions are maintained by "a kind of institutionalized exophora" (ibid). This gives a label to the conventions which govern how the members of the speech community use the available generic forms. Furthermore, according to the authors, different pronoun choices allow the speaker to mark his or her utterance in terms of modality, and group identity and categorisation: "*You* and *one* mean 'any human individual' ... and often by implication 'any self-respecting individual', 'any individual I would approve of'" (ibid). Relative social status is also expressed through some use of *we* to refer indirectly to a specific person, this being exemplified in its use by doctors in doctor-patient conversations to refer to the patient (ibid). The authors describe this use of *we* as generic, thus indirectly highlighting an additional complexity to pronoun usage and how it is described: viewed from a perspective which highlights usage as the determining factor in categorising a pronoun, the labelling of the doctor-patient use of *we* as generic is inaccurate, as the contextualised reference is personal. (Section 5.3 of this work grapples further with the usefulness of the terms 'personal' and 'generic' in describing contextualised pronoun use.) This usage is, however, atypical, or non-canonical – *we* usually referring to the 1st person plural – and thus has a particular pragmatic effect – here indicating the higher status of the doctor over the patient. Haspelmath states that "... the category of indefinite pronouns seems to function as a sort of waste-basket category ..." (1997: 11). In instances such as this his meaning becomes clear: as soon as a personal pronoun makes itself conspicuous by taking on an alternative role, it is labelled generic (or the equivalent term). This indicates that the complexities involved in tackling

generic pronouns also extend to personal pronouns, and that pronouns as a whole may have been previously over-simplified.

Haiman et al (unpublished) combine the field of reference of generic pronouns with the functional aspect of in- and out-groupness, viewing the addition of 2nd person singular pronoun generic referents as semantic widening in a theory of language change. The first stage of this development involves role reversal, or ‘you’ means ‘me’ (advanced-egocentric in Wales’ 1980 terms). The referent then extends to ‘you and me’ and, finally, to ‘you, me and everyone else’ (or, more narrowly, ‘we of the in-group’). In this final stage of the “expanding egocentric circle”, a generic pronoun can be contrasted with ‘them’ of the out-group: the authors give the example of German *man* vs. *sie*.

1.5 Function focus

Biq (1991) and Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990) focus on function in describing Mandarin and English generic pronoun usage respectively. In accounting for the functions of Mandarin 2nd person pronouns *ni* used generically, Biq proposes the labels **impersonal** (“The impersonal use of the 2nd person singular *ni* refers to its substitution for an indefinite pronoun in casual speech.” 1991: 309), **dramatic** (“The dramatic *ni* occurs as part of the shifting of the entire frame of reference from the discourse situation to the described situation.” *ibid*: 310) and **metalinguistic** (vocative). However, Biq continues to describe the pronouns canonically assigned the generic role (i.e. the Mandarin equivalents of German *man*) as ‘indefinite’. Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990) contrast **impersonal** and **vague** uses of English personal pronouns *you*, *we* and *I*, adding further sub-categories for each of the pronouns examined. Whilst Kitagawa and Lehrer’s ‘impersonal’ use “applies to anyone and/or everyone.” (1990: 742), Biq’s ‘impersonal’ *ni* has a constantly changing intended referent (plural or singular) which is only identifiable in context, this being more similar to Kitagawa and Lehrer’s ‘vague use’: “A ‘vague’ use applies to specific individuals, but they are not identified, or identifiable, by the speaker” (1990: 742). See Table 1.1 on P. 16 for an example of this, in which vague *you* refers to Americans generally (the speaker is addressing an American individual).

The two papers propose differing views on genericness and deixis, Biq disagreeing with Kitagawa and Lehrer's claim that: "[Impersonal pronouns] are not deictic and are not necessarily referential; that is, they do not refer to the speaker or addressee" (1990: 741). Biq proposes that her 'impersonal' (Kitagawa and Lehrer's 'vague') use of Mandarin *ni* may be deictic in that it includes the hearer pragmatically when not necessarily propositionally. Her suggestion is based on the assumption that the impersonal use always implies "that the hearer also shares the same perspective [as the speaker]" (1991: 310), thus involving them in the speaker's utterance. Haiman et al (unpublished) also emphasise this aspect of generic 2nd person singular pronoun usage, describing it as "'I-am-you' behaviour". In contrast to her more cautious proposal for the pragmatic deixis of 'impersonal' *ni*, Biq is certain of the solidly deictic nature of 'metalinguistic' singular *ni*, this being a vocative which always refers to the hearer – either alone or as part of the immediate conversational group. In such instances, the hearer(s) is or are being allocated the "participant role" (in contrast to the pragmatic role invoked by 'impersonal' *ni*): "It is the role of intended recipient, as opposed to the role of speaker, that is being called upon. Who is in that role does not matter." (1990: 317). The role allocated to the hearer continues to be of significance when understanding Biq's concept of the 'dramatic' use of *ni*, which seems to correspond to Kitagawa and Lehrer's sub-category 'life-drama' for 'impersonal' *you*. In this case, "personal pronouns are 'relativized' according to the described situation ... rather than according to the discourse situation." (1991: 310). Haiman et al (unpublished) also address this "theatrical pretence" in talk about unique personal experiences, again in the context of 'I-am-you' behaviour.

The perspective which claims the generic 2nd person singular pronoun as a tool for relating personal experience, however, faces an apparent challenge in the recently popular research strand of discourse stance. Van Hell et al take the use of pronouns to be an indicator of speaker stance in Dutch, saying of all generic pronouns (including generic use of the 2nd person pronoun): "Impersonal pronouns have a generic and unspecified referent and so seem better suited to expressing a more distanced, less personal

Table 1.1 Types of generic *you* compared. Overlapping descriptions are placed in parallel

Biq 1991	Kitagawa and Lehrer 1990
<p>impersonal referent must be identified using contextual clues; pragmatic role of hearer; e.g. “In China, it is not (??) like in America, <i>you</i> have to, eh, pass hundreds of courses including Latin before <i>you</i>’re qualified as a doctor ...”</p>	<p>vague specific, unidentified individuals; e.g. “<i>You</i>’re – I don’t mean <i>you</i> personally – <i>you</i>’re going to destroy us all in a nuclear war.”</p>
	<p>impersonal anyone/everyone; e.g. “<i>You</i> can build <i>your</i> own TV set if <i>you</i> buy a kit.” <u>Subtypes:</u> → ‘situational insertion’, → ‘moral or truism formulation’, → ‘life drama’ [used during (personal) narrative]</p>
<p>dramatic character role [used when replaying past speech events (i.e. reported speech)]; e.g. “It is as if, ‘Hey! It’s not that <i>you</i> can’t watch <i>me</i> taking a bath ...”</p>	<p>e.g. “<i>You</i>’re going down the highway, <i>you</i>’re having a wonderful time ... and suddenly – <i>You</i> get into an argument.”</p>
<p>metalinguistic vocative; e.g. “<i>You</i> [Ni] for example, in the past China had this problem.”</p>	

stance.” (2005: 242)³. It is this lack of personal proximity which van Hell et al (2005) take as the explanation for an increased use of generic pronouns in expository texts, as opposed to narratives (see also Berman 2004, Ragnarsdóttir and Strömqvist 2005 and Reilly et al 2005). This intuitively seems to negate Biq’s (1991) and Kitagawa and Lehrer’s (1990) theory of the role-allocating nature of the generic 2nd person pronoun, which seeks to involve the hearer in the speaker’s world view; however, increasing perceived objectivity through the distancing of an utterance from the speaker would serve to reinforce the focus on the hearer, rather than diminish that hearer’s involvement. Indeed, Haiman et al (unpublished) unite these two perspectives, giving the motivation behind using the 2nd person singular generic pronoun as being either: i) a bid for the listener’s sympathy; or ii) an attempt to take the spotlight off him- or herself. It should also be noted that research on discourse stance approaches generic pronouns from a developmental perspective and tends to contrast them with personal pronouns, rather than with each other. Both Berman (2004) and van Hell et al (2005) focus on the range of pronouns which appear across different age-

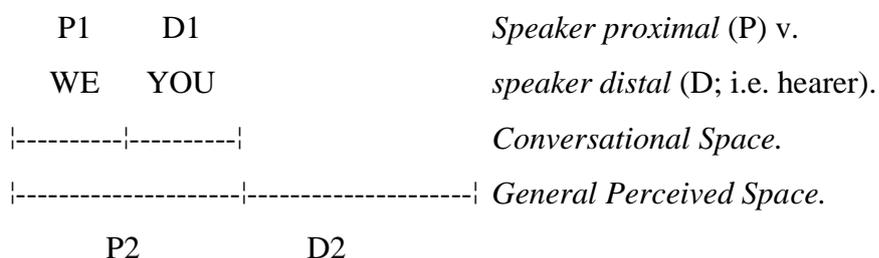
³ Vahl-Seyfarth (1987), whilst not looking at discourse stance, makes a similar observation, noting that 85.2% of uses of *man* in her study were used without emotional involvement. This was assessed using contextual and topical factors, the presence or absence of references to the speaker’s own feelings, the speaker’s choice of words and speaker intonation.

groups and text-types and tend to dwell less on the specific pragmatic effects of each generic pronoun. However, van Hell et al do in fact adapt their claim of the generic pronouns' distancing effect cited above when addressing the speaker's decision to use Dutch canonical *men* or 2nd person *je* (2005: 256):

The fact that *je* is used in preference to more formal, even more distanced *men* can be interpreted as expressing a more receiver-oriented attitude to the text, in which both the sender-writer and the receiver-reader are jointly involved as members of the human society.

Rather than including relative distance or proximity as a peripheral phenomenon, Kamio (2001) takes it as the basis for his framework. Expanding on his theory of territory of information, he presents a view of generic pronouns which centres around 'general perceived space' and 'conversational space', each containing 'proximal' and 'distal' areas which are more or less psychologically salient to the participants. He goes on to distinguish between 'prototypical' and 'non-prototypical' "generic uses of *we*, *you*, and *they*" (ibid: 1115), prototypical instances being "those examples where the use of these pronouns can conceptually be connected with *I*, *you*, and *he* or *she* respectively" – for example, "This is *your* captain speaking" (1115–16). Kamio's paper focuses on these uses, meaning that he fails to deal with 'non-prototypical' "generic propositions" (Wales 1980: 96), which don't necessarily have the speaker, addressee or a third party as the central referent; that is, which must be interpreted with the universal quantifier (being comparable to, for example, Kitagawa and Lehrer's (1990) 'impersonal' use of pronouns). Kamio's aim in constructing his theory is partly to account for the social distance or proximity created, for example, through the use of proximal *we* as opposed to distal *you* when addressing a person with whom the speaker perceives an alliance. His understanding of a '(prototypical) generic pronoun', then, does not fall within the scope of this project. However, his concepts of perceived and conversational space are interesting and, in principle, compatible with previously mentioned perspectives on the distancing and drawing-in function of generic pronouns. Kamio describes, for example, the contrasting spatial dimensions involved in using *we* which refers "to a more or less delimited group of people of

which *I* is the central member” (exclusive *we*) versus using *you* which includes the hearer as part of an unspecified group (adapted from P. 1118):



The diagram illustrates that *we* belongs exclusively to the speaker’s territory and is thus distal from the hearer and *you* to the hearer’s territory and therefore distal from the speaker. However, the distancing effect of *we* versus *you* is reduced when *we* is used inclusively (i.e. speaker plus hearer) and *you* generically (i.e. also speaker plus hearer). In this case, Kamio states, “the territories of the speaker and of the hearer can almost merge” (P. 1119). This is reminiscent of Haiman et al’s (unpublished) description of ‘I-am-you’ behaviour as expressed through use of the generic 2nd person pronoun, mentioned earlier in this section.

As mentioned previously, whilst I have divided research on generic pronouns into that which has a reference-focus and that which has a function-focus, it is clear that there is a great deal of overlap between the two: in examining reference, Vahl-Seyfarth (1987), Wales (1980), Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Haiman et al (unpublished) also suggest that using a generic pronoun has the function of marking interlocutors’ distance or proximity from a proposition or a social group – for example, Vahl-Seyfarth’s claim that using German *man* distances the speaker emotionally from the utterance. In examining function, Biq (1991), Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990), van Hell et al (2005) and Kamio (2001) all assert that the achievement of a particular function relies on the inclusion or exclusion of particular referents – for example, to achieve Kitagawa and Lehrer’s ‘impersonal’ meaning, a generic pronoun must have universal reference; whereas to achieve Biq’s ‘impersonal’ meaning, a referent or generic group of referents must be identifiable through the context. Biq and Kitagawa and

Lehrer also become involved in the debate surrounding whether or not generic pronouns are deictic and/or referential.

The combination of reference and pragmatic function, then, would seem to provide a basic starting point for researching generic pronouns. However, each of the studies and publications mentioned differs in its start- and end-point for research and therefore, as a whole, the literature provides a rather muddled picture of what the concepts of reference and function actually mean with relation to generic pronouns. The following questions especially emerge from yet remain unanswered by a comparison of these studies:

- How do participants (and researchers) identify the specific or non-specific referent of a pronoun? Biq (1991) states the need for contextual clues, but does not expand on this; and Halliday and Hasan (1976) introduce the concept of institutionalised exophora. Related to this:
- Are the notions of referentiality and deixis relevant in a discussion of generic pronouns? Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990) disagree with Biq (1991) and Halliday and Hasan (1976).
- Why do participants use a particular pronoun to communicate a particular instance of genericness? All of the studies mentioned note the availability of multiple generic pronouns in the relevant language, yet fail to adequately explain why one may be chosen over another to fulfil a particular function.

Each of these questions relates to the broader issue of whether generic pronouns are semantically, pragmatically and cognitively distinct from other pronouns and from each other.

Given the eclectic confusion, it would seem to make sense to return to those sub-disciplines which have influenced the various approaches (most obviously, semantics, pragmatics and cognitive linguistics) and examine the theoretical contributions which each makes to understanding pronouns, specifically generic pronouns. Chapter 2 explores reference, referentiality

and deixis from these various perspectives and seeks common threads which further a theoretical understanding of generic pronouns.

Chapter 2 Deixis and reference

2.1 Determining reference

The focus of theories which deal with the issue of reference depends on whether scholars consider reference to emerge primarily through the text itself (e.g. text analysts Halliday and Hasan 1976), through interaction (e.g. politeness theorist Arundale 2006, discourse analysts Brown and Yule 1983) or through participants' cognitive processes (e.g. cognitive linguist Lee 2001). However, despite the contrast in approaches, the conclusions of each are not incompatible and thus offer a broad range of plausible answers to the question of how interactants distinguish between personal and generic reference.

Halliday and Hasan (1976) propose two methods for the identification of a referent in a text: exophora, being situational reference, and endophora, being textual reference. Endophora creates chains of reference within a text through anaphor-antecedent relations (see also Brown and Yule 1983). According to Halliday and Hasan, it is these chains which make a text cohesive – i.e. recognisable as a text. Any pronoun which forms an element in this chain is ultimately dependent on a full nominal phrase elsewhere in the chain, which establishes the referent in the text. Pronouns which rely on exophora for the identification of their referent are most likely to be those which refer to the participant roles (i.e. those of speaker or hearer), although: “Personals referring to other roles ... may be exophoric, however, wherever the context of situation is (judged by the speaker to be) such as to permit identification of the referent in question.” (1976: 51). This includes “generalized exophoric reference”, which subsumes generic pronouns.

Halliday and Hasan acknowledge a difficulty in distinguishing strictly between situational and textual reference: “Anaphoric and exophoric reference are both derived from the general underlying notion of recoverability of meanings from the environment.” (1976: 89). This implies that the distinction between text-external and text-internal context is not always clear cut, or that both may be active in any one instance of reference.

Brown and Yule (1983: 200–1) avoid this theoretical inconsistency by suggesting that, rather than looking for conversation-internal or external referent prompts, participants use a different method of referent-retrieval based on establishing a discourse representation of the referent:

In both [endophoric and exophoric reference], we must suppose, the processor has a mental representation. In the one case he has a mental representation of what is in the world, in the other he has a mental representation of a world created by discourse. In each case he must look into his mental representation to determine reference.

Brown and Yule support their claim by arguing that a referent's identity rarely remains unaltered throughout the course of discourse – i.e. the participants' understanding of a referent and that referent's attributes changes slightly or drastically each time the referent is mentioned. Assuming a discourse representation of the referent allows the participants to adapt this representation during talk is more plausible in terms of the time needed to retrieve that referent than following a chain of substitution back through a text.

Brown and Yule offer a framework for identifying how discourse representations may be established and referred to by hearer and speaker. The framework takes its starting point from participants' common assumptions about the functions – implicit and explicit – of particular linguistic structures and provides several possibilities as to how a referring term gains an identifiable referent within discourse (1983: 221):

- an antecedent nominal expression
- &/or an antecedent predicate expression
- &/or an implicit antecedent predicate
- &/or the 'roles' of antecedent nominal expressions
- &/or the 'new' predicates attached to the pronoun

Contrasts between 'current' and 'displaced entities' are also mentioned, which refer to the relative prominence of an entity in the discourse, and 'topic entities' – that is, whichever entity is the main player in the topic is usually referred to using pronouns rather than full nominal phrases. Such regularities in discourse allow participants to establish expectations of what

expression is used to refer to whom, which in turn aids referent retrieval further. This requires that speakers and hearers must share “some regular notion of what types of expressions, under what conditions, are used to refer to entities.” (ibid: 208).

The notion of mental representations in discourse is expanded upon in Cognitive Linguistics along with associated cognitive processes. Whilst it is beyond the scope and aim of this work to cover all relevant aspects of this rapidly growing discipline, it is possible to identify three concepts which particularly enrich a discussion of reference determination and generic reference: mental spaces, frames and radial categories. These concepts are outlined here.

The assumption that all language use and interpretation involves complex cognitive processes reduces the prominence of the external/internal distinction – which forms the basis of Halliday and Hasan’s (1976) work – when analysing discourse. Rather, reference is constructed and interpreted within and between linked mental spaces. Fauconnier (1994: 2) describes mental spaces as areas in cognition which develop through language use and which consequently aid the interpretation of language:

Language, then, is not merely interpreted with respect to worlds, models, contexts, situations, and so forth. Rather, it is involved in constructions of its own. [Language] builds up mental spaces, relations between them, and relations between elements within them.

The activated mental space or combination of spaces determines in part the identification of a referent from a referring expression. (See Lee 2001 for examples of types of mental space.) Fauconnier suggests how shifts in mental space can be observed within interaction, claiming that participants use “grammatical markings (tense, mood, anaphora, space-builders)” to follow shifts “as discourse unfolds” (1994: xxv). He emphasises the difference between conceiving shifts in mental space in terms of moving between ‘possible worlds’ and in terms of moving between spaces established within the discourse (ibid: xxxvi):

The mental space constructions are cognitive; they are not something that is being referred to, but rather something that itself can be used to refer to real, and perhaps imaginary, worlds. And, importantly, they include elements (roles) that do not, and cannot have direct reference in the world.

This last sentence especially questions rigid distinctions between hearer and speaker roles and those of third persons, which are often drawn in describing the functions of pronouns. If different mental spaces can be applied to interpret reference, then the '*I*=speaker, *you*=hearer, *they*=other' paradigm is only one possibility. This adds resonance to Brown and Yule's (1983) discourse representations, whereby a referent must not exist in the 'real world' in order for the speaker to refer to it or the hearer to retrieve it. Mental spaces also provide theoretical grounding to Biq's (1991) suggestion that the 'impersonal' use of the 2nd person pronoun can establish a pragmatic role for the hearer. In this case, the role given to the hearer must not exist in real-world terms, yet the speaker can refer to this role by activating a particular mental space, perhaps using the "grammatical markings" mentioned by Fauconnier.

Whilst mental spaces are important in processing chunks of language, 'frames' are linked more closely to specific semantic meaning and the interpretation of situated instances of smaller units of language – often single lexical items. In contrast to the notion of mental spaces and despite its pragmatic applicability (as we will see below), frame semantics does not seem to have found footing outside of Cognitive Linguistics. Croft and Cruse describe a frame as: "... a coherent region of human knowledge, or ... a coherent region of the conceptual space" (2004: 14). Frame semantics explains how meaning is derived from an utterance: "words and constructions evoke an understanding, or more specifically a frame; a hearer invokes a frame upon hearing an utterance in order to understand it" (ibid: 8). Frames are experience driven knowledge structures – i.e. they are established through life experiences and are thus constantly being consolidated and/or revised (Lee 2001). They are therefore also more likely to be shared by participants with similar backgrounds – an aspect which echoes Brown and Yule's foregrounding of the importance of common

linguistic assumptions in non-explicit reference⁴. Afonso (2003, dealing with generic pronouns and a reflexive impersonal construction in European Portuguese) claims that impersonal constructions rely on the invocation of frames which are common beyond small-group culture, stating that they appear more often in “contexts which are common to mankind ... For instance, frames like LIFE SPAN which involves concepts such as ‘birth’, ‘death’, ‘growing old’ etc ...”. The way in which a concept is understood depends on the frame invoked during interaction. A shift in frame causes a conceptual shift, therefore different frames allow one word to be used to convey different meanings (Lee 2001). Frames are, then, useful in understanding the dual personal/generic use of pronouns. Roughly equivalent theoretical concepts exist in discourse analysis – see, for example, the outline of Gee’s (2005) ‘discourse models’ on P. 90.

Frames are explained further within the concept of radial categories, whose networked meanings are differentiated through the application of specific frames. Lee describes English *you* as a radial category which, as such, has gradient category membership which is “structured around a central or core meaning ...” (2001: 53; see also Langacker 2002). As frames are experience-driven, this core meaning is likely to be that which is linked most often to the item. Personal and generic uses of *you* are subsumed within the radial network and Lee takes the personal use to be at the core. The notion of *you* as forming a graded network of meaning provides an alternative but related view to that which claims a continuum of genericness (see Wales 1980, Berman 2004 and section 1.3.2 of this work); a direct result of the non-polar relationship between personal and generic meaning is that it is not always possible to clearly distinguish between the two and this is something which Lee also mentions. Employing the term ‘radial slippage’ – whereby it is not clear which frame should be applied to unequivocally interpret meaning – he claims that the potential ambiguity which this creates can be used by participants for “specific rhetorical purposes” (2001: 177). Thus, for example, it may not be clear whether *you* refers specifically to the

⁴ The idea that shared culture eases communication – or at least reduces the need for speakers to convey their information explicitly – is of course by no means a recent development: Halliday and Hasan, for example, also state that exophoric reference is easier in “peer group interaction” as “there is a reservoir of shared experience, a common context of culture ...” (1976: 36).

hearer or to a generalised person; the ambiguity caused will have a pragmatic effect on the discourse which an unambiguous reference would not (Lee does not expand on this). The determining of reference and the constructing of pragmatic meaning would then seem to be intrinsically linked – at least as regards pronouns.

Each approach mentioned in this section so far has taken a fairly one-sided view of discourse, tending to focus on the hearer's ability to de-code references or the speaker's ability to encode them accessibly for the hearer. Where they do assume a combination of both speaker and hearer input, this is again linked to cognitive phenomena: for example, that hearer and speaker share knowledge about discourse regularities. Politeness theory, which tends to deal with features which are readily accessible to the discourse analyst – i.e. those which are transcribable – offers another solution which suggests that reference can only be determined within interaction:

... a first speaker's utterance affords a certain range of interpretations, but does not determine which one of these interpretations will be operative in the conversation ... The adjacent utterance of the second speaker affords a new range of interpretations. Both speakers now assess the consistency between the two ranges, and in doing so retroactively constrain their interpretations of the first utterance. (Arundale 2006: 196)

This view would allow us to consider a referring expression to be a proposition which only gains a referential identity as it is passed between participants, communication being: "the conjoint outcome of a single two-person system" (ibid). This is perhaps merely a theoretically expanded version of Brown and Yule's (1983) suggestion that a referent changes identity through the course of conversation; yet Arundale's approach is valuable in that it again establishes a focus on the interactional data itself and balances out approaches which are biased towards speaker or hearer or which focus primarily on cognitive processes. This has important consequences for analysis: in moving the theory away from the individual speakers towards the interaction which they co-produce, the analyst can only claim that a reference has been successful – i.e. the referent has been

identified – if there is evidence of this in the data. It is therefore only possible to claim definite failed reference if there is some indication of pragmatic failure or repair in the discourse. This also means that we must look first to the discourse to assess why reference has been successful – indications of shared experiences in a demonstration of shared knowledge, for example, or a common understanding of the agents involved in a particular action.

The notions of mental discourse representations and participants' (common) linguistic experience – either resulting in the establishment of a radial network prototype and frames to distinguish between meanings, or to create expectations as to what to infer from particular structures – are present in both Discourse Analysis and Cognitive Linguistics as represented here. Collectively they provide a decent insight into the processes which may determine how interactants distinguish between personal and generic uses of pronouns. Assuming that the researcher is a part of the interactants' peer group or broader culture, it is also plausible that they could use the same processes to come to the same conclusions as participants. However, given that this is not always the case and that the researcher unavoidably has a different perspective on the discourse than the participants, there must be a different framework available for the researcher to determine reference than that put forward for interactants. Global text-based approaches such as Arundale's (2006) and Brown and Yule's (1983) cater for the non-real-time, non-linear perspective of the researcher, taking the view that "meaning and action ... [are] emergent outcomes arising in two or more individual's producing and interpreting a sequence of utterances" (Arundale 2006: 195–6). In viewing the discourse as a developing whole and focusing mainly on surface phenomena, the researcher is given similar reference-determining privileges to the participants. This is especially valuable to the empirical part of this project and will be expanded upon in the chapter on methodology.

Semantics has so far been put aside in this section, the reason being that it does not deal with determining reference beyond examining the truth conditions of a statement. It therefore has little to contribute to the

discussion so far beyond its nominal relationship to frame semantics. The discipline of semantics is, however, valuable in deciding whether reference is at all relevant to an analysis of generic pronouns, as well as providing a sound terminological basis, and both of these points are discussed in the next section.

2.2 Deixis and referentiality

Despite their interrelatedness, deixis and referentiality spark their own debates in Semantics, Pragmatics and Cognitive Linguistics as regards the place of generic pronouns in each concept. For this reason, I shall first discuss them separately before summarising the collective implications for this project.

2.2.1 Deixis

There are three main issues which emerge from the literature on deixis:

- Can deixis as pronominal reference be understood to be essentially the same as other types of reference?
- Can deixis be applied to generic pronouns?
- How useful is the concept of deixis as an empirical tool?

Lyons states that the term ‘reference’ in semantics is often confused with what he defines as ‘denotation’. According to Lyons (1995: 79):

The crucial difference between reference and denotation is that the denotation of an expression is invariant and utterance-independent: it is part of the meaning which the expression has in the language system, independently of its use on particular occasions of utterance. Reference, in contrast, is variable and utterance-dependent.

Therefore, no lexeme is inherently referential, whereas most lexemes do have both ‘sense’ and ‘denotation’ out of context, which constitute semantic meaning. ‘Sense’ is defined by Lyons as (1977: 206):

Sense is here defined to hold between the words or expressions of a single language independently of the relationship, if any, which holds between those words or expressions and their referents or denotata.

‘Sense’ therefore refers to semantic relations – for example, between *married* and *bachelor* (ibid). This strict division between context-dependent reference and context-independent semantic meaning (sense and denotation) is very useful to this project and this is something which I shall discuss in more detail later on. However, Lyons’ discussion of pronominal reference, or deixis, introduces a blurring of the boundaries between ‘reference’ and ‘sense and denotation’.

Lyons (1995: 302) states that pronouns, as one class of referring expression, have an indexical, or deictic, function. He distinguishes between primary deixis – comprising pure and impure deixis – and secondary deixis, and these are briefly outlined here:

Primary deixis:

Pure deixis: Points solely to a participant’s spatio-temporal position; “refer to the locutionary agent and the addressee without conveying any additional information about them” (ibid: 307). In English, these are the 1st and 2nd person pronouns.

Impure deixis: The pronoun encodes non-deictic information about the referent (e.g. gender). In English, these are 3rd person pronouns.

Secondary deixis:

This involves the emotional re-positioning of the spatio-temporal dimensions; so, for example, using ‘that’ instead of ‘this’ for something which the speaker doesn’t like.

Describing the contrast between pure and impure deixis, Lyons states: “... the non-deictic part of the meaning of impure deictics may be either descriptive (or propositional) or socio-expressive. The latter is very commonly encoded in the meaning of pronouns ...” (1995: 309). It would seem here that Lyons is talking about context-independent semantic meaning (i.e. sense and denotation), which aids reference in context, but in itself does not refer. Does this, however, mean that purely deictic pronouns do not denote? It is clear that 1st and 2nd person pronouns do carry some kind of information, being canonically linked to the roles of speaker and hearer respectively; however, whether we consider this information to be

utterance-independent (denotation) or utterance-dependent (i.e. only invoked in referential use) depends on whether this information is considered to carry beyond these usages – i.e. whether pronouns such as the 2nd person pronoun fulfil particular and distinct generic functions, and whether these functions can in turn be linked to their personal usages. Based on the information which we have so far gathered in this chapter on generic pronouns, I would suggest that the first understanding is more likely – i.e. that 1st and 2nd person pronouns do carry semantic information independent of their occasion of use. Van Hell et al, for example, considered the generic use of 2nd person Dutch *je* to be more “receiver-oriented” (2005: 256⁵) than generic pronoun *men*, indicating that *je* has attached to it a sense of ‘familiarity’ or ‘camaraderie’ which plausibly stems from its canonical function of referring to the hearer. Lee (2001) provides support for this. As discussed in the previous section, he presents *you* as a radial category whose prototypical core is the 2nd person use of the pronoun. The application of different frames allows for differentiation between generic and personal *you*. He suggests that when a word enters into a new frame – for example, when *you* comes to be used generically (assuming that this is a process of language change) – then the meaning it had in its original frame may become irrelevant, or it may remain partially salient. It is therefore possible, when personal pronouns are used generically in discourse, that their personal meaning continues to be present “in some subdued, background form” (Lee 2001: 97). For example, then, even if the primary reference of *du* is not the hearer (as determined by the frame), the hearer may nevertheless have some salience and therefore contribute to a distinction between this generic pronoun and, say, *ich* used generically. Afonso (2003) offers an alternative explanation for differentiation of meaning between generic pronouns to that of semantic transfer across frames. In her first study of impersonal constructions (including a range of generic pronouns) in European Portuguese, she states: “The expression of impersonality is related to the demotion of the agentive or experiencer role”. She concludes from her research that this demotion – or backgrounding – of the agent occurs to varying degrees, depending on the construction. Her findings are consistent with the ‘principle of non-synonymy’ (see Croft 2001), which states that no

⁵ See section 1.5 for full citation

two constructions will be paired with the same meaning; that is, no two generic pronouns will have the same semantic content. The examples given by van Hell et al (2005), Lee (2001) and Afonso (2003) speak for a distinction between reference and denotation for pronouns and against a particular pronominal form always having a particular kind of primary deixis.

Lyons does, however, propose secondary deixis, and it is possible that this may cover the generic uses of personal pronouns in terms of reference rather than semantic content. That is, it is plausible that the generic use of *you*, for example, renegotiates the spatial dimensions of discourse, thus shifting the deictic centre for affective purposes. This could account for *I* becoming *you*, for example, in Biq's (1991) dramatic use of Mandarin *ni* which, she states, involves a shift in the frame of reference to a described situation⁶. However, secondary deixis still does not explain why, for example, in some instances speakers or writers choose *I* to make a generic utterance and at other times *you* (see Kitagawa and Lehrer 1990) or, indeed, sometimes *man* and other times *du*. Secondary deixis can simply function as a collective term for 'pronouns acting unusually'. Moreover, the fact that different pronouns can fulfil the generic function yet remain distinctive in their pragmatic effect still suggests that pronouns have both sense and denotation (=semantic meaning) and reference within an utterance – i.e. that some form of semantic meaning is encoded in a pronominal form which affects yet remains distinct from its situated use.

Lyons also explicitly states that person-deixis is used in linguistics “to refer to the function of personal and demonstrative pronouns” (1977: 636) and, if we modify this to mean the personal use of personal pronouns, then deixis is helpful in describing these pronouns. However, this limitation of the concept of deixis excludes a large proportion of pronouns as used in discourse and creates polar categories for personal and generic pronouns, meaning that it is impossible to compare pronouns which are obviously personal or generic and that the less certain uses are left stranded analytically.

⁶ See section 1.5 for a discussion on dramatic *ni*.

Kremer (1997), taking Lyons' (1977) definition of sense, denotation and reference as a basis for her more pragmatic analysis, further defines types of reference as falling along a scale of specificity (or genericness, in my terms) – specific to non-specific. She contrasts this with the syntactic notion of definiteness (i.e. definite 'the man' v. indefinite 'a man')⁷. Her discussion on pronouns avoids the issues which emerge from Lyons' work by consistently equating 'deixis' with 'reference' and separating this from sense and denotation. This leads her to a similar conclusion to that expressed above, i.e. that pronouns do have both sense and denotation, and it is the resulting semantic content of each lexeme which provides the speaker with different pronominal 'tools', which he or she can then use depending on the referent which he or she wishes the hearer to identify:

The notion that pronouns are empty of content or acquire a meaning potential only when used deictically would be rejected from the pragmatic perspective described here: presupposing that speakers want their utterances to be readily interpretable, pronouns most likely to be selected are those whose meaning potential matches the properties of the intended referent within the particular context of utterance. (Kremer 1997: 42)

Kremer also discusses anaphora critically, noting for example the number and gender inconsistencies often found in natural language use between the anaphor and its antecedent. She comes to the conclusion that: "... assuming that linguistic choices are seldom completely random, one could try to capture their range and to explain them by considering systematic as well as discursive, stylistic, socio-political and psychological factors." (ibid: 43). She thus places the referential function of pronouns firmly within a context which must be explored from several angles.

One further problem emerges when generic pronouns enter into the deixis debate which also speaks for a more global, minimum-assumption approach to pronoun analysis. Pure deixis assumes that (personal) pronouns do not encode extra information about the speaker (gender, relative social status and so on). This means that only a few decontextualised pronouns can be

⁷ This is also mentioned in section 1.1.

labelled as such – in German, for example, 1st person singular *ich/mich/mir*, 1st person plural *wir/uns* and 3rd person plural *sie/sie/ihnen* have, in theory, ‘pure’ deixis. Applying the pure/impure distinction to pronouns in use, however, is hindered by the fact that multiple forms can fulfil one referring function. So, for example, *ich* is considered purely deictic because it refers to the speaker without adding information about gender, relative social status and so on. However, as we have seen, *ich* is only one possibility for referring to the speaker: Vahl-Seyfarth (1987) lists the speaker as one of the three main referents of *man*, and Haiman et al (unpublished) cite the following example of *du* used in a personal narrative:

Du hast das Gefühl ein Teil davon zu sein.
 You have the feeling a part of-it to be
 ‘You feel like you’re a part of it.’
 (Sietas interview, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, August 11, 2006: 9)

If ‘speaker’ = *ich/man/du*, then choosing any of these possibilities means rejecting two others. No pronoun choice can therefore be completely neutral, as the pragmatic effect of choosing each is specific to that pronoun and thus casts a particular perspective on the referent – i.e. the speaker. From this point of view, we can no longer claim that *ich* “... refer[s] to the locutionary agent ... without conveying any additional information about them” (Lyons 1995: 307). It has, therefore, at best impure deixis and, depending on how we define its contrast to *man* and *du*, potentially even has secondary deixis. Haiman et al (unpublished) claim that using a generic 2nd person pronoun can demonstrate ‘I-am-you’ behaviour. Using *ich* would therefore be ‘I-am-I’ behaviour and the contrast with *du* one of social distance. As I mentioned above, shifts in spatial distance between participants within discourse could be considered shifts in the deictic context, which are subsumed under the heading of secondary deixis.

2.2.2 Referentiality

The general concept of reference presents far fewer complications for generic pronouns than does its specialist area of deixis. There are, however, still two issues which need clarification:

- Can generic pronouns be described as having reference and/or are they referential? We have already seen that generic pronouns fit only awkwardly into deictic theory and question the very assumptions which underpin it; however, the broader notion of reference offers a range of more flexible perspectives which can potentially accommodate generic pronouns.
- From a terminological point of view, is having reference the same as being referential – i.e. are reference and referentiality separate concepts? This issue adds complexity to the first and therefore the discussions of and solutions to the two questions overlap to an extent.

Brown and Yule (1983), Geurts (1985), Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990) all state explicitly that an expression must pick out a specific individual if it is to be labelled ‘referential’. Halliday and Hasan, for example, state that: “... reference has the semantic property of definiteness, or specificity” (1976: 32). However, they later introduce ‘generalized exophoric reference’ to discuss generic pronouns, which, they claim, refer to either “a particular group of individuals”, “persons unspecified” or “any human individual” (ibid: 53). Coupling ‘generalized’ with ‘reference’, then, would seem to contradict the claim that reference is definite and specific. Kitagawa and Lehrer’s use of terminology is similarly confusing: having presented the ‘referential’ use of pronouns as a contrast to ‘impersonal’ and ‘vague’ pronoun use, they go on to describe the latter two phenomena based on their respective referring scopes: “Impersonal use of a personal pronoun cannot exclude in its reference what its normal (deictic) use would signify ...” (1990: 742); and “... the referents of ... [vague] *you* are not specified in a way whereby the speaker could pick out the individuals” (ibid). They also introduce number into their descriptions, stating that ‘impersonal’ use is always singular, whereas ‘vague’ use is plural – although the rationale for adding these descriptions is unclear, as is the plausibility of applying notions of number to a generic pronoun (the traditional grammatical categorization of personal *you* seems to be interfering here). The idea of reference is, then, still significant for the authors when describing use of generic pronouns and would thus seem to be

distinct from referentiality. The terminological distinction between ‘being able to refer’ (or ‘having reference’) and ‘being referential’ is most simply understood when related to the notion of specificity – generic pronouns are able to refer, but not necessarily to a specific referent, and are therefore not referential. Personal pronouns (i.e. pronouns used personally) always refer to a specific referent, and therefore are referential.

Cognitive linguist Afonso (2003) also supports the use of ‘reference’ in describing generic pronouns (she avoids the term ‘referential’). Focusing on varying levels of agentive backgrounding in her dissertation on impersonal constructions, she envisages a scale of reference along which a pronoun-in-use falls: “As the event extends from particular to generic, the 2nd person singular loses its deictic reference”. Agentive backgrounding increases as deictic reference reduces – that is, the referent becomes mentally less salient in comparison to other elements of the utterance, such as the action. Her gradient approach is shared by several scholars – some of which we have already encountered (Berman 2004, Kremer 1997, Wales 1980) – and leaves the possibility open that a generic pronoun can have reference but that this depends on the instance of use.

Despite being more consistent in their use of terminology, Geurts (1985) and Brown and Yule (1983) present a problem which is created when ‘referential’ pronoun use is equated with ‘specific’ reference. In this case, the issue raised has to do with our understanding of the nature of discourse and connected mental processes. Writing about generic expressions, Geurts distinguishes between encounters with a real-world referent and a mental representation of this referent: “We analysed generics (roughly) as asserting that ‘if you should encounter such and such individual, then you may reasonably assume so and so’ ... it is not necessary to postulate entities for them to refer to” (1985: 254). Geurts, then, rejects a referent for a generic expression either in the real world or in cognition. Brown and Yule, on the other hand, discussing definite noun phrases, place a mental representation of identities constructed in discourse on a par with the identification of any real-world referent: “Although [non-referential uses of definite expressions] may not pick out an individual ‘in the world’, they will pick out (or even

establish) an individual in the hearer’s representation of the discourse.” (1983: 212). It is therefore possible that, if a pronoun in context calls for some kind of limitation on the referent – be it the participants themselves or, in the case of some generic pronouns, ‘anyone in this position’ – then a specific referent is identified or established mentally, even if a real-world referent cannot be retrieved. The pronoun could therefore be labelled referential even under the restrictions of the condition of specific reference. Biq (1991) takes a different angle on the problem of ‘real-world’ v. cognitive world. Contrasting her approach with that of Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990) in Chapter 1, I mentioned her suggestion of distinguishing between ‘propositional’ deixis and ‘pragmatic’ deixis. This distinction allows for the recognition of participant roles beyond those of speaker or hearer – Biq cites Kitagawa and Lehrer’s ‘actor’ role of the hearer invoked by the generic 2nd person pronoun – and, crucially, allows for the description of the generic 2nd person pronoun within a framework of pronominal reference. However, it does still exclude other generic pronouns – such as German *man* – which do not have such an obvious personal v. generic contrast in usage.

Having examined the various proposals made about reference and deixis in the literature, the following conclusions can be drawn as to the usefulness of the concepts to this and similar types of project:

- Distinguishing strictly between utterance-independent meaning (i.e. the sense and denotation of a pronoun) and utterance-dependent meaning (i.e. reference) is important. Given the fact that one pronominal form can be used both personally and generically, and the likelihood that both instances of use are linked semantically in some way, distinguishing between that which links usage and that which contrasts it is a valid empirical choice.
- Applying the concept of reference to generic pronouns is unavoidable. However, given the fuzzy lines surrounding the notion of ‘referentiality’, I will refrain from using this term, preferring to work with a theoretical scale of specificity. The idea that reference is established within a mental discourse

representation is here held to be valid as long as it is supported by the examination of this project's data. It will therefore be possible to label both personal and generic references as specific or non, thus placing them on a comparable analytical platform; for example, *du* as used to refer to the hearer and *du* as referring to the speaker (as in Kitagawa and Lehrer's 1990 'life drama' function⁸), whereby both instances rely on the discourse context to establish a single referent. This then clears the path for a *pragmatic* comparison of all pronouns, rather than one which becomes tangled in questions of reference, which automatically labels all generic usage as non-specific, and which consequently prioritises the referring potential of personal pronouns over the generic.

- The concept of deixis is here initially rejected as a useful theoretical basis for my purposes. It is difficult to apply empirically, creates a distinction between socially-anchored and socially-neutral pronouns which is difficult to support, and enforces a gap between personal and generic pronoun analysis. The latter can only be bridged by continual re-labelling of deixis until all instances of pronoun use are covered – Biq (1991) reveals the tip of this iceberg with her suggestion of 'pragmatic deixis'. Such an approach can of course quickly become unfalsifiable. However, the idea contained in secondary deixis of relative distances created through discourse between speech act participants and external referents is interesting – as we have seen previously⁹ – and I will continue to keep this in mind when approaching the spoken data.

Chapter 3 will critically examine the theoretical background which deals specifically with the German generic pronouns.

⁸ See section 1.5.

⁹ See section 2.2.1.

Chapter 3 German generic pronouns and usage

3.1 Referents and functions of *man*

Whilst some reference works restrict their definitions of *man* to a single sentence or 3rd person plural, non-specific referent (for example, Dodd et al 1996 and Eisenberg 1999), the item is described relatively extensively in other publications. Collins German Dictionary (2005: 1610) offers three sub-categories of singular and plural, personal and generic referents, listing *ich*, *wir*, *jemand* and *die Leute* as synonyms of these options:

man¹ [man] INDEF PRON ... (a) you, one; (= *ich*) one; (= *wir*) we ... (b) (= *jemand*) somebody, someone ... (c) (= *die Leute*) they pl, people pl ...

Duden (2002: 601) introduces the notion of contextual relevance in the first part of the entry for *man*, going on to state, as in Collins German Dictionary, that 1st person plural and singular and “*bestimmte oder irgendwelche Leute; irgendeiner*” can be contained within *man*’s possible referents:

a) (*in einer bestimmten Situation*) *der/die Betreffende, Die Betreffenden*: von dort oben hat man eine tolle Aussicht ...

b) *bestimmte oder irgendwelche Leute; irgendeiner*: ... man vermute, dass du krank seist ... Syn¹⁰: *jemand; die*.

c) *ich, wir (wenn der Sprecher, die Sprecherin in der Allgemeinheit aufgeht oder aufgehen möchte)*: ... mit ihr kann man Pferde stehlen. Syn.: *einer, eine*.

[a) (*in a particular situation*) *the person/people concerned*: one has a great view from up there ...

b) *particular or some people; someone*: ... one suspects that you are ill ... Syn.: *someone; they*.

c) *I, we (when the speaker wishes to generalise)*: ... one can be spontaneous with her. Syn: *one*.¹¹]

¹⁰ Abbreviation of *synonym*

¹¹ *Man*, like other generic pronouns (as we will see), has language-specific uses and meanings. Therefore the translations should not be taken as being exact equivalents.

Duden Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache (2005: 351) sums up the many possible referents of *man* by stating: “Das Indefinitpronomen *man* umfasst singularische und pluralische Vorstellung und reicht von der Vertretung des eigenen Ich bis zu der der gesamten Menschheit.” [The indefinite pronoun *man* encompasses singular and plural concepts and extends from the representation of the self to that of humanity in its entirety].

Table 3.1 Summary of the possible referents of *man*, based on a survey of reference works

	1 st Person	2 nd Person	3 rd Person
Singular	I (ich)		Somebody
Plural	we (wir)		People in general; A particular group

Interestingly, none of these sources allow for the exclusive representation of the 2nd person (i.e. *man* as used to refer solely to the hearer, although the hearer would presumably be potentially included under the 3rd person and the 1st person plural). This is consistent with Vahl-Seyfarth’s (1987) and Wales’ (1980) grouping of referents of *man* and *one* respectively, in which the hearer may be included in or excluded from a reference, but is never the central character (see Chapter 1, section 1.4).

Durrell (2002), Weinrich (1993), Zifonun et al (1997) and, most extensively, Vahl-Seyfarth (1987) all make references to the function of *man* in discourse. Durrell claims that its egocentric use is a polite way of referring to self, and he goes against the observation made in Table 3.1 that reference works never identify the 2nd person as a specific referent of *man* by stating that *man* can be used to refer sarcastically to the hearer (2002: 111). He gives the example of “*Hat man schon wieder zu tief ins Glas geguckt?*” (ibid.) (which roughly translates as “*Did one [you] have one too many last night again?*”) to illustrate this second point. Weinrich also considers *man* to be polite in its indirectness and focuses on the ‘neutral’ qualities of the pronoun:

Wegen seiner neutralen Bedeutung ist das Pronomen *man* auch besonders geeignet, gesellschaftliche Konventionen und Normen auszudrücken. Was »man« tut oder tun soll, gilt für alle oder die

meisten Menschen, ohne Rücksicht auf Gesprächsrolle, Geschlecht und Zahl. (1993: 100)

[Due to its neutral meaning, the pronoun *man* is also particularly suited to expressing social conventions and norms. Whatever »man« does or should do is relevant for all or most people, regardless of conversational role, gender or number.]

Weinrich claims that this neutrality which allows social knowledge to be generalised can also be used to refer to all persons – again, including the hearer – without damaging relations: “... man [ist] mit konturschwachen Sprachzeichen am wenigstens der Gefahr ausgesetzt, dem Gesprächspartner ungebührlich nahezutreten” [weakly contoured linguistic items reduce the danger that one might get too close to one’s conversational partner] (1993: 102). Agreeing with Durrell, he also claims that *man* can be used in place of a number of personal pronouns, including personal *du*.

Vahl-Seyfarth (1987), in her publication on the generic subject in German, provides by far the most extensive account of *man*’s functions and referents. Exploring its use empirically in terms of co-text and pragmatic motivation, she expands on her classification of the possible referents of *man* outlined in Chapter 1, section 1.4 – they being 1) **all people**, 2) a **particular group**, and 3) **the speaker** – adding that: “MAN bezieht sich auf eine Person oder einen Personenkreis, der auf den Sprecher Einfluss nehmen kann” [MAN refers to a person or group of people who have influence over the speaker] (ibid: 16). This is illustrative of Haiman et al.’s (unpublished) presentation of the ‘us-and-them’ paradigm created through a contrast between the generic pronoun and the speaker’s in-group (see section 1.4). This paradigm is also reinforced from another perspective: Vahl-Seyfarth found that only 10% of all uses of *man* did not include the speaker in the field of reference – although she also notes that it is not always possible to determine whether the speaker is included or not: writing about *man* of ‘a particular group’ (the second category in her list of possible referents as outlined above) she states: “... ob der Sprecher selbst in diesem MAN enthalten ist, bleibt häufig offen” [it is not always clear whether the speaker is included in this MAN] (1987: 82). She claims that the use of *man* which doesn’t include self defines a group to which the speaker “... sich entweder nicht zugehörig

fühlt oder an dessen durch MAN geäußerten Verhaltensweisen und Einstellungen er nicht beteiligt ist” [either doesn’t feel he belongs to or to whose behaviour and attitudes, as expressed using MAN, he does not subscribe] (ibid: 114–15). *Man*, then, is used more frequently to express in-groupness than to make a contrast with an out-group. Zifonun et al (1997: 939) see this characteristic of generic pronouns as also reinforcing relations within the projected in-group:

Man/einer signalisiert eine Verallgemeinerung von Meinungen, Intentionen oder Urteilen. Oft wird damit eine Zustimmungsheischen ausgedrückt, das zugleich eine beziehungsbestätigende und -stabilisierende Funktion haben kann.

[*Man/einer* signals a generalisation of opinions, intentions or assessments. A preference for agreement is often expressed through this, which can also have the function of reinforcing and stabilising a relationship]

Vahl-Seyfarth also identifies topics which especially invite the use of *man* because the pronoun distances the speaker from the statement in a way which *ich* would not, most significantly: in talk about the speaker’s job, in order to offer an objective portrayal of tasks; when talking about personal achievements, “um den Ausdruck seines persönlichen Stolzes abzuschwächen” [in order to deflect attention from his personal pride] (1987: 58) – this view is also supported by Zifonun et al (1997) and adds weight to Durrell’s (1996) claim that *man* which refers to self is polite (see above); and in talk about traditions and customs and religion, *man* offering protection from the social and consequently personal pressure to conform to expectations: “Es gibt wohl keinen anderen Themenbereich, der von den meisten Menschen als so persönlich erlebt wird, und Sprecher sind dankbar, sich durch MAN schützen zu können.” [There is in fact no other topic which is experienced as personally as this one, and speakers are grateful to be able to protect themselves through the use of MAN] (1987: 59). For the same reason that *man* is often selected in talk about certain topics (it distances the utterance from the utterer), it is rejected in others “... weil eine Verallgemeinerung auch eine Abschwächung des persönlichen Erlebten bedeuten würde.” [because a generalisation would also mean a dilution of

personal experience] (ibid: 60). So, Vahl-Seyfarth concludes, *man* is left out of emotional topics (see section 1.5).

Vahl-Seyfarth also confronts the possibility that a speaker may use *man* as a circumlocution for an otherwise long list of referents. She concludes however that this is unlikely, given that 37.8% of instances of *man* were replaceable by a single definite subject. Speakers, then, were opting not to identify the referent more closely for reasons other than economy, such as those outlined in the preceding paragraph.

Whilst Vahl-Seyfarth's research identifies *man* as being the main carrier of generic reference (accounting for 73.5% of all instances), it also establishes a hierarchy of other forms based on frequency of use. Of these other possibilities, it was found that 3rd person plural *sie* and various manifestations of the passive were employed the most often (accounting collectively for 15.6% of all instances). Interestingly for this study, generic *du* only appears under the heading "seltener vorkommende Formen des U[nbestimmten] S[ubjekts]" (1987: 19), along with items such as *die eine*, *manche* and *jeder* (although some would argue that these are quantifiers; see, for example, Bußmann 2002). Further research would be needed to uncover the reasons for this – it is possible, for example, that Vahl-Seyfarth's study provides initial evidence for language change as concerns the generic use of *du*. The empirical research presented in this work will show that it is prolific in spontaneous conversation, and certainly not a 'selten vorkommende Form'. The methodological notes which Vahl-Seyfarth provides would make a replication study possible for purposes of historical comparison (see section 4.1 of this work). However, her results may be a consequence of the dyadic, interview format used to collect data, which could also be clarified through a study which mirrored this format with contemporary participants.

3.2 Referents and functions of *du*

Whilst *du* is not listed as an example of a generic pronoun in reference works on German, its use as such is sometimes mentioned as part of the item's definition where it appears as a headword:

Collins German Dictionary (2005: 1262):

“du ... (= *man*) you ...”

Duden Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache (2005: 325):

“du: Personalpronomen ... Daneben wird *du*, vor allem in der Umgangssprache, in kollektiver Bedeutung (an Stelle von *man*) gebraucht.”

[du: personal pronoun ... *du* is also used with collective meaning (in place of *man*), mainly in colloquial speech]

Whilst generic *du* is thus presented as a synonym of *man*, there is little indication that it also carries *man*'s extensive referring capacity (as stated in the previous section) or that it might, in fact, have functions which distinguish it from *man*. Research into *du* as a generic pronoun is also less than extensive, being largely limited to inclusion within a comparative discussion of generic use of the 2nd person singular pronoun as a phenomenon in several languages, and even here its role is played down. Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990) offer two examples of languages where the generic use of the 2nd person singular pronoun co-exists with a canonical form, stating that: “In both Chinese and German, a general term meaning ‘person’ (*ren* in Chinese, and *man* in German) is preferable, but the point is that the 2nd person can also be used in its place” (ibid: 754). This claim backs up Vahl-Seyfarth's (1987) findings of the dominance of *man* and remains unchallenged elsewhere.

One major point, however, does suggest the whereabouts of a distinction between generic *du* and *man*. As mentioned in the previous section, *man* is often given the function of deflecting attention away from the intended referent or the speaker – that is, it creates fuzzy roles for speaker, hearer and any third party. In contrast to this, the discussions of the generic 2nd person singular often allocate the pronoun the specific function of increasing the involvement of the hearer by allocating him or her pragmatic (Biq 1991) or dramatic (Kitagawa and Lehrer 1990) roles (see section 1.5 for the earlier discussion of this). Zifonun et al (1997: 939) make this thought explicit whilst discussing the egocentric use of *du*: “Verglichen mit *ich* zeigt *du* ... eine Distanzierung des Sprechers. Dies verstärkt den Zustimmungsdruck auf

den oder die Angesprochenen” [Compared to *ich*, *du* shows a distancing of the speaker. This increases the pressure on the hearer to agree]. Zifonun et al also mention this function of ‘encouraging agreement’ with relation to *man*, as stated in the previous section. However, their claim that *man* achieves this through presenting opinions, intentions and assessments as shared between speaker and hearer is not repeated in their description of *du*.

Specific information on *man* and *du* and their comparative functions, then, is limited compared to discussions on genericness in general. The use of the 2nd person singular pronoun in place of *man* is mentioned, as is the possibility that *man* can refer to the speaker along with a multiplicity of other referents, thus German displays a complex relationship between those pronouns classed as personal or generic and their use in discourse. Empirical evidence taken from discourse is lacking, however, as to the functions of German generic pronouns and the relationship between and distribution of *man* and *du*. That which does exist contradicts the observation which prompted this research project: namely, that generic *du* and *man* are used in spontaneous, informal spoken discourse with comparable frequency. It can therefore not be assumed that *man* is the default generic pronoun and *du* a minor substitute. Chapter 4 goes on to examine approaches for further empirical exploration of generic pronouns, again maintaining a focus on the study of *man* and *du*.

Chapter 4 Methodological approaches to generic pronoun research

4.1 Identifying a research paradigm

Chapters 4–6 of this work explore the construction and empirical application of a three-strand paradigm for researching generic pronouns as used in spoken discourse, taking *man* and generic *du* as ‘guinea pigs’ for this paradigm. Chapter 4 begins by exploring the methodology applied in this study.

The methodologies attached to the main component parts of empirical research – data collection and analysis – are discussed simultaneously throughout this chapter, as the two are considered to be intrinsically linked, i.e. the type of data collected and the way in which it is collected directly impacts the analysis; therefore the methods of analysis need to be considered in parallel to those of data collection. As Gee points out with reference to one later stage of data collection: “... a transcript is a theoretical entity. It does not stand outside an analysis, but, rather, is part of it” (2005: 106). A useful starting point for identifying appropriate research methods is to look at those applied by the studies outlined in Chapters 1–3. Three patterns of analysis are evident in the literature: quantitative analysis, which tends to focus on pronoun frequency within a corpus and correlation between variables; discourse analysis (DA), which focuses on pronoun function; and a combination of the two approaches, which uses a corpus of some variety to ascertain distribution of particular pronouns, followed by a detailed discourse analysis of specific instances of pronoun use. Despite the differing patterns of analysis, the majority of studies discussed here are concerned with, firstly, ascertaining the relative frequency of pronouns and, secondly, the reasons for the resulting distribution. Differences in the choice of paradigm emerge from (a) whether the first or second of these areas is the main focus of the research, and (b) where the researcher attempts to locate the reason for pronoun distribution – for example, in the social profile of speakers, in the type of text, or in the speaker’s expression of stance. Studies explored in more detail here are Coveney (2003), van Hell et al (2005),

Ragnarsdóttir and Strömquist (2005) (all of which collect data primarily for quantitative analysis), Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990) (who have a semantico-pragmatic focus and avoid quantitative analysis), and Vahl-Seyfarth (1987), Wales (1980, 1996), Fonseca-Greber and Waugh (2004) and Waugh et al (2007) (who each examine pronoun distribution as a starting point for DA).

Each of the three quantitative studies presented here reveals a tighter control over the data collected for analysis than do those studies which have a more discourse analytic focus. A corpus is constructed in each case which fulfils the specific needs of that project. In order to examine the generic use of *tu* and *vous* in French from a sociolinguistic perspective, Coveney (2003) constructed a corpus of one-to-one interviews with 30 French adults (each interview lasting around half an hour). Coveney wished partly to explore the effect of pronouns of address on the choice of generic pronoun and therefore made a point of getting to know participants in the days leading up to the interviews. This meant that, by the time the interviews were conducted, mutual use of the *tu* form of address had been established with the majority of interviewees (although he later comments that this was only partly effective in creating a situation in which “the speaker is fully at ease with his or her choice of address pronoun” – *ibid*: 187). Interviewees were classified according to social class, based on their occupation. Coveney looked primarily at relative frequency during analysis – for example, between individuals, and of *tu* as compared to *on*. He did not compare functions across generic pronouns or examine the discourse context of usages.

Ragnarsdóttir and Strömquist (2005), exploring the use of the language-specific manifestations of a particular generic pronoun in Icelandic and Swedish, correlated pronoun use with social, discourse and language variables (age, genre, modality and language). The data which they used for frequency analysis was elicited from 158 participants in the form of spoken and written narrative and expository texts.

Van Hell et al (2005), looking at the use of generic pronouns in expressing discourse stance, also used elicited data. Participants were divided into

groups according to age and sex and were shown a video of “teenagers involved in different social, moral, and physical conflicts” (ibid: 249). They were then asked to produce spoken or written narrative and expository texts based on the theme of interpersonal conflict. The resulting 160 texts were analysed for pronoun distribution and each pronoun was categorised as being generic or personal.

In contrast to these tightly controlled quantitative approaches, Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990) take a semantico-pragmatic approach to generic pronouns and are empirically unconcerned with frequency. Unfortunately, they make minimal description of methods used (for data collection or analysis), and information about this has to be gleaned from the descriptions of their findings. The English primary data presented in the paper are mainly taken from US newspapers dated 1986, such as *The Arizona Post*, *Tucson Weekly*, suggesting the use of some kind of written corpus. Constructed examples and overheard (spoken) statements are also used to support theoretical claims, and translations of English sentences presented for cross-linguistic comparison. In contrast to other studies discussed here, minimal or no context or speaker/writer information is given for the extracts – for example:

Typical examples of the impersonal *you*'s in English are found in (1) and (2) below – an interview with a man who teaches fiction writing, and an essay on the drudgery of daily life.
(Kitagawa and Lehrer 1990: 740–1)

Each of the two examples referred to in this quotation also carries a source note, including the name of the newspaper, date and page reference and, in one case, the name of the writer. Other contextual factors, such as the surrounding discourse, the structure of the text as a whole or, in the first example, the relationship between interviewer and interviewee are not dealt with. This is the only study to be discussed here which examines its data in such isolation, and it is difficult to see the empirical advantages of this. The authors seem to have a top-down approach to the exploration of their data, constructing assumptions about the pronouns from theoretical discussions found in the literature and then using examples from the data to confirm the accuracy of these assumptions. This differs from the essentially emergent,

bottom-up research design of other studies here which take a partly discourse analytic approach, the direction of which is informed by initial distribution analysis.

Writing three years in advance of Kitagawa and Lehrer, Vahl-Seyfarth (1987) provides an example of this alternative approach. She sought to uncover which forms in German could be used to refer to a generic subject, the frequency of these forms, and their functions within conversation. She was also interested in connecting generic pronoun use to social and discourse variables – urban/rural, sex, occupation, age, dialect (regional, colloquial, Low German, High German), type of conversation and the content of conversation. She used a corpus of everyday speech collected in South-West Germany which formed part of the project “Sprache in Südwestdeutschland”, run by the Tübinger Arbeitsstelle and begun in 1955. The corpus comprised one-to-one interviews of between ten and 20 minutes with 553 participants, whose contributions were categorised in the corpus according to the variables mentioned above. The content of the interviews was not pre-prepared, although: “[der] Aufnehmende versuchte stets, das Gespräch auf Themen zu lenken, zu denen die Gewährsperson mutmaßlich etwas sagen konnte. Dabei übernahm der Aufnehmende die Rolle des aktiven Zuhörers ...” [the person recording the interview kept trying to steer the conversation towards topics to which the participant could most likely contribute. In so doing, the interviewer assumed the role of active listener] (ibid: 33).

This corpus offered Vahl-Seyfarth a large amount of data for statistical analysis and allowed her insight into the frequency of generic forms across and within the various social and discourse categories. A smaller, representative corpus was then constructed from the larger corpus to allow a more detailed examination of influencing factors within the discourse.

Wales (1980, 1996) also used large, institutionally produced corpora to examine the use of English pronouns – for example, the million-word Survey of English Usage. She states that “[b]igger corpora mean better judgments made on the basis of better evidence” (1996: 197). However, she

also emphasises her “pragmatic and functional approach” to the data, stating “I am as much concerned with the ‘user’ or speaker/writer as with ‘use’” (ibid: xii). The presentation of her results reflects this perspective, as the description of function within the discourse is prioritised over that of statistics. In exploring the generic use of pronouns specifically, she supplemented her corpus research with elicitation tests, whereby participants were asked to replace *one* with an acceptable alternative in a range of sentences. The motivation behind this was Wales’ view that corpus evidence should be supported by experimental evidence. The tests themselves were used to validate categories of generic pronoun use established through analysis of the corpus data.

Another study which approached analysis using the *quantitative* → *DA* paradigm is described in Fonseca-Greber and Waugh (2004) and Waugh et al (2007). The description of methods used to collect data which was appropriate for these types of analysis is very detailed, especially in the second of these texts. In addition to this, the research questions are very similar to my own, only the language under observation is French (NB: the authors use ‘indefinite’ here where I would use the term ‘generic’):

... how often is *on* used as an indefinite?; are other personal pronouns used as indefinites?; if so, what is the difference between them conceptually, pragmatically, discursively?; what would lead the speaker to use one rather than the other?
(Waugh et al 2007: 127)

The researchers began by looking at pronoun distribution within a corpus which comprised 194,000 words (the Corpus of Everyday Conversational European French). The corpus contained transcripts of 15 face-to-face conversations, mainly between family and friends. In total, 27 speakers were involved – 11 men and 16 women. The participants gave their written consent for the data to be recorded and analysed, but were unaware of the research questions. The researchers emphasise that it was important for them to be examining language which was “spontaneously produced and not based on artificial situations” (Waugh et al 2007: 121). Despite their use of a corpus, the authors take care to position themselves as discourse analysts who exploit the benefits of a corpus in addressing initial and emerging

research questions, as a springboard for focused DA – they emphasise that they are not corpus linguists. In fact, Lee (2008) argues against defining “corpus linguistics” as a separate sub-discipline of linguistics, preferring the term “corpus-based linguistics”. He states that linguists from a variety of backgrounds (including discourse analysts) use corpora as part of their research, falling at different points along a continuum which begins with “corpus-informed” (mainly qualitative) research, continues to “corpus-supported” (qualitative and quantitative) research, and ends with “corpus-induced” (mainly quantitative) research. Waugh et al’s study would be an example of corpus-informed research (Hunston 2002 describes a similar level of corpus use which may involve some manual tagging of particular features to assist analysis). Other, less recent studies have also taken this approach (e.g. Miller and Weinert 1998, who examined the syntax and discourse of spoken English, German and Russian using corpora which were coded and analysed manually for particular syntactic features in order to do justice to the spoken data, rather than pre-empting analysis with ready-made categories).

Partington (2004) states that corpora have only recently found acceptance as a useful tool amongst discourse analysts (which would make Wales and Vahl-Seyfarth two early adopters of this). When computerised corpora first emerged, he notes, they were less concerned with the consistent provision of large amounts of context for the individual texts which formed the corpus, and focused primarily on providing an ample quantity of forms (often contained within text fragments, rather than complete texts) for reliable statistical analysis. However, Partington states that this has changed as corpus technology and techniques have evolved, with discourse analysts now using corpora to test for frequency in collections of longer texts (for example, fully transcribed conversations), and borrowing quantitative analytic techniques from corpus linguistics to produce replicable results. He calls this “Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies” (CADS), and this would seem a fitting label for the study presented in Fonseca-Greber and Waugh (2004) and Waugh et al (2007).

In their continued discussion of how they put a corpus to best use for their own purposes, Waugh et al state that they avoided large corpora (such as those used by Wales 1980 and 1996 and Vahl-Seyfarth 1987) because:

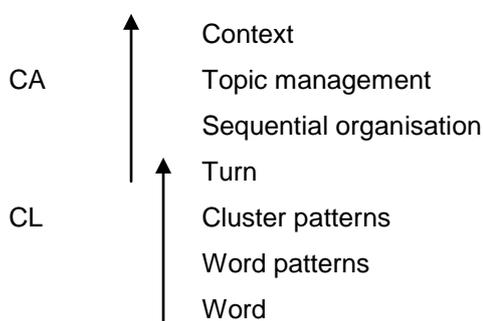
... it's in the details of everyday talk that language works ... we prefer these smaller corpora that we know well and were gathered for our own work specifically, to the sometimes quite anonymous corpora of the large data banks. (Waugh et al 2007: 122)

The quantity of the data from the Waugh et al study was further reduced as analysis progressed through three stages: the whole 194,000-word corpus was first used to ascertain the frequency of three generic pronouns (*on/tu/ils*); the usages identified in this first stage were then subjected to fine-grained semantic and pragmatic analysis; finally, a single conversation was isolated from the rest of the corpus and used to examine the role of identity in pronoun use (this was identified during the first two stages of analysis as one interesting avenue for further exploration). The authors anticipated a need for contextual detail early on in their research, which became increasingly important as analysis progressed through these three stages. They therefore ensured that the corpus comprised full conversations and that information about the participants was collected along with these conversations. This information included the participants' education, social status, occupation and native language, and the relationship of the participants in each conversation to each other. The authors state that "... the researcher needs to collect social and cultural/ethnographic information in order to better interpret what the participants are saying and what it means to them ..." (Waugh et al 2007: 122).

Waugh et al (2007) also describe other research projects in which they were involved which took a more ethnographic approach to DA (although these were not concerned with pronoun use). These studies used a combination of methods: participant and non-participant observation, video- and audio-taping of discourse events, one-to-one interviews with participants, Likert-scale and open-ended questionnaires, and participant playback sessions to help "gain an understanding of the speech community" (ibid.: 133).

The three broad categories of approach outlined above – quantitative, DA and mixed-methods – reveal techniques appropriate for the answering of a variety of research questions. The quantitative studies explore the distribution and correlation of forms to specific variables, and it is important that the research question specifies these forms and variables from the outset. The data used to address these questions is collected under experimental conditions (especially in the case of van Hell et al 2005 and Ragnarsdóttir and Strömqvist 2005) and is elicited to ensure a high internal consistency within the resulting discourse. Even Coveney's (2003) sociolinguistic study required high involvement of the researcher in the discourse to be analysed and a level of priming of the participants prior to recording. The discourse analytic study provided by Kitagawa and Lehrer (1990) produced findings which provide pointers for further empirical research; however, their results are independent of contextual variables and the lack of quantitative information makes it difficult to know which avenue for further research might prove the most fruitful. Those studies described in Vahl-Seyfarth (1987), Wales (1980, 1996), Fonseca-Greber and Waugh (2004) and Waugh et al (2007), whose research questions revolve around the function of specific pronouns in a specific type of discourse (and are therefore similar to mine), are the most useful to inform my own data collection. The researchers make minimal assumptions about factors influencing the use of pronouns, yet collect information about and control for a range of contextual variables which may be helpful during the course of analysis. A corpus of the relevant type of discourse (e.g. spontaneous, informal conversations) is necessary which is large enough to highlight areas for subsequent detailed DA – that used by Fonseca-Greber and Waugh (2004) would seem to be the smallest described here at 194,000 words. In addition to the trend for Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies noted in Partington (2004 – outlined above), recent introductions to research (e.g. (Dörnyei 2007, Trappers-Lomax 2004) also advocate a mixed-methods approach to data analysis as a way to increase validity and replicability of results – a tradition common in the social sciences but perhaps less so in linguistics. Mixed-methods analysis is being increasingly adopted in practice by conversation and discourse analysts; current UK/Ireland examples include the work of Hilary Nesi on the British Academic Spoken

English corpus and Steve Walsh and Anne O’Keeffe on the Limerick and Belfast Corpus of Academic Spoken English. Walsh and O’Keeffe (2009) present the following diagram to explain the complementary roles of corpus linguistics and conversation analysis in gaining a fuller understanding of the discourse under examination in their study of academic talk:



A study which uses a mixed methods approach to data collection and analysis, therefore, not only has the potential to be effective in addressing questions of pronoun function in discourse, it is also in a position to contribute to a wider, emerging methodology.

There were three strands to my research design, guided by the literature described above:

1. Distribution analysis of *man* and *du* within a corpus of spontaneous, spoken, conversational German.
2. Detailed DA of areas highlighted for further exploration during quantitative analysis.
3. Use of additional contextual and emic information taken from qualitative analysis of participant interviews. The transcripts of these interviews would be treated as survey data – i.e. additional sources of information – and would therefore not be subjected to discourse analysis as at stage 2. Whilst it is beyond the scope of this work to develop this strand of the research beyond the data-collection stage, it is nevertheless considered to be an important part of the research design.

Although discourse analysis is often subsumed under the broader heading of qualitative analysis, in this work a distinction is maintained to differentiate

between stages 2 and 3 of my analysis. That is, DA is used to describe the detailed analysis of the contextualised properties of discourse samples, and qualitative analysis refers to the broader analysis of participant opinion and perspectives gained through interview data.

The three research strands required the construction of a corpus, or access to a ready-made corpus. Moreover, the necessity of a data set which could be analysed using methods from DA meant that conversations would need to be available in their entirety as far as possible. This would allow me to explore the discourse as it was constructed and observe the emergence of any key themes. It would also mean that examples of generic *du* and *man* would be solidly situated within the maximum possible co-text. Trappes-Lomax (2004: 134) gives the following outline of discourse analytic interests, and having such ‘complete’ discourse would allow for exploration of them all:

... language *in use*, language *above or beyond the sentence*, language as meaning *in interaction*, and language in *situational and cultural context*.

Using a ready-made corpus would be advantageous in as far as it would provide me with a large amount of data and would remove the time-consuming process of recording and transcription. Krishnamurthy and Dodd (2000) list several German corpora: the corpora of the Institut für Deutsche Sprache (IDS), of which 63 million words of written data are available via the IDS website (the collective corpora total 220 million words of written and spoken data)¹²; smaller corpora collected for specific use, such as Randall Jones’ 600,000-word corpus of spoken German housed at Brigham Young University (this is the only corpus of spoken German mentioned by Krishnamurthy and Dodd in this category); five German corpora available

¹² Although not mentioned in Krishnamurthy and Dodd’s (2000) list of German corpora, the bank of corpora available via the IDS also includes a number of spontaneous conversations with accompanying audio recordings. However, all were created to address specific research questions (e.g. ‘Wandel im gesprochenen Deutsch’, recorded between 1991 and 2000), and there is minimal background information available on the individual participants. Moreover, the majority of the recordings were made in the 1960s/1970s, meaning that they would not necessarily give an accurate impression of current usage. It would also be difficult to find a range of conversations for my own analysis which were comparable in terms of the participants’ age and social background, and which were representative of different regions within Germany.

via the Linguistic Data Consortium; and various other corpora comprising solely written texts and therefore of limited interest to this study. Jones' Brigham Young University corpus later evolved into the BYU/Leipzig corpus, which is further described in Jones (2006) and Jones and Tschirner (2006) as comprising a sub-corpus of 700,000 words of conversational spoken German, collected between the years 1989 and 1993. The data were collected from 402 conversations of between 12 and 15 minutes and involved native speakers who "reflect a balanced representation of age, gender, and social class" (Jones and Tschirner 2006: 4).

Of the corpora mentioned in Krishnamurthy and Dodd (2000), only the BYU/Leipzig corpus would seem to provide data which could be used for my study (further corpora hosted by the IDS were also explored, but see footnote below for an explanation as to why these were dismissed). However, further exploration of this option through personal correspondence with Randall Jones indicated that the corpus would not be as suitable for my research as it initially seemed. The main reason for this was that the audio files which accompany the corpus are not complete, and only basic transcription conventions were used. Whilst this makes the transcripts very accessible, in the absence of audio the record of the data is relatively minimal. Three transcripts made available to me (totalling approximately 5,000 words) show that the topic or conversation was guided by the researcher, and an interview format with a single participant existed. As a result, the data lacks many of the features of spontaneous spoken discourse which may prove interesting in a discourse analysis of the use of generic *du* and *man*; for example, the roles adopted and allocated by participants, the emergent structure of the discourse, turn-taking phenomena, the developing relationships of participants – all of which are constrained by the pre-determined roles of participants and structure of the conversation when an interview format is pursued.

I ultimately decided to construct my own small corpus rather than to pursue permission to access a ready-made corpus for the reasons outlined above. This would also increase my proximity to the data and allow me more control over data collection methods. I was especially sympathetic to

Waugh et al's statement, cited above, that: "we prefer these smaller corpora that we know well and were gathered for our own work specifically" (2007: 122). There are, of course, disadvantages to constructing one's own corpus – the time involved in collecting and transcribing the data, the restrictions on size placed by limited resources, the reduced reliability of quantitative analysis of smaller amounts of data; however, it was felt that the benefits of intimate knowledge of the data achieved through its collection, transcription and my personal contact with participants, along with the control over the type of data collected, would outweigh these disadvantages (for a discussion of the benefits of being both data collector and analyst see also Flowerdew 2005 and Handford 2010).

The first two strands of my research design outlined above, then (i.e. quantitative and DA), would be catered for through the construction of a corpus of informal, spontaneous spoken German. The third strand (qualitative analysis) would be anticipated through the use of one-to-one participant interviews, conducted immediately after the conversational data were recorded. This type of data is most often collected by ethnographers as a way of gaining an insight into the participants' perspective on their own reality, although it is rarely used in isolation from other methods, given the potentially strong effect of the observer's paradox. Whilst interviews with participants might not be completely reliable in terms of eliciting their 'true' inner thoughts, they might allow the researcher to look at the data from a different angle – one which is more in line with that of the interlocutors. Ideally, this third strand would also be supplemented by participant playback sessions such as those described in Waugh et al (2007) to allow a deeper emic perspective on the data.

Decisions regarding the type of data collected for the corpus and subsequent analysis were further guided by the outcomes of a pilot study. This is explained in more detail in the following section.

4.2 Pilot study

The pilot study was conducted between June and October 2006. My interest in the generic use of *man* and *du* had emerged from hearing the pronouns being used in informal conversation (i.e. between interlocutors who

addressed each other mutually with *du*), and the aim of the pilot study was to capture instances of this use so that I could begin to move beyond speculation about its functions and features. Two conversations were recorded and transcribed for the pilot study, and these are outlined below:

Conversation 1:

Participants: 3 participants from the same family (grandfather, grandmother and their 24-year-old grandson). Before retiring, both grandparents were blue-collar workers. The grandson trained as an electrician, but at the time of recording was in further education with the aim of going to university.

Situation: After Sunday dinner in the grandparents' flat in a village in Saxony-Anhalt.

Length: 27 minutes, approx. 5,000 words.

Conversation 2:

Participants: 4 participants (3 female, 1 male, aged between 22 and 25); classmates from Halle university who had no extra-curricula contact with each other and limited contact in class. All participants were studying languages.

Situation: During the lunch-break at university.

Length: 30 minutes, approx. 7,890 words.

The frequency of generic *du* and *man* was markedly different across the conversations:

	Generic <i>du</i>	<i>man</i>	Generic <i>du</i> + <i>man</i> *
Conversation 1	17	12	5.8
Conversation 2	37	41	9.9

*Average per 1,000 words (approx.)

The reason for this difference is not clear, although it was speculated that the limited shared history of participants in Conversation 2 meant that they focused on broader topics drawn from their superficial commonalities (for example, university and the football World Cup). These common topics were then discussed using generic pronouns which avoided explicitly pointing to self or other. Participants in Conversation 1, on the other hand, frequently referred to shared experiences and focused often on each other or on other, specific characters.

If the higher frequency of generic *du* and *man* in Conversation 2 were a consequence of the speaker constellation, then it made sense to record

similar conversations to form the corpus for the main study, the assumption being that the yield of target forms would be higher in proportion to the amount of data collected. There were also additional advantages to focusing on this model:

1. The conditions in which Conversation 2 was recorded would be relatively easy to reproduce – i.e. an acoustically appropriate room in a university, between three and four students in their 20s who had previously had limited or no contact with one another. It was anticipated that this would give the resulting data a high degree of consistency and control for social variables such as age and level of education.
2. Comparable conversations could be recorded in different areas around Germany, allowing for a regionally representative data set.
3. It would be possible to find both male and female participants to ensure an even gender split.
4. The participants would be my peers (at least in terms of age and level of education), thus further increasing my proximity to the data and reducing the ‘L2-German researcher and stranger’ effect; that is, the data and participants’ own perspectives on the data should be more accessible to me during analysis than, for example, data taken from an older generation.
5. Conversations could be recorded which had a recognisable starting point, and an end point (although this would not be a ‘natural’ end as it would be decided by time limits set by myself), thus creating texts which were as ‘complete’ as possible and which had the potential to be structurally similar to each other.

Whilst it is not an aim of this study to examine the use of generic *man* and *du* from a sociolinguistic perspective, it was hoped that a data set could be compiled which would nevertheless be as representative as possible of gender and region (points 2 and 3 above) and which would be otherwise reasonably homogeneous (points 1 and 5). Maximizing consistency across multiple conversations was considered important given that this study only

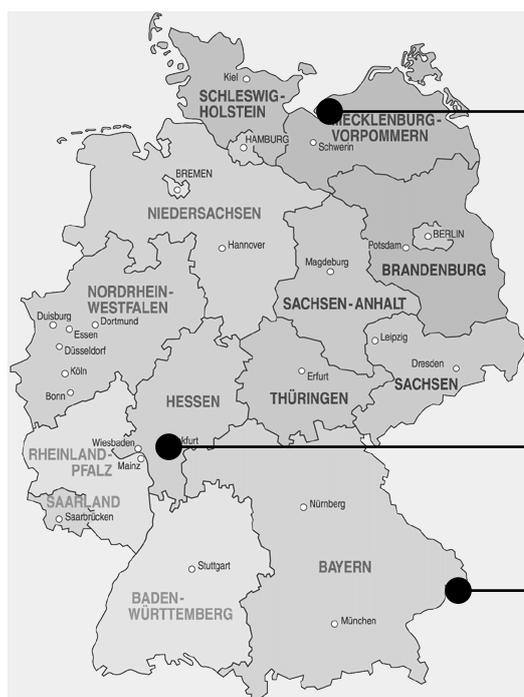
had the resources to compile a relatively small corpus – although opinion continues to be divided on the ‘ideal’ size for a corpus. Sinclair states: “The only guidance I would give is that a corpus should be as large as possible ...” (1991: 18); however, his focus in writing this was on the construction of corpora for statistical, lexical analysis. Hunston (2002) asserts that a corpus must be of a size which is manageable for analysis, meaning that corpora collected for discourse analysis will be necessarily smaller than those collected for statistical analysis, as the analysis itself is manual and time-consuming. Miller and Weinert – whose own study involved the largely manual analysis of a corpus of spoken Russian, German and English, using sub-corpora of between 10,000 and 30,000 words per language – concur, stating that: “The balance between corpus size and quality of analysis is crucial ...” (1998: 11) and “Describing a large corpus of data would not only have taken a very long time but, with respect to our aims, would have been sterile” (ibid: 14). They also agree with a point made originally by Leech (1991) that “a large but haphazard collection of material does not constitute a corpus ... Our data counts as a corpus by this criterion, since it belongs to one type, spontaneous spoken English” (Miller and Weinert 1998: 11). When compiling the corpus for this study, then, three core principles were put in place which underpinned points 1 to 5 made above:

- The corpus should be of a manageable size for transcription and predominantly manual analysis.
- The data within the corpus should be of one ‘type’ (the aim being to narrow this down to a type even more specific than ‘spontaneous spoken German’ and achieving the maximum level of homogeneity mentioned above).
- Several texts should form the corpus – partly for reasons of social and regional representativeness mentioned above, and partly to avoid making claims which would be based on the usage of one or two speakers or speaker groups. As Biber et al (1998: 249) state: “If too few texts are included, a single text can have an undue influence on the results of an analysis”.

These three principles would also allow for the collection of data which could be analysed using the discourse-analysis and quantitative approaches mentioned earlier in this chapter.

4.2.1 Main study

Three universities were selected for data collection: Rostock, Frankfurt-am-Main and Passau (see map below). It was assumed that most students would originate from the surrounding area, as young people in Germany tend to remain close to the parental home until they have completed their education. This assumption was generally upheld, with the majority of participants naming their university's federal state or a neighbouring state as their home region. Passau was the most regionally diverse group, and even here more than half of all participants were from the south of Germany. Altogether, 11 states were represented by at least one participant, ensuring a level of regional representation which was considered acceptable – as mentioned in the previous section, it was not an aim of this study to gain a sociolinguistic perspective on the data, but having participants from numerous areas in Germany also avoided the possibility that regional norms would significantly skew the findings.



Rostock: 12 participants from:
Meck.-Vorpomm. (6);
Brandenburg (3);
Sachsen-Anhalt (2).

Frankfurt: 14 participants from:
Hessen (10);
Rheinland Pfalz (2);
Nordrhein-Westfalen (1);
Hamburg (1).

Passau: 14 participants from:
Bayern (6);
Baden-Württemberg (2);
Nordrhein-Westfalen (2);
Thüringen (1);
Niedersachsen (1);
Hamburg (1);
Austria (1).

Data collection for the main study was carried out over a period of 25 days, during which 13 conversations, each lasting around 30 minutes and including between two and four interactants, were recorded at the three universities (nine of these conversations were ultimately transcribed). An insider contact was made at each university prior to data collection through friends and mutual acquaintances. Recruitment for participants was made in advance via flyers and the personal efforts of the insider contacts. A significant issue during recruitment was the difficulty in finding male participants. This problem proved very difficult to solve and the reason for it was unclear, although the most likely reason was that insider contacts were primarily language students or teachers, and, according to anecdotal reports, there are many more women represented in these subjects than men. As a result, only 11 of the 40 participants are male. The tables below give details of these participants:

Rostock:

ID		Age	Gender	Origin	Degree subject	Approx. words transcribed
R1	A	30	F	Stendal, Saxony-Anhalt	Education English/Spanish	9,000
	B	28	F	Templin, Brandenburg	Education German/Biology/English	
	C	20	F	Barth, Meck.-West Pom.	Education English/Biology	
R2	A	?	M	Brandenburg	English	0
	B	?	M	?	Maths	
R3	A	19	F	Rostock, Meck.-West Pom.	Education English/Spanish	7,700
	B	25	F	Potsdam, Brandenburg	Education English/German	
	C	29	F	Rostock, Meck.-West Pom.	English/German	
R4	A	23	F	Rostock, Meck.-West Pom.	Education English/Latin	7,700
	B	22	F	Neubrandenburg, Meck.-West Pom.	Education English/Spanish/German	
	C	28	M	Stendal, Saxony-Anhalt	Education English/Maths	
	D	22	F	Rostock, Meck.-West Pom.	Education English/Spanish	
						24,400

Frankfurt am Main:

F1	A	25	F	Königstein, Hesse	Education English/German	7,000
	B	23	F	Frankfurt, Hesse	English/Japanese	
	C	24	M	Kaiserslauten, Rhineland-Palatinate	Education French/History	
F2	A	23	F	Frankfurt, Hesse	German/American Studies	6,800
	B	24	M	Höchst im Odenwald, Hesse	Education English/Geography	
	C	22	M	Zweibrücken, Rhineland-Palatinate	Education English/History	
F3	A	24	F	Darmstadt, Hesse	Education English/History	5,300
	B	24	F	Langen, Hesse	Education English/Religion	
	C	23	F	Hamburg	English/Sociology/German Linguistics	

Frankfurt am Main (continued):

F4	A	23	F	Sauerland, North Rhine-Westphalia	Education English/Geography/German	0
	B	29	F	Frankfurt, Hesse	(Graduate English/American Studies)	
	C	30	F	Wiesbaden, Hesse	Sociolinguistics	
F5	A	20	M	Frankfurt, Hesse	Education English/Maths	2,600
	B	21	F	Rodenbach, Hesse	Education English/Geography	
						21,700

Passau:

P1	A	25	F	Stuttgart, Baden-Württemberg	Cultural Sciences	0
	B	27	F	Zeulenroda, Thuringia	Education/ MA Ancient History	
	C	23	M	Bad Brückenau, Bavaria	Education German/French/Cultural Sciences	
	D	27	F	Braunschweig, Lower Saxony	Cultural Sciences	
P2	A	27	F	Passau, Bavaria	Education/Psychology/Sociology	0
	B	26	F	Regensburg, Bavaria	Cultural Sciences	
	C	23	F	Stuttgart, Baden-Württemberg	Cultural Sciences	
	D	22	F	Essen, North Rhine-Westphalia	Cultural Sciences	
P3	A	24	F	Mühldorf, Bavaria	Education	7,000
	B	26	M	Mechernich, North Rhine-Westphalia	Cultural Sciences	
	C	23	F	Hamburg	Cultural Sciences	
P4	A	22	F	Enns, Austria	Cultural Sciences/MA Art History	5,700
	B	23	M	Munich, Bavaria	Business Studies	
	C	22	M	Munich, Bavaria	Business Studies	
						12,700

In accordance with the findings of the pilot study, participants were chosen who did not know each other on a social level. Where there had been prior contact between participants, this had not extended beyond any seminars or lectures which they had in common. There are, however, three instances where this was not the case: both participants in R2 are housemates and best friends, and participants F4/B and F4/C are good friends, as are participants P4/B and P4/C. The most immediate challenge posed by these conversations was during transcription: they contained a higher occurrence of rapid and quiet speech and sections which relied heavily on shared speaker knowledge, making them much less accessible to me as researcher and transcriber. As a result, the most difficult conversation, R2, was excluded, the difficulties being considered to outweigh the value of adding this data to the data set. F4 was also not transcribed. P4 was transcribed and included in quantitative analysis, but did not form part of the discourse analysis. Given the results of the pilot study, the type of data produced by these conversations might be inconsistent with the rest of the data set, but these differences could be exploited for comparative purposes. Whilst such

analysis stands outside of the scope of this work, it would form an interesting avenue for further research and would no doubt shed light on the relational aspects of generic pronoun use.

Participants were not made aware of the research questions until after the recordings had been made and were told to ‘get to know each other’ for the 30-minute recording time. Given this brief, they focused overwhelmingly on topics relating to their studies, and all but one of the transcribed conversations (R4) moved to participants’ subjects of study and their progress at university within the first few recorded seconds. This gives some indication that the desired internal consistency was achieved for the corpus through drawing participants from comparable ‘pools’ and giving them similar conversational and relational starting points.

All participants signed a consent form which had been approved by the University of Sheffield’s ethics committee. Participants were told before the recordings took place that they could ask for their data not to be used in the study, and they were assured that they would remain anonymous. This anonymity was extended to identifiable persons mentioned during the conversations, names being replaced by unrelated initials during transcription (see transcription conventions on P. 65).

Details about each participant’s year and subject of study, their place of origin and age were elicited immediately following the conversations. Short interviews were then recorded with each participant individually (stage 3 of the research paradigm), primarily to explore my initial observations on the possible reasons behind the use of *man* and *du*. This was also the only opportunity to discuss participants’ perspectives on the conversation whilst it was still fresh in their minds, and it was considered that the interviews may provide useful insights into talk, even if these were not as anticipated. Transcripts of three of these interviews (conducted with participants of conversation F2) are provided in the Appendix. The questions posed are outlined below, along with the rationale for including them (given in square brackets):

1. Wie gut kanntest du die anderen Teilnehmer vorm Gespräch?
[*Establishing initial relationship*]
2. Wie gut kennst du die anderen jetzt? Was hast du über sie erfahren?
[*Ascertaining perceived depth of knowledge gained in interaction and 'success' of the conversation from interviewee's point of view; identifying salient topics*]
3. Wie gut kennen sie dich? Was haben sie über dich erfahren?
[*Ascertaining feelings of success/failure in asserting own identity; identifying salient topics*]
4. Wie viel hast du mit den anderen Teilnehmern gemeinsam?
[*Ascertaining perceived extent of shared identity*]
5. Habt ihr irgendwelche Themen besprochen, zu denen du eine besonders starke Meinung hast?
[*Establishing salient topics*]
6. Habt ihr irgendein Thema besprochen wo du deiner Meinung nach nicht besonders viel dazu sagen konntest bzw. wo die anderen mehr darüber wussten als du?
[*Establishing perceived expertise*]
7. Habt ihr irgendein Thema besprochen wo du der Meinung warst, dass du mehr darüber wusstest als die anderen?
[*Establishing perceived expertise*]
8. Gab es Momente, wo dir nicht klar war, von wem die Rede war?¹³
[*Establishing referring success*]

Five themes were touched upon with these questions: relationships, identity, expertise, salience and referring success. It was considered that relationships and identity may play a role in the choice to use *man* or *du* as this had been indicated in the contrasting quantities of the pronouns in the two pilot study conversations. Moreover, the literature claims that *du* may be used to draw the hearer into the speaker's world view, which suggests that the speaker is actively positioning him or herself and the hearer and thus manipulating or performing particular relationships and relative identities. The literature also mentions the 'egocentric' generic use of the second person pronoun (i.e. where the referent is the speaker), which raises further interesting identity questions. It was also considered possible that speakers used similar positioning tactics when expressing expertise or sole knowledge of a topic, depending on whether they wished to emphasise this difference, place the knowledge on an accessible level, and so on (the use of generic *du* and *man*

¹³ Question 8 is potentially ambiguous, as it could be enquiring about who was speaking, or who they were speaking about (the second meaning is intended). Whilst participants gave no indication that they had misunderstood this question (i.e. they either gave a negative answer, which indicates neither a correct nor an incorrect interpretation of the question, or they gave an answer which showed that they had understood the question correctly as querying understanding of who was being talked about), it would be advisable to rephrase for purposes of clarity if the research were repeated.

in asymmetric-knowledge situations was observed several times in the pilot data). It was thought that salient topics might indicate areas where conversants were most engrossed in the conversation (and less aware of the recording equipment). Participants' responses to these questions might also indicate further their specific perspective on the conversation. Finally, the question which probed success in referring during the conversation was intended to highlight any major breakdowns which may have been caused by use of *man* or *du*.

Nine of the 13 conversations were ultimately transcribed. Conversation 2 from the pilot study (recorded in Halle) was added to these, resulting in a corpus of approximately 66,690 words. (Conversation 1 from the pilot study was not included as it was considered too different – in terms of participant relationships and the situation – from the other conversations in the corpus). Basic transcription conventions were chosen to maximise ease and speed of transcription and notes made of the corresponding line number every five minutes (e.g. 5 mins – line 138). This allowed me to return to the relevant place in the original audio file to examine features such as intonation if it were considered useful during analysis. Moreover, more complex conventions were not considered necessary for the type of analysis to be conducted (as outlined throughout this chapter and in detail in Chapters 5 and 6). A simple set of conventions also increased the efficiency of transcription, and the ready availability of digital audio files meant that sections of the transcripts could be added to if necessary during analysis. As Leech (1991: 11) states: “The transcription of spoken discourse into written form ... is a time-consuming process fraught with problems”. The aim here was to limit these negative effects whilst maximising the usability of the transcripts for analysis. A formalised set of transcription conventions – the GAT-Transkriptionskonventionen (Selting et al 1998) – was consulted for some aspects of the transcription, and where this is the case it is indicated below:

Transcription conventions
A/B/C/D

Substitutes for the name of a participant; other named persons were also anonymised using a capital letter.

<u>und</u>	Overlapping talk between two participants
<u>und</u>	Overlapping talk between three or more participants
+	Latching
-	Aborted turn
.	Pause of up to 1 second; micropause (GAT)
(1.0)	Pauses of 1 second or over, time shown to nearest second (GAT)
(und)	Best guess at talk (GAT)
()	Talk unclear (GAT)
[laughs]	Transcriber's notes
?	Prior talk uttered with questioning intonation; more than one syllable affected to achieve 'questioning' effect.
/	Following talk uttered with rising intonation; single syllable affected
\	Following talk uttered with falling intonation; single syllable affected
u:nd	Extended syllable (GAT)
\m/hm, /m\hm, hm, ah	Backchannels
eh, ehm	Filled pause
/ne	Tag

Contractions in the data (e.g. "hast du" pronounced [**hastə**]) were transcribed in reduced form and accompanied by the lexical form conventionally written in square brackets, immediately following the contraction. This made automatic searches of the data for specific items possible – most directly, this affected the pronouns which were the subject of the research; however, other contracted items were also accompanied by the full lexical forms in case they were at some point elected for analysis as part of the pronoun research – e.g. in searching for collocational patterns. Where it was unclear which participant contributed a turn, this ambiguity was indicated by an oblique (e.g. A/B). Where more than one participant contributed a turn simultaneously (most often laughter), the letters substituting for their names were entered consecutively (e.g. AB). Initial capitals were used elsewhere for place names only. The following extract shows some of the transcription conventions in use (highlighted here in bold):

A	ja bisher halt ja ¹
C	ja ¹
B	aber ¹ ich glaub beide sprachen sind ganz.
C	ja
B	vertretbar

C dafür machen sie aber mit französisch nicht so viele
 B hm
 C [*very quietly; creaky voice*]² also (_____)³ **brauchst**
 A **ja das stimmt**⁴. **hm**⁵. und **eh.**⁶ warst du in dieser japanologie
 also hast du irgendwie einen bezug zu. Japan oder
 B ehm nee ich hab ehm. ich wusste nach dem abi dass ich auch
 mal englisch studieren will. und habe mir dann die magister.
 themen liste wirklich durchgeguckt und ehm. japanologie na
 ja klingt ja ganz interessant und dann hab ich das
 angefangen. hab's bisher auch nicht bereut. ehm.
 A wo wo *is'n [ist denn]*⁷ das sitzen die auch hier?
 B wir sind (_____) im achten stock
 A ok
 B ganz ganz (**einsam und**)⁸ verlassen dazwischen
 A [*laughs*]

- 1 Overlapping talk between A, C and B
- 2 Extra-linguistic information. Information about voice quality, such as this, applied to the whole turn unless otherwise indicated.
- 3 Talk unclear
- 4 Overlapping talk between C and A
- 5 Backchannel
- 6 Filled pause; micropause
- 7 Original pronunciation [Isn]
- 8 Best guess at talk

The transcripts were checked by a native speaker of German to control for accuracy and saved in separate Word documents. The corpus was not considered large enough to warrant the use of specialist corpus software. Moreover, the frequency counts required for quantitative analysis could be conducted within Word. The statistical tools offered by corpus software (concordancing, keyword searches and so on) would be redundant in this study.

Chapter 5 presents the results of the first strand of the research paradigm (i.e. quantitative analysis), including the processes involved in identifying and categorising items for quantification.

Chapter 5 Quantitative analysis

5.1 Identifying items for analysis

This chapter explores and applies methods of identifying and classifying items in transcribed spoken discourse for quantitative analysis. Issues are raised which relate to the intrinsic difficulties of identifying commonalities between highly contextualised items for the purposes of categorisation and coding. Other aspects of spoken discourse which must be grappled with if a consistent quantitative analysis is to be conducted are also discussed (primarily, ellipsis). Sections 5.4 and 5.5 conclude the chapter by presenting findings which emerge from quantitative analysis of the data set.

According to Partington (2004), quantitative analyses using corpora can provide the discourse analyst with a way of establishing whether or not a finding is frequent, and they are replicable, which increases the falsifiability of the study and makes comparative studies possible (see also Porte, 2002). The frequency counts reported in Fonseca-Greber and Waugh (2004) and Waugh et al (2007) illustrate the value of this second point, as the quantitative findings from this study would allow for an immediate (if superficial) comparison of the French and German generic pronouns in conversational speech. Whilst this is not a direct aim of this study, it could contribute to the interpretation of the German situation. However, Partington's first point concerning frequency suggests that quantitative analysis should take place after discourse analysis as a way of testing generalisability, whereas the research paradigm applied here and inspired by the studies discussed in the previous chapter reverses this process (although the discussion below will show that this is by no means a strictly linear progression from quantitative to discourse analysis). Here, quantitative analysis was used to provide direction to discourse analysis by showing the 'bigger picture' and highlighting areas where discourse analysis might be most fruitful – for example, if a particular conversation contained a particularly high (or particularly low) number of generic pronouns relative to the other conversations in the corpus, discourse analysis could be used to explore the reasons behind this further.

Before frequency counts could be made of pronouns in the corpus, the pronouns themselves had to be coded. This involved a similar process to that used by Waugh et al:

The inventory of pronouns for the spoken language with their meanings was established using traditional, discourse, and corpus linguistic techniques of searching for the forms and establishing their meanings through a detailed examination of their use in context.

(Waugh et al, 2007: 125)

This required a combination of automatic searches and an examination of each of the pronouns in its immediate context – this being a basic discourse analysis in itself – in order to allocate each pronoun to a category. A significant part of this stage of analysis consisted of selecting which instances of *du* and *man* to include, and which to exclude from the frequency count. Instances of *man* were initially coded red and *du* blue using the basic search function in Microsoft Word. Each instance was then examined and the format changed according to a coding system (for example, the bold formatting of red *man* and the italicization of the blue *du* in the extracts below indicate that they have been included in the count and that they have been categorised and accordingly coded. The unformatted red *man* and blue *du* have not). The coding is explained in detail in section 5.3.

Immediately excluded from the count were false starts, repetitions and aborted turns, for example:

False start (F1):

A ja **man. man** darf's [*darf es*] nicht unterschätzen ich werde nach'm [*nach dem*] einhundert verlängern.

Aborted turn (F3):

A darf ich mal

B ja

A fragen ob **du**. vom akzent her kommst *du* ja net [*nicht*] aus der region

Pronouns were also excluded where the transcription indicated that the item was a best guess, or where a significant part of the text necessary for contextualising the item was a best guess:

ich weiß nich ob (man) das sogar. ()-

Collaborative utterances which achieved a coherent unit (usually syntactic) where included; for example (F1):

A das heißt so als tourist kannst du bist du mit englisch eigentlich ehm
B aufgeschmissen ja

Instances were also included where a complete syntactic unit was judged to have been achieved by means available exclusively in the spoken language. For example, the following extract from R1 makes use of intonation to integrate *steht* into a context which would be unusual in a written text:

A +so am ende sieht man so ein bisschen durch aber am anfang. steht
man oh gott
B ja
A oh gott wo ist das alles

Here, *steht* carries a similar meaning to *denkt* or *sagt*. However, *steht* introduces physical connotations which *denkt* or *sagt* could not, the effect being that the speaker is able to communicate the feeling of confusion (*oh gott oh gott wo ist das alles*) as being a ‘whole body’ experience. Moreover, *steht* provides a mental image of the confused experiencer which a verb such as *denkt* or *sagt* could not. The meaning achieved is made pragmatically coherent and syntactically complete through intonation – *steht man oh gott oh gott* is characterised by continually falling intonation which follows the accented *anfang*. Instances such as this add weight to Miller and Weinert’s claim that “[a] number of constructions occur in spontaneous spoken language, but not in written language, and vice versa” (1998: 23), features of spoken language (such as pitch) being used to convey “grammatical” relationships.

Another example from transcript R3 relies on both intonation and the sequential nature of conversation to be understood by participants:

B hast du geschwister?
(2.0)
C du?
B eine große schwester. na ja eine kleinere ältere schwester

In this instance, the personal use of *du* was included, as the surrounding turns indicate its meaningfulness in the discourse: it mirrors the initial question by B, using also questioning intonation, and B's response indicates that it was understood as a return of her initial question. Selting claims that 'ellipses' (such as C's use of *du* in this extract) are understood by participants as "'vollständige' Einheiten" (1997: 124) which contribute to coherence in conversation by linking neighbouring turns:

[Ellipsen sind] differenzierte Konstruktionen ... die als Resource im Hinblick auf die Gesprächsorganisation bestimmte morpho-syntaktische und/oder semantische Beziehungen zwischen benachbarten Turnkonstruktionseinheiten herstellen. (Selting, 1997: 149)

[Ellipses are sophisticated constructions ... which, as a resource for conversational organisation, create particular morpho-syntactic and/or semantic relationships between neighbouring turn construction units.]

This linking role is obvious in the above extract, although other elements of the discourse seem also to contribute to the ongoing coherence of the conversation: although C does not give a verbal response to B's question, conversation continues without any sign from the participants that this was an unexpected reaction. It is, of course, possible that, during the two-second pause, C made a gestural response to B's question and that this was probably negative (for example, a shake of the head). If C had either refused to provide any response, or had responded in the affirmative but without giving further details, then B's relatively extensive response to C's counter-question would suggest a power or role asymmetry in the relationship of these two participants, such as is found in much institutional discourse (see, for example, Handford, 2010). There is nothing else in the discourse to suggest this is the case. The discussion of ellipsis begun here is continued below with reference to ellipted pronouns.

The nominative, accusative and dative realisations of *man* (*einen, einem*) and *du* (*dich, dir*) were included in the initial pronoun search and subsequent detailed coding. However, accusative and dative pronouns were excluded from quantitative analysis where the pronoun was the object of a reflexive verb. Accusative and dative pronouns were counted where they

were the non-reflexive direct or indirect object (generic or personal) of the finite verb, which usually meant that they contrasted with the subject of the verb. Compare the dative pronouns in the following example (F1):

du standest irgendwo im park und hast **du dir** einfach nur den plan angeguckt ja im grunde. bist **du** nicht bescheuert kannst **du** ja so ein so einen parkplan lesen. kommt dann trotzdem ein japaner der irgendwie englisch kann anscheinend und und will es halt an **dir** ausprobieren und **dir** helfen.

The first *dir* was excluded from the pronoun count, as it ‘repeats’ the subject of the verb, *du*. It is thus reflexive and functions to emphasise, or affirm, the status of the subject as an independent agent. Further evidence for the functional interpretation of the reflexive pronoun here can be found in the repetition of the nominative pronoun (*du standest ... hast du dir*), its marked positioning after the verb *hast*, and the propositional content of the utterance, in which the speaker expresses annoyance at the perceived overbearing helpfulness of the Japanese, which infringes on one’s private space. The second two instances of *dir*, however, have been included: the first is the prepositional object of *ausprobieren an*; the second is the dative object of *helfen*. In both cases, the *dir* object contrasts with the subject *ein japaner*.

5.2 The problem of ellipsis

The issue of ellipsis was briefly discussed above and its coherence-creating value in conversation used to support the inclusion of pronouns which formed part of elliptical units. However, the issue of whether or not to include ellipsed pronouns – i.e. where the pronoun itself was ‘missing’ from a unit – added a further complexity to the quantitative analysis. As a result of theoretical and practical qualms, it was ultimately decided not to include apparently ellipsed pronouns in the analysis (this is elaborated on below). However, it was felt that the issue needed to be explored thoroughly before this decision was reached. To this end, ellipsed pronouns (represented by null subject makers: \emptyset) were initially inserted into the transcripts.

In order to ensure a high level of systematicity and objectivity in the insertion of null subject markers, it was decided initially to only include

instances where a finite verb was present which made clear which person was being referred to:

aber: mit den mit der anderen das ist halt immer blöd wenn **du** dann zum beispiel auf der tastatur schreibst und \emptyset guckst halt am computer so.

In this example taken from transcript R4, *guckst* indicates a second person reference. It also follows on directly from *du ... schreibst* and this along with the thematic and prosodic inclusion (there is no audible change in pitch, speed or intensity between *schreibst* and *guckst*, nor is there a pause) indicates that *schreibst* and *guckst* have the same agent, *du*.

However, during analysis the arbitrariness of this system became restrictive and led to instances being excluded which, despite the lack of a finite verb, were similar to that outlined above. For example, the following section taken from F3 shows a use of a single pronominal agent – here, *man* – attached to multiple verbs: one finite (*kann*), two non-finite (*ausleihen*, *nehmen*) and one ellipted non-finite (*nehmen*):

... und da hab ich dazu halt auch ziemlich. viel gefunden da kann **man** sich dann diese bücher ausleihen und mal aus dem einen was \emptyset nehmen und dann mal aus dem anderen \emptyset

As finite *kann* is only uttered once, no null subject markers were initially included. However, the anaphoric link between *nehmen* and *kann* and, therefore, *man*, is no less clear to the participants than that between *guckst* and *du* in the example from R4 above. For this reason, two null subject markers were added to this section which reflect the additional two actions of *nehmen*. It should be noted that the positioning of the markers in the utterance is not a significant issue here, as they were inserted for the purposes of quantitative analysis and as such do not reflect the structural properties of the syntactic unit.

In other instances, a null subject marker was not inserted where a finite verb was present, for example (F2):

- A aber das wusste ich gar nicht ich würd gern schon wissen was lernt
 man über die schüler wenn **man** so was. dann vertex oder
 transkribiert irgendwann (was **man** lernt) in dem fall?
B transkribiert

Here there are two finite verbs – *vertex* and *transkribiert* – but no null subject marker is attached to the second finite verb. This is because the verbs were not judged to be referring to two separate actions; rather, the speaker, A, was searching for the correct terminology, as indicated by B’s response.

Using the flexible finite verb criterion, three null subject markers were inserted into the transcripts for generic *man* and 36 for personal/generic *du* (transcripts F1, F2, F3, F5, R1, R3 and R4), compared to 228 and 649 included pronouns for *man* and *du* respectively. If these null pronouns were included in the final pronoun count, they would therefore comprise just over one percent of all *man* pronouns and just over five percent of *du*. This relatively low frequency and the limited impact on results was considered reason enough not to consider ellipted pronouns further for inclusion in the quantitative examination of the data. The null subject markers were therefore removed. Moreover, there are theoretical reasons for not including ‘absent’ elements in analysis, as Carter and McCarthy (2006: 181) point out: “It makes more sense to say that writing and formal speech typically need to elaborate more for the sake of readers/listeners and so ‘add’ items that might otherwise be unnecessary in everyday informal speech”. Selting (1997: 118) also pushes for a “kontextspezifische” approach to syntax which takes into account the extra resources available in the spoken language for creating “grammatische Vollständigkeit”, such as intonation units. A syntactic unit, then, in spoken discourse, often differs from that of written discourse. Both Selting and Carter and McCarthy (and see Miller and Weinert, 1998) seem, then, to be suggesting that, rather than being merely a challenge of identification, the inclusion of ellipted pronouns actually provides an inaccurate representation of the medium under analysis – i.e. the spoken language. This is not to say that null pronouns should be excluded from all analysis – if I were to take a psycholinguistic approach to analysis, for example, then it would be necessary to examine this in more detail. However, whilst cognitive linguistics does have some influence on this

study (see Chapter 2), it is the surface properties of the discourse itself and the social and pragmatic aspects of the discourse as constituted by the participants which are the focus of analysis.

5.3 Coding

Once a pronoun had been selected for inclusion in quantitative analysis it was coded according to the following conventions:

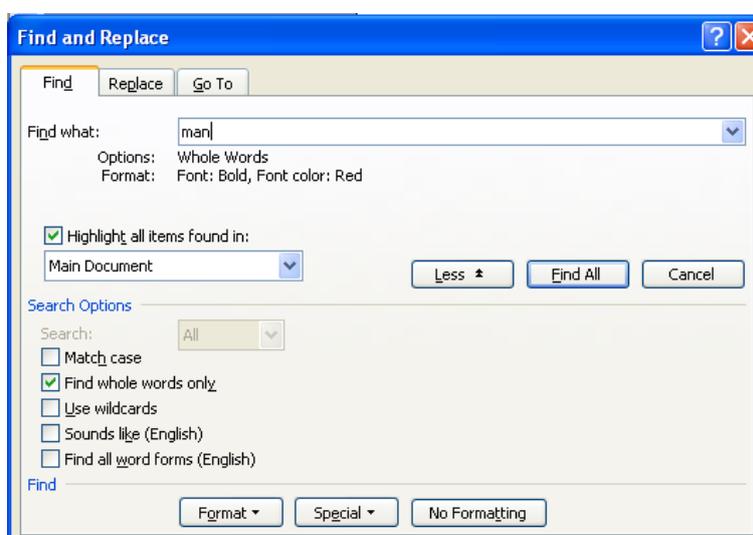
MAN

	Generic	Excluded
Format	red, bold	red, not bold
Nom	man	man
Acc	einen	einen
Dat	einem	einem

DU

	Generic	Personal	Ambiguous	Other	Excluded
Format	blue, bold	blue, italic	pink, not bold	yellow, not bold	blue, not bold
Nom	du	<i>du</i>	du	du	du
Acc	dich	<i>dich</i>	dich	dich	dich
Dat	dir	<i>dir</i>	dir	dir	dir

The combination of a colour + format change subsequently allowed for quick counts using the find tool in Word; for example, the following screen shot shows the search criteria for all instances of generic *man*:



Although I approached the data with some preconceptions of which categories would be relevant – for example, that *du* would present as both

generic and personal – the categories chosen for coding emerged during the examination of the data. The emergent nature of the categories is evidenced in their departure from my initial assumptions. Given my assertion towards the beginning of this thesis (see section 1.1) that *man* and *du* be treated without prejudice as to their generic and personal functions, I began by assuming a basic personal/generic categorical division for both *man* and *du* with an additional ‘ambiguous’ category for less clear-cut examples. However, it soon became apparent that, whereas an unambiguously personal use of *du* used to refer to the hearer is relatively simple to identify (this being the unmarked, canonical use of *du*¹⁴), it is much more difficult to propose a personal use of *man*. There are instances in the data where it is clear that *man* is also being used to refer primarily, for example, to the speaker; however, *man* retains a generic taint in all cases and can, therefore, at best be labelled ‘ambiguous’. In the following extract from R1, *man* contrasts with A’s use of *ich*, but it is clearly predominantly the speaker who was *ein bisschen jünger*, this being used as justification for her formerly casual approach to studying:

- A aber das ist das ist eigentlich die bessere variante als so ganz so
 anfangen so wie ich so denn so so
 C so ganz legere [laughs]
 A genau ganz legere so ah fünfzehn SWS so ach eh was (kostet die
 welt) ne **man** war ja halt ein bisschen jünger noch so: und aber ich
 würd’s [*würde es*] auch so machen jetzt wie *du* wahrscheinlich weil
 es ist halt wirklich dann nachher stressfrei alles ja+
 B +ja

Categorising *man* as ‘personal’ in this instance would suggest symmetry with personal *du* (and other personal pronouns – here most relevantly *ich*), and this is not the case. In this extract, despite the context indicating that *man* refers primarily to A, *man* lends her statement a generalisability which *ich* would not and, as such, it sounds less defensive and seems to appeal to participants B and C to accept this as a valid reason for her former, youthful lack of wisdom (the combination of the modal particles *ja halt* further enforce the preference from A for agreement from B and C and the status of

¹⁴ That is, the personal use of *du* is considered in the reference works to be canonical (see example on P. 43), and could be argued by cognitive linguists to be the pronoun’s ‘core’ meaning (see P. 25 for a discussion of Lee 2001). This theory is discussed further in relation to the findings of this study on pages 84 and 116.

this argument as unalterable ‘fact’). This example indicates that the ‘genericness’ of *man* is difficult to shake off¹⁵. In section 1.3.2 (Chapter 1) I stated that “there exists a continuum along which the use of a generic pronoun can be placed”; however, the quantitative analysis in this study allows only three categories of ‘genericness’ – it was considered that any more than this would make a pronoun count extremely complex and reduce the possibility of attaining meaningful results, and that the subtleties contained within these categories could be explored during discourse analysis. (This is not to say that methods of categorisation for quantitative analysis could not be refined further, although I would argue that this would be best attempted as a subsequent study, informed by this one). A first step in allocating a use of *du* to a category is to ask myself whether the pronoun is clearly referring to a listener (i.e. whether it is at the extreme ‘personal’ end of the continuum). If the answer to this is ‘no’, then I am left with two choices – either it is definitely not referring exclusively to a particular listener (and is generic), or the context and listeners’ response does not provide enough information to make a clear choice. The same questions cannot be asked of *man*, which does not have a ‘default’ referent to take as a starting point for allocating an instance of it to a category – its referent(s) is/are constantly shifting. Initially, I attempted to allocate uses of *man* to one of the three categories; however, I found that the vast majority were being categorised as ‘ambiguous’, as it was difficult to place the pronoun clearly towards one of the extremes of the generic continuum – the above extract, for example, is possibly the ‘most personal’ use of *man* in the corpus, yet I would still not be comfortable categorising it as ‘personal’ due to its obvious contrasts with the alternative personal *ich*. The dangers, then, of pursuing this initial approach were that, firstly, the allocation of *man* to the same categories as *du* imposed a symmetry on the pronouns which was not necessarily there (as suggested in the above extract, and due to the canonical use of *du* to definitively identify a single referent, which allows a clear

¹⁵ There are also possible implications here for the cognitive linguistic theory of radial categories centred on a core meaning (see P. 25). The literature on this has so far not discussed the possibility that a generic pronoun could be at the core of a radial category, but the ever-present generic taint of *man* could place its ‘most generic’ use at the core of a category, with ‘less generic’ uses subsumed closer to or further from this core. Whilst it is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore this suggestion further, it would be interesting to examine the theoretical implications further.

contrast to be drawn between this personal use and its generic use – this is lacking for *man*); and secondly, the meaningful statistical data pursued at this stage would not be accessed – that is, if the majority of instances of *man* were coded ‘ambiguous’, comparisons with generic *du* would produce very few insights. Moreover, *du* is also used in the data to refer primarily to an individual who is not the hearer, as exemplified in the extract from F1 above (*du* standest irgendwo im park und hast **du** dir einfach nur den plan angeguckt ...), where the referent is clearly the speaker. This ability of *du* to refer to a particular person then raises the question of whether such a use of *du* should be coded as personal – that is, on the understanding that ‘generic’ equates to ‘non-personal’, would a usage such as that exemplified in the utterance from F1 be accurately described as ‘generic’, ‘non-personal’, when it is clearly referring to a particular person? The question has parallels to that posed for uses of *man* which refer to a particular person (e.g. the speaker), and the same solution holds here: just as *man* (=speaker) has a different pragmatic effect to *ich* (=speaker), so does *du* (=speaker) compared to *ich* (=speaker) or *du* (=hearer). The distinction between the categories therefore becomes a pragmatic one, rather than one based on the individual pronoun’s specificity of reference.

Reflection on these points led to a decision to code only *du* as personal (i.e. and not *man*), and to only code instances as personal where *du* was clearly referring solely to the hearer (meaning that examples such as that given above, whereby *du* is referring primarily to the speaker, were coded generic). Included instances of *man* were all coded generic. Although this paradigm effectively ignores pragmatic effect, the parallel categories would mean that the statistical results would provide direct comparisons with prior assumptions about pronouns, and, again, discourse analysis could be used to draw out the subtleties of the contextualised pronouns. Moreover, the necessary addition of an ‘other’ category for *du* (see below) provided an immediate indication of the inadequacy of the traditional paradigm (and therefore my three main categories) to account for all uses of the pronoun in spoken discourse.

The ‘ambiguous’ category – used now solely for *du* – was reserved for instances where it was not clear whether the speaker was referring to the hearer or to a generic referent. The following extract follows on directly from the extract from R1 above:

- A oder examsarbeit würd ich vielleicht auch früher schreiben **du** kannst ja schon im sechsten semester schreiben wenn **du** bock hast /ja
 B na ich werd übernächstes oder nächstes semester anfangen auf jeden fall irgendwann wenn ich keine. nebenveranstaltungen mehr habe wo ich dann wirklich zeit hab und
 A genau. genau

There is justification here for coding *du* as generic – A is describing a possibility which is open to everyone studying B’s subject. However, there is also evidence that A is referring purely to the hearer: the interlocutors are discussing B’s approach to studying, and B responds as a referent of *du* – i.e. she acknowledges that the possibility suggested by A applies to her by translating it into concrete intentions. Whether she is responding as the *sole* referent of *du* is not clear.

A further category of ‘other’ was added to the three basic categories for the pronoun (personal, generic and ambiguous) to describe those functions which do not fit along the personal–generic continuum. Instances of *du* were coded as ‘other’ where they occurred:

- in reported speech, e.g. F2:

B es gibt viele. es gibt ganz viele die sie jetzt sagen ach gib mir mal dein heft (eh) **du** warst doch da oder so und waren selbst nie da aber es is
 A das: das find ich krass also:
- in a formulaic tag question, e.g. R1:

C oder so was studieren soll also hätte ich am anfang nie gedacht weil ich find es total interessant
 B alles klar
 C aber was willst **du** damit halt wieder machen weißt **du** und hm.
- as a vocative, e.g. R1:

C da **du** bin ich auch grad [*gerade*] am überlegen ob ich das alles mache und so.

Whilst *du* used in reported speech is personal to the extent that it is presented as referring to a single, specific individual in the original reported conversation (regardless of whether this conversation actually took place), it contrasts with those pronouns which were coded ‘personal’ in the corpus in that it does not refer to a hearer in the current conversation and it is used to different pragmatic effect. As mentioned in Chapter 1 (section 1.5), Biq labels 2nd person pronouns which take this role “dramatic”, and states that: “... dramatic *ni* occurs as part of the shifting of the entire frame of reference from the discourse situation to the described situation.” (1991: 310). Discussing the way that speakers use reported speech to “perform characters”, Koven (2002: 189) states:

Personal pronouns, verb tenses, etc. may no longer point to person, place, and time in the current event of speaking, but rather, may function to re-present the narrated event of speaking. In this way, the speaker makes come alive a context different from that of the immediate interaction.

Koven claims that this gives deictics – including pronouns – “a different referential and interactional value” (ibid) from their use in direct speech. This use of *du*, then, was considered distinct enough from the ‘personal’ use of *du* to be allocated to the ‘other’ category during quantitative analysis. The use of *du* in tag questions was also placed in the ‘other’ category due to the formulaic nature of verb + *du* in these cases – a parallel, plural form such as *wisst ihr* never appears in the corpus, despite there usually being more than one hearer, suggesting that *du* may not be being separately analysed from the verb. The vocative *du* was placed in this category due to the very particular role which it plays in conversation. Biq (1991: 314), examining Mandarin data, labels this use “metalinguistic”, stating that:

... the metalinguistic use of *ni* does not contribute to the propositional content expressed by the discourse unit to which it is attached. Instead, *ni* serves as a vocative, calling the hearer’s attention to the propositional content, and indicating the speaker’s emphasis on what s/he is saying.

It is not clear from the recordings whether the vocative *du* is calling the attention of one particular hearer or of all hearers. The example given above occurs within a section of the conversation dominated by two of the three participants, indicating that the speaker is appealing to the other dominant

interlocutor. However, without entering into a full analysis of this pronoun use, it also seems that the vocative could be being used to signal a shift in focus from the previous speaker – who was talking about her experiences abroad – to the current speaker, who is considering going abroad. In this case, the vocative could be said to function as a double emphatic: the vocative *du* highlights the role of the other participant(s) as listener and is immediately contrasted with *ich*, ultimately emphasizing the shift in focus to the current speaker.

5.4 Frequency counts

The number of pronouns in each category (personal, ambiguous, generic) for *man* and *du* were counted for each transcript using the find tool in Microsoft Word, initially according to case (i.e. nominative, accusative, dative), after which these counts were combined to give an overall figure per pronoun per transcript. A total count was then made of each pronoun per category, giving a whole-corpus figure for each, and an average taken for each transcript. The generic uses of *man* and *du* were then compared as a percentage for each transcript (e.g. if there were 25 uses of *man* and 75 uses of *du*, this would be expressed as 25% *man* to 75% *du*). A percentage figure for each of the four categories of *du* (100% being all uses of *du* added together) was also generated per transcript and for the whole corpus to assess the distribution of the different usages. Each of the resulting figures was then re-calculated for the pronouns per 1,000 words of transcript, allowing for more accurate comparison across transcripts. The number of instances of *man* and *du* which had been excluded from this stage of analysis was also noted. Tables 5.1a/b and 5.2a/b below display the findings of these counts. It should be emphasised that pronouns excluded from frequency counts were not automatically excluded from discourse analysis, as it was considered that some could be of interest in context, especially if the speaker continued their turn with a different pronoun from that selected initially. In the following example, the speaker switches from *man* to *ich*:

A und. [*coughs and laughs briefly*] und jo: das war auch ganz nett aber die sprache lernt **man** in spanien also ich hab es nicht so gut gelernt ich hab eher so ein dreiviertel jahr in England das. hab ich mehr gelernt

Table 5.1a *Frequency and relative frequency of man*

Transcript	Words	<i>man</i> uncounted	<i>man</i>	Nom, Acc, Dat	% generic <i>du+man</i>
F1	7000	7	33	33, 0, 0	38.4%
F2	6800	6	35	34, 1, 0	36.5%
F3	5300	9	41	35, 0, 6	56.9%
F5	2600	2	7	7, 0, 0	30.4%
P3	7000	7	29	24, 3, 2	39.7%
P4	5700	12	48	48, 0, 0	77.4%
R1	9000	13	66	63, 0, 3	59.5%
R3	7700	2	23	23, 0, 0	36.5%
R4	7700	9	24	24, 0, 0	36.9%
H1	7890	9	41	41, 0, 0	52.6%
Total	66690	76	347	332, 4, 11	
Average	6669		34.7	33.2, 0.4, 1.1	46.5%

Table 5.1b *Frequency and relative frequency of du*

Trans't	Words	<i>du</i> excluded	<i>du</i> total included	<i>du</i> personal	N, A, D	<i>du</i> generic	N, A, D
F1	7000	13	88	32	31, 0, 1	53	46, 3, 4
F2	6800	16	102	20	18, 0, 2	61	55, 4, 2
F3	5300	10	60	18	15, 0, 3	31	29, 2, 0
F5	2600	11	37	17	17, 0, 0	16	16, 0, 0
P3	7000	21	103	48	44, 3, 1	44	38, 4, 2
P4	5700	7	71	53	47, 1, 5	14	14, 0, 0
R1	9000	37	136	24	24, 0, 0	45	42, 0, 3
R3	7700	17	103	50	45, 1, 4	40	38, 2, 0
R4	7700	30	132	58	56, 2, 0	41	39, 0, 2
H1	7890	10	88	37	35, 0, 2	37	36, 0, 1
Total	66690	172	920	357	332, 7, 18	382	353, 15, 14
Average	6669		92.0	35.7	33.2, 0.7, 1.8	38.2	35.3, 1.5, 1.4

Table 5.1b (Continued)

Trans't	Words	<i>du</i> ambiguous	N, A, D	<i>du</i> other	N, A, D	% generic <i>du+man</i>
F1	7000	1	1, 0, 0	2	2, 0, 0	61.6%
F2	6800	5	5, 0, 0	16	15, 0, 1	63.5%
F3	5300	8	8, 0, 0	3	2, 0, 1	43.1%
F5	2600	0	0, 0, 0	4	4, 0, 0	69.6%
P3	7000	9	9, 0, 0	2	2, 0, 0	60.3%
P4	5700	4	4, 0, 0	0	0, 0, 0	22.6%
R1	9000	47	45, 0, 2	20	19, 0, 1	40.5%
R3	7700	4	4, 0, 0	9	9, 0, 0	63.5%
R4	7700	19	18, 0, 1	14	13, 0, 1	63.1%
H1	7890	6	6, 0, 0	8	8, 0, 0	47.4%
Total	66690	103	100, 0, 3	78	74, 0, 4	
Average	6669	10.3	10.0, 0.0, 0.3	7.8	7.4, 0.0, 0.4	53.5%

Table 5.2a *Frequency and relative frequency of man per 1,000 words (excluded items and case breakdown not shown)*

Transcript	Words	<i>man</i>	% generic <i>du+man</i> *
F1	7000	4.7	38.2%
F2	6800	5.1	36.2%
F3	5300	7.7	56.6%
F5	2600	2.7	30.3%
P3	7000	4.1	39.4%
P4	5700	8.4	77.1%
R1	9000	7.3	59.3%
R3	7700	3	36.6%
R4	7700	3.1	36.5%
H1	7890	5.2	52.5%
Total	66690	51.3	
Average	6669	5.1	46.3%

* Percentages vary here slightly from those given in Table 5.1a, as figures were rounded up or down to the nearest 0.1. They are thus an approximation of the exact figure per 1,000 words.

Table 5.2b *Frequency and relative frequency of du per 1,000 words (excluded items and case breakdown not shown)*

Trans't	Words	<i>du</i> total included	<i>du</i> personal	<i>du</i> generic	<i>du</i> ambiguous	<i>du</i> other	% generic <i>du+man</i> *
F1	7000	12.5	4.5	7.6	0.1	0.3	61.6%
F2	6800	14.9	2.9	9.0	0.7	2.3	63.5%
F3	5300	11.4	3.4	5.9	1.5	0.6	43.1%
F5	2600	14.2	6.5	6.2	0.0	1.5	69.6%
P3	7000	14.7	6.8	6.3	1.3	0.3	60.3%
P4	5700	13.3	9.4	2.5	0.7	0.0	22.6%
R1	9000	11.5	2.7	5.0	5.2	2.2	40.5%
R3	7700	12.5	6.5	5.2	0.5	1.2	63.5%
R4	7700	16.4	7.6	5.4	2.4	1.8	63.1%
H1	7890	10.8	4.7	4.7	0.8	1.0	47.4%
Total	66690	128.4	55	57.8	13.2	11.2	
Average	6669	12.8	5.5	5.8	1.3	1.1	53.5%

* Percentages vary here slightly from those given in Table 5.1b, as figures were rounded up or down to the nearest 0.1. They are thus an approximation of the exact figure per 1,000 words.

Examining pronoun distribution in the data would test some key statements about the relative proportions of pronoun use and, if there was a high level of consistency across the transcripts, form the groundwork for genre-specific paradigm ('genre' being used here very specifically to mean conversation of the type included in the data set, although a label for this 'genre' could become cumbersome – e.g. spontaneous informal spoken discourse of first conversations). Waugh et al (2007: 127), discussing pronoun distribution in their own data, state that:

... in grammar, especially, there is typically one meaning that is the basic (core, nuclear, prototypical) meaning ... which is assumed to be contextually the least conditioned and cognitively the most salient, and is quantitatively calculated to be present in about 2/3rd (or more) of all tokens.

The discussion of cognitive linguistic approaches to pronoun use in Chapter 2 mentioned 'frame semantics', whereby listeners apply a particular frame to an utterance in order to understand it. This was related to the notion of 'radial categories' which have a 'core' meaning plus other meanings which have 'gradient category membership' within the radial category. Listeners apply frames to determine which of these meanings is being invoked in a particular context. Lee (2001) claims that the core meaning of *you* is personal (i.e. when it is referring to the listener(s)). This, along with the statement by Waugh et al (above), suggests that the most 'cognitively salient' and 'core' meaning of *du* should be the most frequent, maintaining a clear margin from other uses. By analysing distribution for this particular data set, these theories could be put to the test and, if the data appeared to speak against them, an explanation sought through discourse analysis (for example, returning to the quote from Waugh et al above, it would be interesting to see if the most quantitatively dominant pronoun usage was also the least conditioned by the context). In fact, as table 5.1b shows, personal and generic *du* both emerged as dominant categories, contributing 38.8% and 41.5% of all included uses of *du* respectively.

In this data set, then, neither use of *du* could be considered cognitively strongly salient according to the criterion described by Waugh et al (2007) above. The different conversations within the corpus, however, show significant variations in the proportional distribution of the personal, generic, ambiguous and other uses of *du*, as well as the use of *man*. Figure 5.1 offers a graphic representation of these differences. Transcript K1 from the pilot study (containing talk between family members) is added for comparative purposes.

Figure 5.1 Relative distribution of *man* and *du* for all transcripts

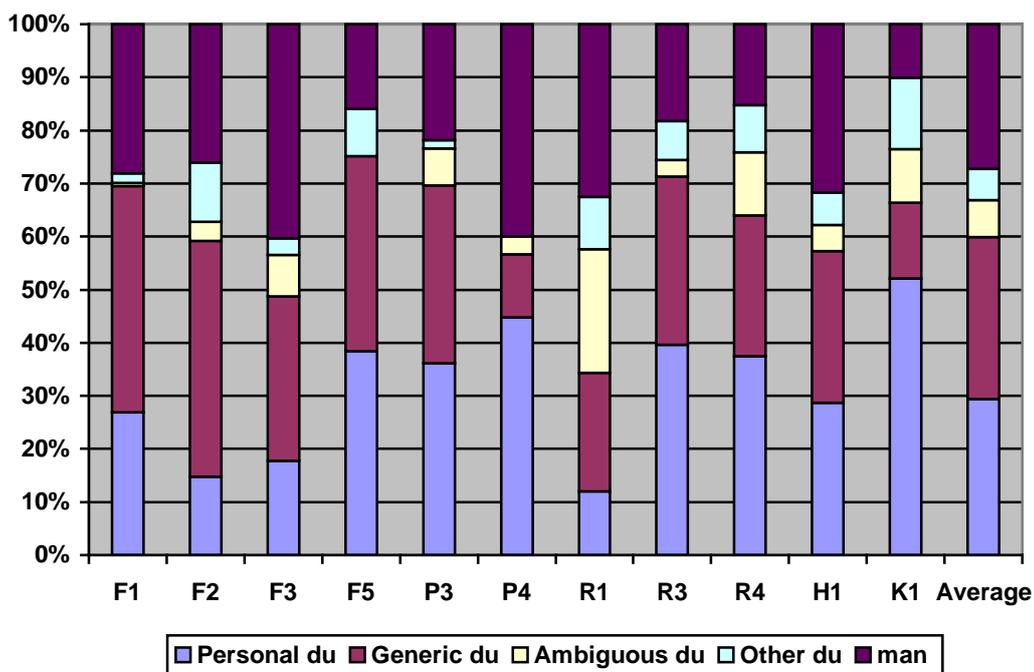


Table 5.3 gives the lowest and highest number of tokens per 1,000 words found in individual transcripts for the four categories of *du* and for *man*:

Table 5.3 Lowest and highest number of tokens per 1,000 words for *man* and *du*

Category	Average	Lowest	Transcript	Highest	Transcript
Personal <i>du</i>	5.5	2.7	R1	9.4	P4
Generic <i>du</i>	5.8	2.5	P4	9.0	F2
Ambiguous <i>du</i>	1.3	0	F5	5.2	R1
Other <i>du</i>	1.1	0	P4	2.3	F2
<i>man</i>	5.1	2.7	F5	8.4	P4

Four of the ten transcripts appear at least once in this table: F2, F5, P4 and R1. F2 contained an average number of instances of *man* per 1,000 words (5.1) and a near-average total for *du* (14.9). However, these instances of *du* comprised the second lowest number of personal *du* (2.9 per 1,000 words) and the highest number of both generic and other *du*. F5 contained the lowest number of instances of *man* per 1,000 words and a slightly above-average number of generic *du* (6.2), this figure being more than double the instances of *man* in the transcript. No other transcript had such a high amount of generic *du* compared to *man*. P4 demonstrated the reverse of this scenario, containing over three times the number of instances of *man* (more than any other transcript – see table above) than of generic *du* (fewer than

any other transcript). P4 also contained the highest amount of personal *du* and no uses of other *du*. Finally, compared to the whole-corpus averages, R1 contained a relatively high number of instances of *man* (7.3 per 1,000 words), the lowest number of personal *du*, a high number of other *du* (2.2 per 1,000 words) and the highest number of ambiguous *du*. At 5 per 1,000 words, instances of generic *du* were near-average in R1.

The variation across the transcripts suggests the need for further exploration of the pronouns within the immediate contexts of use. These initial quantitative findings do, however, indicate potentially significant areas for continued investigation and thus fulfil their purpose in the ‘quantitative analysis > DA’ research paradigm advocated in this work. For example, the constellation of participants and individual and collective identities may be an important influencing factor: of the four transcripts which displayed the most extreme pronoun use (or disuse), two contain unusual combinations of interlocutors compared to the rest of the corpus. P4 is a conversation between two good friends studying Business Studies (both male) and a female Cultural Sciences student whom the two friends are meeting for the first time; and F5 is a dyadic conversation between previously unacquainted students who are both studying Education, English and another subject. These transcripts showed the most skewed [*man*:generic *du*] ratios within the corpus (P4 \approx [3:1]; F5 \approx [1:2]), and each had a unique absence of one category of *du* (P4 – other *du*; F5 – ambiguous *du*). The conversation recorded in K1 and included in Figure 5.1 takes place between family members, and shows an interesting distributional pattern compared to the transcripts comprising the main corpus: personal *du* accounts for over 50 per cent of all *du/man* tokens, with the remaining categories occurring in roughly equal amounts. Compared to the other transcripts, the use of *man* in K1 is especially low. Chapter 6 uses transcript F2 to offer an example of how these quantitatively interesting findings can be developed through DA.

5.5 Other applications of quantitative analysis

Quantitative analysis can go beyond frequency counts of individual items to begin to explore pronouns in their immediate context. Whilst not revealing statistical significance (as an automatic collocation, keyword or *n*-gram

frequency search using corpus software would), a manual search of the verbs which accompany generic uses of *du* and *man*, the clause types in which generic pronouns occur and so on, can also suggest paths for DA, or for further comparative quantitative analysis with other pronouns in the discourse, including personal pronouns. To give a more concrete example: an initial DA of the data collected for this study suggested that modal verbs were used frequently alongside *man* and generic *du* in expressing both deontic and epistemic modality. The following extracts are taken from transcript R1:

- A also das zählt als null. semester sozusagen. aber: **man** kann sich auch sachen anerkennen lassen *ich* weiß nicht wie das dann ist dann musst *du* einfach fragen
- C ja da will *ich* nämlich heut noch mal vorbeigucken weil *ich* auch irgendwie gehört hab dass **man** staffeln kann. diese drei monate
- ~
- A das ist. aber trotzdem muss **man** es halt haben also sollte **man** schon nicht nur sechzig haben wenn das rauskommt dann ist natürlich schlecht ne

Speaker A is in her fifteenth semester at university and as such is the most experienced student in the conversation (B is in her sixth semester and C in her second). All participants have English as a main subject and are studying to become teachers. In the two extracts above, A is giving advice to C on how to navigate the first few semesters of university. The modal *kann* is used in the first extract to outline university procedures and note the options open to students. Compared to instances in the transcript whereby A uses *kannst* in conjunction with generic/ambiguous *du* to make personal recommendations or suggestions to C (e.g. *vor allen ding du kannst ja vielleicht auch was weiß ich praktikum kannst du ja kannst du ja auch als praktikum verbringen*), these instances which use *man* seem to reflect the external imposition of these choices – that is, these do not convey A’s personal recommendation, they are just fact. This personal detachment of the speaker from the utterance also seems applicable to the second extract, where *man* is perhaps used to downtone A’s point, portraying her claim (that one should attend seminars despite the loose tabs kept on this) as accepted fact. When used in conjunction with generic pronouns, modal

verbs, then, seem to be used to manage relationships within the discourse as well as to convey personal recommendations or more generally accepted fact. A frequency count of modal verbs used alongside *man* and generic *du* provides a broader picture of this and allows the analyst to assess whether this is a path worth following with further DA. Table 5.4 shows that modal verbs are used with roughly equal frequency with *man* and generic *du*, and that forms of *können* are the most dominant collocating modal items.

Table 5.4 Use of selected modal verbs with generic *du* and *man**

Transcript	<i>man</i> **	<i>du</i> generic**	muss(t)/ müsste(st)		kann(st)/ könnte(st)/ konnte		darf(st)		soll(st)/ solltest	
			<i>man</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>du</i>	<i>man</i>	<i>du</i>
F1	33	53	2	2	8	15	4	0	1	0
			6%	4%	24%	28%	12%	-	3%	-
F2	35	61	4	10	6	2	2	2	1	0
			11%	16%	17%	3%	6%	3%	3%	-
F3	41	31	3	9	7	3	2	0	2	3
			7%	29%	17%	10%	5%	-	5%	10%
F5	7	16	2	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
			29%	6%	-	-	-	-	-	6%
P3	29	44	2	2	4	10	0	0	0	0
			7%	5%	14%	23%	-	-	-	-
P4	48	14	4	0	12	2	0	0	0	0
			8%	-	25%	14%	-	-	-	-
R1	66	45	7	6	11	7	2	0	3	2
			11%	13%	17%	16%	3%		5%	4%
R3	23	40	1	4	4	4	0	0	0	0
			4%	10%	17%	10%	-	-	-	-
R4	24	41	1	4	2	5	0	2	0	0
			4%	10%	8%	12%	-	5%	-	-
Average	34	38.3	10%	10%	15%	13%	3%	0%	1%	1%

* Percentage figure is percentage of all included instances of generic *du* or *man* for each transcript, to the closest whole number.

** Total frequency of included pronouns per transcript

In order to make these figures meaningful within the wider discourse context, further figures need to be attained for comparison – for example, the frequency of the modal verbs in the whole of each transcript, or the use of modal verbs with other pronouns, including personal pronouns. Table 5.5 demonstrates this for transcript F2 and indicates that the use of modal verbs with a generic pronoun is much more widespread than with 1st and 2nd person pronouns. In fact, the average frequency of these modal verbs used in conjunction with *man* and generic *du* is 7.5%, compared to an average of

0.9% for the personal pronouns. Further DA of modal verbs and their role in combination with *man* and generic *du* would, then, most likely be fruitful in further understanding the function of these pronouns.

Table 5.5 Use of selected modal verbs with generic *du* and *man*, and 1st and 2nd person pronouns in transcript F2*

Pronoun	Pronoun frequency (total)	müssen**	können**	dürfen**	sollen**
<i>man</i>	35	4	6	2	1
		11.4%	17.1%	5.7%	2.9%
<i>du</i> generic	61	10	2	2	0
		16.4%	3.3%	3.3%	-
<i>du</i> personal	20	0	0	0	0
		-	-	-	-
<i>ich</i>	205	1	11	1	1
		0.5%	5.4%	0.5%	0.5%
<i>ihr</i>	7	0	0	0	0
		-	-	-	-
<i>wir</i>	28	1	0	0	1
		3.6%	-	-	3.6%
Average	67.2	6.4%	5.2%	1.9%	1.4%

* Percentage figure is percentage of all included instances of each pronoun for each transcript, to one decimal point. Second person *Sie* is not included here as the only instances found in the transcript were in reported speech.

** Read as relevant verb form for each pronoun.

This chapter has demonstrated that quantitative analyses can provide interesting signposts for the path taken by DA as a second phase of analysis. Chapter 6 provides an example of this second phase in action.

Chapter 6 Discourse and qualitative analysis

6.1 Discourse analysis

Whilst quantitative analysis provides a broad picture of pronoun distribution in the corpus and individual conversations, discourse analysis places these findings firmly back in context. It is important to gain a thorough understanding of the way the pronouns ‘behave’ in discourse through thick description of different contextual levels. However, it is also important to maintain focus on the language users as culturally and socially situated, active shapers of the discourse (refer back to Trappers-Lomax’s (2004) description of DA in Chapter 4). In the studies examined in earlier chapters of this work (especially Chapter 4), descriptions of culture, relationships and power regularly form part of discourse analyses (e.g. Wales, 1996; Waugh et al, 2007). Waugh et al (ibid), for example, drew on numerous sub-disciplines in order to increase their insight into the social and cultural aspects of the discourse under examination, including pragmatics, sociolinguistics, and ideology and identity. Terms related to politeness theory, such as ‘solidarity’, ‘distance’ and ‘positive face’, are evident in the description of their findings.

Gee (2005) provides a framework for exploring the broader social and cultural context as intrinsically linked to linguistic forms in discourse. He describes two “types of meaning” (ibid: 94): the first is ‘situated meaning’ – that being meaning which is “an image or pattern that we assemble “on the spot” as we communicate in a given context, based on our construal of that context and on our past experiences” (ibid: 65). Moreover, situated meanings are “negotiated between people in and through social interaction” (ibid: 67). The second meaning-type comprises ‘Discourse models’, or theories “that people hold, often unconsciously, and use to make sense of the world and their experiences in it ... they are like stereotypes ... simplifications of reality that are meant to help us understand complicated realities ...” (ibid: 61). Gee takes the view that meaning “is both an active process (we partly make it up on the spot) and a social process (we are influenced by our affiliations with various sorts of social groups)” (ibid: 54). Moreover, meaning-creation is reflexive: “Language ... always

simultaneously reflects and constructs the situation or context in which it is used” (ibid: 97). Gee’s view of how meaning is created through (and shapes) context and the theories about reality which interlocutors bring to a conversation is reminiscent of frame semantics, mentioned in Chapter 2 and again in Chapter 5. Gee’s approach to discourse analysis is very much a socio-cognitive one and, as such, is useful for the study of a topic such as that examined in this work. As shown in Chapter 2, cognitive linguistics has explored how a speaker (or listener) processes different meanings of pronouns through frame semantics, gradient category membership, agentive backgrounding and so on, but has paid very little attention to pronouns embedded in discourse; Gee provides a framework for exploring language from a socio-cognitive perspective *in interaction*. He maintains that the discourse analyst should examine seven ‘building blocks’ in each piece of discourse in order to gain a complete picture of the discourse situation, and to increase the validity of the study (i.e. assuming that these seven exploratory paths produce findings which paint a coherent picture of the discourse): significance (how is the language being used to make things significant/not?), activities (what activities are being enacted?), identities (what identities are being enacted?), relationships (what relationships are being enacted with others, present or not?), politics (the distribution of social goods – e.g. what is being communicated as “normal”, “right”, “valuable”?), connections (how is the language being used to connect/disconnect things, or to makes things relevant/irrelevant?), and sign systems and knowledge (how does this language privilege/disprivilege particular sign systems or claims to knowledge/beliefs?). For a study such as this one, Gee’s seven building blocks of discourse can provide a useful checklist for ensuring that social, cultural and cognitive aspects are taken into account throughout the process of discourse analysis.

As Trappers-Lomax (2004) and Gee (2005) make clear, interaction is at the heart of discourse analysis. Arundale (2006: 196) states: “All conversational action, topic managing and turn-taking is achieved interactionally, or is conjointly co-constituted.” Each aspect of discourse, then, is considered a product of previous turns, and a contributor to future turns (and as a product of and contributor to the ongoing social and situational aspects of the

discourse as outlined in the preceding paragraph). For an analyst following these principles, evidence for ‘meaning’ is primarily sought in the discourse itself. For example, in exploring generic pronouns in context, the analyst might examine how a second speaker reacts to a turn which contains generic *du* as opposed to one which contains personal *du*, and how this second turn continues to shape the meaning of that pronoun. However, the role of the analyst as ‘interpreter’ of the discourse is not discounted, although it should be borne in mind that “... the analyst should take care not to over-interpret the data or bring his/her preconceived analysis to the data” (Waugh et al, 2007: 123).

Discourse analysis most often begins with a piece of discourse and works ‘inwards’, finding micro-features of that discourse as the analysis develops. However, a study such as this one reverses that procedure to an extent, by beginning with a micro-element – in this case pronouns – and then working out how they relate to other micro-elements as well as to the macro-elements of the discourse in which they are embedded. Whilst this provides a focal point for analysis, it has the inherent danger of restricting the analyst’s view, this being ultimately counter-productive to an analysis which upholds in theory the importance of context and co-constructionism. However, being aware of this potential ‘blinkering effect’, the analyst is able to continually monitor their approach to the data and ensure that the focus on the pronouns does not preclude the examination of other aspects of the discourse. As Waugh et al state: “... work on any part of language – such as pronouns – needs to take into account the larger discourse of which they are a part and the many communicative functions they may fulfil.” (2007: 124).

6.2 Applying principles of DA to the data

This section provides a detailed examination of the generic pronouns used in transcript F2. As discussed on P. 85, F2 contained the second lowest number of personal *du* (2.9 per 1,000 words) and the highest number of both generic and other *du* in the data set, and DA can be used to further explore why this might be the case. That is, its ‘unusualness’ provides a starting point for DA which a transcript displaying relatively more average quantities of pronoun

use might not. Transcripts F5, P4 and R1 also demonstrated skewdness of particular aspects of pronoun use (again, refer to P. 85), and could provide equally rich sources for focused DA. Section 6.2.1 gives an overview of the defining characteristics of the conversation, primarily in terms of the relationships between participants as demonstrated during talk. Section 6.2.2 then presents a detailed analysis of *man* and generic *du* as used in a 144-line extract from F2.

6.2.1 Overview of transcript F2

Participants:

- A female, 23, studying for a Magister in American and German Studies (6th semester), from Frankfurt (Hesse)
- B male, 24, training to be a Gymnasium teacher (4th semester), from Höchst im Odenwald (Hesse)
- C male, 22, training to be a Sekundarschule teacher (6th semester), from Zweibrücken (Rhineland-Palatinate)

Participant	approx. % of total words	<i>du</i> generic		<i>du</i> personal		<i>man</i>	
A	17%	0	-	6	30%	6	18%
B	34%	39	64%	4	20%	9	26%
C	49%	22	36%	10	50%	19	56%

B and C dominate the conversation in terms of the relative number of words uttered and in terms of topic: both are trainee teachers and attend some of the same lectures and seminars (although until now they have had no contact outside of these seminars). The topic therefore revolves predominantly around teaching and there are several accounts of B's and C's teaching experiences. B and C show collaboration and convergence throughout the conversation (although there is also some apparent divergence which will be examined in section 6.2.2). To give three examples:

Lines 33–60

Brown and Levinson's (1987) politeness theory and Goffman's (1967) theory of face provide an obvious way in to understanding this section of the conversation. A poses a question which is potentially very face threatening for both B and C – if one of them affirms that they are friends, this could damage the other's negative face and, in turn, his own positive face; but if one of them claims that they are not friends, then this could damage the

other's positive face and, in turn, his own negative face. B and C must therefore construct a response which is acceptable to both of them and which panders to both positive and negative face if face is to be maintained on both parts. The question is initially hedged, and B and C's subsequent response is extensive (reflecting the difficulty in providing a satisfactory answer) and features strong agreement and collaborative utterances. B and C use *wir* to present their shared background (*wir kennen uns aus dem kurs; wir haben da nicht so. ehm. nicht so viel bis jetzt so miteinander zu tun gehabt*) and avoid personal pronouns in suggesting how the relationship might develop in future (*vielleicht (entwickelt sich) da eine freundschaft; da will wird man sich wahrscheinlich näher kommen*). This orientation towards a shared background and future and the collaborative nature of the discourse serve to support positive face, whilst negative face is maintained through the avoidance of confirming either a current or future friendship. Direct discussion of the relationship is highlighted in turquoise below, and collaboration and agreement in grey:

- A und seid ihr befreundet oder. ist es jetzt wirklich nur aus dem kurs. ()
- C ja so prff. vielleicht [laughs]
- B wir kennen uns aus dem kurs
- C ja ja ja ja genau
- B [laughing] vielleicht (entwickelt sich) da eine freundschaft. schauen wir mal
- C ja wir haben da nicht so. ehm. nicht so viel bis jetzt so miteinander zu tun gehabt /ne+
- B +nein
- A /m\hm
- C am samsta:g nächste woche ist 'n
- B haben wir 'n blockseminar
- C ist unser blockseminar da (ham) basteln wir homepages und müssen wir uns auf themen einigen da will wird man sich wahrscheinlich näher kommen [laughs]
- B genau
- C eh ja
- A aber neue medien ist das jetzt
- C so podcasting chat im englischunterricht. eh:
- B (). webquests. ()
- A aber das ist ach so das ist n didaktik kurs
- C blogging ja
- B ja
- A /a\ha
- C ja didaktikseminar (im turm) so

- B es ist: fachdidaktik drei schon /ne (2.0) fachdidaktik drei ist das oder nicht
- A and are you friends or. is it really just from the course. ()
- C yeah like prff. maybe [laughs]
- B we know each other from the course
- C yeah yeah yeah yeah exactly
- B [laughing] maybe a friendship (will develop). we'll see
- C yeah we haven't had so. ehm. so much to do with each other so far /right+
- B +no
- A /m\hm
- C on saturday next week there's a
- B we've got a one-day course
- C it's our one-day course where (we have) we make homepages and we have to agree on topics one [man] will probably get to know on another better there [laughs]
- B exactly
- C eh yeah
- A but that's new media now
- C like podcasting chat in English lessons. eh:
- B (). webquests. ()
- A but that's oh right that's a didactics course
- C blogging yeah
- B yeah
- A /a\ha
- C yeah didactics seminar (in the tower) like
- B it's: didactics training seminar three already /right (2.0) it's didactics training seminar three isn't it

Lines 206–15

B and C's shared knowledge, gained through their common subject area, creates opportunities for signalling and constructing an in-group which excludes A. Throughout the conversation, A adopts the role of interested listener, but, in doing so, serves to reinforce the distinction between B and C's in-group and herself – that is, in asking questions and encouraging B/C to continue their turns through backchannelling, A signals her ignorance of the topic. In this extract, in which B and C collaboratively construct an answer to a question originally addressed to B, she makes explicit reference to this (*ich hab keine ahnung über so was*):

- A aber warum bist du überhaupt in der haupt. schulklasse wenn du (L drei ich dachte das wär dann) nur gymnasium oder ist das. irgendwie komplizierter
- B ja als U plus lehrer du musst ja auch keiner
- A ach so stimmt U plus () ja
- B genau
- C genau wenn du an eine gesamtschule kommst. musste [musst du] ja so wie so machen
- B all-. hauptschule realschule gymnasium
- A ach so ok. ich hab keine ahnung über so was

- A but why are you in the secondary. school class anyway if you (L three I thought that was) just gymnasium or is that. somehow more complicated
- B yes as an U plus teacher you don't have to have any
- A oh right true U plus () yes
- B exactly
- C exactly if you end up in a comprehensive school. you [**du**] still have to do it anyway
- B all-. hauptschule realschule gymnasium¹⁶
- A oh right ok. I don't know anything about that kind of thing

Lines 767–90

This extract provides clear evidence for four aspects of Gee's (2005) framework for discourse analysis and how they combine to present a coherent picture of the discourse: significance, perspectives on social goods, and the enactment of relationships and identities. B initially makes social class significant in explaining the behaviour of pupils in a particular Hauptschule class and their reaction to an apparently unconventional classroom management strategy. C's subsequent involvement in the discussion extends this to include pupils from his own Hauptschule class. Thus the same theory of social class is applied to explain two separate situations. The perspective on social goods gives the pupils' social class a low status relative to that to which B and C are implied as belonging to, and it is assumed that several levels of behaviour (pupil, parent-child) and understanding are implicitly related to social class. The relationships enacted in this extract (Gee states that this includes relationships between people who are participating in the conversation, but also people who are not present) are: the relationship between B and C (here alluded to and developed through collaboration and a discussion of an area in which they both demonstrate knowledge and experience), the relationship between B and C as teachers and a particular group of pupils, and the contrast between this relationship and the pupils' relationship with their parents. B and C collectively enact their identities as (skilled) teachers, as members of a social class which is different to that described here (in terms of language, behaviour and understanding) and as people with an insight into social problems and learned behaviour:

- B ehm. was weiß ich. Nikita isst im unterricht trotz verbot. ehm. die zwei kommen viertel stunde zu spät. er nennt sie ein hure und so

¹⁶ These are all secondary-level schools in the German education system, ranging from Hauptschule, with the least 'academic' focus, to Gymnasium, with the most 'academic' focus.

weiter [*quietly*] (). hab ich gesagt. hier leute. also gar net [*nicht*] absichtlich sondern einfach nur gesagt. ihr seid doch alle. liebe und nette kerle und mädels und in dem moment es war unfassbar die so [*inhales deeply*] sind die augen aufgegangen. /ja. es war so ruhig. die ganze stunde und so gut gearbeitet /ja. aber die ist halt. auch von zu hause **du** hast ja das. ein soziales milieu sitzen /ne

C hm

B aber die kommen aus 'm [*dem/einem*] sozialen milieu

C [*laughing*] ()

B das ist halt echt. unterirdisch

C das ist echt

B un eh. die kennen das zu hause wird auch geschrieen ne und dann eben den tisch un wird mit der hand auf 'n [*den*] tisch gehauen wenn der vater was will. /ja. und wenn **du** denen was liebes sagst das kennen die gar net [*nicht*] sind total begeistert ja das war echt 'ne [*eine*] erfahrung die. die einprägsam war. ja gut geht nicht in jeder klasse. aber ehm

C ehm es ist medizin für die aber teilweise. musst **du** auch so 'n [*ein*] bisschen die sprache von zuhause also. natürlich nur bedingt aber sprechen. sonst verstehen sie's nicht. also weil das ihre sprache ist also die lehrerin

B ja klar

B ehm. I don't know. Nikita eats in the lesson despite being told not to. ehm. those two arrive quarter of an hour late. he calls her a whore and so on [*quietly*] (). I said. hey you lot. like not at all deliberately I just said it. you are all. lovely and pleasant boys and girls and at that moment it was amazing they were like [*inhales deeply*] their eyes opened. /yeah. it was so quiet. all lesson and they worked so well /yeah. but it's just. also at home you [**du**] have that. a social group sitting there /right

C hm

B but they come from a [the?] social group

C [*laughing*] ()

B it is really. underground

C it is really

B and eh. they know that at home there's yelling right and then a fist is banged on the table if the dad wants something. /right. and if you [**du**] say something nice to them they're not familiar with that are really pleased yeah that really was an experience which. which left an impression. yeah ok doesn't work in every class. but ehm

C ehm it is medicine for them but sometimes. you [**du**] also have to like speak their home language a bit like. obviously just occasionally but. otherwise they don't understand it. because that's their language like the teacher

B yeah of course

This initial, brief examination of the salient contextual features of the conversation highlights several interesting avenues for exploring the use of pronouns in context, and the importance of examining the discourse from several angles if the topic is to be thoroughly explored. Questions relating specifically to this conversation include:

- How can the distribution of pronouns within the conversation be explained? This includes the low number of personal *du* and the high

number of generic and other *du* in the transcript as a whole, as well as individual participants' pronoun counts – A displays a high frequency of personal *du* relative to the number of words uttered, B displays a high frequency of generic *du*, and C a high frequency of *man*.

- How do participants' past, future and currently developing relationships and related knowledge impact on the use of pronouns? This has already been shown to have an impact on the structure of the discourse above, with A adopting a minor, primarily supportive role in the conversation, and B and C producing collaborative utterances which also amount to competition for the floor.

The following section provides detailed analyses of one extract (lines 217–361), chosen because it forms a coherent unit in the discourse (a narrative) and because it contains several instances of generic *du* and *man*. The description comprises a summary, line-by-line analysis, and the implications of the data for understanding the use of *man* and generic *du*.

6.2.2 Detailed analysis

Summary of lines 217–361

In this extract, C is describing his second school placement, in which his performance was criticised. C's description consists mainly of a narrative which includes reported speech and numerous interjections indicating how he felt then and how he feels now about what happened. Koven's (2002) tripartite model of storytellers' assumed roles in narrative is relevant here: according to Koven, storytellers adopt the roles of author (communicating the series of events), interlocutor (linking the narrative to the current interaction – e.g. through the use of comments, intensifiers which index speaker affect, and “shift to a second person pronoun to invite the audience to identify with the teller” (ibid: 181)) and character (speaking from the perspective of different characters through reported speech) in narrative, which means that narrative is multi-functional (ibid: 168):

... in the same stretch of discourse, speakers perform a variety of socially meaningful actions. They may simultaneously communicate propositionally explicit information, show their stance toward that information and toward the ongoing interaction, as well as point to some aspect of a socially recognizable identity.

To take an example from this extract in F2 which shows how C combines authorial and interlocutory roles:

- C ... dann war das ein bisschen chaotisch und so. aber es war meine erste geschichtsstunde ever. so
B hm
C und da kriegste [*kriegst du*] halt irgendwie so: strukturelle kritik ...
- C ... then it was a bit chaotic and so on. but it was my first history lesson like ever.
B hm
C und you [*du*] get somehow like structural criticism ...

C fulfils his authorial role by communicating that his lesson was somewhat chaotic, that it was his first history lesson, and that he received criticism. His role as interlocutor is demonstrated through the intensifier *ever, so* used as an emphatic discourse marker, the use of generic *du*, and the hedges *halt irgendwie so*. The simultaneousness of these two roles is also evident: C's stating of the events as author of his narrative is sequenced and coordinated to express his stance in regards to those events (i.e. the lesson was chaotic, but there was a good reason for that and he didn't expect the criticism). The 'social meaningfulness' of the narrative is further supported when Gee's (2005) categories are applied, discussed in section 6.1. For example, the very first section of this extract analysed below shows that C is making several things significant in his narrative: the contrast between his first and second placements, the relationship between himself and his mentor teachers, and the pressures that come with having only two placements. He is enacting a positive relationship with his mentor teachers, and he creates connections between events and feelings through contrasts (first and second placement, low and high levels of stress). This use of contrasts continues throughout C's narrative.

C's narrative in this extract is ended when B seizes the floor. B positions himself as the only teacher in a class of pupils who are typically difficult to teach. These two different positions are shown in the use of *man* and *du*: C uses generic *du* mainly to refer to himself, and usages are rooted in specific scenarios. B uses *du* to generalise his description of teaching to anyone in his position. He uses *man* often to the exclusion of his current, experienced teacher-self, and to state rules or facts. C uses *man* in reported speech.

Generic pronouns are shown in bold in this extract. Sections of the extract are followed by commentary which relates to that particular section.

Line-by-line analysis

- A ehm. und fühlste [*fühlst du*] dich damit wohl ist das sehr anstrengend?
C ehm:+
A +weil-+
C +nicht mehr so also im ersten praktikum fand ich alles ganz toll da war auch der druck nicht mehr so hoch haben sie gesagt. machen sie mal sie wussten ja dass das ist dann dein erstes mal. und jetzt. im zweiten praktikum hatte ich so das gefühl ja das ist das zweite mal und das ist aber das letzte wir haben nur zwei praktika
- A ehm. and are you enjoying that or is it very stressful?
C ehm:+
A +because-+
C +not anymore I mean in the first placement I found everything really good the pressure wasn't so high then either they said. just do it they knew of course that that is your first time. and now. in the second placement I had the feeling ok that's the second time and it's also the last we only have two placements

This section of the extract functions to provide the background information for C's up-coming narrative, including the knowledge which the listeners will need to understand the story and C's perspective on it. C immediately signals that there is a contrast coming up with *im ersten praktikum fand ich alles ganz toll*. He then introduces a character group using *sie*: the referent is only made accessible through C's presentation of his relationship with them – their reported utterance *machen sie mal* indicates that they were in a position to instruct C in this situation and that the relationship was formal but constructive. These, combined with the assumed shared locational knowledge that a placement takes place in a school, would suggest that C is referring to teachers with whom he worked at the school. C then introduces a temporal contrast with *jetzt*, which is immediately followed by the past tense (*im zweiten praktikum hatte ich so das gefühl*), making it clear that this is an event which is no longer happening, but one which is still relevant/fresh now. The sentence *wir haben nur zwei praktika im kompletten studium* is presumably aimed at A, as B would already know this.

- A hm:
C im kompletten studium. und da wurde schon viel erwartet und mich haben. zwei lehrer eh: die mich betreut haben ich find die immer noch professionell. find es auch unbedingt. nicht unbedingt falsch

was sie also dass sie so was gesagt haben aber. die haben mich halt voll krass angefahren so von wegen **man** würde merken der beruf wär nichts für mich und so

B [laughs]

A oje

B (das ist geil)

C na ja

A hm:

C in the whole degree course. and there were a lot of expectations and. two teachers eh: who supervised me I still find them professional. also don't find it necessarily. necessarily wrong what they I mean that they said such a thing but. they just really laid into me like one [**man**] could see that the job didn't suit me and so on

B [laughs]

A oh dear

B (that's great)

C anyway

C's use of the past tense and adverb *da* in *da wurde schon viel erwartet* (compare with the alternative *es*) places this experience in a particular time and situation. C introduces more characters into his narrative, foregrounding himself (*mich*) as object and presenting two mentor teachers as agents. He then goes on to build a frame of reference for how whatever the teachers did should be understood – by raising and negating two assessments of their still-mysterious actions (i.e. that they were unprofessional and wrong), he makes these the salient and relevant frame of reference for understanding what happened, whilst himself maintaining an air of having rationally thought this through and come to a fair conclusion. However, the 'punchline' uses intensifiers *voll krass*, and a verb which conveys an aggressive attack by the teachers (*angefahren*). The relative colloquialism of this statement adds to the impact, as it contrasts with C's prior talk. This provides another example of the relevance of Gee's (2005) framework: in briefly privileging a socially marked sign system (i.e. colloquial speech), C makes the content of his message significant, and asserts his identity as a selective user of colloquial speech. More description is made of the method of delivery of the teachers' message than of the message itself (something which A later picks up on): *so* functions as a quotative, signalling that reported speech is coming up (Golato, 2000¹⁷), and *von wegen* signals C's scepticism and distance from the reported statement. It is not possible to

¹⁷ Golato notes the use of *so* as being equivalent to English *like* and occurring only without an accompanying verb – e.g. *und ich so*. However, *so* is used frequently in this extract and often occurs as a quotative alongside a verb of speech, such as *anfahren* and *meinen*. Other uses of *so* observed here include as an emphatic marker to highlight significant points in the talk.

know whether the teachers actually used *man* as reported or whether this is C's manipulation of their actual words, but the distance which *man* places between them and the object of their criticism (C) makes them appear cold (compare with the personal alternative *sie würden merken*). It also removes any power from C, it being difficult to argue with a statement presented as generally acknowledged, observed fact. C continues to use the conditional in reporting the essence of the teachers' opinion – *der beruf wär nichts für mich*.

- A also die kritikpunkte haben sie dir schon irgendwie eingeleuchtet aber wie sie's gemacht haben war das problem
- C ja: also mir dass mir da struktur fehlt ich bin da so ein bisschen (mit) vorausarbeiten. vor der verantwortung weggelaufen und hab einfach zu spät mit der stundenplanung angefangen und
- A hm
- C dann war das ein bisschen chaotisch und so. aber es war meine erste geschichtsstunde ever. so
- B hm
- C und da kriegste [*kriegst du*] halt irgendwie so: strukturelle kritik also ich fand die kritik ja toll aber es war halt heftig
- A ja
- A so they did actually somehow clarify the criticisms but the way they did it was the problem
- C yeah: so I that I lack structure I kind of a bit (with) the preparation. I shied away from the responsibility and just started my lesson planning too late and
- A hm
- C then it was a bit chaotic and so. but it was my first history lesson ever.
- B hm
- C and then you [*du*] get somehow like: structural criticism I mean I found the criticism good but it was also severe

A summarises her understanding of C's reported situation, introducing an element which C hasn't mentioned – *die kritikpunkte haben sie dir schon irgendwie eingeleuchtet*. C responds to this as a prompt to further explain the situation and introduces one specific criticism – *dass mir da struktur fehlt*. He immediately follows this up with his defence in the form of an explanation as to why the teachers might have taken issue with his performance. The change of tense from present to past signals this shift in perspective, as do the hedges *so ein bisschen, einfach, ein bisschen chaotisch und so*. This defence concludes with a further explanation (discussed in the summary above) which relies on the listeners to infer his meaning from two juxtaposed statements: *aber es war meine erste geschichtsstunde ever. so ... und da kriegste [kriegst du] halt irgendwie so:*

strukturelle kritik. Several aspects of this utterance simultaneously draw on and create shared knowledge and world views between listeners and speaker: the use of *ever* assumes a knowledge of English and asserts the identity of C as English speaker; the successful communication of *es war meine erste geschichtsstunde* and *da kriegste [kriegst du] ... strukturelle kritik* relies on the listeners to know that inexperience is a valid reason for making mistakes, and that one doesn't expect to be criticised because of this lack of experience. The strength of this first statement is emphasised through the use of a pause followed by *so*, the use of *ever* as an intensifier, and the lack of hedges. The second statement uses another shift in tenses from past to present, a shift in pronoun from first to second, an unspecified perpetrator (*da kriegst du*), and three hedges: *halt irgendwie so*. By removing the key agents (the teachers and himself) and the temporal anchor, and by downgrading the statement's factual status (relative to the prior statement) through hedges, the statement loses its specificity as an experience which happened to C in that particular circumstance. The use of generic *du*, combined with these other elements, replaces C with anyone else in a similar position and therefore also makes this a generalisable, empathisable experience. The switch back to the past with *also ich fand die kritik ja toll aber es war halt heftig* offers a conclusion to this section of the narrative in the form of a simple summary. The message is very similar to the statement which introduced the story – *ich find die immer noch professionell. find es auch unbedingt. nicht unbedingt falsch was sie also dass sie so was gesagt haben aber. die haben mich halt voll krass angefahren* – although the story itself focuses very much on the *heftig* and ignores the *toll*. C returns once more to the severity of the criticism at the very end of this extract.

- C und eh. die nächste stunde war dann auch ok ja. ich hatt so schiss es ging um den nahostkonflikt. und da meinte ich so zu den lehrern ja es ist jetzt nicht so das dankbarste thema so wenn **man** selbst keine ahnung hat so. hab ich mich zehn tage komplett einge(lesen) hab mir vier filme eh runtergeladen. und ehm. wusste alles über den nahostkonflikt hatte aber im endeffekt gar keine. die ge- gedanken an die didaktik verschwendet so null. ja. zwei geile arbeitsblätter gemacht vom niveau irgendwie viel zu hoch ja
- A hm+
- C +aber an sich doch gut hat der lehrer gemeint. es war halt'ne [eine] zehnte hauptschulklasse die die wollten halt mittlere reife machen.

- früher durfte das die schule machen dann drücken sie natürlich 'n [ein] bisschen wahrscheinlich das niveau. und jetzt müssen sie's [es] an'er [einer] externen realschule machen die nehmen halt gar keine rücksicht dass das hauptschüler sind da hab ich gedacht gut dann muss ich mir mal 'n [ein] bisschen so.: powern ja
- B [quietly] die haben gar nichts nix [nichts] drauf
- C and eh, the next lesson was ok then yeah. I was scared to death it was about the conflict in the Middle East. and I said like to the teacher yeah it isn't the best topic like if one [man] doesn't know anything about it like. I (read up) on it for ten days downloaded eh four films. and ehm. knew everything about the conflict in the Middle East but hadn't in the end wasted any. thoughts on didactics like nothing. yeah. made two fab worksheets somehow way to high level yeah
- A hm+
- C + but basically good the teacher reckoned. it was a year ten secondary school class they they wanted to do their school-leaving certificate. the school used to be allowed to do that then of course they make that a bit easier probably. and now they have to do it at an external realschule they don't take into account that they are hauptschule pupils so I thought ok then I'll have to push myself a bit yeah
- B [quietly] they haven't got a clue

In this section, C introduces another relationship between teachers and himself, again using reported speech – this time from him to them, thus giving him a voice which he previously did not have, and the relationship seems immediately more balanced: *es ist jetzt nicht so das dankbarste thema so wenn man selbst keine ahnung hat so*. C's use of *so* here initially introduces the reported speech (*da meinte ich so*), then focuses the hearer on the two components of the main point (it's a hard topic; if you haven't got a clue), and then emphasises the significance of the preceding talk. The combination of *man* and a conditional clause indirectly introduces the information that C didn't know anything about conflict in the Middle East. The result is that the topic is made salient as an inherently difficult one, rather than one which C alone found difficult. A positive relationship to the teacher is again highlighted: *aber an sich doch gut hat der lehrer gemeint*. C follows with more reported speech (or thought): *hab ich gedacht gut dann muss ich mir mal ein bisschen so.: powern ja*. The use of *powern* again identifies C as someone who has mastery of several sign systems – here, forming a German colloquialisation of an English word. C's reported thought is this time motivational, and seems to show the effect of a positive comment from the teacher, in contrast to the demotivating criticism earlier in his narrative. B's response indicates insider knowledge of the situation. Whilst not an attempt to take the floor, this is the first of B's turns to chip away at the uniqueness of C's story and give it the general applicability

which C does not. This will be returned to further below as this aspect of B and C's relationship becomes clearer in the discourse and their identities show divergence relative to the convergence noted above.

- C und war das so anderthalb seiten fließtext so [laughs] und gut der lehrer hat dann gesagt gut das müssen sie auch in der prüfung schaffen also es ist jetzt zwar viel zu viel für die und die werden den werden die köpfe qualmen aber mach mal. und ich hab halt blätter ausgeteilt über die entführung der landshut und die entführung der olympischen spieler. zwo und siebzig und sieben und siebzig
- A hm
- C und da war dann die GSG neun und so es hat sich alles entwickelt. und. die haben allein um den text zu verstehen ja fast die ganze stunde gebraucht. und dann sollten die sich gegenseitig die texte erzählen haste [hast **du**] gemerkt wie die auf einmal details erwähnen. die total unwichtig sind ich dreh das dann ein bisschen ab
- C and it was like a page and a half of running text [laughs] and ok the teacher did then say ok they have to do that in the exam as well so it is certainly too much for them and they'll have steam coming out of their ears but do it. and I gave out sheets about the hijacking of the landshut and the kidnapping of the olympic athletes. seventy two and seventy seven
- A hm
- C and then there was the GSG neun and that's how everything developed. and. just to understand the text they needed almost the whole lesson. and then they were supposed to tell each other the story you [**du**] noticed how all of a sudden they start to mention details. which are completely unimportant I (wind that up?)

The teacher is here re-introduced as supportive mentor in some extensive reported speech. The concluding *aber mach mal* contrasts with the formal relationship introduced with the first half of the story (*machen sie mal*). C then uses the definite article to refer to events and characters, as well as abbreviations (*zwo und siebzig und sieben und siebzig; die GSG neun*) and vague references (*es hat sich alles entwickelt*), all of which position this information as given. C appears knowledgeable, and the presentation of the facts as given knowledge makes them seem simple, which increases the impact of his subsequent description of the pupils' inability to digest these facts. C uses generic *du* here in contrast with *ich*, presenting himself as a first-hand, floating observer (*haste gemerkt*) and switching to present tense to describe his observations. A temporal marker is also added (*auf einmal*) which indicates a significant moment in the story. Temporal markers continue to be added through the next section of C's turn (*am anfang; je mehr ... desto mehr; am schluss*) to expand on this significant moment and describe the escalation of the situation. In each step of this escalation, C's

role is played by passive observer *du*: *hast du gemerkt (x2), haben die dir erzählt*. C jumps in as himself in an active, present-tense role with *ich dreh das dann ein bisschen ab damit das nicht ... so trocken ist*.

B hm

C damit das nicht so ein

B nicht so trocken ist

C so trocken ist. und die großen also am anfang ging das aber je mehr die je mehr die gelesen haben haste [*hast du*] gemerkt desto mehr haben sie sich verloren am schluss haben die **dir** erzählt. eh welche farbe der hubschrauber hatte aber nicht dass da leute erschossen wurden

B hm

C so that it isn't such a

B isn't so dry

C so dry. and the large I mean at the beginning it was ok but the more they read you [**du**] noticed the more they got lost by the end they were telling you [**du**]. eh what colour the helicopter was but not that people were shot dead

B immediately signals understanding of C's meaning by finishing his sentence (*nicht so trocken ist*). C's self-repair then runs parallel to B's turn, which is B's second attempt to chip away at the uniqueness of C's story and present himself as one who has also been in this common situation. C's re-use of the experiencer-observer *du* continues to anchor the story in a particular situation, along with the temporal indicators mentioned above. The final statement is the climax of this escalation and, at this point, B seizes the floor.

B ja ja wirklich aber die können das auch net [*nicht*] rausfinden dann ne was da

A hm

B wichtig ist und was unwichtig ist. sensationell. auch so das sind dann so erfahrungen die de [**du**] machst was ich halt auch net [*nicht*] gedacht hätte. und wenn de [**du**]. selbst halt im gymnasium warst haste [*hast du*] es net [*nicht*] so mitgekriegt. ehm wenn ich in 'er [*einer*] hauptschulklasse was an die tafel schreibe. einen merksatz. also das ist wirklich nur ein satz. ja. groß und deutlich geschrieben. ehm. deutschstunde. letzte deutschstunde. ehm. nach kurzgesprochenen vokalen. folgt ein doppelter konsonant. /ja

B yeah yeah really but they can't work out what's important and what's unimportant. amazing. also those are the experiences that you [**du**] have that I also wouldn't have thought. und if you [**du**] yourself went to a gymnasium you [**du**] didn't really notice it. ehm if I write something on the board in a hauptschule class. a memory sentence. so that's really just a sentence. yeah. written big and bold. ehm. german lesson. last german lesson. ehm. after short vowels. comes a double consonant. /right

In providing strong support for C's point that his Hauptschule pupils were difficult to teach, B de-limits C's reference to the pupils in his particular class to include pupils in any Hauptschule. B then categorises C's experience as one of many, shared by all trainee teachers – *das sind dann so erfahrungen die de [du] machst was ich halt auch net [nicht] gedacht hätte*. The generic *du*, which in C's story referred to himself as floating observer, also loses its situational exclusivity. In being the one to generalise this experience, B also asserts his status as experienced trainee teacher who is no longer green – this kind of thing no longer surprises him. This serves to create dual categories within the previously common 'trainee teacher' identity, outlined in the section 6.2.1. C retains an identity of trainee teacher who is still learning through experience and from his mistakes, whereas B is a step beyond this. The contextualized manipulation of generic *du*, first by C (to contrast with *ich* in a specific situation) and then by B (to contrast with all trainee teachers in multiple situations) plays an important role in the ongoing portrayal of the teacher-trainer identity in the conversation. The use of *du* (*wenn de [du]. selbst halt im gymnasium warst haste [hast du] es net [nicht] so mitgekriegt*) continues to refer to a larger group than just B – all participants in this conversation must have attended a Gymnasium in order to study, and B suggests through his statement that the low ability of the Hauptschule pupils is 'another world' which is not found in the Gymnasium. In doing this, he continues to assert his status as experienced teacher. B's use of *net* here – which manifests more usually as *nicht* during the conversation – coincides with his use of *du*. The effect is perhaps to show that, although he is now the voice of experience, B is essentially still a 'regular guy'. Another effect could be that he is still allowing C a place in this description, and that a use of *man* (or a non-conditional sentence using *ich*) would misalign B too much with his interlocutors and make him appear aloof. Consider the alternative: *wenn man. selbst halt im gymnasium war hat man es net [nicht] so mitgekriegt*. The use of *man* combined with the concrete conveying of experience would deny the listeners a role in much the same way as the use of *man* in C's reporting of his mentor teachers' negative opinion, *man würde merken der beruf wär nichts für mich*. To speculate even further, this excluding effect of *man* might be reduced if the experience were generalised to 'match' the pronoun – i.e. *wenn man. ja im*

gymnasium ist kriegt man es net [nicht] so mit. The contrast between *man* and *du* in combination with specific and general experiences appears to be a fertile avenue for further exploration and one which could be developed using concrete examples from this and other transcripts in the data set.

To return to the above segment of the extract: B's story which begins *wenn ich in 'er [einer] hauptschulklasse was an die tafel schreibe* is told as a regular occurrence, not a one-off like C's story. He then goes on to make this more specific, suggesting that he teaches more than one subject and that he has taught several of these and would have a range of 'typical' examples to choose from (*deutschstunde. letzte deutschstunde*). The first and second parts of B's turn here (the first ending with *mitgekriegt* and the second beginning with *wenn ich in 'er [einer] hauptschulklasse*) contrast in tense (past > conditional/present), voice (du > ich) and style – there is a reduction in the number of modal particles and discourse markers in the second part, and explicit coordination and subordination (part 1: *auch so, dann so, was, halt auch, und wenn, halt, so*; part 2: *wenn, also, wirklich nur*). The cohesiveness of the second part is achieved purely sequentially – i.e. each part only makes sense because of the part which preceded it – and only the open conditional clause *wenn ich in 'er [einer] hauptschulklasse was an die tafel schreibe* indicates to the listener that they should expect a description of what happens when B writes on the board. B has switched from relational to transactional talk, and this is evidenced in the reduced number of relational markers.

- C ja konsonant und vokal. das (ist ja eigentlich schon gar nicht) () zu benutzen
- B ja gut das hatten sie aber schon in den sieben wochen vorher hatten sie
- C ach so
- B arbeitsblätter gemacht wann schreibt **man** scharfes S wann ein S wann doppel S
- C ja aber wa-
- B was sind konsonanten was vokale. hatten wir halt jetzt wieder und hatten wir jetzt nicht doppel S sondern halt zum beispiel bei brille. ja. oder oder affe. oder was weiß ich ist ja egal
- C hm
- C yes consonant and vowel. that (is really already not at all) () to use
- B yes ok but they had already in the seven weeks before they had
- C oh right

- B done worksheets when one [**man**] uses eszett wenn one S when double S
 C yeah but wh-
 B what are consonants what vowels. we just had again and we just had not double S
 but for example with brille. yeah. or or affe. or whatever it's not important
 C hm

Despite the divergence evident in this segment, C's willingness to put forward a challenge (*ja konsonant und vokal. das (ist ja eigentlich schon gar nicht) () zu benutzen*) and B's ability to dismiss it (*ja gut das hatten sie aber schon in den sieben wochen vorher hatten sie arbeitsblätter gemacht*) suggests that they belong to a common in-group, having the knowledge to agree and disagree with each other's perspectives on the 'facts'. However, B asserts a right to the floor, refusing to give it up, despite C's repeated attempts and subsequent relinquishments (*ja konsonant und vocal ...; ach so; ja aber wa-; hm*). This reinforces the asymmetry in the *right to knowledge* which B implied when he initially seized the floor from C, at which time he indicated that he is a more experienced teacher than C.

- B /ne. ehm. und wenn de [**du**] dann. durchläufst und dir anguckst was die da abschreiben. das ist unfassbar. das ist. das ist thematisch was ganz anderes /na. die sind nicht in der lage den satz abzuschreiben. es ist unglaublich. also man kann sich das nicht vorstellen

- B /right. ehm. and when you [**du**] then. walk around and look at what they're copying down. it's incredible. it is. it is thematically something completely different /right. they aren't able to copy down the sentence. it's unbelievable. I mean one [**man**] can't imagine it

B continues the non-specificity of his 'story' using the present tense in combination with *wenn*. B uses generic *du* as C did in his narrative to describe impressions from inside the classroom (compare C's description: *je mehr die je mehr die gelesen haben haste [hast du] gemerkt desto mehr haben sie sich verloren am schluss haben die dir erzählt. eh welche farbe der hubschrauber hatte*); however, B's character is active (*durchläufst, dir anguckst*), as opposed to C's passive observer (*haste gemerkt, haben die dir erzählt*) and B consequently seems more in control. B's story is peppered with tags which C's is not, inviting the participation or agreement of his listeners (*/ne, /na*). The effect is of a speaker who expects his listeners to agree. *Man* is used in this segment seemingly to conclude the story, ending on a similar theme to that which began B's turn when he seized the floor from C (compare *das sind dann so erfahrungen die de [du] machst was ich halt auch net [nicht] gedacht hätte* and *also man kann sich das nicht*

vorstellen). Now that he has proven this point, his sentence serves to return the focus to it. However, the use of *man* provides a finality to the topic which his opening utterance did not – it is a statement of fact which invites neither negation nor affirmation from the listeners, and which signals a shift from relational to transactional talk. This same shift was also seen as B seized the floor from C – in that instance, generic *du* was used in combination with relational markers which fell away as the pronoun was dropped and transactional talk took over. An examination of generic *du* and *man* in conveying relational and transactional modes, then, might also be worth exploring further in the larger data set.

B's apparent attempt to conclude this episode, however, fails as A uses simultaneous talk to prompt B to expand on his point, again simultaneously signalling interest and ignorance (*macht es dann sinn ...*):

A macht es dann sinn was sie da stehen haben meistens oder is es dann einfach irgendwie kauderwel- was

B na die die machen den satz zum beispiel kürzer

A ach so ok

B ehm. wenn **man**. konsonanten kurz spricht. [*laughs*] ist doppelt oder so was /ne

AC [*laugh briefly*]

B is geil. weil es is. **man** kann sich es. echt net [*nicht*] vorstellen am anfang. **man** muss dann echt alles so runterbrechen und immer wieder gucken dass sie es wenigstens richtig abschreiben

C also das. die-

B und wenn de [du] arbeitsblätter korrigierst also das. das richtige dann auch aufschreiben /ne. wahnsinn. und deshalb wär das auch einfach nix [*nichts*] für mich als hauptschule () [*inhales deeply*] ah. zu viel nebenbei

A so does it make sense what they write usually or is it just kind of rubb- what

B well they they make the sentence for example shorter

A oh right ok

B ehm. when one [**man**]. uses a short consonant. [*laughs*] it's doubled or something /right

AC [*laugh briefly*]

B that's great. because it's. one [**man**] really. can't imagine to start with. one [**man**] has to really break everything down and keep checking that they at least copy it down right

C so that. the-

B and when you [**du**] mark worksheets I mean the. writing out the correct version /right. crazy. and that's why that also wouldn't be the thing for me as hauptschule () [*inhales deeply*] ah. too much extra

B signals that his description is humorous by laughing, and A and C respond to this with their own laughter in the place of a turn. The humorous

perspective continues with the colloquial *is geil*, which provides an informal evaluation of B's experiences. The subsequent use of *man* seems all the more 'factual' by contrast. This second statement containing *man* is identical to that in the previous section (*also man kann sich das nicht vorstellen*), with the addition of emphatic *echt*, the colloquial *net* and *am anfang*. One can only understand this if one has been through it. B is no longer included in this group, as he is no longer *am anfang*, but A and C could easily be included as referents. When C tries to begin a turn in a clearly signalled transition relevance place (B has summarised the main point of his previous talk for a second time, the first time leading to a question from A and new uptake of the theme, his utterance is syntactically complete, and his utterance ends with falling intonation), B again seizes the floor with a continuation of his discussion. He uses *du* to introduce another aspect of Hauptschule teaching, foregrounding the activity immediately, before implying the perspective on this. He concludes again by discounting himself from teaching Hauptschule, presenting this as a rational decision. This becomes more salient through C's response:

C hab ich auch schon nach alternativen umgesehen also. halt de [**du**] kannst halt viel entweder in verlagen arbeiten oder in so softwarehäusern das

B hm

C haben wir ja gesehen dass die software so wie so scheiße ist die ganze lernsoftware. aber da wird ja auch kein geld ausgegeben ja. wird nix [*nichts*] reingesteckt aber halt so allgemein im verlag. ich hab schon überlegt ich hab. bei L zwei haben die eh nur einen mittelalter prof und einen für neue geschichte sonst haben wir eigentlich nix [*nichts*]. also die zwei profs da warst du schon irgendwie: die kennst **du** schon persönlich nach sechs semestern. und ich mach eben nur mittelaltermönchtum und so und das interessiert mich total die () kirchengeschichte

B hm

C oder so was studieren soll also hätte ich am anfang nie gedacht weil ich find es total interessant

C I've also already looked at alternatives I mean. you [**du**] can work a lot either at publishers or in like software companies we

B hm

C saw that that the software is shit anyway all the educational software. but there's no money being spent on it. nothing's being put into it but like generally at a publisher. I've already considered I have. in L two they only have eh a professor for the middle ages and one for history otherwise we don't have anything. so the two professors there you were already kind of: you [**du**] know them personally after six semesters. and I'm doing monasticism in the middle ages and so on and that really interests me the () church history

B hm

C or should study something like that I mean at the start I would never have thought because I find it really interesting

C's statement is about leaving the profession altogether, and his use of *auch* and the verb-subject construction seems to include B in this (implying a continuation of his turn), suggesting that he is talking about the same thing. This continues with the use of *du*, *wir* and *ja*, most likely referring to B, C and other student teachers (*du* and *wir*) and a particular shared experience (*haben wir ja gesehen*). C then switches to another alternative which is only accessible to himself as history student. He makes salient the small size of the history department and introduces a new reference group (*die* and *wir* = history department/students). His use of *du* fits in with his 'small and friendly' theme (*die kennst du schon persönlich nach sechs semestern*), and presumably it is this which he values and which contrasts with his current, more chaotic and alienating experience as a trainee teacher.

B [*very quietly*] alles klar
C aber was willst **du** damit halt wieder machen weißt du und hm. es ist alles so ich komme jetzt so'n [*ein*] bisschen in diese torschlusspanik wo ich denk ich hab jetzt eigentlich nix ja. ich mach auf jeden fall das erste staatsexamen so oder so. weißt du übrigens wenn du dich da so auskennst ob das verfällt? also ob ich nach zehn jahren da nicht mehr das zweite anhängen darf oder kann ich mit sechzig noch sagen. ich will jetzt doch lehrer werden und habs erste staatsexamen und mach dann das zweite und

B prff. fragst du mich (). keine ahnung

C weil ich. also ich hab. dachte ich-

A aber warum willst du jetzt überhaupt ganz aufhören? also ich dachte das sei jetzt irgendwie in dem praktikum eine schlechte erfahrung gewesen hier aber nicht

C ja aber die war auch heftig. so die

A ah so

C lehrerin die hatte so auf mich eingequatscht. es war krass also. krass sag ich in letzter zeit zu oft hat mir ein freund gesagt

B [*very quietly*] I see

C but what do you [**du**] want to do with that as well you know and hm. it's all like I'm now getting a bit of last minute nerves where I think I haven't really got anything. I'll definitely do the first state exam whatever. do you know by the way if you know about that whether that expires? so whether after ten years I'm not allowed to tag the second on or can I when I'm sixty still say. I do want to become a teacher now and I have the first state exam and then do the second

B prff. you're asking me (). no idea

C because I. I mean I have. I thought-

A but why do you now want to stop completely? I mean I thought that was now somehow a bad experience during your placement but not

C yes but it was severe. like the

A oh right

C teacher really had a go at me. it was terrible. I say terrible too much at the moment
 a friend told me

At this point, C makes a clear break from his role as storyteller, drawing together all of the knowledge about his situation and stance on events which he constructed during his narrative. His identity as failing trainee teacher is made significant, and he also panders to B's identity as 'expert' in all things teaching-related (an identity which is not upheld in his response). A also makes use of the previously-gained knowledge to continue her role as interested listener, explicitly linking C's desire to quit to his bad experience (C has not done this himself), signalling shared knowledge and building on it. In using the resources which have become available to her through the course of the conversation, A is now able to show interest without the accompanying ignorance of the non-teacher. It is also interesting that she emphasises the isolation of C's experience, despite B's re-interpretation of it as a frequent, common experience. C then returns to his previous story.¹⁸

Use of *du* and *man* in the extract

The detailed analysis of this extract provides several pathways for further exploration of the use of generic *du* and *man* within this and the other transcripts. The primary points are summarized below:

- Generic *du* seems to offer the listener a role in ways which *man* does not, for example, by including them in a shared experience (e.g. *wenn de [du]. selbst halt im gymnasium warst ...*). The tone of *man*, by contrast, seems to exclude the listener, as in C's reporting of his mentor teachers' criticism (*man würde merken der beruf wär nichts für mich*) which did not allow him room to disagree. This resonates with Biq's suggestion, explored in Chapters 1 and 2 of this work, that the generic 2nd person pronoun involves the hearer through "pragmatic deixis", as its use implies "that the hearer also shares the same perspective" (1991: 310). Related to this point, there is some evidence in this extract that *du* is used to open or shift a topic in relational segments of talk (perhaps inviting the active participation of the listeners), whereas

¹⁸ For interest's sake – a count of the item *krass* in the transcript shows that it is used eight times – six times by C and once each by A and B.

man signals a conclusion of it and is combined with markers of transactional talk (perhaps signalling that the listeners no longer need to be attentive).

- The extract indicates that *man* and *du* can be combined with general and specific experiences to achieve differing pragmatic effects, and that this might work in conjunction with the ‘including’ and ‘excluding’ properties of *du* and *man*, respectively. The example was given above of generic *du* used to talk about the shared, specific experience of attending a Gymnasium, and of the pronoun being used by B and C to talk about specific classroom experiences (the bullet point below expands on this). A quantitative comparison of time and space ‘anchors’ (e.g. deictic markers such as *here*, *then*) used alongside *man* and generic *du* could be an interesting next step in exploring this further, as well as further DA looking specifically at the type of experience being described.
- The extract shows the speakers B and C manipulating generic *du* to define and shape particular identities and referents as they are presented within the discourse. In the case of trainee teachers, for example, the description of the ‘typical’ trainee teacher is built up during the discourse alongside the individualised trainee-teacher identities of B and C. The role of generic *du* in this was demonstrated above in the classroom-experience narratives of B and C, C using the pronoun to present his own, unique experiences, and B using it to make C’s and his own classroom experiences seem stereotypical for trainee teachers. This makes sense within Brown and Yule’s explanation of discourse representations (see section 2.1 of Chapter 2), whereby the participants’ understanding of a referent and that referent’s attributes changes slightly or drastically each time the referent is mentioned. In this case, generic *du* is a contributor in the continued formation of the discourse representation of ‘trainee teacher’. To explore this point further: utterances in this extract

which contain *du* seem to act as a kind of discursual mood stone, being directly affected by and embedded in the discursual context. In reflecting the discursual ‘mood’, they also contribute to enhancing it. As mentioned above, C’s use of *du* in his narrative is ego-centric, presenting himself as a passive experiencer and seemingly using *du* to gain the empathy of his listeners:

*es war meine erste geschichtsstunde ever. so ... und da kriegste [kriegst **du**] halt irgendwie so: strukturelle kritik*

*und dann sollten die sich gegenseitig die texte erzählen haste [hast **du**] gemerkt wie die auf einmal details erwähnen. die total unwichtig sind*

*je mehr die gelesen haben haste [hast **du**] gemerkt desto mehr haben sie sich verloren am schluss haben die **dir** erzählt. eh welche farbe der hubschrauber hatte*

Outside of his narrative, C uses *du* to suggest commonalities with B (and other struggling trainees) by making their shared trainee-teacher background relevant:

*de [**du**] kannst halt viel entweder in verlagen arbeiten*

*aber was willst **du** damit halt wieder machen weißt du*

B’s use of *du* shows how the wider discourse can be used to manipulate the pronoun’s referents. He quickly shifts the referent from C to include all trainee teachers who have been in a Hauptschule class. A reduction in locational and temporal markers used with *du* as compared to those used by C also removes the pronoun’s specificity in describing a particular event. B uses *du* in this extract in constructions which foreground an experience before adding an interpretation of this experience:

*das sind dann so erfahrungen die de [**du**] machst was ich halt auch net [nicht] gedacht hätte.*

*wenn de [**du**]. selbst halt im gymnasium warst haste [hast **du**] es net [nicht] so mitgekriegt*

*wenn de [du] dann. durchläufst und dir anguckst was die da
abschreiben. das ist unfassbar.*

*wenn de [du] arbeitsblätter korrigierst also das. das richtige
dann auch aufschreiben /ne. wahnsinn.*

Related to the previous bullet point, utterances which make use of *du*, then, can highlight habitual experience (in B's case) or one-off experience (in C's case). Either way, the communication of experience – as opposed to knowledge – is key and could prove a fruitful line of enquiry in its own right. Interestingly, B uses colloquial markers consistently in utterances such as these – here most obviously the reduction of *nicht* to *net* and *du* to *de*. This slight shift in register in combination with *du* seems to make his statements seem more down-to-earth.

Other points worthy of further exploration could be:

- In Chapter 5, I observed that personal and generic *du* occur with roughly equal frequency within the data set, which is interesting when considering the existence of a core meaning for *du*. Waugh et al were quoted as stating that “... in grammar, especially, there is typically one meaning ... which is assumed to be contextually the least conditioned and cognitively the most salient, and is quantitatively calculated to be present in about 2/3rd (or more) of all tokens” (2007: 127). The quantitative evidence from this data set did not therefore support this; however, the DA shows that generic *du* is highly susceptible to contextual conditioning, which would perhaps place it empirically further from the ‘core’ than personal *du*.
- *Man* seems to be used by both B and C to signal information as given and (socially) accepted, either in presenting common knowledge or in summing up a point made in the preceding discourse, e.g.:

*wann schreibt man scharfes S wann ein S wann doppel S
also man kann sich das nicht vorstellen*

- *Man* is used by C in reported speech, and in each instance of this it could be argued that C is combining this use with the quality of signalling given, accepted knowledge to contribute to the construction of a particular identity:
 - *man würde merken der beruf wär nichts für mich* – C seems to turn the idea of *man* as presenting given, socially-acceptable knowledge on its head, placing it in a context which he signals as being unfair to him (and which A and B respond to as being unfair). This suggests that the use of *man* does not by itself ‘make’ a statement given and acceptable – it merely suggests it as such, and its success is dependent on the discourse context and the perspective of the other participants.
 - *es ist jetzt nicht so das dankbarste thema so wenn man selbst keine ahnung hat so* – C uses a conditional clause with *man* to reduce the focus on his personal ignorance (presenting this as ‘normal’) and maintain the focus on the difficulty of the topic.

6.3 Participant interviews

Participant interviews ultimately did not add a great deal to the quantitative and discourse analyses of transcript F2. The interviews with the participants (provided in the Appendix) confirmed the group dynamics which the analysis of turn distribution, topic focus and so on suggested, namely:

- A stated that she did not feel that she had much talking time, or that she had anything in common with B and C.
- A, B and C noted that the teaching placements were the primary conversational topic.
- A was the only participant to confirm that she did not always know who was being talked about, but also mentioned that she

was able to pick out a basic ‘discourse representation’ in each case:

R und letzte frage denn. ehm gab es momente im gespräch wo es dir nicht klar war von wem die rede war?

A ja. ein Marko wurde glaub ich mal erwähnt. also. irgendein anderer kommilitone wahrscheinlich. und natürlich dann die schüler und die. also mir war schon klar wie ich die einordnen soll. diese menschen so wie die ungefähr dazu gehören aber ich wusst jetzt nicht wer es ist. also.

R so last question. ehm were there times during the conversation when you weren't sure who was being spoken about?

A yes. a Marko was mentioned I think. so. probably another fellow student. and of course then the pupils and the. I mean it was clear to me how I should pigeonhole them. these people like roughly how they fit in but I didn't know who it is

- There were some contrasts in how B and C referred to their relationship. C felt that he had much in common with B, whereas B did not name commonalities with A or C. The imbalance of teaching experience noted in the DA was also salient, B stating:

B ... dadurch dass ich da als. seit zehn monaten jetzt schon an der schule bin und irgendwie zwei hundert fünfzig stunden oder so schon gegeben hab habe ich da ein bisschen mehr erfahrung jetzt als C der eh. zwei praktika gemacht hat. ehm (2.0) ja.

B ... because I've already been at the school for ten months and have given something like two hundred and fifty lessons I have a bit more experience than C who eh. has done two placements. ehm (2.0) yeah.

C, referring to another part of the conversation, noted B's self-confident approach to teaching, which contrasted with his own, ‘personality-deficient’ approach:

R und wie viel hast du mit den anderen gemeinsam gehabt?

C eh. also mit ihm glaub ich sehr viel (2.0) ehm: (3.0) bis auf ich fand das eh bewundernswert so dieser: dieser selbstsichere art ich kann das auch aber in der schule komischerweise (2.0) ich weiß nich es ist ein bisschen komplex versuch ich mich zu professionalisieren verliere dadurch viel von meiner

persönlichkeit. die mir eigentlich etwas bringen
würde also es ist sehr interessant so ().

- R and how much did you have in common with the others?
C eh. well a lot with him I think (2.0) ehm: (3.0) apart from I
found it admirable like this: this self-confident air I can do that
as well but at school funnily enough (2.0) I don't know it's a bit
complicated I try and make myself more professional and
through that lose a lot of my personality. which would actually
help me I mean it's very interesting ().

The usefulness of this aspect of the research paradigm for transcript F2 is, therefore, questionable, although its use as a tool for triangulation should perhaps not be dismissed so readily. To give an example of this: quantitative analysis indicated that F2 digressed from the data-set 'norm' and as such could be an interesting source of discourse analysis. Further quantitative analysis – which examined the distribution of talk across participants and the use of *man* and *du* by participants – revealed a skewed group dynamic in the conversation; DA expanded on this, showing aspects of the relationship between B and C and their respective identities which quantitative data did not. These aspects may play a role in pronoun choice, and in turn are reflected in the pronouns used. Interviews then confirmed this more detailed impression of the skewed group dynamic gained from analysis of the discourse itself.

In section 6.2.1 above, the following questions were posed relating to transcript F2 specifically:

- How can the distribution of pronouns within the conversation be explained? This includes the low number of personal *du* and the high number of generic and other *du* in the transcript as a whole, as well as individual participants' pronoun counts.
- How do participants' past, future and currently developing relationships and related knowledge impact on the use of pronouns?

An examination of the extract above is not sufficient to provide an answer to the first of these questions; moreover, the distribution of pronouns in this

extract is not ‘typical’ of the conversation as a whole (for example, B uses generic *du* less frequently and *man* more frequently than C, a pattern which is reversed for the conversation in its entirety). However, the analysis does shed some light on the second of these questions, as outlined in the bullet points in section 6.2.2, and identity pushes to the fore as a potentially key overarching factor in uncovering the reasons behind participants’ decisions to use generic *du* and *man* in their talk.

Conclusion

This work has examined established and emerging theoretical perspectives on generic pronouns, before going on to propose and test a paradigm for exploring these items further. The paradigm was shown to be effective in achieving triangulation and providing a logical progression from one set of findings to the next, and in suggesting directions for further analysis. There are numerous advantages to approaching analysis in the order suggested – i.e. quantitative > DA > qualitative (interview data): the analyst can approach a relatively large amount of spoken discourse with minimal assumptions, becoming familiar with it during data collection and quantitative analysis. Moreover, an initial quantitative analysis allows the researcher to refine their focus within a largely unexplored topic, and makes research more manageable by providing direction for DA. Once frequency counts and comparisons have been made, the researcher may decide to conduct further quantitative analysis – this work gave the examples of occurrence of modal verbs alongside generic pronouns compared to personal pronouns, and the relative dominance of participants in conversation, as assessed by the number of words uttered by each. Alternatively, these further quantitative explorations can be conducted following detailed DA, to confirm a particular finding for the wider data set. DA allows for the examination of the pronouns in context, and this context can extend from the item-containing turn and neighbouring turns to the whole conversation if this is deemed useful. Interview data then function as a kind of quality assurance, confirming relational and contextual aspects identified as potentially important during DA. A potential disadvantage of this paradigm is that analysis can escalate beyond manageable and useful proportions. Each stage of the analysis reveals potentially interesting avenues, and the analyst must choose a particular research strand to pursue. It is therefore important that research priorities are clear from the outset. Fonseca-Greber and Waugh (2004), for example, ultimately chose to focus on identity as a factor in pronoun use in one particular conversation in their data set, as this was an especially salient shaper of the discourse as a whole in that context.

As this work has shown, research into generic pronouns – especially in spoken discourse – is still in its infancy. The value in continuing to pursue an increased understanding of their function and distribution lies in their flexibility – the extent to which they are conditioned by the discourse context means that they can be put to varied and powerful use by speakers, and can be manipulated as discourse develops. The relationship between the discourse and the generic pronoun is consequently reflexive, the pronoun being both contextually conditioned and a conditioner of the context.

Despite this contextual dependence, there is no doubt that generic pronouns are lexically ‘tinted’ – Chapter 6, for example, suggested that *du* used generically creates a role for the listener, and this could well be related to the ‘core’ personal meaning of the item. Moreover, generic *du* and *man* do seem to play contrasting roles in discourse in combination with other lexical items and language structures (e.g. the absence of relational language alongside *man* observed in extracts of transcript F2, possibly to convey a transactional mode of talk in which the listener’s interactive role is reduced), meaning that there must be differences contained within the pronouns which have an element of contextual independence. Isolating commonalities of function of specific pronouns, and the contrast between pronouns in use, is especially important, as these are the aspects which will ultimately describe this currently elusive ‘tint’. Contrastive research within and between languages will no doubt also increase access to this knowledge, as the comparison of *man* and *du* has shown here. Contrasts would also be usefully drawn between generic and personal pronouns – the quantitative analysis of modal verbs used with *man*, generic *du* and first and second person(al) pronouns here indicated greater contrasts between generic and personal pronouns than between the two generic pronouns.

This work has taken the first few steps in illuminating the functions and distribution of generic *du* and *man* in spoken German. It has highlighted aspects of the relationship between generic *du* and *man*, and has provided evidence for the prevalent use of generic *du* in informal conversation, which up until now has been lacking. In Chapter 3, I cited several reference and research works which noted that generic *du* was sometimes used in place of

man, but which asserted *man* as the dominant generic pronoun: “In both Chinese and German, a general term meaning ‘person’ (*ren* in Chinese, and *man* in German) is preferable, but the point is that the 2nd person can also be used in its place” (Kitagawa and Lehrer, 1990: 754). This persistent assumption has certainly been challenged here.

References

- Afonso, S. (2003) *Impersonal Constructions in Portuguese: A Construction Grammar Approach*. Unpublished MA Dissertation, University of Southern Denmark.
- Arundale, R. B. (2006) Face as relational and interactional: A communication framework for research on face, facework, and politeness. *Journal of Politeness Research* 2, 193–216.
- Berman, R. (2004) Introduction: Developing discourse stance in different text types and languages. *Journal of Pragmatics* 37, 105–24.
- Biber, D., Conrad, S. and Reppen, R. (1998) *Corpus Linguistics: Investigating Language Structure and Use*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Biq, Y. (1991) The multiple uses of the second person singular pronoun *ni* in conversational Mandarin. *Journal of Pragmatics* 16, 307–21.
- Brown, P. and Levinson, S. (1987) *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (First published 1978 in E.N. Goody (ed.) *Questions and Politeness*).
- Brown, G. and Yule, G. (1983) *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bußmann, H. (ed.) (2002) *Lexikon der Sprachwissenschaft*. 3. Aufl. Stuttgart: Kröner.
- Carter, R. and McCarthy, M. (2006) *Cambridge Grammar of English. A Comprehensive Guide. Spoken and Written English Grammar and Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Collins Word Exchange* <<http://www.collins.co.uk/wordexchange>> [Accessed 30 October 2006]
- Coveney, A. (2003) ‘Anything *you* can do, *tu* can do better’: *tu* and *vous* as substitutes for indefinite *on* in French. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7(2), 164–91.
- Croft, W. and Cruse, A. (2004) *Cognitive Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dodd, B., Eckhard-Black, C., Klapper, J. and Whittle, R. (1996) *Modern German Grammar: A Practical Guide*. London: Routledge.
- Dörnyei, Z. (2007) *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Duden <<http://www.duden-suche.de>> [Accessed 06 November 2006]
- Duden *Grammatik der deutschen Gegenwartssprache. Band 4* (2005) Mannheim: Duden.
- Duden *Standardwörterbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache* (2002) Mannheim: Duden.
- Durrell, M. (2002) *Hammer's German Grammar and Usage. 4th Edition*. London: Arnold.
- Eisenberg, P. (1999) *Grundriss der deutschen Grammatik. Band 2: Der Satz*. Stuttgart: J. B. Metzler.
- Fauconnier, G. (1994) *Mental Spaces. Aspects of Meaning Construction in Natural Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Flowerdew, L. (2005) An integration of corpus-based and genre-based approaches to text analysis in EAP/ESP: countering criticisms against corpus-based methodologies. *English for Specific Purposes*, 24, 321–32.
- Fonseca-Greber, B. and Waugh, L. R. (2004) 'The subject clitics of Conversational European French'. In: R. Núñez-Cedeño, L. Luis and R. Cameron (eds.) *A Romance Perspective on Language Knowledge and Use*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Freyne, M. J. (1990) 'The strange case of *on*'. In: P. Mühäusler and R. Harré. *Pronouns and People: The Linguistic Construction of Social and Personal Identity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990, 179–206.
- Gee, J. P. (2005) *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method (Second edition)*. New York: Routledge.
- Geurts, B. (1985) Generics. *Journal of Semantics* 4, 247–55.
- Goffman, E. (1967) *Interaction Ritual: Essays on Face-to Face Behaviour*. New York: Anchor Doubleday.
- Golato, A. (2000) An innovative German quotative for reporting on embodied actions: Und ich so/und er so 'and I'm like/and he's like'. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 32, 29–54.
- Grootwoordenboek van hedendaags Nederlands* (1996) Utrecht: Van Dale
- Haiman J., Kuteva, T., Heine, B., Ourn, N. and Franco, F. (Unpublished draft paper) *Origin of the 2sg. generic pronoun*.
- Halliday, M. A. K. and Hasan, R. (1976) *Cohesion in English*. London: Longman.
- Handford, M. (2010) *The Language of Business Meetings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Haspelmath, M. (1997) *Indefinite pronouns*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jones, R. L. (2006) 'An analysis of lexical text coverage in contemporary German'. In: A. Wilson, D. Archer and P. Rayson. *Corpus Linguistics Around the World*, New York: Rodopi, 115–20.
- Jones, R. L. and Tschirner, E. (2006) *A Frequency Dictionary of German: Core vocabulary for learners*. New York: Routledge.
- Kamio, A. (2001) English generic we, you, and they: An analysis in terms of territory of information. *Journal of Pragmatics* 33, 1111–24.
- Kamio, A. (1994) The theory of territory of information: The case of Japanese. *Journal of Pragmatics* 24, 235–64.
- Kitagawa, C and Lehrer, A. (1990) Impersonal Uses of Personal Pronouns. *Journal of Pragmatics* 14, 739–59.
- Koven, M. (2002) An analysis of speaker role inhabitation in narrative of personal experience. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 34, 167–217.
- Kremer, M. (1997) *Person Reference and Gender in Translation: A Contrastive Investigation of English and German*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.
- Krishnamurthy, R. and Dodd, B. (2000) 'Note on language corpora and software'. In: B. Dodd (ed.) *Working with German Corpora*. Birmingham: The University of Birmingham Press.
- Langacker, R. W. (2002) *Concept, Image, and Symbol. The Cognitive Basis of Grammar*. 2nd edition. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Lee, D. Y. W. (2008) 'Corpora and discourse analysis. New ways of doing old things'. In: V. K. Bhatia, J. Flowerdew and R. H. Jones (eds) *Advances in Discourse Studies*. London: Routledge, 86–99.
- Lee, D. (2001) *Cognitive Linguistics. An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Leech, G. (1991) 'The state of the art in corpus linguistics'. In: K. Aijmer and B. Altenberg (eds.) *English Corpus Linguistics: Studies in honour of Jan Svartik*, 8–29.
- Lyons, J. (1995) *Linguistic Semantics. An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyons, J. (1977) *Semantics Vol. 1*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Miller, J. and Weinert, R. (1998) *Spontaneous Spoken Language, Syntax and Discourse*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

- Mühlhäusler, P. and Harré, R. (1990) *Pronouns and People: The Linguistic Construction of Social and Personal Identity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Oxford-Duden German Dictionary. 2nd Edition* (1999) Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Oxford English Dictionary* <<http://dictionary.oed.com>> [Accessed 07 November 2006]
- Partington, A. 2004. 'Corpora and discourse, a most congruous beast'. In: A. Partington, J. Morley and L. Haarman (eds.) *Corpora and Discourse*. Peter Lang, 11–20.
- Porte, G. K. (2002) *Appraising Research in Second Language Learning. A practical approach to critical analysis of quantitative research*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Ragnarsdóttir, H. and Strömquist, S. (2005) The development of generic maður/man for the construction of discourse stance in Icelandic and Swedish. *Journal of Pragmatics* 37, 143–55.
- Reilly, J., Zamora, A. and McGivern, R.F. (2005) Acquiring perspective in English: The development of stance. *Journal of Pragmatics* 37, 185–208.
- Selting, M. (1997) 'Sogenannte „Ellipsen“ als interaktiv relevante Konstruktionen? Ein neuer Versuch über die Reichweite und Grenzen des Ellipsenbegriffs für die Analyse gesprochener Sprache in der konversationellen Interaktion'. In: P. Schlobinski (ed.) *Syntax des gesprochenen Deutsch*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 117–55.
- Selting, M., Auer, P., Barden, B., Bergmann, J., Couper-Kuhlen, E., Günthner, S., Meier, C., Quasthoff, U., Schlobinski, P. and Uhmann, S. (1998) Gesprächsanalytisches Transkriptionssystem (GAT). *Linguistische Berichte* 174, 91–122.
- Trappers-Lomax, H. 2004. Discourse Analysis. In: *The Handbook of Applied Linguistics*. A. Davies and C. Elder (eds). Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 133–64.
- Vahl-Seyfarth, E. (1987). Das unbestimmte Subjekt in gesprochener Sprache. Vorkommen, Funktionen und Gebrauchsbedingungen. *Idiomatologia, Band 15*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- van Hell, J. G., Verhoeven, L., Tak, M. and Van Oosterhout, M. (2005) To take a stance: A developmental study of the use of pronouns and passives in spoken and written narrative and expository texts in Dutch. *Journal of Pragmatics* 37, 239–73.

- Wales, K. (1980) 'Personal' and 'indefinite' reference: The users of the pronoun one in present day English. *Nottingham Linguistic Circular* 9(2), 93–117.
- Wales, K. (1996) *Personal pronouns in present-day English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Walsh, S. and O'Keeffe, A. (2009) Paper presented at the annual meeting of AAAL, Denver, 21st–24th March 2009.
- Waugh, L. R., Fonseca-Greber, B., Vickers, C. and Eröz, B. (2007) 'Multiple empirical approaches to a complex analysis of discourse'. *In: M. Gonzalez-Marquez, I. Mittelberg, S. Coulson and M. J. Spivey, Methods in Cognitive Linguistics*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 120–48.
- Weinrich, H. (2003) *Textgrammatik der deutschen Sprache*. Mannheim: Duden.
- Zifonun, G., Hoffmann, L. and Strecker, B. (eds.) (1997) *Grammatik der deutschen Sprache. Band 1*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Appendix A: Transcript F2

NOTE: Transcript F2 is provided inclusive of tagging, and is tagged for 1st and 2nd person(al) as well as generic pronouns (see coding below). The information given at the bottom of this page denotes time positions within the audio recordings relevant to line numbers in the transcript, so that the original conversation can be returned to when required for reference. Time positions are also given for samples of the speech of each participant, to allow comparison if it is not clear which participant to allocate to a particular utterance.

Please refer to the relevant pages in this work for the following information:

[Transcription conventions](#) P. 65

[Coding of man/du](#) P. 75

Coding: ICH; IHR; SIE (2nd person)

	Generic			Personal		
Format	blue, bold			blue, italic		
Nom	ich	ihr	sie	<i>ich</i>	<i>ihr</i>	<i>sie</i>
Acc	mich	euch	sie	<i>mich</i>	<i>euch</i>	<i>sie</i>
Dat	mir	euch	ihnen	<i>mir</i>	<i>euch</i>	<i>ihnen</i>

Ambiguous			Other		
pink, not bold			yellow, not bold		
ich	ihr	sie	ich	ihr	sie
mich	euch	sie	mich	euch	sie
mir	euch	ihnen	mir	euch	ihnen

Coding: WIR

	Generic	Personal		
		Inclusive*	Exclusive**	Part inclusive***
Format	blue, bold	green, italic	purple, italic	orange, italic
Nom	wir	<i>wir</i>	<i>wir</i>	<i>wir</i>
Acc	uns	<i>uns</i>	<i>uns</i>	<i>uns</i>
Dat	uns	<i>uns</i>	<i>uns</i>	<i>uns</i>

Ambiguous	Other
pink, not bold	yellow, not bold
wir	wir
uns	uns
uns	uns

* to refer to all interlocutors and possibly other non-present persons

** to refer to the speaker plus non-present persons

*** to refer to the speaker plus one other interlocutor and possibly other non-present persons

Sample A (female, 23) = 15.34
 Sample B (male, 24) = 5.00 (to the left in stereo)
 Sample C (male, 22) = 23.18 (to the right in stereo)

5 mins 147 15 mins 363 25 mins 608
 10 mins 260 20 mins 496 30 mins 716

Words: approx. 6,800

Start: 0m12s; Finish: 30m22s

- 1 B ok. eh. wollen *wir*'n [denn] starten+
- 2 A +vorstellungsrunde
- 3 B namen(tlich) genau
- 4 C ja *wir wir* kennen uns jetzt schon spontan *ich* hab ihn noch grad
- 5 [gerade]
- 6 A ach so
- 7 C spontan mitgebracht aus einer veranstaltung über+
- 8 A +normalerweise wären *wir* nur zu zweit gewesen oder was
- 9 C nee ein mädchen ist glaub *ich* ausgefallen
- 10 A ah: ach so ok
- 11 C ausgefallen ja. ja *wir* machen zusammen (mit) drei mädchen. so ein englischunterricht zu
- 12 genau
- 13 B genau
- 14 C provide an average. learning environment+
- 15 B +und da *ich* jetzt. zwei freistunden hab. hat er gesagt. hier dann
- 16 komm mal mit
- 17 A oh ok
- 18 B hab *ich* gesagt alles klar
- 19 A (). ()
- 20 C was machst du?
- 21 A na ja. wie bitte? ach so ja eh amerikanistik germanistik hier und. sie kam gestern in einen unserer kurse bei Frau H so linguistik und hat.
- 22 gefragt. und
- 23 ok
- 24 B ok
- 25 A ja. also *ich* hoffe () wenn *ich* mal so was mache dass sich auch
- 26 leute melden und deshalb hab ich mich gemeldet
- 27 B ja genau deshalb () komm *ich* auch
- 28 A ja
- 29 B mit
- 30 A aber *du* hast es über nur über ihn () *du* hast sie gar nicht persönlich
- 31 getroffen oder irgendwas ah ok
- 32 B nein nein nein nein nein er hat es *mir* gesagt
- 33 A und seid *ihr* befreundet oder. ist es jetzt wirklich nur aus dem kurs. (
- 34)
- 35 C ja so prff. vielleicht [laughs]
- 36 B wir kennen uns aus dem kurs
- 37 C ja ja ja ja genau
- 38 B [laughing] vielleicht (entwickelt sich) da eine freundschaft. schauen
- 39 wir mal
- 40 C ja wir haben da nicht so. ehm. nicht so viel bis jetzt so miteinander
- 41 zu tun gehabt /ne+
- 42 B +nein
- 43 A /m\hm
- 44 C am samsta:g nächste woche is'n [*ist ein*]
- 45 B haben *wir* 'n [*ein*] blockseminar
- 46 C ist unser blockseminar da (ham) basteln *wir* homepages und müssen
- 47 *wir* uns auf themen einigen da will wird **man** sich wahrscheinlich
- 48 näher kommen [laughs]
- 49 B genau
- 50 C eh \ja
- 51 A aber neue medien ist das jetzt
- 52 C so podcasting chat im englischunterricht. eh:

- 53 B (). webquests. ()
- 54 A aber das ist ach so das ist ein didaktikkurs
- 55 C blogging ja
- 56 B ja
- 57 A /a\ha
- 58 C ja didaktikseminar (im turm) so
- 59 B es is: fachdidaktik drei schon /ne (2.0) fachdidaktik drei ist das oder
- 60 nicht
- 61 C [laughs] ich
- 62 A /schon
- 63 C hab das nach nach. nach
- 64 A was hast du denn ()
- 65 C () (ver)legt so. weiß ich gar nicht
- 66 A also weil ich hab ich hab ich studiere auf magister deshalb hab ich
- 67 keine ahnung von
- 68 B ok
- 69 A diesen didaktikkursen. ich hab nur eine (freie leistung)
- 70 B wie heißt du denn eigentlich richtig
- 71 A A
- 72 B A. ok
- 73 A ja und ihr?
- 74 C C
- 75 B und
- 76 A \m/hm
- 77 B B
- 78 A ah ok. also ich hab eine freundin die beschwert sich über didaktik
- 79 weil die prüfungen so voll seien und. die leute so ()
- 80 B du hast-
- 81 C stimmt du bist auch L drei warum machst du eigentlich didaktik
- 82 [laughs] ich (war immer)
- 83 B ()-
- 84 C nur. also der freund meiner mitbewohnerin ist L dreier der macht
- 85 geschichte und bio. der ist mit mir in der L zweier
- 86 didaktikveranstaltung weil er nie eine hatte weil er einmal in einer
- 87 war und der prof meinte gleich in der ersten stunde. hören sie zu. ich
- 88 muss das machen. ich hab kein bock. mein seminar ist eigentlich gar
- 89 kein didaktikseminar aber sonst haben wir sonst hätten wir keins
- 90 angeboten. sie kriegen hier ein didaktikschein aber sie schreiben hier
- 91 eine ganz normale wissenschaftliche hausarbeit punkt und da hat er
- 92 über den freien willen. eh nach eh. irgend so en'm [einem]. weiß ich
- 93 nicht nach Aristoteles oder so hat er dann irgendeine hausarbeit
- 94 geschrieben das war dann ein didaktikschein so
- 95 B also. wenn ich das richtig gelesen hab in der studienordnung unter
- 96 modularisierte (gänge)
- 97 C ach so. ja (die is) auch
- 98 B hab ich ehm. gut () ich hatte drei didaktikkurse im. ehm
- 99 grundstudium. und hab sechs didaktikkurse im hauptstudium
- 100 C /echt
- 101 B ja
- 102 C na dann hat sich da einiges getan
- 103 B ja aber. deswegen () alles machen didaktisches

104 C also der M der ihm sind die freudentränen gekommen als **wir**
105 irgendwie. der war mit im geschichts **wir** waren im
106 geschichtsunterricht und so und der prof meinte halt so das
107 geschichtsbuch ist nicht alles. und so. **man** kann aber andere sachen
108 benutzen und wie gesagt der M war total geil geil also hier. modern
109 **ich** dachte so \m/hm didaktik das mach **ich** die ganze zeit also
110 B hm
111 (2.0)
112 A also **ihr** habt doch das gefühl **ihr** lernt was für: den umgang mit
113 schülern später in diesen kursen?. oder
114 B ja
115 C den umgang mit schülern nicht aber halt. ja wie **du** es vermeidest.
116 stink langweilig zu sein
117 A oh ok
118 C also didaktik finde **ich** schon sehr wichtig aber umgang mit schülern.
119 also. **wir** haben grad [*gerade*] darüber gesprochen eh. **ich** hab da im
120 letzten praktikum. negative erfahrungen gemacht und so hab **ich**.
121 also mit krassen hauptschulen dann und. ja also **ich** mach haupt
122 realschullehramt hm
123 B na also. sagen **wir** mal diese didaktikkurse. find **ich** einfach.
124 C [*quietly*] es hilft nicht
125 B häufig zu theoretisch
126 A \m/hm
127 B /ja also **wir** machen das: da beide oder **du** machst auch U plus. oder
128 gar nicht
129 C eh das war nur ein praktikum und jetzt.
130 B ach so
131 C würd **ich** einen richtigen. vertrag kriegen also
132 B /a\ha
133 C B: V irgendwie heißt das
134 B BHT
135 C BHT genau **du** kennst dich ja aus
136 B ehm. also die arbeit da jetzt-
137 C was heißt das eigentlich B
138 B weiß **ich** nicht
139 C ok
140 B ehm seit seit zehn monaten (bleib **ich**) jetzt an der schule relativ
141 regelmäßig da als U plus lehrer
142 A /a\ah
143 B und (solange **du** das machst) dann hab **ich** das gefühl ok da. geh **ich**
144 jeden tag mit'm [*einem*]. täglich einer neuen erfahrung raus am
145 anfang natürlich mehr. ehm
146 A hm
147 B was funktioniert was funktioniert nicht nee wie verhältst **du** dich da
148 wie verhältst **du** dich da besser nicht. aber jetzt so in didaktikkursen
149 was für dingen **ich** da wirklich drinnen gesessen hab. die so
150 theoretisch sind und dann
151 C sag mal bei ()-
152 B in die schule gehst und sagst. hm. das ist überhaupt net [*nicht*]
153 anwendbar. /ja
154 A hm

- 155 B schöne theoretische idee das. was weiß *ich* hat *mir* jetzt schon wieder
 156 ein prof erzählt. ehm. oder. schulpraktische studien bestes beispiel
 157 dafür. da haben *wir* drei stunden darüber diskutiert warum *wir* nicht
 158 guten morgen sagen sollten wenn *wir* reinkommen. so ein bullshit.
 159 /ja
 160 C was war die begründung?
 161 A und was hat das jetzt für eine begründung ja
 162 C weil *ich* hab gehört eh rituale
 163 B ja
 164 C werden voll wichtig und **man** muss so was haben
 165 B ja nee nee nee nee aber es ist ja ein erzwungenes ritual. ja vielleicht
 166 haben die schüler auch keinen guten morgen. /ja
 167 A oh gott. (das sind so ansichten)
 168 B und so geschichten also über so über so ein schwachsinn unterhältste
 169 [unterhältst du] dich da einfach. ja
 170 A ja. so. philosophen ja
 171 B un ehm **man** hat auch andere geschichten jetzt mit. eh: didaktikkurs
 172 englisch haben. 'n [*ein*] paar mädels dann ehm. ein referat gehalten
 173 und haben gesagt ja und *wir* würden halt die tische so und so
 174 anordnen so gruppentische. un: ehm. weil *wir* in 'nem [*einem*]
 175 didaktikkurs. wegen was anderes. ehm. gelernt haben. das ist die
 176 beste anordnung. um gruppenarbeit. zu machen. kam *ich* [*laughs*
 177 *briefly*] zwei wochen vorher in 'ne [*eine*]. neunte hauptschule klasse
 178 rein. ja und die hatten die tische so stehen. das heißt. **du** hattest hier.
 179 an der seite. tische stehen immer so drei zusammen das heißt die
 180 schüler die außen gesessen haben haben dann gar nicht. *mich* oder
 181 nach vorne geguckt+
 182 A +ja+
 183 B +sondern die haben nach unten geguckt in die klasse. ja. zu den
 184 anderen kannst [*kannst du*] dir ja vorstellen was da immer abging ja
 185 sie haben
 186 A ach so
 187 B sich da gegenseitig halt immer angemacht ehm. eh der eine hat
 188 schieß gemacht und die anderen lachen. ja und wenn de [**du**] das
 189 irgendwie U förmig machst dann siehste [*siehst du*] dich auch aber
 190 kannst trotzdem auch den lehrer angucken so müssen sie sich ja
 191 immer. umdrehen um dich da überhaupt zu sehen
 192 A ja dieses umdrehen ist halt. ja ein bisschen schieße
 193 B ja. ehm. hab *ich* gesagt ja ehm. habt *ihr* das gefühl das funktioniert
 194 wirklich? ja so er hat gesagt das ist toll. hab *ich* gesagt hm vielleicht
 195 nicht immer anwendbar. /ne
 196 A ja
 197 B und. ja so sind halt. da ein paar sachen dabei wo **du** dann auch
 198 einfach mit anderen augen dran gehst und dann sagste [*sagst du*] ja.
 199 theoretisch ist schön dass **man** sagt. jeder schüler ist top motiviert
 200 wenn der lehrer reinkommt
 201 C [*laughs*]
 202 B nur hat er jetzt halt leider guten morgen gesagt und deshalb haben sie
 203 jetzt kein bock mehr.
 204 AC [*laugh*]
 205 B ja. also ist natürlich einfach schwachsinn

206 A aber warum bist *du* überhaupt in der haupt. schulklasse wenn *du* (L
207 drei *ich* dachte das wär dann) nur gymnasium oder ist das. irgendwie
208 komplizierter
209 B ja als U plus lehrer du musst ja auch keiner
210 A ach so stimmt U plus () ja
211 B genau
212 C genau wenn *du* an eine gesamtschule kommst. musste [*musst du*] ja
213 so wie so machen
214 B all-. hauptschule realschule gymnasium
215 A ach so ok. ich hab keine ahnung über so was
216 B hm
217 A ehm. und fühlste [*fühlst du*] dich damit wohl ist das sehr
218 anstrengend?
219 C ehm:+
220 A +weil-+
221 C +nicht mehr so also im ersten praktikum fand *ich* alles ganz toll da
222 war auch der druck nicht mehr so hoch haben sie gesagt. machen *sie*
223 mal sie wussten ja dass das ist dann dein erstes mal. und jetzt. im
224 zweiten praktikum hatte *ich* so das gefühl ja das ist das zweite mal
225 und das ist aber das letzte *wir* haben nur zwei praktika
226 A hm:
227 C im kompletten studium. und da wurde schon viel erwartet und *mich*
228 haben. zwei lehrer eh: die *mich* betreut haben *ich* find die immer
229 noch professionell. find es auch unbedingt. nicht unbedingt falsch
230 was sie also dass sie so was gesagt haben aber. die haben *mich* halt
231 voll krass angefahren so von wegen *man* würde merken der beruf
232 wär nichts für *mich* und so
233 B [*laughs*]
234 A oje
235 B (das ist geil)
236 C na ja
237 A also die kritikpunkte haben sie *dir* schon irgendwie eingeleuchtet
238 aber wie sie's [*es*] gemacht haben war das problem
239 C ja: also mir dass *mir* da struktur fehlt *ich* bin da so ein bisschen (mit)
240 vorausarbeiten. vor der verantwortung weggelaufen und hab einfach
241 zu spät mit der stundenplanung angefangen und
242 A hm
243 C dann war das ein bisschen chaotisch und so. aber es war meine erste
244 geschichtsstunde ever. so
245 B hm
246 C und da kriegste [*kriegst du*] halt irgendwie so: strukturelle kritik also
247 *ich* fand die kritik ja toll aber es war halt heftig
248 A ja
249 C und eh. die nächste stunde war dann auch ok ja. *ich* hatt so schiss es
250 ging um den nahostkonflikt. und da meinte *ich* so zu den lehrern ja
251 es ist jetzt nicht so das dankbarste thema so wenn *man* selbst keine
252 ahnung hat so. hab *ich* mich zehn tage komplett einge(lesen) hab mir
253 vier filme eh runtergeladen. und ehm. wusste alles über den
254 nahostkonflikt hatte aber im endeffekt gar keine. die ge- gedanken
255 an die didaktik verschwendet so null. ja. zwei geile arbeitsblätter
256 gemacht vom niveau irgendwie viel zu hoch ja
257 A hm+

258 C +aber an sich doch gut hat der lehrer gemeint. es war halt'ne [eine]
259 zehnte hauptschulklasse die die wollten halt mittlere reife machen.
260 früher durfte das die schule machen dann drücken sie natürlich 'n
261 [ein] bisschen wahrscheinlich das niveau. und jetzt müssen sie's [es]
262 an'er [einer] externen realschule machen die nehmen halt gar keine
263 rücksicht dass das hauptschüler sind da hab *ich* gedacht gut dann
264 muss *ich* mir mal 'n [ein] bisschen so:. powern ja
265 B [*quietly*] die haben gar nix [nichts] drauf
266 C und war das so anderthalb seiten fließtext so [*laughs*] und gut der
267 lehrer hat dann gesagt gut das müssen sie auch in der prüfung
268 schaffen also es ist jetzt zwar viel zu viel für die und die werden den
269 werden die köpfe qualmen aber mach mal. und *ich* hab halt blätter
270 ausgeteilt über die entführung der landshut und die entführung der
271 olympischen spieler. zwo und siebzig und sieben und siebzig
272 A hm
273 C und da war dann die GSG neun und so es hat sich alles entwickelt.
274 und. die haben allein um den text zu verstehen ja fast die ganze
275 stunde gebraucht. und dann sollten die sich gegenseitig die texte
276 erzählen haste [*hast du*] gemerkt wie die auf einmal details
277 erwähnen. die total unwichtig sind *ich* dreh das dann ein bisschen ab
278 B hm
279 C damit das nicht so ein
280 B nicht so trocken ist
281 C so trocken ist. und die großen also am anfang ging das aber je mehr
282 die je mehr die gelesen haben haste [*hast du*] gemerkt desto mehr
283 haben sie sich verloren am schluss haben die *dir* erzählt. eh welche
284 farbe der hubschrauber hatte aber nicht dass da leute erschossen
285 wurden
286 B ja ja wirklich aber die können das auch net [*nicht*] rausfinden dann
287 ne was da
288 A hm
289 B wichtig ist und was unwichtig ist. sensationell. auch so das sind dann
290 so erfahrungen die de [*du*] machst was *ich* halt auch net [*nicht*]
291 gedacht hätte. und wenn de [*du*]. selbst halt im gymnasium warst
292 haste [*hast du*] es net [*nicht*] so mitgekriegt. ehm wenn *ich* in 'ner
293 [einer] hauptschulklasse was an die tafel schreibe. einen merksatz.
294 also das ist wirklich nur ein satz. ja. groß und deutlich geschrieben.
295 ehm. deutschstunde. letzte deutschstunde. ehm. nach
296 kurzgesprochenen vokalen. folgt ein doppelter konsonant. /ja
297 C ja konsonant und vokal. das (ist ja eigentlich schon gar nicht) () zu
298 benutzen
299 B ja gut das hatten sie aber schon in den sieben wochen vorher hatten
300 sie
301 C ach so
302 B arbeitsblätter gemacht wann schreibt **man** scharfes S wann ein S
303 wann doppel S
304 C ja aber wa-
305 B was sind konsonanten was vokale. hatten *wir* halt jetzt wieder und
306 hatten *wir* jetzt nicht doppel S sondern halt zum beispiel bei brille.
307 ja. oder oder affe. oder was weiß *ich* ist ja egal
308 C hm

309 B /ne. ehm. und wenn de [du] dann. durchläufst und dir anguckst was
310 die da abschreiben. das ist unfassbar. das ist. das ist thematisch was
311 ganz anderes /na. die sind nicht in der lage den satz abzuschreiben.
312 es ist unglaublich. also man kann sich das nicht vorstellen
313 A macht es dann sinn was sie da stehen haben meistens oder is es dann
314 einfach irgendwie kauderwel- was
315 B na die die machen den satz zum beispiel kürzer
316 A ach so ok
317 B ehm. wenn **man**. konsonanten kurz spricht. [laughs] ist doppelt oder
318 so was /ne
319 AC [laugh briefly]
320 B is geil. weil es is. **man** kann sich es. echt net [nicht] vorstellen am
321 anfang. **man** muss dann echt alles so runterbrechen und immer
322 wieder gucken dass sie es wenigstens richtig abschreiben
323 C also das. die-
324 B und wenn de [du] arbeitsblätter korrigierst also das. das richtige
325 dann auch aufschreiben /ne. wahnsinn. und deshalb wär das auch
326 einfach nix [nichts] für *mich* als hauptschule () [inhales deeply] ah.
327 zu viel nebenbei
328 C hab ich auch schon nach alternativen umgesehen also. halt de [du]
329 kannst halt viel entweder in verlagen arbeiten oder in so
330 softwarehäusern das
331 B hm
332 C haben **wir** ja gesehen dass die software so wie so scheiße ist die
333 ganze lernsoftware. aber da wird ja auch kein geld ausgegeben ja.
334 wird nix [nichts] reingesteckt aber halt so allgemein im verlag. *ich*
335 hab schon überlegt *ich* hab. bei L zwei haben die eh nur einen
336 mittelalter prof und einen für neue geschichte sonst haben *wir*
337 eigentlich nix [nichts]. also die zwei profs da warst **du** schon
338 irgendwie: die kennst **du** schon persönlich nach sechs semestern.
339 und *ich* mach eben nur mittelaltermönchtum und so und das
340 interessiert *mich* total die () kirchengeschichte
341 B hm
342 C oder so was studieren soll also hätte *ich* am anfang nie gedacht weil
343 *ich* find es total interessant
344 B [very quietly] alles klar
345 C aber was willst **du** damit halt wieder machen weißt **du** und hm. es ist
346 alles so *ich* komme jetzt so'n [ein] bisschen in diese torsshchlusspanik
347 wo *ich* denk *ich* hab jetzt eigentlich nix ja. *ich* mach auf jeden fall
348 das erste staatsexamen so oder so. weißt **du** übrigens wenn **du** dich
349 da so auskennst ob das verfällt? also ob *ich* nach zehn jahren da
350 nicht mehr das zweite anhängen darf oder kann *ich* mit sechzig noch
351 sagen. *ich* will jetzt doch lehrer werden und habs erste staatsexamen
352 und mach dann das zweite und
353 B prff. fragst **du mich** (). keine ahnung
354 C weil *ich*. also *ich* hab. dachte ich-
355 A aber warum willst du jetzt überhaupt ganz aufhören? also *ich* dachte
356 das sei jetzt irgendwie in dem praktikum eine schlechte erfahrung
357 gewesen hier aber nicht
358 C ja aber die war auch heftig. so die
359 A ah so

360 C lehrerin die hatte so auf *mich* eingequatscht. es war krass also. krass
361 sag *ich* in letzter zeit zu oft hat *mir* ein freund gesagt
362 A [*laughs briefly*]
363 C ehm.
364 A vielleicht geht's [es] genau darum
365 C die erste meinte irgendwie nach drei tagen nach drei tagen hatten *wir*
366 eine diskussion weil die so ein auf so. *ich* hatte am anfang so einen
367 eindruck dass wären so acht und sechziger kinder ja also die lehrer
368 hm
369 C und eh. und *ich* hab halt grad [*gerade*] so ein heimkind. gehabt. wo
370 die mutter den eh. ins heim gegeben hat weil sie kein bock mehr
371 hatte den zu erziehen. und der tat (dir) total leid der junge war. ist ein
372 super typ eigentlich als mensch. aber ist halt das störkind überhaupt.
373 hat *mich* dann irgendwann so im gang () so wixer genannt. und
374 eh *ich* stand da so wusste überhaupt net was *ich* sagen soll und. auch
375 weil er *mir* so leid tat **man** soll ja **man** soll ja als lehrer **man** spielt
376 schon eine rolle aber **man** soll auch. sich selbst sein /ja. *ich bin*
377 B ja klar
378 C nicht der typ der da leute: eh. *ich* hab den gesagt Patrick eh was. na
379 find *ich* jetzt eh saublöd ja. *ich* hatte das gefühl *ich* kann so mit dem
380 reden. und *ich* dreh mich um zur lehrerin und und sagte ihr hast **du**
381 es mitbekommen und die hat. was ganz anderes gemeint was
382 nebendran abgelaufen ist und meinte nur so ja ja ist in ordnung. is ok
383 passiert öfter oder irgendwas [*laughs*] *ich* war total perplex ()
384 *wir* an *uns* vorbeigeredet haben. *ich* denke so oh gott ja. und da
385 hatten *wir* ein gespräch und *ich* hab-
386 B der nennt **mich** schon immer so
387 C ja ja und *ich* hatte ein gespräch dann danach mit ihr so beim kaffee
388 und da meinte sie. da hab *ich* gesagt früher was das doch anders bei
389 meiner oma oder so in der schulzeit da war der lehrer eine autorität.
390 und der wille der schüler hat **dich** eigentlich nicht interessiert den
391 haste [*hast du*] wahrscheinlich sogar gebrochen oder so ja eh meine
392 meine die hatten echt zu () aber meine oma ist auch kein
393 unmensch geworden so das war meine argumentationskette *ich*
394 meinte aber nicht falsch verstehen.
395 B [*laughs*]. (das wäre aber auch geil)
396 C nicht falsch verstehen *ich* hab es vorher schon gesagt nicht falsch
397 verstehen es ist jetzt nicht meine meine didaktische oder das ist jetzt
398 nicht was *ich* als mensch machen will es ist jetzt nur mal. wirklich ()
399) meinung () und *ich* hab kein witz fünfzehn mal gesagt weil *ich*
400 wusste was kommt. es ist jetzt echt nicht meine meinung
401 A hm:
402 C ja sie hat's [es] verstanden so. eh vor allem weil auch der L dreie
403 lehrer der freund meiner mitbewohnerin so argumentiert immer der
404 sagt schule ist eine art des vergleichs. der junge tut *mir* leid *ich* kann
405 auch ein bisschen rücksicht nehmen aber das wars punkt. eh so. das
406 war jetzt echt nicht meine meinung so. und da meinte sie nach
407 fünfzehn minuten. **du** hast jetzt in diesem gespräch. vor fünfzehn
408 minuten fünf mal das wort macht benutzt. eh und machtkampf im
409 zusammenhang mit dem lehrerberuf. **du** solltest mal in eine therapie
410 gehen oder so oder in eh irgendwie pädagogische irgendwas oder
411 also die wollt *mich* in die therapie schicken.

412 B (das ist aber auch geil)

413 C und ihre kollegin hat dann drei wochen später gemeint **man** würde

414 **mir** schon (echt) ansehen dass **ich** den beruf nicht machen will und

415 so. und eh ja es war sehr heftig. insgesamt

416 B na ja

417 C also **ich** hab auch noch ein gutes verhältnis mit den **ich** treff die

418 immer noch und **ich** sag auch das und das seh **ich** ganz anders aber:.

419 das war sehr heftig also hatte **ich** so eine: drei wochen depression wo

420 **ich** so richtig am ende war. weil **ich** meine was was machst also **wir**

421 sind hier. **man** lernt hier was in der uni der abschluss ist ja im

422 endeffekt nur. ja Deutschland ist halt so ein abschlussland. aber im

423 endeffekt wenn **ich** jetzt. mein vorm ersten staatsexamen abbreche

424 ja. eh was hab **ich** denn **ich** hab nicht mal eine ausbildung **ich** stehe

425 im endeffekt schlechter da als jeder hauptschüler der vielleicht eine.

426 gescheite ausbildung gemacht hat

427 B ja gut also das passt nicht ganz aber

428 C **ich** hab jetzt nichts ne. also. oder ja gut **ich** hab mein abi

429 B ja aber (du hast dein abi

430 A abitur hast du ja

431 B schon gemacht genau)

432 C **ich** hab mein abi ja aber die. drei jahre hier eh dann. **man** hat ja

433 schon viel gelernt also.

434 B ja es ist ja schon so dass **du**. eigentlich einen job haben willst musst

435 **du** abitur haben heute. musst studiert haben. darfst nicht älter als

436 fünf und zwanzig sein aber musst schon trallala berufserfahrung

437 haben also nach dem motto so hm: [*laughs*] passt ja irgendwie nicht

438 na

439 A aber das hängt auch von den jobs ab

440 B (kann **man**) sagen so

441 A also **ich** mein

442 B ja klar

443 A **ich** glaub als lehrer kommt **man** ja ja **ich** weiß was **du** meinst aber

444 B aber das es halt. das ist halt so. dieses () modell ne

445 A **ich. ich** mach mir gar nicht

446 C () für lehrer

447 A so viele sorgen also

448 B ja erzähl mal von **dir** jetzt haben **wir** zwanzig minuten hier. von **uns**

449 geredet

450 A ja **ihr** habt [*laughs*]

451 C genau was hast **du** für ein berufs-

452 A **ich** ehm.

453 C vorstellung

454 A ja bibliothekarin oder: ja das ist natürlich immer so ein traum an der

455 uni zu bleiben **ich** weiß nicht ob das irgendwie klappen könnte aber.

456 ehm weil **ich** halt ziemlich lange mit dem studieren bin aber immer

457 mal geb **ich** jetzt ein tutorium lern so ein bisschen es is. auch so

458 unterrichten+

459 C +ja+

460 A +in der art und ehm

461 C **ich** kann dich mal mitnehmen an die hauptschule [*laughs*]

462 A ja vielen dank [*laughs*]

463 C so () eh () viel mehr

464 A so ganz unten anfangen mit den ganz schwierigen und
 465 C hm
 466 A dann ja. ehm nee jetzt würd **ich** also lehrer kann **ich** mir gar nicht
 467 vorstellen weil lehrer kriegen halt ehm weil. weil **ich** mitbekomme
 468 von meiner mutter die ist berufsschullehrerin und die erzählt die
 469 horrorgeschichten überhaupt also. das sind zum teil bei so einer.
 470 irgendwie ist das so eine art von schule die. leute die noch nicht mal
 471 ein hauptschulabschluss haben und dann noch das ermöglichen
 472 C schub ne
 473 A und genau und. das sind wohl die allerschlimmsten und **ich** kann mir
 474 halt. ab sogar. gymnasialschüler oder schülerin im alter von. weiß
 475 **ich** nich so vierzehn fünfzehn glaub **ich**. käme **ich** nicht mit zurecht
 476 also. die wollen noch gar nichts in dem alter oder die sind doch
 477 absolut lernunwillig und also gut so war **ich** he also vielleicht
 478 projeziere **ich** das jetzt auch auf andere
 479 C muss man die richtigen themen ansprechen
 480 ABC [laugh]
 481 C das hatten **wir** vorhin ()
 482 A ja aber dann (gucken nicht) die älteren lehrer () ja also **ich ich**
 483 weiß nicht **ich** käme damit nicht zurecht glaub **ich** das wär also wenn
 484 dann sollte **ich** wirklich mit- oder erwachsenenbildung natürlich
 485 auch das wär
 486 B hm
 487 A also überhaupt erwachsenen mein **ich** jetzt so abendschule oder so
 488 was in der art könnte **ich** mir auch vorstellen. oder. ausländern
 489 deutsch beibringen so was in der art (_____)
 490 C was hattest du noch englisch und
 491 A ehm. deutsch
 492 C ah
 493 A also. und da kann **man** auch so ehm. also deutsch als fremdsprache
 494 abschlüsse machen zum beispiel und dann. da richtig prüfen ehm.
 495 weil das halt immer aktueller wird dass. ausländer deutsch können
 496 müssen um hier
 497 C ja
 498 A bleiben zu dürfen zum beispiel
 499 C es ist auch gut weil wenn **man**. also **man** könnte als englischlehrer
 500 jetzt auch ins ausland eh. aber deutsch unterrichten wenn **du** es nicht
 501 gelernt hast als didaktik oder als als studienfach wenn **du** nur native
 502 speaker bist dann ist das ist das eh
 503 B es ist nicht so einfach
 504 C sau schwer+
 505 A +ja
 506 C deutsche sprache schwere sprache
 507 B (und halt) weil du eben bist. na. und weil **du** eben native speaker bist
 508 /ne. und diese ganzen linguistischen
 509 A und dir die gedanken nicht
 510 B kleinheiten
 511 A ja
 512 B die sind für **dich** normal hast **du** nie jemanden gefragt
 513 C hm
 514 B /ne. es ist nicht so ohne
 515 A ja stimmt

516 B ok **du** musst dann halt einfach irgendwie mal ein paar
 517 linguistikurse. belegt haben
 518 A hm
 519 B () so sprachhistorisch warum ist so was. ja. eben die regel die sie
 520 ist /ne
 521 A ja+
 522 B +also. einfach weiß **ich** dass es so ist es geht halt nicht. also (2.0) ja
 523 A ja aber vor allen ding wenn solche fragen kommen wie wo steht kein
 524 und wo nichts oder so was. das könnte **ich** nicht beantworten also **ich**
 525 eh das hat **mich** vor kurzem so ein ein. irgendjemand der nicht
 526 deutsch gesprochen hat. als native speaker hat das gefragt und **ich**
 527 konnte darauf keine antwort geben über so was genau. (kann **ich**
 528 nicht erkennen). irgendwie
 529 B ja
 530 A und ansonsten ehm. damit () so eine kurze redezeit bekommen
 531 AB [*laugh*]
 532 A fahr **ich** jetzt mit meinem freund nach Holland morgen. über das
 533 lange wochenende weil **ich** mir freitags immer frei gehalten hab.
 534 ehm. **ich** hab deshalb bis jetzt immer diese langen wochenenden
 535 gehabt. vier tage das fand **ich** sehr cool dann. ehm nach Brügge und
 536 dana:ch geht's [*es*] wieder los mit der uni. ja
 537 B ok. und was macht **ihr** in. in Holland
 538 A nur so einfach. rumfahren. also **wir** fahren nach Brügge weil es so
 539 eine schöne kleine stadt sein soll und. ehm
 540 B bekannt für die coffee shops natürlich
 541 A ja ganz genau
 542 AB [*laughs*]
 543 A aber müssen **wir** jetzt nicht diskutieren [*laughs*]
 544 B [*laughs*] beweise [*laughs*] beweis ist hier. so. du fährst also
 545 C ()
 546 B gern in coffee shops A /m\hm
 547 C [*laughs*] das ist wie in wie im im im eh. der praktikums. hattest **du**
 548 auch so'n [*einen*]. soziologisches praktikum? weil **du** so gemeint
 549 hast von wegen mit mit das klang sehr danach. dieses beobachtende
 550 praktikum
 551 (1.0)
 552 B ach **du**
 553 C da hatten **wir** auch transkripte **ich** weiß wie das ()
 554 B ja gut **ich** musste auch ein transkript machen ja
 555 C ja. ja ja. da haben die leute ständig vergessen den namen der schule
 556 zu entfernen oder. der klasse [*laughs*]
 557 B [*laughing*] ohne scheid. bis zum schluss so denken **sie** dran.
 558 anonymisieren **sie** die geschichte. ja klar hab **ich** alles gemacht hier
 559 schön. L für lehrer und dann schüler SW eins SW zwei SM fünf und
 560 so was. aber in meinem zweiten satz. nee in meinem dritten satz der
 561 lehrer kommt rein sagt. good morning. war englisch stunde. nächster
 562 satz hat er gesagt. wer fehlt. und immer L good morning L wer fehlt.
 563 und dann. SW fünf sagt. Marco und Dennis [*laughs*]
 564 C ja ja ja
 565 B weil das hatten die ja gesagt. /ne
 566 A ja

567 B daran hatte *ich* überhaupt nicht gedacht. scheiße. darfst **du** ja gar
568 nicht bringen
569 C ja aber bei den nur vornamen. das geht so
570 A aber so vornamen gehen noch /oder also mein das könnten ja
571 fantasie
572 B nein nein das ist das ist immer (wahl)
573 A das könnten ja fantasienamen sein also meine freundin hat nicht
574 immer S geschrieben sondern einfach sich namen ausgedacht für die
575 schüler. also so Denis und so
576 B ok dann muss sie halt muss sie halt klären dass das
577 C Niko
578 A ja
579 B also vorher festgehalten haben dass das namen sind die nicht. der
580 realität entsprechen
581 A ja. ja
582 B /ne. aber wenn de [**du**] halt so immer alles gemacht hast mit SM fünf
583 und SW drei
584 A hm: und dann auf ein mal vornamen [laughs]
585 B dann hast du Marco und Dennis [laughs] ok. nee
586 A ok
587 B ach
588 A hast **du** da auch einfach weil sie hat dass im. das sie teilweise die
589 sachen nicht verstanden hat auf dem aufnahmegerät und hat dann
590 einfach irgendwas ein aufgefüllt weil die kein ()
591 B ich würde jetzt was dazu sagen wenn es hier nicht aufgenommen
592 werden würde aber ehm
593 A ach so ok wenn es nicht aufgenommen werden würde [laughs] ja
594 wahrscheinlich hört sie denn genau an der stelle bei dir nicht und
595 denkt sich irgendwas aus also [laughs] na ja
596 B *ich* hab's [es] mir nicht all zu schwer gemacht bei
597 A /m\hm
598 B der aufgabe
599 A ja
600 B (ich würde so)
601 C ja bei. bei uns war das war das eh auch so dass glaub *ich* dass sich
602 viele was aus den fingern gesaugt haben weil. oder das das köstliche
603 daran ist. eh. die soziologen. missbrauchen einen ja so'n [ein]
604 bisschen so als materialsammler für ihre forschung die benutzen das
605 ja alle
606 B klar
607 C **man** muss dann so ein () unterschreiben. **man** denkt **man** kriegt
608 den schein sonst nicht oder so die können **einen** eigentlich gar nicht
609 zwingen. /ja. und müsste dann untersch- eh also **man** müsste gar
610 nicht also drei leute haben sich auch geweigert das fand *ich* echt
611 ganz lustig. und die benutzen die dinge
612 B ja aber wieso denn
613 C sofort für die forschung und werten die aus und die hälfte davon is
614 ehm
615 A ach so das ist gar nicht weil
616 C ehm
617 B weil die werden ja alle
618 C nicht so jetzt

- 619 B gespeichert hier irgendwie
- 620 C ja ja
- 621 B turm(schelme)
- 622 C und archiviert
- 623 B ja
- 624 C und da gibt's [es] einige leute die die nur damit arbeiten und dann
- 625 fünf jahren darüber seminare geben und
- 626 A ja
- 627 C erzählen
- 628 A \m/hm
- 629 C wie der schulalltag aussieht in dem sie nie waren
- 630 B genau das ist das. das ist das schöne
- 631 C anhand von (auszeichnungen) von leuten die es nicht sehr ernst
- 632 gemeint haben
- 633 B und das ist halt. ich meine wer so was mal wenn **du** eine transkript
- 634 analyse mal gemacht hast wie das halt auch einfach net [*nicht*]
- 635 funktioniert teilweise weil halt. mimik fehlt. eh gesten fehlen ja
- 636 A /m\hm
- 637 B vielleicht auch die situation in der das ganze entstanden ist oder was
- 638 da vorher war was ist da für eine beziehung zwischen lehrer schüler
- 639 ist da vorher was vorgefallen /ja. kriegst **du** ja alles nicht mit **du** liest
- 640 nur einen satz. /ja. und **du** musst ja auch. ehm kontextunabhängig
- 641 das ganze lesen
- 642 C ja+
- 643 B +/ja. zumindest nicht weiter vorgreifen ach. das meint er dann damit
- 644 sondern nur so wie der satz da steht
- 645 C hm
- 646 B das verfälscht das dermaßen das ist unfassbar. /ja. also. es ist echt
- 647 geil
- 648 A aber das wusste *ich* gar nicht *ich* würd gern schon wissen was lernt
- 649 **man** über die schüler wenn **man** so was. dann vertext oder
- 650 transkribiert irgendwann (was **man** lernt) in dem fall?
- 651 B transkribiert
- 652 C so was wie prozesse also irgendwie. () wenn **du** vergleichst mit. *ich*
- 653 hab das bei **mir** selbst im nachhinein (wieder nur net) also lernst **du**
- 654 auch reflektieren. dadurch dass **du** ständig das liest. und das regt
- 655 **dich** total auf weil alles theoretisiert wird aber es hat *mir* dann schon
- 656 einiges gebracht also zum beispiel war da so ein text über. dass der
- 657 klassenraum auch wirklich ein anderer raum ist wie so ein
- 658 lebensraum und dass der die klass- die tür zum klassenraum ist
- 659 wirklich wie so eine schwelle. /ja und *mir* ist es echt aufgefallen so
- 660 *ich* bin dann auch über die anderen *wir* sind zu dritt der der lehrer
- 661 der *uns* betreut hat und so und dann kommste [*kommst du*] so vor
- 662 der klasse () und bleibst kurz stehen und bleiben alle so vor der tür
- 663 stehen. und dann bin *ich* mal bewusst einfach so reingelaufen als ob
- 664 würde *ich* mir überhaupt keine gedanken machen so /ja. und allein
- 665 das macht schon wieder. ein unterschied so /ja. also so. so
- 666 kleinigkeiten *ich* fand das alles ganz. interessant oder rituale halt.
- 667 dieses. guten tag das war *mir* zu doof. *ich* hab's [es] nicht gemacht
- 668 und so hab *ich* immer ewig gebraucht bis stille war. bei anderen hab
- 669 *ich* mich wieder hingestellt. ah guten mor:gen so ja
- 670 B ja und damit geht die stunde. los

671 C und damit geht die stunde los punkt es läuft. und das ist ein ritual das
672 braucht der schüler das. braucht **man** auch so als also student weil
673 bei **uns** einer immer geklopft hat ein mal auf den tisch und gesagt hat
674 jetzt geht's [es] los. du kommst dir voll blöd vor wenn du es nicht
675 machst

676 B ja. genau. du brauchst einfach irgendwas wo klar is. jetzt beginnt der
677 unterricht

678 C ja

679 B ob **du** da mit der hier mit der. mini bimmel klingel da wackelst da
680 oder sagst.

681 A [laughs] hallo

682 B klappe jetzt [laughs] (nach der großen pause) einfach

683 C ja. im auge behalten

684 B jetzt geht's [es] los

685 A haben sie sich auch sehr anders verhalten außerhalb des also auf den
686 gängen zum beispiel als im: im mit ehm weniger respekt oder so was
687 als im klassenraum selbst die schüler?

688 C also die die im klassenraum respektlos waren die waren auch
689 draußen

690 BC [laugh]

691 A ja ok

692 C **ich** fand das so krass **ich** (war) immer grad [gerade] respekt und so
693 das musst **du** die irgendwie. also **ich ich** war halt viel zu nett jetzt in
694 diesem praktikum und viel zu lässig auch so und eh hab dann immer
695 gesagt komm ist doch blöd und so und i-. **ich** weiß gar nicht **ich**
696 kann's [es] nicht erklären. auf jeden fall in der letzten woche hatte
697 **ich** so ein hals. und dann war so so eine schülerin die hat **mich** die
698 kompletten wochen so. [with falsetto voice] Herr D [end] ja und **ich**
699 so ehm. boh ja. kein bock. und **ich** hab immer gemeint oh das ist
700 doch voll blöd **ich** sag immer hör auf und so. aber sie war erst
701 fünftklässlerin in der siebten klasse hab **ich** einfach gesagt eh das ist
702 so ein scheiß hier ja. aber in der fünften klasse hatte **ich** voll die
703 hemmungen un dann. so in der letzten woche meinte **ich** dann so.
704 weil sie so [with falsetto voice] **ich** hol meine englischhausaufgabe
705 nicht raus. **ich** habe keine lust. **ich** mach kein englisch englisch ist
706 scheiße. [end] und dann hab **ich** so gemeint. eh weißt **du** was. pass
707 auf. es ist **mir** egal. war schön. mach **du** was **du** willst. es ist dein
708 leben so richtig krass ja. so voll ausgepackt mit meinen. es ist **mir**
709 egal /ja

710 B so krass war das so jetzt gar nicht

711 C war einfach. nein aber halt so diese fünftklässlerin die ist da total
712 geschockt gewesen so. so (kommst **du**). das ist ja wirklich die kann
713 mit so was wirklich nicht umgehen und **ich** sag(t) () echt. ne.
714 mach was du willst

715 A wissen sie was

716 C **ich** wollte einfach weggehen war total auf hundert achtzig. auf
717 einmal hör **ich** so von wegen. [with falsetto voice] **ich** hab mein
718 englischbuch auf dem tisch. **ich** mache mit ist alles gut [end] und **ich**
719 sage nee es kann nicht sein oder dass **ich** vier und halb wochen
720 [laughs] versuche auf die einzureden und kaum. geht's [es] **mir** mal
721 ein bisschen am arsch vorbei. läuft die geschichte ja (2.0) das hat
722 **mich** so aufgeregt eh

723 B [laughs] na die schönste erfahrung die *ich* eigentlich gemacht hab
724 war. ehm so nach'em [einem] na weiß *ich* gar nicht zwei drei
725 wochen. in'er [einer] H fünf. und alle lehrer immer schon so oh die
726 H fünfer die sind da (hoch) unkonzentriert und so laut und so
727 schlimm. un ehm. gut als. als aushilfslehrer haste [*hast du*] immer
728 einen anderen stand als. lehrer der da. dauernd reinläuft na ja freuen
729 die sich natürlich immer (mal wieder) jemand anders zu sehen
730 A also *ich* hab gedacht die sind schon respektloser weil **man** keine
731 noten geben kann
732 C das teilweise auch. oder oder (oh mann)
733 B nee. gut vielleicht hab *ich* da auch einfach halt glück mit der schule
734 beziehungsweise mit der situation ehm. dass *ich* das na ja also. **du**
735 musst gar nicht so viel drohen aber die wissen. ehm. dass die
736 schulleitung da hinter *mir* steht
737 A /m\hm
738 B und wenn *ich* sage hier **du** sitzt nach dann sitzt er nach und. gebe
739 hausaufgaben auf und strafarbeiten
740 C das is wichtig
741 B ganz normal
742 A /m\hm
743 B also sag *ich* hier *ich* bin morgen nich an der schule aber **du** gibst hier
744 in der zweiten großen pause hier beim schulleiter ab. u:nd bin
745 mittwoch wieder da und dann hol *ich* die ab
746 A hm
747 B und wissen die dann. dann läuft das. ehm. zu anderer. gut. vielleicht
748 jetzt auch die die situation dass mein dass mein vater halt in der
749 schulleitung ist
750 A ah ok
751 B von daher wissen die dass das. funktioniert vielleicht besser als wenn
752 C (schwierig)
753 B da jetzt irgendeiner taxifahrer kommen würde zum oh
754 A hm
755 B hallo. mach mal
756 C habt *ihr* taxifahrer als U plus kräfte?
757 B nee. aber wäre ja möglich wenn
758 C ja ja
759 B der pool sich halt auf eh. nicht so ausgebreitet hat dass **du** da: (k)eine
760 große auswahl hast. na auf jeden fall in dieser H fünf *ich* kam mit
761 den ganz gut aus. nächste stunde war *ich* mal wieder drin. ehm
762 schlag so'n [ein] bisschen das buch durch auf jeder seite **du** hast ja
763 immer diese wochenseiten wo dann unten ein feld frei ist für
764 bemerkungen. Hussein hat sich hier wieder mit Ali sich in der stunde
765 geprügelt
766 AB [laugh]
767 B ehm. was weiß *ich*. Nikita isst im unterricht trotz verbot. ehm. die
768 zwei kommen viertel stunde zu spät. er nennt sie ein hure und so
769 weiter [quietly] (). hab *ich* gesagt. hier leute. also gar net [nicht]
770 absichtlich sondern einfach nur gesagt. **ihr** seid doch alle. liebe und
771 nette kerle und mädels und in dem moment es war unfassbar die so
772 [inhales deeply] sind die augen aufgegangen. /ja. es war so ruhig. die
773 ganze stunde und so gut gearbeitet /ja. aber die ist halt. auch von zu
774 hause **du** hast ja das. ein soziales milieu sitzen /ne

- 775 C hm
- 776 B aber die kommen aus'm [dem/einem] sozialen milieu
- 777 C [laughing] ()
- 778 B das ist halt echt. unterirdisch
- 779 C das ist echt
- 780 B un eh. die kennen das zu hause wird auch geschrieen ne und dann
- 781 eben den tisch un wird mit der hand auf 'n [den] tisch gehauen wenn
- 782 der vater was will. /ja. und wenn **du** denen was liebes sagt das
- 783 kennen die gar net [nicht] sind total begeistert ja das war echt 'ne
- 784 [eine] erfahrung die. die einprägsam war. ja gut geht nicht in jeder
- 785 klasse. aber ehm
- 786 C ehm es ist medizin für die aber teilweise. musst **du** auch so'n [ein]
- 787 bisschen die sprache von zuhause also. natürlich nur bedingt aber
- 788 sprechen. sonst verstehen sie's [es] nicht. also weil das ihre sprache
- 789 ist also die lehrerin
- 790 B ja klar
- 791 C () seit immer mehr ausländer grad [gerade] die jungs aus dem
- 792 osten die so der pascher zu hause sind. und eben alles machen dürfen
- 793 die die muss sie einfach mal auch anschreien und so wohl wie sie es
- 794 früher nie gemacht hat. sagt sonst versteht's [es] keiner. und die hat
- 795 zum beispiel einem schüler jetzt letztens mit einer schere die
- 796 kopfhörer durchgeschnitten [laughs] der. weil der einfach zum
- 797 hundertsten mal eh das einfach gemacht hat. obwohl die es verboten
- 798 hat. und hat sie gesagt so das war eine sachbeschädigung so **du**
- 799 bringst **mir** die rechnung von deinen eltern **ich** zahl **dir** das gar kein
- 800 problem ne **ich** darf das eigentlich nicht aber **ich** habe da kein bock
- 801 mehr drauf. und eh jetzt hatte die nie wieder ein problem aber die hat
- 802 so einen so einen ruf schon an der schule
- 803 B prff
- 804 C es ist bei der alles gut es ist natürlich sehr eh grenzgängig /ne aber
- 805 B ja: ja
- 806 C das erleb **ich** öfter dass dass lehrer grundsätzlich also dieses vor die
- 807 tür stellen darfst [darfst **du**] ja eigentlich auch nicht
- 808 B das darf **man** nicht mehr aber die kannst **du** ja-
- 809 A darf **man** nicht?
- 810 B nee **du** musst dann halt binnen differenzierten
- 811 C () deine aussichtspflicht
- 812 B unterricht ma- unterricht machen ja
- 813 A /m\hm
- 814 B **du** musst den halt so beschäftigen. ehm dass der auch obwohl er halt
- 815 stört. /ja und die anderen wegen dem affen net arbeiten können
- 816 C das hab **ich** jetzt noch gar nicht gehört
- 817 B ehm. musst **du** den halt so beschäftigen eine aufgabe geben die er
- 818 machen kann so dass die anderen auch wieder arbeiten können. oder.
- 819 weil **du** musst ja deine aussichtspflicht einhalten stellste'n [stellst **du**
- 820 **ihn**] halt vor die tür sagst aber hier. drückst **du** die klinke runter und
- 821 dann **ich** seh dass nicht die klinke bewegt [laughs] das ist schon. das
- 822 ist geil na wieso. wenn **ich** dann sag **ich**
- 823 C das ist auch sehr. so so grenzläufig oder mit der mit der klinke. so
- 824 was was **ich** gesehen habe ist-
- 825 B wenn **ich** seh dass **du** net [nicht] mehr da bist wenn **ich** rauskomm
- 826 C ja

827 B weißt **du** was los ist. und hat er das ding drei minuten erstmal
 828 gedrückt
 829 A [*laughs*] krass
 830 B klar kannst du [*kannst du*] witzige sachen machen [*laughs*]
 831 C ja [*laughs*] das stimmt. da entdeckt **man** dass **man** doch auch so'n
 832 [*ein*] bisschen eh
 833 B ein diktator ist
 834 C bösartige triebe hat ja. ja
 835 B ah quatsch
 836 C gerade
 837 B wir sind auf band jetzt
 838 C [*laughs*]
 839 B **wir** haben uns hier auf'm [*dem*]. auf'm [*dem*] herweg drüber
 840 unterhalten dass wirklich. kinder. zu **dir** selbst sagen das hätte *ich*
 841 nie gedacht. ja aber. also es geht da um eine andere lehrkraft halt. ja
 842 Herr R der ist einfach zu lieb. (sagen sie) zu lieb ja der greift nicht
 843 durch wenn **wir** quatsch machen. dann sag *ich* eh seid **ihr** doch froh
 844 wenn **ihr** jemanden habt der **euch** nicht gleich hier die strafarbeit
 845 oder eine nachsitzung reindrückt oder sonst irgendwas. ja dann geht
 846 das nicht
 847 A hm
 848 B unfassbar dass die das selbst kommunizieren. /ja
 849 A hm
 850 C (*ich* habe mich auch) dieses nachplappern
 851 B hätte *ich* nie gedacht
 852 C das ist auch sehr oft so. wenn sie irgendwie eine drogenberatung
 853 oder so hatten und dann sagen die da oder es ist jetzt an sehr vielen
 854 hauptschulen in Frankfurt ehm gewaltprävention. und die quatschen
 855 ja diese sätze teilweise nach die die gehört haben. verstehen die dann
 856 auch irgendwann. ehm. so was wird sehr viel einfach. reproduziert ja
 857 *ich* frag mich halt bei so sätzen ob das ob sie das auch irgendwie von
 858 einer lehrerin gehört haben. weil so reflektiert sind die doch auch gar
 859 nicht oder kann **man** so was unreflektiert sagen weil mal was zu
 860 hause.
 861 A nee kann **man** nicht
 862 C eh geht so und hier auch also das klingt dann doch schon sehr
 863 B ja aber die merken doch selbst wie der unterricht funktioniert
 864 C na ja
 865 B /n

Appendix B: Interview transcripts (F2)

Participant A

Most backchannelling omitted from transcript.

Q1	0m1s 1m26s	Q3	0m25s	Q5	1m15s	Q7
Q2	0m8s 1m45s	Q4	0m43s	Q6	1m24s	Q8

Start: 0m3s

- R(1) ehm wie gut kanntest du die anderen vorm gespräch?
A überhaupt nicht. weder den einen noch den anderen
- R(2) \m/hm. und wie gut kennst du die jetzt? was hast du über die erfahren?
A ehm ziemlich wenig.
R \m/hm
A also ich weiß nicht ob ich das noch () oder was jetzt eine passende antwort wäre also. ich habe sicherlich nicht viel weil wir hauptsächlich über ehm. über uni und praktikum geredet haben also.
- R(3) und haben die irgendwas über dich erfahren?
A ehm (2.0) ehm auch eher wenig weil ich ziemlich wenig gesprächszeit insgesamt eigentlich hatte. ich hab probiert so ein bisschen auf die private ebene zu kommen aber es hat nicht so funktioniert [*laughs*]
R /nee [*laughs*] na jungs halt
A [*laughs*] ja
- R(4) ehm hast du mit den anderen eh. was gemeinsam gehabt? das du gemerkt hast in der kurzen zeit?
A ehm (3.0) ehm. nein eigentlich (2.0) nicht. ich hab mich nur ein mal so gefühlt als hat irgendwie als es darum ging wie: reflexiv schüler sein können ob sie jetzt selber erkennen wann ihnen grenzen gesetzt werden müssen oder nicht da hat der eine was gesagt was ich ganz interessant fand und halt. aber das also da hab ich gedacht ok damit könnte ich was anfangen. aber. ansonsten ehm. nicht so sehr.
- R(5) hm:. und habt ihr irgendwelche themen besprochen wo du eine besonders starke meinung dazu hattest?
A ehm: nein.
- R(6) und ehm habt ihr irgendwelche themen besprochen wo eh du der meinung warst dass du mehr über das wusstest als die anderen?
A nein
- R(7) und andersrum. ob es irgendwelche themen gab wo du der meinung warst dass die anderen mehr wussten?
A ja:. also die beiden sind eben beide lehramtstudenten und ich magisterstudentin und deswegen haben wir dieses lehramtpraktikum war hauptsächlich thema und da konnte ich nicht viel zu sagen weil ich eben wie gesagt keine praktika gemacht hab in dem (fall)

R(8) und letzte frage denn. ehm gab es momente im gespräch wo es dir nicht klar war von wem die rede war?

A ja. ein Marko wurde glaub ich mal erwähnt. also. irgendein anderer kommilitone wahrscheinlich. und natürlich dann die schüler und die. also mir war schon klar wie ich die einordnen soll. diese menschen so wie die ungefähr dazu gehören aber ich wusst jetzt nicht wer es ist. also.

Participant B

Most backchannelling omitted from transcript.

Q1	0m1s	Q4	1m4s	Q7	2m01s
Q2	0m16s	Q5	1m22s	Q8	2m38s
Q3	0m48s	Q6	1m40s	Q9	3m1s

Start: 0m3s

- R(1) ehm wie gut kanntest du die anderen vorm gespräch?
B eh A kannte ich gar nicht. und mit C hab ich einen kurs ehm. allerdings haben wir private jetzt auch noch nix miteinander zu tun
- R(2) wie hat er dich dann dazu überredet dass du heute kommst?
B ehm. ich hab zwei freistunden jetzt
R ach so
B (also hab ich gesagt) ehm ich (häng) mich weil wir nächstes. nächste woche ein referat vorbereiten müssen. jetzt im PC raum und bereite ein bisschen was vor und dann hat er gesagt ja: da gibt's jemand der. eben aufzeichnungen machen will blah blah blah dauert eine halbe stunde plus irgendwie interview. un ehm. ja hab ich gedacht halt wenn ich so was mache hätt ich auch die hoffnung dass jemand vorbeikommt. bin eben auch vorbeigekommen
- R(3) na es freut mich. dass du dann gemacht hast. ehm wie gut kennst du die anderen jetzt? was hast du über die erfahren?
B ah wir haben relativ wenig privates ausgetauscht. gut A ein kleines bisschen aber ansonsten haben wir uns über unser studium unterhalten. was wir machen viel über die schule gesprochen über praktika. ja
- R(4) und wie gut kennen sie dich jetzt? was haben die über dich erfahren?
B eigentlich auch nicht mehr als meinen namen plus ehm erfahrungen die ich während eh der U-plus also unterrichtsgarantie plus ehm geschichte gemacht hab. ja privates eigentlich nix von mir.
- R(5) hm. und hast du feststellen können ob du was mit den anderen gemeinsam hast?
B ehm (2.0) interessensmäßig meinst du?
R hm na. allgemein. studium. (beruf)
B ehm. nein. hab ich jetzt nicht feststellen können.
- R(6) ehm habt ihr irgendwelche themen besprochen wo du eine bestimmte. eine besonders starke meinung dazu hattest?
B na gut also wir haben uns unterhalten über über schule und wie man als lehrer eben. unterricht geben sollte ob man. den schülern mehr oder weniger freiheiten lassen sollte. ahm. da hab ich eine meinung zu aber ehm. die stelle ich jetzt nicht über die von anderen also.
- R(7) \m/hm. und gab's irgendwelche themen die ihr besprochen habt wo du der meinung warst dass du mehr drüber das wusstest als die anderen?
B also ich hab sicher: ja gut A macht es ja macht es ja gar nicht also sie wird ja nicht lehrerin oder lehrer. ehm [laughs] lehrer so wie so nicht
RB [laugh]

- B ehm. aber dadurch dass ich da als. seit zehn monaten jetzt schon an der schule bin und irgendwie zwei hundert fünfzig stunden oder so schon gegeben hab habe ich da ein bisschen mehr erfahrung jetzt als C der eh. zwei praktika gemacht hat. ehm (2.0) ja.
- R(8) und gab's andersrum welche themen wo du dachtest dass die anderen mehr darüber wussten als du?
- B ehm (2.0) da unser hauptthema wirklich die schule war. hab ich jetzt nicht das gefühl. also ich weiß dass C sich deutlich besser mit computern und software auskennt und vielleicht auch dann eh. das besser nutzen könnte für einen unterricht. aber das war jetzt eigentlich kein großer aspekt. von unserer konversation
- R(9) und letzte frage. ehm gab es momente im gespräch wo es dir nicht klar war ehm um wen. es ging? von wem die rede war
- B (0.5) ich glaube nicht nee.

Participant C

Most backchannelling omitted from transcript.

Q1	0m2s	Q4	0m47s	Q7	2m58s
Q2	0m13s	Q5	1m38s	Q8	3m24s
Q3	0m30s	Q6	2m06s		

Start: 0m3s

- R(1) ehm wie gut kanntest du die anderen vorm gespräch?
C vor dem gespräch?
R hm
C ehm: sie gar nicht und ihn eben nur eh durch die veranstaltung.
- R(2) und wie gut kennst du die jetzt? was hast du über die erfahren?
C eh: besser also mit ihm hab ich dieses gespräch ja ausgeweitert was wir auf dem herweg hatten. über lehramt. also das thema war vorher schon aktuell auf dem herweg und eh das war jetzt interessant seine meinung zu hören. und ja was sie jetzt studiert und so weiter.
- R(3) und was haben die über dich erfahren?
C (3.0) ja hauptsächlich. studientechnische dinge ja. auch einstellungen ich denk gerade bei lehramtsberuf kommst du da viel auf so ja. persönlichkeit. wie man so: gepolt ist.
- R(4) und wie viel hast du mit den anderen gemeinsam gehabt?
C eh. also mit ihm glaub ich sehr viel (2.0) ehm: (3.0) bis auf ich fand das eh bewundernswert so dieser: dieser selbstsichere art ich kann das auch aber in der schule komischerweise (2.0) ich weiß nich es ist ein bisschen komplex versuch ich mich zu professionalisieren verliere dadurch viel von meiner persönlichkeit. die mir eigentlich etwas bringen würde also es ist sehr interessant so (). und bei ihr weiß ich es ja auch nicht also diese vielleicht diese interesse für das eigentlich professionelle arbeiten. was mir jetzt natürlich so im nachhinein eh. mich da ein wenig traurig macht wenn ich dann hör jemand eh. dadurch sie macht ja auch magister. hat die möglichkeit zu so was und bei mir wär's über umweggehen erst möglich
- R(5) ehm. und habt ihr irgendwelche themen besprochen wo du eine besonders starke meinung dazu hattest?
C (2.0) ehm: na gut meinungen kristalisieren sich eigentlich erst wenn man eine gegenmeinung hat. das war jetzt nicht so der fall glaub ich. ehm. nö: eigentlich hat je-. aber es war mehr so eine art informationsaustausch. man hat genickt ja aber das war's glaub ich ja
- R(6) \m/hm. und gab's themen wo. deiner meinung nach die anderen mehr drüber wussten als du?
C (2.0) also. hier diese diese theorie. die wie hieß er noch mal?
R oh eh. B
C B ja. ehm. wo der B gesagt hat warum man schüler nicht ehm [laughs] vor die vor die tür stellen soll das war mir absolut neu. diese diese also da merkt man dass er wohl vom vom L dreier wieder weil sein vater der der schulleiter ist. oder stellvertretender. oder eben weil er weil die bei L drei hundert schwerpunkte haben aber. war mir total fremd hab ich auch noch nie von einem lehrer gehört dass. wie hat er gesagt binnendifferenzierung also (2.0) dass jeder schüler eine

andere. auch die die total stören die müssen aber auch beschäftigt werden so auf ihrer weise so. na man sieht wie die theorie und die praxis die. gehen nicht hand in hand ja

R(7) und gab's momente wo du dachtest dass du mehr über irgendwas wusstest als die anderen?

C also wir. ich und er wir wussten beide mehr über beru- also schulalltag klar weil wir das studieren. und das war ja auch so das hauptthema im gespräch. ehm (4.0) also. hauptsächlich ihr gegenüber weil wir das gleiche studieren so. sehr ähnlich

R(8) und letzte frage denn. ehm gab es momente im gespräch wo es dir nicht klar war von wem die rede war?

C (3.0) n:ein. eigentlich nicht.