

**THE COMMUNICATIVE VALUE OF  
FILLED PAUSES IN SPONTANEOUS SPEECH**

by

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **THE COMMUNICATIVE VALUE OF FILLED PAUSES IN SPONTANEOUS SPEECH**

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Filled pauses (FPs, *e.g. er, erm*) and other hesitation phenomena are ever-present elements of spontaneous speech and have been the subject of various psycholinguistic studies. However, recommendations have been sparse for language teaching; consequently little attention is given to FPs in English Language Teaching course materials. The present research addresses this gap. A systematic analysis of hesitation phenomena in a mini-corpus of spontaneous speech supports earlier research on FPs, but suggests a refinement: although researchers have generally combined open and closed FPs (*er* and *erm*, respectively), this study suggests they are independent. Recommendations are given on approaches to FPs in the language classroom. It is suggested that a focus on FPs may benefit listening comprehension by encouraging students to make use of speakers' pause time to process input. FPs may further benefit speaking ability by helping students to hold their conversational turns and to improve their apparent fluency. Specific activities designed to improve both listening and speaking skills are given.

## **DEDICATION**

For Dad

scholar, teacher, and father

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## SYMBOLS AND CONVENTIONS

Notation	Denotation
.	short silent pause
_	silent pause of normal duration
—	silent pause of unusual length
:	lengthening (colon placed after lengthened vowel sound)
er(m) <sup>1</sup>	short open(closed) unlexicalized filled pause
e:r(m)	long open(closed) unlexicalized filled pause
<xxx>	other paralinguistic sounds (laughing, throat-clearing, sighing, <i>etc.</i> )
//	tone unit boundary markers
↗	rising Intonation
↘	falling intonation
↗↘	rise-fall intonation
↘↗	fall-rise intonation
→	level intonation

### Other conventions

- all type is in lower case except for places where upper case is necessary to distinguish a word (*e.g.*, first person singular 'I', 'Ph.D.')
- tonic syllable is in all capitals
- intonation symbols immediately follow word containing tonic syllable
- asterisks (\*) may be inserted to highlight relevant portions of transcriptions
- lexicalized filled pauses are shown in italics
- some proper names have been replaced with generic markers (*e.g.*, <NAME>) to preserve anonymity of subjects
- references for extracts from the corpus are in following format:

(Subject No. - Question No.: Line Nos. in **APPENDIX 1**)

*e.g.*, (3-2: 350-352)

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<sup>1</sup> There is little consistency in how filled pauses are rendered in transcript of spoken speech. The differences seem to center on the representation of the vowel sound in the filled pause. Some researchers use 'u' as in *uh* and *um* (particularly in North America) while others use 'er' as in *er* and *erm* (apparently preferred in Great Britain). Although the decision to use one or the other is perhaps arbitrary, for the sake of consistency, this work uses the preferred UK spellings to represent unlexicalized filled pauses in transcripts of spontaneous speech.

## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

Radio, television, and film provide many insights into modern social values. Such social issues as relationships, marriage, divorce, child-rearing, health care, crime, law enforcement, and government recur frequently. These themes are obvious and prevalent. Less apparent are the underlying projections of reality. Those projections which have much to do with how people communicate are generally linguistically sensible as when a Texan's speech is represented by a drawl or when a preacher's lexical choices are limited to a more scriptural range. But many projections vary between inaccurate--as when a police officer's speech is littered with obscenities--and derogatory--as when African-American vernacular denotes a street gang member.

One presentation of reality that is nearly universal in media genres (*e.g.*, dramatic presentations, formal news, *etc.*) is that normal human speech is highly fluent. Regardless of age, gender, ethnic background, socioeconomic status, religion, or creed, human speech is usually fluent. Disfluencies are occasionally employed in media to indicate some abnormality as when the speaker is being untruthful (*e.g.*, with a lying witness in court), when the speaker has a dim wit (*e.g.*, in a comic situation), or when the speaker suffers from a pathological condition. But even these apparent exceptions are successful in communication because the underlying presumption is accepted: normal human speech is fluent.

But is this correct in real life? Do people communicate with each other fluently and with little hesitation? A moment's reflection will reveal the unreliability of this presumption. Human speech is surprisingly disfluent, marked by frequent starts, stops, restarts, stammering, *ers*,

and *erms*. Evidence can be found in the Collins COBUILD corpus. Filled pauses (rendered in the corpus as *er* and *erm*) are among the most frequent features of spoken language (see **FIGURE 1**).

**FIGURE 1**

<b>Linguistic item</b>	<b>No. of occurrences</b>
forms of the first-person pronoun	309,359
the	289,577
forms of the verb, <i>to be</i>	262,322
forms of the second-person pronoun	238,703
forms of the third-person neuter pronoun	187,096
filled pauses	181,498
indefinite article	176,977
of	146,236

**Commonly-occurring Items in the COBUILD Spoken Language Corpus**

Superficially, at least, hesitations in speech may appear to be the result of mental lapses or poor communication skills. In much spontaneous speech such hesitation is forgivable and sometimes even unnoticed: but it can be distracting and possibly irritating to listeners. Thus, public speakers are often urged to rehearse their presentations in order to become more fluent. However, not all hesitations can be explained by the speaker's inadequacy as a communicator. Some patterns serve a communicative purpose rather than betray a deficiency. Consider the following hypothetical remarks.

1. "You have some...er...jelly on your chin..."
2. "Er...excuse me...what time is it?"

In the first statement, it seems unlikely that the speaker is having difficulty lexicalizing such a common word as *jelly*. Rather, it appears that he is trying to avoid embarrassing his interlocutor. Alternately, in the second statement, the speaker knows how to ask the time, but first needs to get the attention of someone to ask. Thus, the *er* serves as an attention-getting device.

In the world of English language teaching (ELT), however, the communicative value of hesitations in speech has been largely ignored. The prevailing view of hesitations seems to be that they are evidence of disfluency and should therefore be discouraged. This view is inadequate in that it assumes that fluency is directly related to communicative ability while disfluency is inversely related. The present study examines evidence that speech hesitations sometimes support and enhance communication and suggests ways they may be dealt with in the ELT classroom.

## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

The study of temporal variables in speech has progressed for several decades. Freida Goldman-Eisler is often credited with having established this field (*cf.*, Griffiths, 1991) with her studies of speech rate and silent pauses. Gradually the field has enveloped hesitation phenomena--filled pauses, false starts, repeats, and lengthenings--although there are reservations about the appropriateness of this inclusion (*e.g.*, Grosjean, 1980, cited in Griffiths, 1991). Presumably, these doubts stem from the subtly differing natures of these speech phenomena: studies of speech rate and silent pauses tend to use highly fluent samples of speech (in one study, Goldman-Eisler, 1972, notes subjects were "highly literate people", p. 103), while studies of hesitation phenomena are concerned more with speech disfluencies and disruptions. Nonetheless, since hesitation phenomena influence the time it takes the speaker to communicate a message, they are included in the study of temporal variables. This chapter reviews recent studies of hesitation phenomena, with specific attention to filled pauses.

#### 2.1 Hesitation Phenomena

Spontaneous speech exhibits a variety of disfluent features, phenomena which slow the transfer of lexicalized information. The following subsections classify these as they are categorized in the literature. These classifications are illustrated with extracts from the corpus of this study. A complete text of the corpus is shown in **APPENDIX 1**.

##### *2.1.1 False starts*

Occasionally, a speaker utters a few words and then stops in mid-sentence, as follows (note the *\*highlighted\** section).

// \_\_ lightning has not STRUCK ↘ me yet // as far as what I Finally ↘ want to do // or  
 what I'm really CApable ↘ . of doing \_ // er \_ we'll SEE ↘ . // \*I still have\* I'm  
 twenty-SEVen ↘ now // so I still have a few years yet to figure out . some THINGS ↘ .  
 //

(4-1: 537-539)

This is called a false start (Leech and Svartvik, 1994)--the speaker discards the first attempt at lexicalization; "I still have". A false start may be followed by a revised attempt to lexicalize the same idea, or by silence--thereby releasing the conversational turn.

### 2.1.2 Repeats

When a speaker iterates a lexical item in mid-sentence, it is called a repeat (Leech and Svartvik, 1994). Usually, just one word is repeated.

// I ju:st . think of always getting the best possible \*best possible\* . results with my  
 STUdents ↘ . //

(3-6: 408-409)

### 2.1.3 Restarts

Sometimes a speaker will utter a few words and then suddenly return to the beginning and iterate the same words. This is called a restart.

// bu:t *yeah* my first r \*my first reaction\* to THAT ^ \_ // e:rm was a reaction to  
 mySELF ^ //

(4-3: 568)

#### 2.1.4 Self-corrections

A speaker will sometimes utter one word, and then a replacement which is to be understood to constitute a retraction of that word.

// I: . teach only the fifth . \*FIVE-year-olds\* ↘ //

(1-4: 148)

This is called a self-correction. Self-corrections, repeats, and restarts are occasionally also referred to as repairs.

#### 2.1.5 Lengthenings

When a speaker draws out the enunciation of a word it is called a lengthening as in the following extract.

// WELL → . // it goes back \*to:\* . always wanting to be a MISsionary ↘ \_ //

(2-5: 253)

The most common instance of lengthening (*cf.*, Fox Tree and Clark, 1994, cited in Clark, 1994) occurs when *the* is pronounced as *thee* and the ending vowel sound is drawn out past its usually enunciated duration.

#### 2.1.6 Pauses

One very common feature of spontaneous speech is hesitation in the form of pauses that can be one of three types (Dalton and Hardcastle, 1977). The first type is associated with the articulatory closure of stop consonants. These pauses range from 50 millisecond to 250 msec.



Such pauses are ubiquitous and are usually not considered in studies of hesitation phenomena. In more sophisticated speech studies, which make use of specialized instruments for speech analysis, such pauses are 'weeded' out by setting a minimum time restriction for consideration as a pause. A typical cutoff is 200 msec.

The second type of pause is associated with respiration and occurs when a speaker pauses in order to breathe. Such pauses are normally silent, though on occasion they are accompanied by "an audible voiceless hissing caused by the generation of turbulent air at various points of stricture in the vocal tract" (Dalton and Hardcastle, 1977, p. 34). Goldman-Eisler (1968, cited in Dalton and Hardcastle, 1977) in summarizing studies of breath pauses, found that their rate and duration are likely related to overall speech performance. Such pauses, however, are of little concern in psycholinguistic research but fall mostly in the domain of speech pathology. For example, the frequency of breath pauses is hypothesized to be an indicator of such pathological conditions as Parkinson's disease (Dalton and Hardcastle, 1977).

The first two pause types are related to articulatory processes. The third type may appear before or after entire speech acts, sentences, clauses, or words, but tends to occur at significant grammatical locations (to be considered in more detail later). These may be either silent (or unfilled) pauses (hereafter, SP) or filled (or voiced) pauses (hereafter, FP) (Dalton and Hardcastle, 1977; Leech and Svartvik, 1994).

FPs are vocalized in a variety of ways. A pause might be filled with any of the following phonetic combinations: /a/, /am/, /u/, /um/, /e/, /em/, /m/ as in the following extracts.

// my cousin's daughter came down and said \*er\* princess diana was in an ACcident ↘  
//

(1-3: 76)

// so it's HARD ↗ to say . // \*ERM\* → . // probably: the: blame lies with many different  
↘ people . //

(3-3: 342-343)

FPs may also be lexicalized as in *like* and *you know*.

// . a:nd this bandstand also had \*like\* a kitchen area underNEATH ↘ // so it was a  
fairly HIGH ↘ bandstand //

(1-2: 49-50)

// \_ when people are very OLD ↗ . // \*you KNOW\* ↘ // the cars that they LIKE ↗ // the  
cars that they RODE ↗ in// that they grew → . // the cars that → // the people they  
KNEW ↗ // everything starts to disapPEAR ↗ //

(4-3: 591-593)

Similarly, they may be lexicalized with expressions like 'well', 'so', 'okay', and 'let's see'. However, although such words and expressions may fill a pause, not all instances of these are FPs. Researchers distinguish lexicalized FPs (also called "verbal fillers", *e.g.*, Stenstrom, 1994) on the basis that they, like unlexicalized FPs, appear to be brief moments during which a speaker is making decisions about a future word or the organization of discourse (*e.g.*, Leech and Svartvik, 1994). Generalizing this to all hesitation phenomena suggests that false starts, repairs, and lengthenings also constitute moments during which subsequent discourse is being planned. As such, all hesitation phenomena will be included in the present study, although the focus remains on FPs.

### *2.1.7 Normal non-fluency vs. pathologic disfluency*

Dalton and Hardcastle (1977) differentiate between normal non-fluency (the condition under which a normal healthy person hesitates in speech) and pathologic disfluency (when the hesitation is the result of some mental or physical condition--as in stammering). However, the present study deals only with normal non-fluency in spontaneous speech.

## 2.2 Filled Pause Research in NS-NS Interaction

Research on FPs in interaction between native speakers (NS) falls into two general areas: FPs as indicators of mental states and processes, or FPs in conversational strategies.

### *2.2.1 Filled pauses as indicators of mental states and processes*

Dalton and Hardcastle (1977) list three associations between pauses and cognitive and affective states: syntactic correlates, cognitive variables, and affective-state correlates.

One function that pauses often serve in spontaneous speech is to mark the boundaries between syntactic units such as the phrase, clause, and sentence. This gives rise to another denotation: "juncture pauses". It is widely hypothesized that these pauses occur at such junctures because the speaker is making linguistic decisions requiring extra processing time. Goldman-Eisler (1972) found that the pause length was greater at these syntactic boundaries than between individual words in a clause. She further noted a relationship between clause type and length of pause: certain types of clauses resulted in longer pauses.

A hypothetical link between occurrences of FPs in spontaneous speech and such cognitive variables as abstractness and task difficulty has also been tested with some success. Reynolds

and Paivio (1968) found that when defining abstract rather than concrete nouns, pauses increased. Other studies (*e.g.*, Levin *et al.*, 1967; Taylor, 1969; Siegman and Pope, 1965, 1966) have explored the relation between task difficulty and pause rate yielding positive correlations. However, Goldman-Eisler (1961, cited in Rochester, 1973) in an earlier study reported observing no change when task difficulty was varied. In summarizing these studies Rochester (1973) suggests that Goldman-Eisler's differing findings may have been a result of a relatively small sample size, or not taking frequency measures (rather than merely pause counts). Nonetheless, Rochester does warn of the potential unreliability of judging task difficulty, suggesting that conclusions about the relationship between task difficulty and pause occurrence must be treated with some skepticism.

Studies of the effect of affective variables on pause rate fall into one of two areas: those which consider predispositional anxiety and those which consider situational anxiety. A presumed positive correlation between anxiety and the occurrence of pauses has been partially supported with respect to SPs, but less so with respect to FPs, in some studies even reversing the correlation. Many of these studies have depended on two measures developed by Mahl (1959); the 'ah' ratio--the ratio of non-lexicalized FPs to the number of words uttered by a speaker (where words include all complete and incomplete words uttered as well as non-coherent sounds due to stuttering and FPs)--and the 'non-ah' ratio--based on lexicalized FPs as well as other hesitation phenomena (stops, false starts, stutters, *etc.*). Mahl hypothesized that greater anxiety would result in greater disruptions to spontaneous speech. His initial investigation (1956) gave preliminary support to the hypothesis.

However, later research has revealed a more complex relationship between hesitation phenomena and anxiety. In studies of predispositional anxiety by Cassotto *et al.* (1967, cited in Rochester, 1973), Pope *et al.* (1970), and Siegman and Pope (1965) either no significant correlations or a *negative* correlation between SPs and measures of anxiety was observed suggesting that subjects who are more anxious produce fewer SPs. Later, though, Ragsdale (1976) evaluated the correlation between hesitation phenomena (ah, non-ah, and SPs) and predispositional indices (Anxiety Index and Internalization Ratio as determined by the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, Form R). The only significant correlations he found were between the non-ah ratio and both predispositional indices. Unlexicalized FPs ('ah' phenomena) were not observed to correlate with predispositional anxiety. However, subjects making many non-ah hesitations

...are not only anxious, but their anxiety is overcontrolled. They have internalized their problems to too great an extent, and when they speak they do so with more stutters, repetitions, sentence changes, and the like than subjects with less anxiety and more externalization. (p. 264)

Ragsdale's findings supported Mahl's original hypothesis, though only for non-ah hesitation.

Studies of situational anxiety (*e.g.*, Kasl and Mahl, 1965; Krause and Pilisuk, 1961; Siegman and Pope, 1965) produced similar results: introduction of high anxiety topics in interviews results in greater occurrence of non-ah hesitations.

In spite of the seemingly common sense prediction that anxiety results in an increase in FPs there is no conclusive confirming evidence. However, Rochester (1973) offers a caveat

similar to the one he made regarding studies of cognitive variables: researchers have yet to discover "an adequate validation procedure for [measures of anxiety]" (p. 74).

### 2.2.2 Filled pauses in conversational strategies

Earlier studies of hesitation phenomena, which clearly reflected the prominent psychological view of language as behavior, gave way to a more communicative view in the 1970s with increased research on the interactional value of hesitation phenomena. Most of these studies have focused on the use of hesitation phenomena either to organize and maintain conversation or to convey certain ideas or affective states.

However, before delving too deeply into studies of FPs in interactional situations it will be useful to review briefly some relevant terminology in discourse analysis. Stenstrom (1994), adapting from Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), defines the discourse hierarchy of spoken interaction as follows:

<b>Transaction</b>	consists of one or more exchanges dealing with one single topic; one or more transactions make up a conversation
<b>Exchange</b>	is the smallest interactive unit consisting, minimally, of two turns produced by two different speakers
<b>Turn</b>	is everything the current speaker says before the next speaker takes over; it consists of one or more moves
<b>Move</b>	is what the speaker does in a turn in order to start, carry on and finish an exchange, <i>i.e.</i> , the way s/he interacts; it consists of one or more acts
<b>Act</b>	signals what the speaker intends, what s/he wants to communicate; it is the smallest interactive unit

(p. 30)

She further describes acts as being one of three types:

<b>Primary acts</b>	can realize moves on their own
<b>Secondary acts</b>	accompany and sometimes replace primary acts
<b>Complementary acts</b>	accompany but rarely replace primary acts

(p. 38-9)

Stenstrom further delineates several kinds of primary, secondary, and complementary acts. Four of these will be relevant to the discussion of FPs in spoken interaction: objecting, framing, filling, and stalling. Objecting is a primary act in which the speaker expresses an opinion differing from one previously stated. Framing is a complementary act which frames some section of discourse, that is, it signals a discourse boundary. Filling is also a complementary act which fills some gap in a speaker's discourse. Similarly, stalling is a complementary act which enables the speaker to prolong a conversational turn. The following discussion shows how some FPs can fulfill these acts in spontaneous speech.

The study of turns in spoken interaction is concerned with how interlocutors alternate their contributions to a conversation. Participants in a conversation typically follow certain conventions. Disregarding these conventions can result in communication breakdowns. These conventions are partly concerned with the clues that speakers (or would-be speakers) give in the process of taking, holding, or ending turns. Much research has been done on the use of hesitation phenomena with regard to conversational turns. The most notable conclusion of these studies regards turn-holding. It is widely agreed by linguists (*e.g.*, Clark and Clark, 1977; Levinson, 1983; Finegan, 1994; Stenstrom, 1994; Wennerstrom, 1994) that FPs are commonly used by conversationalists to hold their conversational turn as in the following extract.

// everyone was . promised their LEAVE ↗ // and GOT ↘ it // on the DAY ↘ // and  
 there was no monkeying aBOUT ↘ // \_ \*e:rm\* . so we were reCURring ↘ //  
 (adapted from Stenstrom, 1994, p. 76)

The first part of the utterance is a complete act. Yet it is apparent that the speaker wishes to continue, but is not quite prepared to continue fluently. By inserting a FP here which operates as a filling act, the speaker is permitted to continue the conversation, while taking enough thinking time (concurrent with the FP) to organize the next act.

However, it is also suggested that FPs are useful in other means of managing turns. When starting a turn, speakers will occasionally begin with a FP (or series of pauses) as in the following extract.

// \*erm\* . well . er . he used to be my tutor //  
 (adapted from Stenstrom, 1994, p. 68, tone choice not indicated)

Here, the speaker's use of FPs both establishes and signals control of the conversation as a framing act, yet also provides the extra time (as a stalling act) needed to formulate the following act (Stenstrom, 1994).

When a conversational turn is finished a speaker can signal this to other participants. Perhaps the most common way is by a silent pause:

A: // and they sort of hand it over to the poLICE ↘ // who disPOSE ↘ of it in // the  
 way they think FIT ↘ // \* \_ \* //  
 B: // it's like ELla ↗ // and Henry's FLICK-knife ↗ //  
 (adapted from Stenstrom, 1994, p. 80)



Speaker A remains silent at the end of the utterance which signals that B may begin. This pause may however be filled:

A: // if I if I work quite WELL ↘ // I can do about three . a DAY ↗ // \_ \*erm\* \_ //  
 B: // I didn't REalize ↘ // you were working so closely with the CORpus ↘ // \_ //  
 (adapted from Stenstrom, 1994, p. 81)

Here, speaker A seems to try to continue, but fails to do so, relinquishing control of the conversation to B as a result of a framing act.

Crystal and Davy (1969), in their early work on stylistics, noted the use of FPs when answering questions and introducing a new topic. Consider the following extracts:

A: // but I was going to say could you make it the FOLlowing ↘ Saturday //  
 B: // \*erm\* YES ↗ //  
 (adapted from Crystal and Davy, 1969, p. 117)

A: // that's FINE ↘ // YES ↘ // same TIME ↗ //  
 B: // same TIME ↘ // YES ↘ //  
 A: // GOOD ↘ //  
 B: // \*erm\* do you think \_ I don't even know which . I can't even remember what the chap's NAME ↘ is //  
 (adapted from Crystal and Davy, 1969, p. 118)

In both of these kinds of situations, Crystal and Davy say, there is a tendency to pause, and therefore to fill the pause with some vocalization. While they seem to combine these two instances, according to Stenstrom's act model these FPs have different functions. The first is a filling act, but the second is more accurately categorized as a framing act.

Stenstrom's model provides a useful method of analyzing conversational discourse when the conversation is fluent and acts are complete and distinguishable. However, this is not always the case. Problems do occasionally arise in conversation. Clark (1994) offers a tool for analysing disfluent sections of conversation by viewing them in terms of problem management. He argues that problems occur and are dealt with by a speaker in one of three ways: by prevention, by warning, and by repair. A speaker prevents problems by taking linguistic (or paralinguistic) actions to ensure that there is no problem as in ensuring that one has another's visual attention before beginning to speak. Speakers often warn of upcoming problems through the use of hesitation phenomena. Finally, they may repair problems that have already occurred by correcting them in speech, most often by self-correction. Clark notes that FPs are most often used in the warning strategy for managing problems in communication as in the following extract.

A: i is . is it this year that er Nightingale goes

B: \_\_ e:r no next year

A: \_\_ \*e:rm\* \_\_ sixty \_ f \_

B: sixty five

A: \_ four sixty \_ five

B: yeah

(adapted from Clark, 1994, p. 247; tone units and tone choice not indicated)

Clark further notes that in the London-Lund Corpus of spoken language, word lengthening is frequently used to warn the listener. *The* is usually pronounced *thuh*, but when lengthened is pronounced as *thee* and as such may signal a problem formulating the following noun phrase. In the corpus, 7% of problematic noun phrases were preceded by *thuh*, while 80% were preceded by a lengthened *thee* (Fox Tree and Clark, 1994, cited in Clark, 1994).

In addition to the aforementioned occurrences of FPs in managing social interaction there are many instances in which FPs fulfill particular communicative functions (as opposed to a discourse management function). All of these facilitate useful mitigations in conversations.

The first example of the mitigating use of FPs is in the context of adjacency pairs. Adjacency pairs are conversational exchanges in which the initiator's move limits the choice of moves the respondent may make, as in greeting-greeting or question-answer. In many such pairs there is a preferred response: a question prefers an answer; an invitation prefers an acceptance.

- A: Would you like to meet for lunch tomorrow?  
 B: Sure!

(Finegan, 1994, p. 351)

However, on occasion the responder must make use of a dispreferred response. Such utterances are not as short and simple, as in the following exchange:

- A: Would you like to meet for lunch tomorrow?  
 B: Well, hmm, let's see... Tomorrow's Tuesday, right? I told Harry I'd have lunch with him. And I told him so long ago that I'd feel bad canceling. Maybe another time, okay?

(Finegan, 1994, p. 351)

Here, the lexicalized FP *well* serves to mitigate the blow of refusing the invitation (Finegan, 1994; Levinson, 1983). According to Stenstrom's model, such FPs might be regarded as objecting acts. However, that raises the question of whether a FP can function as a primary act. Consider the following author-synthesized example:

- A: May I borrow your car on Saturday night?  
 B: Er...  
 A: Or maybe I can ask Philip

In this case, B's hesitation is a complete act signaling objection to A's request. Thus, A offers an escape to maintain harmony.

Crystal and Davy (1969) note another mitigating use of FPs in order to downplay the introduction of more difficult terminology or phraseology. To illustrate, consider the following extract from a discussion about the relative advantages and disadvantages of single-sex and mixed grammar schools. Until this point, the discussion had proceeded quite informally, but here, A finds it necessary to introduce some more specific evidence.

- A: // and a very GOOD ↘ school // . it's a BEAUtiful ↘ school // . very NICE ↘ //  
 B: // MIXED ↗ // . //  
 A: // NO ↘ // . //  
 B: // M ↘ // . this single sex BUSIness → //  
 A: // single \_ YEAH ↘ // . YEAH ↘ // \_\_\_ this s s you KNOW ↗ // it's a . \*sort of\*  
 \_\_\_ outdated POLicy ↘ // which just goes on and ON ↘ // \_ it still tends to be  
 TRUE ↘ // that most of the BEST ↘ grammar schools // are single SEX ↘ //  
 B: // M ↘ // \_\_\_ //  
 A: // as far as I can GATHer ↘ // . best in terms of \_\_\_ \*you KNOW\* ↗ //  
 B: // records to SHOW ↘ //  
 A: // YES ↘ //

(adapted from Crystal and Davy, 1969, p. 101)

Speaker A wishes to introduce two formal concepts ('outdated policy' and 'records'). In order to preserve the informal nature of the discussion, A draws out their introduction with hesitations in the form of lexicalized FPs ('sort of --' and 'you know', respectively). In the latter case, it becomes unnecessary for speaker A to vocalize the concept since B says it. This

has the effect of making A not appear too knowledgeable about the topic--which may have caused B to withdraw from the conversation. Instead, B was afforded an opportunity to establish himself or herself as an equal partner in the dialog, thereby preserving its informal nature.

The same social interaction variable reappears in a different form in Eakins and Eakins (1978). In their study of sex differences in communication among North American males and females, female subjects were observed to use FPs much more often than male subjects. They interpreted this as a form of mitigation in order not to appear too knowledgeable or too aggressive.

Women who do take the initiative more in conversations may feel guilty because of their past socialization to docility and their awareness of society's norms of talk for women. Perhaps to offset or play down their taking the initiative, some women try still to give some signs of "proper" nonassertiveness or submissiveness. Use of fillers and hesitations such as *uhm*, *well*, and so forth may serve as one such sign. (p. 48)

The mitigative uses of FPs were explored in a quantitative study by Brennan and Williams (1995). They made use of a psychological construct that they refer to as the "feeling-of-another's-knowing" (FOAK) to estimate the degree to which a speaker's use of FPs related to the listener's impression of the speaker's knowledge. Initially, several recordings were made of subjects responding to a variety of trivia questions. From these, a sample of items was chosen including both instances in which subjects attempted to answer the question and in which they provided no answer (*e.g.*, 'I don't know.'; 'I forgot.'). These samples were played for a different group of subjects without the original questions (*i.e.*, the responses only). The subjects were asked to rate the following: for answers, "Do you think this was the

correct answer to this question?" (1 - 'definitely incorrect' to 7 - 'definitely correct'); and for non-answers, "How likely do you think this person would be to recognize the correct answer to this question on a multiple choice test?" (1 - 'definitely not recognize' to 7 - 'definitely recognize'). They observed that for answers, the longer the hesitation (in this study, FPs), the lower the FOAK rating. This is consistent with the notions of Crystal and Davy and Eakins and Eakins in that FPs are often taken as evidence of not being very knowledgeable on a subject. Brennan and Williams also found that for non-answers, the longer the hesitation, the *higher* the FOAK rating. The more time spent by the speaker in searching for an answer, the greater was the impression that it had been known but merely forgotten. Though there is no evidence to demonstrate this, it might be hypothesized that when a speaker wishes to show a greater level of knowledge than he has at the moment, then he may use FPs to give this misleading impression. Those who have taken an interview style of test might attest to this.

### 2.3 Filled Pause Research in NS-NNS Interaction

To date, there has been little research on hesitation phenomena involving nonnative speakers (NNS). Much of such research has focused on the comprehension of spoken texts by NNSs in which the SPs are varied in length and frequency (*e.g.*, Blau, 1990). However, a few recent studies have given attention to FPs in NS-NNS communication.

Voss (1979) had NNSs of English transcribe recordings of NS's spontaneous speech. He observed that hesitation phenomena were a significant source of perceptual errors. In subjects' transcriptions, hesitation phenomena resulted in such additive mistakes as additional words or parts of words and occasionally in subtractive errors where the hesitation phenomena and sometimes other content words were omitted. For example, in the recording one phrase was

"in say in Technical Education..." (*say* is identified by Voss as a lexicalized FP--in his words, a "hesitation signal", p. 137). Subjects rendered this utterance in a variety of ways as follows (although unclear in Voss, the initial *in* is presumed to be accurately transcribed).

same Technical  
 semi technical  
 santenical  
 scientitical  
 plane technical  
 sentenical  
 saying technical  
 centenical

(p. 136)

Similarly, the FP in the recorded utterance, "a great string of erm \_ of activities" was interpreted to be a word:

a great string of an activities

(p. 137)

It is apparent, then, that FPs in NS's speech can lead to decreased comprehension by NNSs. Furthermore, hesitation phenomena in NNS's speech influences evaluational judgments in listeners. Fayer and Krasinski (1987) observed the reactions of both NSs and NNSs of English to recordings of native Spanish speakers' English speech. Hesitation phenomena, along with pronunciation errors, were the greatest impediments to intelligibility as measured by what listeners reported as most distracting. However, with respect to annoyance, listeners regarded pronunciation errors and hesitation phenomena as less significant--although NNSs felt *more* annoyance with the speech than did NSs. In conclusion, the authors note, "...it

appears that what may be distracting is not necessarily annoying" (p. 323).

#### 2.4 Filled Pauses in ELT

At present there appears to be no research on FPs in the ELT classroom. There are, however, a few recommendations (*e.g.*, Griffiths, 1990, 1991) regarding the need for attention to FPs and other hesitation phenomena in ELT lessons such as Voss (1979).

More attention to [hesitation phenomena] in language teaching, *e.g.*, in the form of more exposure to genuine, spontaneous speech, should help to remove or at least reduce a considerable source of perceptual problems for the nonnative speaker. (p. 138)

Specific advice and guidance, however, were not found in the literature. It is this gap which the present study is designed to address. After a corroborative study of FPs from the author's own mini-corpus of spontaneous speech, specific suggestions will be made regarding a pedagogical approach to FPs in the ELT classroom. It is hoped that this work will bridge the gap between this well-researched area of human speech and its all-but-ignored role in the ELT classroom.

#### 2.5 Conclusions

In this chapter, the author has sought to place the present study in context by providing an overview of the research on hesitation phenomena with special regard to FPs in spontaneous speech. After defining FPs as (apparent) gaps in fluency which are 'filled' by either such non-lexicalized sounds as *er* and *erm* or lexicalizations as *so*, *well*, and *you know*, this chapter explored the meaning of FPs from two points of view. First, research on FPs as evidence of cognitive states was reviewed revealing that FPs often mark syntactic boundaries and are



positively correlated with abstractness and task difficulty. A positive correlation is noted between affective states (predispositional and situational anxiety) and FPs, but the results are not conclusive.

The functional and communicative uses of FPs in interaction were also reviewed noting their use in managing conversational turns and problems in speaking. FPs also are understood by listeners to indicate the degree of the speaker's 'knowing' and may be employed by speakers as a mitigating device.

Finally, the small body of research on FPs in second-language and English language teaching (ELT) situations was reviewed revealing little guidance for the language teacher.

**CHAPTER 3** and **CHAPTER 4** builds on the research reviewed here by providing a detailed and systematic analysis of the author's mini-corpus of spontaneous speech as the basis for clear and specific recommendations on the approach to FPs in the ELT classroom.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **PROCEDURES**

This study reports the collection and analysis of a corpus of spontaneous speech. This chapter describes the speech sampling procedures as well as the process of converting the recordings into computer-analyzable data.

#### 3.1 Collecting Samples of Spontaneous Speech

Four adult native North American English speakers (2 female, 2 male) of varying ages and backgrounds were interviewed by the author for an average of approximately fifteen minutes each. These interviews were recorded in an audio format. Before each interview the subject was told that the author was gathering samples of spontaneous speech for the purpose of discourse analysis: that is, no mention was made of FPs as a specific target of study. This was done to ensure that subjects would not become overly conscious of their speech and possibly affect the data.

After starting the audio recorder the author commenced the interview by posing questions to the subjects from the following list.

1. Give me a brief explanation of your background.
2. Tell me about a memory of your childhood.
3. As you know, Princess Diana recently died. What was your reaction to that event?  
Who do you think should be held responsible for her death?
4. Tell me about something that has made you really happy recently.
5. Why did you come to Japan?
6. What do you hope to accomplish here (in Japan) before you return?
7. What are your plans or dreams for the future?

The questions were intended to elicit spontaneous speech on a variety of themes. Some questions provided the subjects a comfortable position from which to speak (*e.g.*, recent happy event, future plans), while others sought to press the subjects either to make decisions concerning how much to reveal about themselves (*e.g.*, childhood memory) or to make difficult judgments (*e.g.*, responsibility for Princess Diana's death). It was intended that the latter questions, at least, would result in a significant number of hesitation phenomena for study. Further, it was intended that by posing the same questions to each subject, comparisons could be made between subjects with regard to their individual hesitation patterns.

After posing a question, the author remained essentially silent with only infrequent and nonintrusive backchannels (*uh-huh, I see*), allowing the subject to speak until their turn was clearly relinquished. This was chiefly for two reasons, one linguistic, the other technical. First, the author did not want to influence the subjects' speech production. While it might be argued that a more intrusive interviewing technique would have prompted the subjects to use more hesitation phenomena (*e.g.*, to hold their turn), interruptions are context-dependent and therefore require fast rhetorical ability--a quality which the author could not have employed uniformly. Although a professional interviewer may have generated a more interactive interview without introducing inauthenticity, the author decided that higher reliability would be obtained with a nearly silent interview technique. The second reason for this approach was related to the lack of professional recording equipment. Using only one microphone meant that audio tracks could not be separated and thus backchannels, interruptions, and other speech overlaps would be more difficult to distinguish and transcribe even if audible.

At the end of approximately fifteen minutes or the end of the question list, whichever came

first, the interview was concluded.

### 3.2 Discussion

A total of sixty minutes of spontaneous speech was collected from the four subjects. One important issue arose regarding the length of the interviews. Based on a pilot interview with a fifth subject (not included in the corpus) fifteen minutes was deemed sufficient time to cover most of the seven interview questions. However, Subject 3 was the only one with whom it was possible to finish all questions. Subject 1 was more verbose than others, completing only five questions. Subject 2, on the other hand, was relatively brief and even declined to talk about a childhood experience. Finally, Subject 4 was the most verbose, completing only two questions. As a result only questions 1 (regarding background) and 3 (regarding Princess Diana's death) were answered by all subjects. Therefore concordance analysis of subjects' responses to individual questions contains a degree of asymmetry: for Questions 1 and 3, Subject 4's responses are more heavily weighted; for Question 2, Subject 2's contribution (declination) is discursively different from those of the others (responses); for Questions 2, 4, and 6, there are contributions by just three subjects; and for Questions 5 and 7 there are contributions by only two subjects. **FIGURE 2**, which shows a syllable-count summary of the corpus, illustrates this imbalance (the syllable is used as the base unit of measure in this study since word-counts are considered inaccurate; *e.g.*, Griffiths, 1991).

### 3.3 Transcription and Markup

The recordings were transcribed using a three-pass approach. In the first pass all utterances were transcribed without regard to hesitation, intonation, or discourse. That is, all words (including *er*, *erm*, *etc.*) were transcribed into text files--a separate file for each question and

FIGURE 2

Themes	Subjects				
	1	2	3	4	All
Background	792	171	101	2,359	3,423
Childhood experience	392		185		577
Pr. Diana's death	1,317	335	636	1,349	3,637
Happy event	651	243	371		1,265
Japan		262	678		940
Future plans	570	97	200		867
Dreams/hopes		185	150		335
Overall	3,722	1,293	2,321	3,708	11,044

Syllable-count Summary of Corpus

thus for each transaction. In the second pass, hesitation phenomena were marked in the texts. Finally, tone unit boundaries, tonic syllables (but no other prominent syllables), and tone choice (rise, fall, level, *etc.*) were marked on the third pass. A transcription of the full corpus can be found in **APPENDIX 1** and a listing of the tags used in marking up the text is shown in **APPENDIX 2**.

Several problems were anticipated with the first transcription step (*i.e.*, words only). A potential ambiguity in transcription of spontaneous speech was noted by Shriberg (1994) with regard to FPs. She noted the homophonous nature of the typical FP, *er*, with the indefinite article, *a*. She exemplified this ambiguity with the following extract.

what type of a(?)/uh(?) plane is that flight

(p. 44)

However, there was no difficulty at this stage in distinguishing the subject's utterances. In cases where *er* may have been confused with *a*, the rate of speech and intonation clarified the intended utterance. However, there were a few particularly disfluent sections which required much tape-rewinding to transcribe accurately as in the following extract.

// and we were going like OH ↘ . // what HAPpened ↗ to her . // \*and THAT→ // and so it was like well you KNOW ↗ // and then that was came out that er\* . the newspaper people were probably cha CHASing ↘ her \_\_ //

(1-3: 76-78)

With perseverance, though, even such passages as these were transcribed. There were, however, 19 places where a word or phrase could not be determined. These were marked as indistinguishable.

In the second pass, hesitation phenomena were noted and tagged in the text. This procedure offered greater challenges. In addition to marking instances of FPs, lengthening, false starts, restarts, and repeats, it was decided that SPs also be marked. Although they are not the focus of this study, knowledge of the location and type of SPs was desired at least to explore any patterns that might be found in the use of SPs with FPs.

In total, fourteen different hesitation types were marked in this study. FPs were first categorized as unlexicalized (UFP) and lexicalized (LFP). Each of these categories was further divided into two sub-categories based on length: short (SUFP, SLFP) and long (LUFP, LLFP). UFPs were finally subdivided again into two categories: open (SOUFP, LOUFP) and closed (SCUFP, LCUFP), that is, *er* and *erm*, respectively. This made a total of

six distinct classifications for FPs. SPs were subdivided into three categories: short (SSP), normal (NSP), and long (LSP). All of the hesitation types used in marking texts are summarized in **FIGURE 3**.

**FIGURE 3**

<b>Description</b>	<b>Tag</b>	<b>Example</b>
Short SP	SSP	[at a 'comma']
Normal SP	NSP	[at the end of a 'sentence']
Long SP	LSP	[when recalling a fact]
Short Open Unlexicalized FP	SOUFP	<i>er</i>
Short Closed Unlexicalized FP	SCUFP	<i>erm</i>
Long Open Unlexicalized FP	LOUFP	<i>e:r</i>
Long Closed Unlexicalized FP	LCUFP	<i>e:rm</i>
Short Lexicalized FP	SLFP	<i>you know</i>
Long Lexicalized FP	LLFP	<i>we:ll</i>
Lengthening	LENFP	<i>becau:se</i>
False Start	FS	<i>my name what's your name</i>
Restart	RS	<i>did you did you go home</i>
Self-correction	SC	<i>he she went to the store</i>
Repeat	RPT	<i>I want to to come along</i>

**Summary of Tags used in Text Mark-up**

Although it was generally easy to identify places in the text which required tagging, it was more difficult to determine the precise category. The greatest difficulty was related to time-duration. The lack of advanced speech analysis equipment made it difficult to determine with precision and accuracy the duration of pauses. Thus, pause length was judged relative to the apparent rate of speech of its context. Each break in the continuity of speech was marked as a SP. When this pause was very brief it was considered 'short'. Alternately, when the pause was so long that it interrupted or otherwise distracted from the message, it was deemed long. All other SPs were marked as normal--their presence noticed, but not distracting. UFPs did

not appear to be as brief as SSPs and thus only two categorizations were used, 'short' and 'long', although their durations coincide more with that of NSPs and LSPs, respectively. Words and phrases (e.g., *you know*, *well*, *and so*) which did not seem to carry functional weight in the message were marked as LFPs. Those uttered at a normal rate (relative to the context) were considered SLFPs, while those drawn out were tagged as LLFPs. Finally, words having enunciation drawn out past their normal duration were marked as instances of lengthening (LENFP). One may notice an apparent overlap between LLFPs and LENFPs. The key distinction between the two lies in the irrelevance of the former hesitation to the message. A good illustration of this concerns the conjunction *and*. Out of 338 occurrences in the corpus, the enunciation of *and* was elongated 59 times. In almost half (26) of these cases it served its usual conjunctive purpose as in the following extract.

// so for fifteen years I've been living in jaPAN ↘ . // \*a:nd\* teaching ENGLISH ↘ \_ \_ //  
(3-1: 296-297)

However, in other cases, *and* did not connect the preceding and following clauses grammatically.

// so I wanna teach as long as I CAN ↘ . // as long as the lord gives me HEALTH ↘  
enough \_ // \*AND\* → \_ // I'm seventy-six years OLD ↗ // SO → \_ // I WANT → to \_ //  
even though I've been through the years prePARing ↘ for meeting the lord // I \_ I wanna  
make a:s good a preparation as I CAN ↘ . //  
(2-6: 270-273)

Here, *and* is distinguished from the surrounding elements with respect to grammar and discourse intonation. Therefore, such instances as these were marked as LLFPs.



Another issue dealt with during the transcription and mark-up process was deciding tone unit boundaries. Where the speech was mostly fluent, this posed no problem. However, in sections with a high concentration of hesitation phenomena it became difficult to demarcate tone units. For instance, consider the following extract.

// and then one of the TEACHers ↘ came by // and made some comment and then he LEFT ↘ // \*and SO\* → . // he probably would have stayed longer if the teacher hadn't said something about oh you're in this class with these other KIDS ↘ <laugh> //  
(1-4: 158-160)

In speech the *and so* would perhaps appear to connect preceding and succeeding statements smoothly. However, it does not fit either discursively or grammatically. The relationship between the two statements is not captured in any usual sense of (*and so*). Furthermore, careful attention to the recording reveals that the opening pitch level of *he probably would...* is higher than the ending of *and so*. On this basis, a boundary was drawn to contain *and so* (and the following SP) in one tone unit. This differs from instances where the pitch carries over into the following statement as in the following extract.

// well I was <ahem> excuse me I was born in BEDford ↗ massachusetts // in nineteen-hundred and twenty-ONE ↗ \_ // \*erm\* the: youngest of five CHILdren ↘ // and the only girl . in the FAMily ↘ \_ //  
(2-1: 196-197)

In this extract, the key of the short FP *erm* flows straight into the lengthened *the* (pronounced *thee*) and is therefore grouped with the following statement in one tone unit.

### 3.4 "Tagger" Application

The rather tedious process of marking up texts was facilitated by the author's development of a Visual Basic computer program appropriately called "Tagger". The main window of Tagger displays a text on the left side with a descriptive list of all mark-up tags on the right. By placing the cursor at some location in the text and clicking on the appropriate linguistic description, a tag is inserted at the cursor's location.

In order to reduce transcription errors, Tagger was programmed to check whether the insertion point was a proper insertion point (*i.e.*, not in the middle of a word) and to determine whether to insert an additional space to separate the tag from surrounding words (*e.g.*, for silent pauses, throat-clearing, *etc.*). Tagger was further programmed to treat each tag as an inseparable unit rather than merely a string of characters. This prevents the entry of unintentional internal changes to a tag such that it no longer conforms to the tag protocol (as this would diminish its usefulness in corpus analysis).

Finally, Tagger displays the tags in different colors for easy recognition against the black text: green for tone unit boundaries, tonic centers, and tone choice tags, blue for hesitation phenomena, and gray for others. See **APPENDIX 3** for further information about Tagger.

### 3.5 Message-filtering During Transcription

Numerous times, the author listened to a section of the recording, and then typed in a transcription only to find that upon listening again all hesitation phenomena had been "filtered out" (Shriberg, 1994, p. 29) of the first transcription. That is, the author heard only the message and not the hesitations--despite the fact that his specific goal was to notice and

transcribe those hesitations! A possible 'other-side-of-the-same-coin' phenomenon appeared in a later informal discussion with one of the subjects. Upon hearing that one focus of the study was FPs the subject stated, "I didn't use any filled pauses." Even the subject's self-monitoring of speech filtered out hesitations. This psychological phenomenon will be discussed further in **CHAPTER 4**.

### 3.6 Analysis

Corpus analysis and concordancing was accomplished on an IBM computer using *WordSmith Tools, Version 2.0* (Mike Scott, 1997), while speech rate and correlation calculations were performed with Lotus 1-2-3. Although the author's voice was recorded, transcribed, and tagged, it is not included in the corpus analysis. Furthermore, the response of Subject 2 to the childhood experience question (a declination to answer) was excluded from the study since it contained no FPs and its brevity (15 words, or 28 syllables) exaggerated the relevance of the two hesitations found therein (2 LSPs).

### 3.7 Conclusions

This chapter has provided an overview of the corpus--how the interviews were performed, recorded, and transcribed.

A discussion and interpretation of these findings in light of previous descriptions of hesitation (outlined in **CHAPTER 2**) will be given in **CHAPTER 4** with a view toward making pedagogical recommendations in **CHAPTER 5** for ELT.

## CHAPTER 4

## RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The corpus provides an interesting view of FPs in spontaneous speech. Analysis of the data does not propose any significant model change, but confirms and deepens understanding of the linguistic functions of FPs as discussed in CHAPTER 2. CHAPTER 4 details the behavior of FPs in the corpus with respect to each other, to other types of hesitation, and to individual subjects. A summary of occurrences of hesitation phenomena in the corpus is shown in FIGURE 4.

FIGURE 4

<b>Hesitation Phenomena</b>	<b>Total occurrences in corpus</b>	<b>Significant collocates (within 5 words)</b>	<b>Succeeding hesitation phenomena (within 10 words)</b>
SSP	644	<i>and, the, was, that, but</i>	SOUFP (26); SCUFP (13); LENFP (27); FS (11)
NSP	352	<i>and, the, that, but, when, because</i>	SOUFP (20); SCUFP (12); LLFP (15); LENFP (28); FS (10)
LSP	73	<i>and, the, was</i>	
SOUFP	103	<i>and, the, that, but, think, then</i>	FS (18)
SCUFP	44	<i>really, and, was</i>	LENFP (3); FS (2)
LOUFP	28	<i>and</i>	FS (4); LENFP (2)
LCUFP	23	<i>the, and</i>	RPT (5); LENFP (2)
SLFP	63	<i>and, you know, so that, the, was, and so</i>	
LLFP	32	<i>well</i>	all HP (24)
LENFP	198	<i>and, the, was, but, they</i>	LENFP (24); SOUFP (9); FS (20)
FS	50	<i>and, the, that</i>	FS (11); LENFP (8)
RS	16	<i>the</i>	
SC	30	<i>that, the, and, not</i>	NSP (6); SSP (6); LENFP (6)
RPT	30	<i>the, he's, she</i>	RPT (1)

Summary of Hesitation Phenomena in the Corpus

#### 4.1 Filled Pauses in the Corpus

This section gives an overview of the corpus with respect to the types of hesitation phenomena marked in the texts.

##### 4.1.1 Short open unlexicalized filled pauses: *er*

By far the most common UFP in the corpus was the short form of *er*. Altogether there were 103 instances. About one third of these are not located within one or two words of a tone unit boundary. These SOUFPs appear to serve as a brief stalling or filling act, giving the speaker a little extra time to process the immediately following word or phrase. It often occurs just after the speaker utters the beginning of a clause, thereby limiting the grammatical and lexical choices. Consider the following two extracts.

// and she's doing so much work fo:r work with AI:DS ↗ pa:tients // and and . \*er\*  
crusading against the land MINES ↗ //

(4-3: 560-561)

// and then we moved to an even SMALLer ↘ town // that didn't even have MILK ↘  
delivery \_ // so as a result we . \*er\* got milk in from the FARMer ↘ . //

(1-1: 20-21)

In the first example, the subject explains some of Princess Diana's charitable activities. After citing one activity the subject utters *and* which requires listing a second activity. However, it appears not to be prepared. Thus the pause provides a little extra processing time. Similarly, in the second example above, the subject seems to know what to say and there are numerous ways of lexicalizing it. The subject might have said, "So as a result the milk was brought to our door", or "So as a result the farmer delivered the milk to our door", and so on. However,

once the subject says *we* the choices are sharply reduced. Not yet prepared to finish the idea having started with *we*, the subject takes a brief extra moment--a SOUFP--to formulate the remainder of the clause.

More than 60% of SOUFPs are located at or very near tone unit boundaries (consistent with previous research regarding the location of FPs: *e.g.*, Goldman-Eisler, 1972), often with an accompanying conjunction or SP (SSP or NSP). In these instances, the speaker appears to commit a stalling act (see 2.2.2), but for a slightly different purpose. While the non-boundary SOUFPs buy the speaker time with respect to the following word(s), a boundary SOUFP assists the speaker with respect to the entire following tone unit as in the following extract.

// well I was <ahem> excuse me I was born in BEDford ↗ massachusetts // in  
 nineteen-hundred and twenty-ONE ↗ \_ // erm the: youngest of five CHILDrEn ↘ // and  
 the only girl . in the FAMily ↘ \_ // and \*er\* I went to . paROchial ↘ school \_ //  
 GRAMmar ↘ school // and HIGH ↘ school \_ //

(2-1: 196-198)

After explaining about the family, this subject decides to continue speaking about schools attended. But how to organize the next statement appears not to be determined. Thus, the subject hesitates by combining *and* with a SOUFP to form a stalling act giving enough time to formulate the following informing act--realized in the subsequent three tone units.

The most common words found preceding SOUFPs include such conjunctions as *and*, *because*, *but*, and *then*. When preceded by such a conjunction, the SOUFP is then often followed by a SP. When there is no accompanying conjunction then a SOUFP is almost always *preceded* by a SP as in the following extract.

// all the things that you KNEW ↗ // and all the things that were valuable to YOU ↗ //  
 as you were growing UP ↘ \_ // you KNOW ↘ // are disappearing one by ONE ↗ // and  
 SUDdenly → // OH ↘ . // and I'm OLD ↘ . // I'm not part of this . thing that's going ON  
 ↘ anymore \*\_ // er\* . and to have something like that VANish ↘ \_ // when I'm still  
 twenty-SEVen ↗ // I THINK → // WOW ↘ //

(4-3: 597-601)

A few different words collocate highly with UFPs as indicated in **FIGURE 4**. It is worth noting here some common clusters in the corpus which include both FPs and their collocates. The most common cluster found in the corpus is the conjunction *and* followed by an UFP (28 instances out of 198). Some slight variation is found in this structure as *and* is sometimes lengthened or a SP is inserted in the middle. Occasionally, *and* is replaced by *but* (7) or *so* (3). Almost all of the hesitations of this pattern are located at the beginning of a tone unit as in the following extract.

// I did my university: first university degree in wisCONsin ↘ . // \*and er\* taught for a  
 couple years in miSSOUri ↗ . //

(1-1: 27-28)

#### 4.1.2 Short closed unlexicalized filled pauses: *erm*

The next most common UFP in the corpus was the short form of *erm* with 47 instances. The following extracts exemplify the three general types found.

// and I \_ finally ended up as a kind of a \_\_ COUNselor ↗ . // er a counselor fo:r a camp  
 . designed to: \_ prepare students fo:r \_ eventually \*erm\* going into . thei:r HOMEstay  
 ↘ // FAMilies ↘ //

(4-1: 441-442)

// but basically we don't really know what caused the accident at THIS ↘ point in time \_  
 // but if: it wa:s because of the ne negligence of somebody DRIVING ↘ . // \*erm\* \_ of  
 course that person would be reSPONSible ↘ . //

(1-3: 122-124)

// after all . it seems I'm always thinking about . when is the next TEST ↘ // or SO ↘ on  
 // \*ERM\*→ // I really don't have time to make long range . PLANS ↘ //

(3-6: 410-411)

The first example above represents the least common SCUFP and is similar to the non-boundary SOUFP in that it apparently denotes a brief stalling act in order to prepare the following word(s). When using a non-boundary UFP, speakers prefer the open *er* (33 instances) to the closed *erm* (9 instances).

The second and third examples above represent the tone unit boundary cases of SCUFPs. The third example illustrates a stand-alone FP. It is not part of the previous tone unit and is separated from the succeeding tone unit by pitch level. That is, the pitch of the SCUFP is different from the starting pitch of *I really don't*. Furthermore, the preceding and following clauses make up grammatically distinct sentences. This pause thus performs both a stalling act and a framing act, marking the succeeding statement as a new block of discourse. The second example, however, differs from the first in that it falls in the middle of a grammatical sentence. That is, the end of the preceding tone unit is not all the subject wishes to communicate in that thought. The SCUFP appears to fill the gap while the subject processes the following tone unit--thereby closing the thought. In essence, this type of SCUFP is a middle-ground between the first and third. Approximately one-third of boundary SOUFPs operate similarly. However, a major difference in use concerns accompanying conjunctions.



While SOUFPs are frequently accompanied by such words as *and*, *but*, and *so*, SCUFPs, with just one exception, are unaccompanied.

#### 4.1.3 Long open unlexicalized filled pauses: *e:r*

The next most common UFP is the long form of *e:r*, occurring 28 times in the corpus. This number is perhaps too small to allow an accurate generalization about its function, but it does seem to parallel its shorter form, the SOUFP. The following three extracts illustrate this parallel with non-boundary SOUFPs, and boundary SOUFPs with and without an accompanying conjunction.

// it sounded INTeresting ↘ // it sounded GOOD ↘ // it something it sounded something  
\_ \*e:r\* like what I wanted to DO ↘ . //

(4-1: 470-472)

// whe:n somebody asks that in front of my SISTER-in-law ↗ // and she's the one who  
brought me up after my with my brother after my PAREnts ↘ died \_ // er she sa:ys er the  
lord hasn't TOLD ↘ her yet \_ // so \*E:R\* → \_ // when he \_ makes known to me that he  
wants me to go HOME ↗ . // then I'll GO ↗ //

(2-7: 280-283)

// I wanted to come BACK ↗ . // to japan . to continue . er s learning about the CULTure  
↗ // and learning about . the LANGUage ↗ // and SO ↗ forth \_ // \*e:r\* I didn't have it  
clearly in mi:nd . what I wanted to do FINally ↗ //

(4-1: 472-474)

The only apparent difference between SOUFPs and LOUFPs appears to be their length, possibly indicating greater cognitive load due either to speech-processing or distractions (*e.g.*, sudden intrusion of unrelated thoughts like 'Oh, I forgot to do this-or-that...', *etc.*).

There is, however, one oddity in the LOUFP occurrences. The majority were uttered by Subject 4. Only 4 occurrences (of a total of 28) were uttered by other speakers. Furthermore, all of the non-boundary LOUFPs were uttered by Subject 4. This may be due in part to Subject 4's slower overall rate of speech (197 syllables per minute compared to the average 224 syllables per minute) which might have produced relatively longer FPs. However, an attempt was made during the transcription process to correct for this by determining pause length relative to enunciation rate (see 3.3). Therefore, it is difficult to conclude anything beyond an admission that extensive use of LOUFPs is idiosyncratic of Subject 4.

#### 4.1.4 Long closed unlexicalized filled pauses: *e:rm*

The least common UFP in the corpus was the long form of *e:rm* with just 23 instances. Like LOUFPs there may be too few to make any accurate generalizations. Overall, LCUFPs appear to parallel SCUFPs in that almost all occur at tone unit boundaries--approximately half of which comprise an entire tone unit. A slight difference can be found in that a few (6) boundary occurrences are accompanied by a preceding conjunction. The following extracts exemplify the three types of LCUFPs found in the corpus paralleling non-boundary SCUFPs and boundary SCUFPs.

// Anyway ↘ // and we moved \*e:rm\* to a small town in misSOUri ↘ \_ //  
(1-1: 17-18)

// and \_ it sounded like it was . CIty-like ↗ // but . \*e:rm\* fu:rther out from the city than  
. of course TOKyo ↘ // or CHIba ↘ would be . //  
(4-1: 518-520)

// but I don't know if it's POSSible ↘ <laugh> \_\_ // but possibly through using \_\_  
literatures from other COUNtries ↘ // \*E:RM\*→ \_ // would be working in the area of  
peace eVENTually↗ //

(1-6: 184-186)

Similar to SOUFPs and LOUFPs it appears that the primary difference between SCUFPs and LCUFPs is in their duration: the latter occurs when slightly longer hesitation is required.

#### 4.1.5 Short lexicalized filled pauses

There were 62 instances of SLFPs in the corpus, most (89%) of which occurred at tone unit boundaries. Typical lexicalizations included *and*, *you know*, *and so*, *but*, and *well*. SLFPs appear to fulfill the same functions as UFPs in the corpus. Non-boundary SLFPs appear practically anywhere--even splitting infinitives. The majority (84%) of boundary SLFPs occur at clause boundaries. That is, the preceding tone unit and the succeeding tone unit are grammatically separable units. The following extracts exemplify typical SLFPs.

// so \_ one of my jobs was to \_ *\*kind of\** oversee their . DORM ↘ life // while they were  
going to \_ er mock \_ HIGH ↗ school classes //

(4-1: 446-447)

// so as a result we . er got milk in from the FARMer ↘ . // er // twice every other DAY  
↘ . // i:n regular QUART ↘ jars // not real MILK ↘ bottles . // *\*AND\**→ // which was  
an exPERience ↘ //

(1-1: 21-23)

// and then one of the TEACHERs ↗ came by // and made some comment and then he  
LEFT ↘ <laugh> // *\*and SO\**→ . // he probably would have stayed longer if the teacher  
hadn't said something about oh you're in this class with these other KIDS ↘ <laugh> //

(1-4: 158-160)

Another observation worth making concerns the different ways FPs are lexicalized but not drawn out in enunciation. SLFPs are found in the corpus in the following expressions: *you know, so that, in that, and so, well*. While each of these expressions can convey a particular message, there are several times in the corpus when they do not appear to convey any message but function merely as 'filler', that is, as FPs. Compare the two highlighted (\*) instances of *and so* in the following extract.

// he probably would have stayed longer if the teacher hadn't said something about oh you're in this class with these other KIDS ↘ <HA> // and SO→ . // \*and so\* I gave him back his book and he LEFT ↘ <laugh> // \*and SO→\* . // they're just kind of funny to have \_ a total STRANGER ↗ // who I mean I had never met HIM ↘ //

(1-4: 159-162)

The first *and so* is a common discourse marker which indicates the following utterance is the latter half of a cause-effect sequence or the conclusion of a series of events. It flows in the speech with respect to grammar, discourse, and intonation. However, the second instance is apparently different, particularly with the accompanying SP. It seems to act similar to an UFP when used to hold a conversational turn. Their presence in the corpus lends support to the author's assertion (see 2.1.6 and 3.3) that UFPs and lexical fillers (in this study, LFPs) do carry similar functions and may be grouped together for analysis.

#### 4.1.6 Long lexicalized filled pauses

There are 31 instances of LLFPs. These differ from LENFPs because of their location at the juncture of two clauses (see 3.3). So all LLFPs occur at tone unit boundaries where the preceding clause is independent of the following clause. LLFPs operate as stalling or filling acts in the corpus, as in the following extracts.

// she wa:s probably . the most HUNTEd ↗ woman \_ // in terms of PHOTographs ↘ \_ //  
 \*A:ND\*→ \_ // SO→ \_ // the wo:rld lost . a GREAT ↘ person . //

(3-3: 321-322)

// so I wanna teach as long as I CAN ↗ . // as long as the lord gives me HEALTH ↗  
 enough \_ // \*A:ND\*→ \_ // I'm seventy-six years OLD ↗ //

(2-6: 270-271)

With the exception of the lack of non-boundary occurrences, LLFPs appear similar to SLFPs.

#### 4.1.7 Tone choice patterns on filled pauses

A look at discourse intonation in the proximity of hesitation phenomena yields some interesting patterns. First, it is very common for FPs to be used at tone unit boundaries, more so at the beginning than at the end of tone units. In the entire corpus there are approximately 1,350 tone units; 26% of these have a FP at one boundary: 16% at the beginning of the tone unit, 11% at the end. However, in most of those cases where the FP is at the end of a tone unit, the unit is a stand-alone pause (*i.e.*, somehow disconnected from the surrounding discourse) as in the following extract.

// and to get people to realize . the value of intercultural communiCAtion ↘ in those  
 areas \_ // \*ERM\*→ // I'd kind of like to combine all of those into ONE ↘ career //

(1-6: 182-184)

Such instances comprise almost all of the level tone units in the corpus. With regard to tone units with other tone choice patterns (*i.e.*, fall, rise, fall-rise, rise-fall) there is a significant observation to be made. FPs almost never occurred between the tonic syllable of a tone unit and the end boundary of the tone unit. In the entire corpus only four cases could be found in

which an FP did occur between the tonic syllable and end boundary, but each of these was a case where the final word of the tone unit was lengthened as the speaker apparently formulated the beginning of the next tone unit. Ordinarily, FPs occurred rather at the beginning or early parts of tone units.

All UFPs exhibited level tone. This is not surprising since *er* ↗ sounds like a nonverbal show of surprise while *er* ↘ sounds like a sigh, neither of which is considered a FP. However, a fairly natural presumption that LFPs would exhibit the same behavior is not supported in this corpus. Many LFPs show non-level tone choice patterns as in the following extracts.

// bu:t *yeah* my first r my first reaction to THAT ↗ \_ // e:rm was a reaction to mySELF  
 ↗ // OH ↘ // \**you KNOW* ↘ \* // how could you THINK ↘ that \_ //  
 (4-3: 568-569)

// but this was a very close FRIEND ↘ // \**you KNOW* ↗ \* // and if you're first reporting  
 that he's DEAD ↗ // and all of a sudden he's aLIVE ↘ //  
 (1-3: 94-95)

Most of these non-level LFPs (15 instances) occurred on such well-know filler phrases as *you know*, *and so*, and *well*.

#### 4.1.8 Interrelationships among filled pauses

The functional descriptions given above suggest a trio of FP pairs: SOUFP-LOUFP; SCUFP-LCUFP; and SLFP-LLFP. However, this is not supported by statistical analysis. **FIGURE 5** shows the combined (*i.e.*, all subjects) hesitation rates for all FPs and groupings thereof across the seven interview themes (*i.e.*, questions in **3.1**).

FIGURE 5

	SOUFP	SCUFP	LOUFP	LCUFP	SLFP	LLFP	SUFP	LUFP	OUFP	CUFP	UFP	LFP
Background	9	7	2	2	1	10	15	4	11	9	20	12
Childhood experience	3	3	0	0	5	4	5	0	3	3	5	9
Pr. Diana's death	10	3	1	1	6	2	13	2	11	4	15	8
Happy event	4	2	1	1	6	2	6	1	4	3	7	8
Japan	8	0	2	0	16	3	8	2	10	0	10	19
Future plans	3	7	1	2	6	4	10	3	4	10	13	10
Dreams/hopes	5	3	3	0	3	9	9	3	8	3	11	11

Combined Hesitation Rates (occurrences per 1,000 syllables)

Hesitation rates across themes do not correlate very highly among the six types of FPs nor among any grouping of them (see **FIGURE 6**). Only two significant correlations are revealed. One, between SCUFP and LCUFP ( $r = 0.90$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ), underscores the close relationship between this pair. Second, a positive correlation between SUFPs and LUFPs suggest that there are two kinds of UFPs--*er* and *erm*--which vary in length of enunciation. However, a non-significant correlation between SOUFPs and LOUFPs limits confidence in this conclusion. A larger corpus with more speakers may shed more light on this relationship.

LFPs also show no significant relationship to each other nor to any other FP. Again, this may be due to the limited size of the corpus.

The near-zero correlation between OUFPs and CUFPs is particularly interesting in that it suggests that *er* and *erm* are independent. That is, when a speaker has a need to fill a pause, the choice between an OUFP and CUFP may not be arbitrary. There are apparently differing conditions that invoke the use of one or the other. This may have repercussions on future pausological studies as researchers have commonly not distinguished between the two.

FIGURE 6

	SOUFP	SCUFP	LOUFP	LCUFP	SLFP	LLFP	SUFP	LUFP	OUFP	CUFP	UFP	LFP
SOUFP	1.00	-0.07	0.53	0.11	0.11	0.19		0.45		-0.02		0.30
SCUFP		1.00	-0.03	<b>0.90</b>	-0.68	0.46		0.66	-0.07			-0.43
LOUFP			1.00	-0.05	-0.03	0.70	0.39			-0.04		0.56
LCUFP				1.00	-0.41	0.32	0.71		0.07			-0.22
SLFP					1.00	-0.58	-0.38	-0.33	0.08	-0.61	-0.38	
LLFP						1.00	0.46	0.73	0.35	0.43	0.56	
SUFP							1.00	<b>0.80</b>				-0.06
LUFP								1.00				0.23
OUFP									1.00	-0.03		0.40
CUFP										1.00		-0.38
UFP											1.00	0.02
LFP												1.00

**Filled Pause Hesitation Rate Correlations**

Significant correlations ( $p < 0.05$ , two-tailed) shown in boldface  
 (Correlations are not shown where data overlaps: *e.g.*, UFP and SOUFP)

## 4.2 Other Hesitation Phenomena in the Corpus

### 4.2.1 Lengthening

The most common form of vocalized hesitation in the corpus, lengthening, occurs 198 times. Lengthening occurs anywhere on any word regardless of grammar except that a word's pronunciation should be easy to lengthen with respect to vowel-sound and end-sound. For example, consider the words in **FIGURE 7**. The most common words in the corpus (as indicated by "Rank in Corpus") are also the most commonly lengthened words (as indicated by "Rank in Lengthening") with a few exceptions. Lengthened words are primarily those which do not have a short vowel sound or a stop consonant at the end (this does not explain why *my*, *you*, or *be* are not lengthened, although this may be due to the relatively small size of the corpus). Such words as *it*, *think*, and *not* are difficult to draw out. So too is *have*, which, although its end-sound is not a stop consonant, is very difficult if not unpleasant to lengthen.



FIGURE 7

	Frequency Rank in Corpus	Frequency Rank when Lengthened		Frequency Rank in Corpus	Frequency Rank when Lengthened
I	1	10	MY	14	-
AND	2	1	ERM	15	-
TO	3	2	YOU	16	-
THE	4	3	THEY	17	7
A	5	9	OR	18	11
THAT	6	21	THINK	19	-
OF	7	-	HAVE	20	-
IN	8	6	FOR	21	23
WAS	9	5	I'M	22	-
ER	10	-	IF	23	15
SO	11	4	NOT	24	-
IT	12	-	BE	25	-
BUT	13	8			

Frequency of Lengthening of Most-common Words in Corpus

In one case a subject needed both to use *it* and also to stall for a little more processing time.

Rather than lengthening *it*, the subject uttered a repeat, as follows.

// . I guess more students started e:r were sent to . koREa ↗ // to jaPAN ↗ // and SO ↘  
 forth . // and eventually not so MUCH → . // \*it it\* eventually turned into . a:  
 TEACHER's ↘ exchange //

(4-1: 484-485)

Previous research (*e.g.*, Fox Tree and Clark, 1994, in Clark, 1994) has noted a pronunciation change when the definite article is lengthened before problematic noun phrases. The corpus also exhibited this phenomenon. Of 253 occurrences, the definite article *the* was lengthened 11 times. All but two of these were pronounced *thee* as in the following extract.

// so it's HARD ↗ to say. // ERM → . // probably: \*the:\* blame lies with many  
DIFFerent ↘ people . //

(3-3: 342-343)

In 183 instances of *a* in the corpus, only four were lengthened. Moreover, in each of these cases, it was pronounced with the long vowel sound, [ay], as in the following extract.

// it it eventually turned into . \*a:\* teacher's ↘ exchange //

(4-1: 485)

#### 4.2.2 False starts and repairs (restarts, self-corrections, and repeats)

False Starts and Repairs are frequent: 50 FSs, 16 RSs, 30 SCs, and 30 RPTs. These appear to serve the same function as FPs in spontaneous speech, to stall or fill time before continuing communication. The following extracts illustrate these four types of repairs, respectively.

// \*he's only\* he'll be fifty-four in JANuary ↘ // SO → \_\_ //

(2-3: 231-232)

// that's HARD ↘ to say . // part of it it's because \*it's because\* who she IS ↘ . // after all  
if you're rich and famous people always want to get PHOTOS ↘ of you //

(3-3: 331-332)

// I was really SHOCKED ↗ // that's what I reMEMber ↗ . // being shocked at my own .  
original \*my FIRST\* ↘ reaction //

(4-1: 555-556)

// I guess being on a team was . an exPERience ↘ . // so that was one of the memorable  
\*MEMorable\* ↘ experiences \_ // because it meant a LOT ↘ to me . //

(3-2: 309-310)

### 4.2.3 Interrelationships of other hesitation phenomena with filled pauses

In section 2.5 the author argued for the inclusion of lengthening in a study of FPs on the basis of their common role of delaying speech for the sake of planning. The author hypothesized a relationship between LENFPs and FPs. However, statistical analysis of the corpus does not reveal any significant relationship between lengthening and other hesitations. The most significant relationship found is with LUFPs ( $r = -0.65$ ). Had it been just a little stronger ( $r = -0.67$ ) it would have been significant at the  $p < 0.1$  level (two-tailed). Although no reliable statistical relationship is apparent between LENFPs and other hesitations, they may yet serve the same psycholinguistic purpose in spontaneous speech while functioning independently.

## 4.3 Further Observations

### 4.3.1 Hesitation idiosyncrasies

The corpus reveals differences between subjects' hesitation strategies. Some favor certain hesitation types while others have idiosyncratic lexicalizations of FPs (*cf.*, Reynolds and Paivio, 1968). **FIGURE 8** shows a summary of the corpus with respect to each subject.

**FIGURE 8**

Subject	Speech Rate (syllables per min.)	Hesitation Rate (hesitations per 1,000 syllables)	Preferred Hesitation Types
1	248	65	LSP, SOUFP, SCUFP
2	220	68	LSP, SLFP, SC
3	233	41	LLFP, LENFP
4	197	71	SOUFP, LOUFP
<i>Overall</i>	222	63	

**Statistical Summary of Corpus with Respect to Individual Subjects**

Subject 1 may most nearly be called the 'average' speaker in this study except with regard to speech rate which was the highest of the four subjects. Rates of hesitation were very nearly the same as the average for all subjects yet revealed a slight preference for SUFPs and LSPs, as in the following extract.

// then I \*ER→ \_\_\* // I had an older BROther ↘ // and \*ER→ \_\_\* // I and my mother  
and my brother went OUT↘ there //

(1-1: 10-11)

Subject 1 also exhibited a unique FP lexicalization.

// and one of the newscasters got real angry on television and SAID ↗ . // I wish they'd  
get this information RIGHT ↘ // \*and THAT\*→ // and they kind of looked on as being  
negative that he showed eMOtion ↘ . //

(1-3: 92-94)

In this extract *and that* does not contribute anything to the message. In fact, once our attention is drawn to it (as here in print) it even creates a slight ambiguity in the text. This is an example of an idiosyncratic FP lexicalization. Altogether, Subject 1 used this SLFP 10 times, while no other subject used it even once.

Subject 2 maintained a near-average Speech Rate (220pm) and hesitated with LSPs and SLFPs.

// I think in the beginning it was kind of a SELFish: ↘ . er motive // but I think I've  
learned to \*\_\_you know\* overcome THAT↘ // and make it more SPIritual↘ . //

(2-5: 258-260)

Also prevalent in Subject 2's speech were SCs.

// and she's the one who brought me up after my \*with my brother\* after my PARents ↘  
died \_ //

(2-7: 280-281)

Overall, Subject 2 was, like Subject 1, close to 'average'.

Subjects 3 and 4 comprise the 'extremes' in this corpus. With a Speech Rate of 233 spm, Subject 3 was the second fastest speaker yet used only four UFPs in almost ten minutes of speech. Hesitation rate, the lowest of all subjects, was not similarly low, however. The rate was buoyed by a large number of LENFPs. In fact, Subject 3's rate of lengthening (22 per 1,000 syllables) was almost 30% greater than any other subject. This subject accomplishes hesitation by lengthening one or more words before resuming a normal rate of speech.

// but it doesn't save the VIDEos ↘ \_ // it \*sa:ves . the:\* . POINTers ↘ . // to where the  
video is GOing ↘ \_ //

(3-4: 360-361)

Subject 4 represents the other end of the spectrum in this corpus, hesitating 71 times per 1,000 syllables (compared to the overall rate of 63 hesitations per 1,000 syllables). Particularly prominent were SOUFPs and LOUFPs, which account for more than one-quarter of the hesitations produced by this subject and were sometimes clustered near each other.

// o originally they sent students and TEACHers ↘ // to . to interACT ↘ // \*e:r\* to live  
among \*e:r\* at first . \*er\* chiNESE ↘ people \_ // in CHIna ↘ . //

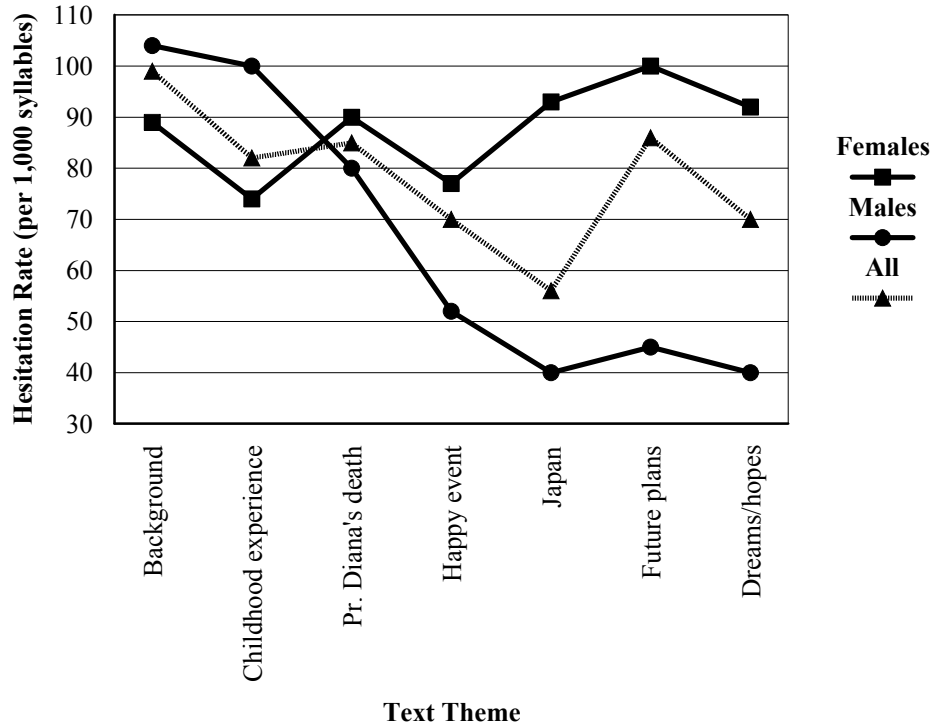
(4-1: 482-483)

In spite of the high hesitation rate, this subject's slower speech rate (197 spm) resulted in the same hesitation rate as the overall hesitation rate for all subjects (see **Figure 8**). Subject 4's speech, therefore, was marked by a slow but steady pace.

#### *4.3.2 Filled pauses as mitigating devices*

Eakins and Eakins' (1978) research suggested sex differences in FP use. Women, they suggest, are more apt to mitigate their assertiveness through the use of FPs. On the whole, this was also found in the corpus. Hesitation rates for the two female subjects (1 and 2) was consistently higher than for the two male subjects (see **FIGURE 9**). No doubt, such data might lead to some very unpopular if not controversial conclusions. However, it seems likely that there are two phenomena at work here. The first is that when asserting a point, one may 'soften the blow' by showing hesitation in the form of FPs. Another phenomenon is the pre-1960's predominant social view that women should be less assertive than men. Perhaps not coincidentally, both female subjects were reared prior to the social movements of the 1960s. It is not surprising to find that overall these female subjects used more FPs. However, *all* subjects' hesitation rates increased when they were being more assertive. Both Subject 1 and 2 showed the highest hesitation rate in the hopes/dreams theme. In the middle of this theme Subject 1 argued a potentially controversial point about language teaching in Japan. Subject 2 revealed a strong spiritual basis for her hopes and dreams. The male subjects, 3 and 4, on the other hand, exhibited the highest hesitation rates in the childhood experience and background themes, respectively. Subject 3's story about winning a sports trophy in junior high school was concluded with a clear moral. Subject 4 appeared to interpret the question ("Tell me about your background.") as a question about professional qualifications.

FIGURE 9



Male-Female Hesitation Rates (per 1,000 syllables)

All subjects displayed higher hesitation rates during attempts to assert a particular viewpoint. However, this naturally leads to the question of why the Princess Diana theme did not elicit higher hesitation rates since subjects were required to make controversial value judgments. It is possible that most subjects had already discussed such issues before the interview. It may have been better to use a theme which was less strongly rooted in the present.

#### 4.3.3 *In-process awareness of filled pause use*

Section 3.5 discussed one's awareness of hesitation during speech production or reception. During the initial transcription phase the author frequently missed disfluencies. Similarly, one subject later stated that she had not used any FPs. Shriberg (1994) has identified this

phenomenon as "message filtering" (p. 29). These coincidences suggest the hypothesis that although linguists identify FPs and such as "disfluencies", they are, in fact, attempts by a speaker to appear *more* fluent--and in fact they are quite successful at it. The author regrets that post-interview feedback was not generated from subjects regarding such issues as these, but is pursuing this as a subject of future study.

#### 4.4 Conclusions

A systematic analysis of the corpus through concordancing and correlation calculations suggests some patterns of hesitation accomplished with FPs. Cognitively, FPs generally serve as stalling acts to give speakers more time to prepare a near-future word or phrase. When used between tone units they may serve as a framing device, marking the following as a new block of discourse. FPs may also function as mitigating devices, smoothing the communication channels when one is asserting a particular point of view. Subjects use FPs and other hesitation phenomena in widely varying patterns: some prefer UFPs with occasional repairs while others prefer to combine lengthening with SPs.

Overall, few significant relationships between FPs and other hesitation phenomena were revealed. There is some support for the notion that the short and long version of each FP type (*er*, *erm*, and lexicalizations) are closely related. Study of the corpus further suggests that, contrary to pausological research practice, open and closed UFPs are independent and should not be combined in FP studies.

Finally, the corpus demonstrates a variety of idiosyncratic methods of hesitation and lexicalizations of FPs.



The corpus does not suggest any major change in the models of FP use outlined in the literature review of **CHAPTER 2**, but does suggest a few refinements. **CHAPTER 5** integrates these findings with previous research in order to produce suggestions for an approach to FPs in the ELT classroom.

## CHAPTER 5

### FILLED PAUSES IN THE ELT CLASSROOM

In spite of the fact that FPs are such a conspicuous part of the spontaneous speech of native English speakers, it is extremely difficult to find ELT coursebooks which deal explicitly with FPs (or any type of hesitation, for that matter). At best, a small handful of texts present FPs implicitly and with no accompanying explanation. A typical approach is to insert them in dialogs that have some other linguistic target, or include them in fixed expressions for controlled practice. One place where FPs appear is in lessons practicing *accepting and declining invitations*. Although this would present a perfect opportunity to note the function of FPs in mitigating the effect of a declination, texts make no mention of it. However, ELT writers may not be wholly at fault for this oversight. FP researchers have apparently made little effort to state implications of their research for ELT. It is this oversight that the present chapter is intended to address. Specific suggestions for ELT practitioners are made concerning integration of the current study with previous research.

#### 5.1 Some General Principles

Two general principles follow which underlie the discussion in this chapter.

##### *5.1.1 For intermediate and advanced students only*

FPs need not and probably should not be explicitly addressed in beginning-level classes. The linguistic needs of students at this level does not warrant attention to FPs. Such attention would likely be counterproductive as when a teacher gives instructions punctuated with FPs to the utter bewilderment of students. Furthermore, as the goal of beginners is to begin to process meaningful messages in the target language, a focus on the phenomena that occur

when this process fails seems premature. Just as one must first learn how a computer should work before one can learn computer repair, one must first learn how to process language properly before one can learn how to deal with processing problems.

To their credit, few, if any, beginning-level texts explicitly incorporate FPs in their syllabus. However, this is not as true of the other primary source of input for beginning students, the teacher. Teachers of beginning-level students should present their lessons with as little disfluency as possible. *Ers* and *erms* only provide fodder for learners' miscomprehension and confusion (*cf.*, Voss, 1979). In response to this principle, the remainder of this chapter discusses a pedagogical approach to FPs for use with intermediate and advanced language students only.

### 5.1.2 *Increasing awareness*

FPs and other hesitation phenomena are ubiquitous elements of spontaneous speech. As such, lessons need not be explicitly focused on them as one would focus on such aspects of grammar as *the present tense*, or on such language functions as *giving a compliment*. Rather, just as one might offer a brief aside about the intonation of a given expression in a lesson and how differing intonations might lend different meanings, so too should a study of FPs be tangential to the language lesson: a neglected and dangling thread finally reweven into the main knot. The theoretical discussion and practical suggestions of this chapter are given in this integrative spirit.

## 5.2 Listening Comprehension

An explicit focus on FPs may enhance students' listening comprehension.

### 5.2.1 Filtering filled pauses

The present study suggests that native speakers filter out disfluencies and process only the speaker's intended utterance. Language students also need to develop this skill in order to improve their listening comprehension. Although there is an apparent overlap between this skill and the skill of 'listening for gist', the author asserts that the two are separate skills--hypothesizing that filtering occurs before processing while determining gist occurs after. To illustrate, consider which is more likely after a student has produced the gist of an aural passage: that the student can recognize which words were used in the original passage, or that the student can recognize which disfluencies occurred during the passage. If it is the former (as the author predicts), that implies that disfluencies were discarded before processing. Hence, filtering and listening for gist are distinct listening skills and should be considered separately.

One possible approach to developing students' filtering ability is to present a disfluent sample of spoken English and have students produce the speaker's intended utterance. For example, the following extract from the corpus might be played for the students.

// this was *like* around er \_\_ nine o'CLOCK ↘ //

(1-3: 80)

Students would then be expected to produce (either in writing or in speech) the following: "This was around nine o'clock." The difficulty of the task can be varied by choosing passages with greater hesitation as in the following extract.

// bu:t yeah my first r my first reaction to THAT ↗ \_ // er:m was a reaction to mySELF  
 ↗ //

(4-2: 568)

Drawing learners' attention to FPs in spontaneous speech in this manner will improve their ability to filter FPs in real-life situations while reducing the likelihood of miscomprehension due to such speech elements.

### *5.2.2 Adapting to a variety of hesitation strategies*

The corpus suggests that when language learners meet native speakers of the target language they are likely to encounter a variety of idiosyncratic hesitation strategies. Therefore, it would be beneficial to incorporate a variety of samples of speech by native speakers in the classroom (*cf.* Voss, 1978). At present, many publishers offer materials that employ a variety of samples with respect to such variables as dialect, gender, and age. However, students may also benefit from materials that employ speakers for their various hesitation strategies.

### *5.2.3 Using filled pauses to gain processing time*

Linguists largely agree that the most common function of FPs is to stall while subsequent output is being processed. Students might benefit by learning to take advantage of such lulls in interaction to process input. Furthermore, given the evidence from the corpus that FPs rarely occur in the latter part of a tone unit, using pause time to process preceding input allows the learner to be better prepared for the central information of the current tone unit.

One possible exercise designed to enhance this skill would be to play a sample of speech only up to and including a FP. Then, the students would be asked to predict the remainder of the

utterance. For example, the following extract from the corpus might be used in such an exercise.

// \_\_ partly . everybody is reSPONSible ↘ \_ // \*ERM\* → // while- the newspapers did hound her sigNIFicantly ↘ . // \*er\* much more than the:y hounded almost any other ceLEBriTy ↘ \_ // and while . movie people a:nd \*er\* other . \*er\* famous people . sometimes WANT ↘ that publicity // there are other times when they want their PRiVacy ↘ \_ //

(1-3: 108-111)

With this extract, playback might be halted just after any one of the four FPs. If the tape is stopped after the first or second FP, the listener would be expected to predict a greater chunk of the discourse, while if the tape is stopped after the third or fourth FP then listeners need to predict only a couple of words. In this way, task difficulty can be varied.

#### *5.2.4 Determining the speaker's knowledge*

Brennan and Williams (1995) demonstrated that speakers are perceived to have greater knowledge when responses to questions are accompanied by FPs (as if they had once known a fact but had forgotten it--see discussion in 2.2.2). Language learners may find it useful to be aware of this psycholinguistic phenomenon in situations where it is necessary to judge the knowledge of a native speaker (*e.g.*, when the nonnative manager of an English school is interviewing applicants for a native English instructor's position).

An activity that would develop this insight in students would be to play for them a series of native speakers' recorded responses to a variety of factual questions in which some responses are lies. Students would be expected to detect the lies (since clues to untruthfulness can also

be visual it is recommended that audio only be presented to students). This activity might be similarly done in pairs where one student attempts to lie while the other plays the lie detector. However, some may question the wisdom or even the ethics of teaching students how to tell a lie.

### 5.3 Speaking Ability

The speaking ability of students may be improved by an explicit focus on FPs.

#### 5.3.1 *Managing one's conversational turns*

Students of the author frequently remark that they know what they want to say, but they can't put it into words promptly. This is probably a universal frustration for language learners. One course of action in such cases might be the use of SPs although this may be misinterpreted as the closure of a conversational turn. Alternately, speakers might fill such pauses with sounds from their native language (*e.g.*, in Japan, *eeto* or *ano*) which might create confusion for listeners. Thus, learners might well be encouraged to hold their conversational turns through UFPs and LFPs of the *target* language.

One activity that might achieve this goal entails competition. Small groups carry on a conversation on a relatively easy topic (one to which everyone may contribute). Speakers should try to speak as long as they can and may hold their turns using FPs. Other students may take (or 'steal') the conversational turn when there is an appropriately long enough SP. At the end of a specified time the winner may be determined as the one who held the conversational ball for the longest total time.

### 5.3.2 *Increasing apparent fluency*

Evidence from the data-gathering process in this study suggests that speakers may use FPs in order to sound more fluent. This strategy may also be encouraged in language learners in order to improve their apparent communicative competence. An activity that might develop this ability is an in-process fill-in-the-blank or sentence-completion exercise. Students would be given a printed exercise consisting of a stem and several options. Then, without pre-reading, the student must read the item aloud while solving the exercise. Students may fill their thinking time with FPs, but SPs of abnormal length would be disallowed. In order to preserve some authenticity, the stem and correct option may be drawn from a corpus of spontaneous speech. An example based on an extract from the corpus follows.

There's some kind of Buddhist 

smelling
playing
feeling

 that everything is temporary.

(extracted and adapted from 4-3: 573-574)

### 5.3.3 *Other*

With more advanced students, lessons may be designed to practice various other psycholinguistic functions of FPs in spontaneous speech. In some ELT situations explicit study of FPs may also be warranted. Two functions which may provide rich study and practice opportunities follow with likely learning contexts.

Communication is not always a disengaged exchange of information. It often involves the careful interplay of personal feelings. Balancing the interpersonal needs of all interlocutors is often as important as communicating the message itself. FPs are regarded (*e.g.*, Finegan,



1994; Levinson, 1983) as playing a role in mitigating some potentially severe situations (*e.g.*, when uttering a dispreferred). As such, FPs may be usefully integrated into a wide variety of lessons involving such language functions as *declining invitations*, *introducing a new topic*, and *expressing disagreement*.

The Japanese businessman on temporary assignment at a US affiliate may find himself in a quandary when it becomes necessary to persuade his American supervisor without offending him. The function of FPs in mitigating assertive speech would be useful. FPs might well be included in a business English syllabus.

#### 5.4 A Sample Lesson: "The Quiz Game"

The following lesson, used with the author's intermediate-level students, generated a highly favorable response and resulted in a modest improvement in students' (apparent) fluency. The lesson is based on the notion that in conversation, native English speakers prefer some sound to silence; this was evidenced in the corpus as even the longest SP was less than 5 seconds. As such, unusually long silence by a speaker who clearly has the conversational turn may imply a communication problem. This lesson is thus designed to limit this silence--in effect, to encourage students to appear more fluent.

##### 5.4.1 *The lesson*

First, a variety of stalling expressions are reviewed as shown in **FIGURE 10**. Little effort is spent in explaining them as they are chiefly expressions most likely encountered during the beginning stages of students' language learning. What is emphasized is how all these expressions are grouped under the umbrella of stalling functions.

FIGURE 10

<b>Stalling expressions</b>	<b>Asking for repetition</b>	<b>Concession</b>
<i>er</i>	<i>Excuse me, could you say that again please?</i> (more polite)	<i>I'm not sure.</i>
<i>erm</i>	<i>Would you say that again?</i>	<i>I don't know.</i>
<i>hmm</i>	<i>What did you say?</i>	
<i>well</i>	<i>Excuse me?</i>	
<i>let me see</i>	<i>Pardon?</i>	
	<i>What?</i>	
	<i>Huh?</i> (less polite)	

**Expressions used to Avoid Silence**

The class is divided into two teams. The classroom is arranged as a quiz show set with the teacher in the center serving as the quiz master. Using a prepared list of questions (both factual and personal: see **APPENDIX 4** for a sample), the teacher alternates between teams, asking each student a question in succession. For students, the object is to give a fluent response (defined as a non-silent response), though not necessarily a correct answer to the question. Points are awarded to teams as follows.

- *0 points* if the student remains silent for 5 seconds.
- *1 point* if the student gives a fluent response ending in an incorrect answer or a concession.
- *2 points* if the student gives a fluent response that includes a correct answer.

Incorrectly answered questions are given to successive students (up to a limit of three times) until answered correctly. Then a new question is given to the next student. However, used questions may reappear later in the game.

#### 5.4.2 Discussion

This lesson exemplifies how FPs may be integrated into a lesson designed to develop better communication strategies. The lesson as presented by the author was one of the most popular lessons of the course. In subsequent teacher-student conferences, the "Quiz Show" was most often cited as a favorite. Furthermore, in immediately following lessons, the students could be heard to say more *ers* and *erms* along with other stalling expressions and sounded more fluent overall. Unfortunately, the author did not reinforce the behavior so most gains were temporary. Yet, even six months later, a handful of students still practice good stalling technique and the author has noticed that these students *appear* to communicate more fluently than their classmates of approximately equal ability.

#### 5.5 Conclusions

In this chapter the author has attempted to compensate for the lack of attention given to FPs in ELT by integrating the results of the present study with previous research in order to make recommendations for the integration of FPs in ELT. Suggestions were made with respect to the development of both listening and speaking skill. The theoretical framework and practical suggestions provided here can form a useful foundation on which ELT professionals (both instructional material developers and teachers) may base decisions in the implementation of FPs in ELT lessons. This chapter also provides a basis for further research on the role of FPs in ELT. **CHAPTER 6** considers these research implications in further detail.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSIONS

From a systematic analysis of a small corpus (8,165 words) of spontaneous speech, the present study has drawn several conclusions regarding the cognitive conditions and communicative functions of FPs with respect to other types of hesitation and with respect to different speakers. The present chapter summarizes these conclusions and offers suggestions for further research.

#### 6.1 Summary of Results

In this corpus, FPs appeared to be used most often as stalling and filling acts during which the subjects prepared their following utterance, whether it was merely the next word, the following tone unit, or an entire span of discourse. Analyses of FPs in this corpus largely support previous descriptions and suggest no major revision of them. One outstanding discrepancy, though, appeared with respect to the correlation of different FP types across the various themes. A very low correlation between open and closed UFPs suggest that these two operate independently. This may have implications for hesitation phenomena researchers as previous research has normally combined all such unlexicalized vocalizations--whether short or long, open or closed--into one group.

The author's experience during data-gathering and transcription brought attention to the concept of 'filtering' of FPs and other hesitation phenomena by both speaker and listener. Although this was not initially an explicit aim of the study, it was tentatively concluded that speakers use FPs to increase their *apparent* fluency and depend on the filtering phenomenon in themselves and in listeners to achieve this effect.

Evidence from the corpus also supports the hypothesis that FPs are used by speakers to mitigate undesirable effects of the message, in particular when one is being assertive.

Finally, results of the current study were integrated with previous research to produce specific theoretical and practical recommendations for the use of FPs in ELT. FPs may be integrated into existing syllabi implicitly--that is, they need not be an explicit focus of language lessons. FPs may support the development of listening comprehension by allowing learners to take advantage of a speaker's pause time to process and predict input. They may also support the development of speaking ability by making learners appear more fluent--that is, to sound more like native speakers. These suggestions were illustrated by describing a lesson used by the author and fashioned after a quiz game: in responding to questions, students were expected to use FPs and other fillers to avoid silence during their thinking time and thus to score points for *fluent* responses. Highly positive affective responses and improvements in apparent fluency by several students support the potential effectiveness of this approach.

## 6.2 Directions for Future Research

Results of the present study suggest several directions for future research. Perhaps of greatest importance to the study of hesitation phenomena is the possibility that *er* and *erm* are independent phenomena. Since pause researchers have almost universally not distinguished between the two, it would be interesting in future research to test the validity of treating them as mutually independent.

Although the explicit focus of this study was the nature and function of FPs, other hesitation phenomena were included for comparative purposes. The various forms of hesitation (UFPs,

LFPs, lengthenings, and repairs) in the corpus often appear to serve the same basic psycholinguistic purpose (stalling during processing). However, statistical analysis did not clarify their interrelationships. Most correlations between the hesitation types were not statistically significant while those that were significant did not provide conclusive insights into their relationships. Research using a larger corpus would be needed to confirm or refute hypothesized relationships.

Filtering of hesitation phenomena is worthy of greater study. The author has suggested that some speakers may employ FPs and other hesitations to increase their apparent fluency by capitalizing on the listener's filtering. This hypothesis needs to be confirmed or refuted.

In the corpus, each subject was found to exhibit idiosyncratic hesitation techniques. Deeper study of the type and range of such techniques as used by native speakers may be useful to ELT materials writers who wish to incorporate a variety of hesitation patterns in authentic recordings for listening comprehension.

Although the usefulness of FPs in reducing the impact of an unfavorable response (as in a dispreferred response in an adjacency pair) is well documented; other mitigating uses of FPs are not. Evidence from the present study suggests that mitigating assertiveness embodies one such use. Further studies are necessary to clarify relationships between FPs and mitigation.

Finally, with respect to the pedagogical recommendations made in **CHAPTER 5**, the effectiveness of various ways of integrating FPs in ELT syllabi remains to be field-tested.

### 6.3 Final Words

The author hopes that this study contributes to a greater understanding of the cognitive function and communicative purposes of filled pauses in spontaneous speech by its confirmation of past research and by suggestions for continuing study. Furthermore, the pedagogical recommendations for the integration of FPs in ELT should redress the absence of such recommendations in earlier FP research. These suggestions form a foundation to be tested in future language teaching materials and practice. Accordingly, the author hopes that the present study evokes a slight pause in the ELT community during which a focused academic discourse regarding hesitation phenomena will be organized.

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## APPENDIX 1

### CORPUS TRANSCRIPTS

Each of the following texts comprise one transaction. Although the interviewer's speech was not used in corpus analysis, it is included here for the sake of continuity. The transcriptions follow the notation conventions listed after the table of contents at the beginning of this paper.

1 Text 1-1  
 2 **Interviewer:** erm SO ↘ \_ // OH ↘ \_ // HELLo ↘ //  
 3 **Subject:** I'm FINE ↗ <laugh> //  
 4 **Interviewer:** erm WELL → // FIRST ↘ thing I I wonder if you might er // GIVE ↗ me a brief ↘  
 5 explanation // of your BACKground ↘ // just er TELL ↘ me a little about // your BACKground ↘ //  
 6 **Subject:** my background in relation to TEACHing ↗ // or my background in relation to life in GENeral ↘ //  
 7 **Interviewer:** how about BOTH ↘ //  
 8 **Subject:** <laugh> WELL → // basically I grew UP ↘ in the midwest in the united states // though I was born  
 9 in wisCONSIn ↗ // we moved to: \_ the east COAST ↘ // where my father was STUDying ↘ // when I  
 10 WA:S → \_ // I don't actually KNOW ↘ how old I was when I moved out there \_ // then I ER → \_ // I had  
 11 an older BROTHer ↘ // and ER → \_ // I and my mother and my brother went OUT ↗ there // I THINK ↗  
 12 my mother was in wisconsin // to take care of he:r older SISTER ↘ \_ // ERM → // who had a heart atTACK ↘  
 13 <ahem> // and SO → . // my mother being a nurse \_ got to go out and take care of her SISTER ↘ // and then  
 14 we moved back to the east COAST ↗ // E:RM → // \_ the earliest memories I have are living in misSOUri  
 15 ↘ \_ // so I don't know: too much about what actually happened on the east COAST ↘ . // THOU:GH → //  
 16 my mother says that . I sort of met EINstein ↘ . // though not REALly ↗ <laugh> // cause I don't  
 17 reMEMber ↘ him <laugh> // neither does my BROTHer ↘ // SO → // if my MOTHER ↗ does <laugh> //  
 18 Anyway ↘ // and we moved e:rm to a small town in misSOUri ↘ \_ // my father was originally from er st.  
 19 LOUis ↘ missouri \_ // a:nd E:RM → \_ // I can remember going throu:gh erm second GRADE ↘ \_ // I  
 20 THINK ↗ <laugh> // a year and a half of SCHOOL ↗ // and then we moved to an even SMALLer ↘ town  
 21 // that didn't even have MILK ↘ delivery \_ // so as a result we . er got milk in from the FARMer ↘ . // er //  
 22 twice every other DAY ↘ . // i:n regular QUART ↘ jars // not real MILK ↘ bottles . // AND → // which was  
 23 an exPERience ↘ // a:nd ER → // it wasn't PASTeurized ↘ // EITHER ↘ \_ // so we er \_ moved to illinois  
 24 AFter ↗ that // to SPRINGfield ↗ illinois . // and I went to school THERE ↗ for a few years // and then I  
 25 moved to: \_ Iowa ↘ // hartley Iowa ↘ // a small town in the upper northwest CORner ↘ . // near the iowa  
 26 FIVE ↘ great lakes \_ // ERM → . // maybe it's THREE ↗ great lakes there <laugh> // Anyway ↘ . // and  
 27 then after that we moved to wisCONSIn ↘ // where I started HIGH ↘ school . // I did my university: first  
 28 university degree in wisCONSIn ↗ . // and er taught for a couple years in misSOUri ↗ . // then er went to  
 29 INdia ↗ for a few years // moved TO → \_ // moved BACK ↗ to the united states for six months // a:nd the:n  
 30 left and went to jaPAN ↗ for two years // and TAUGHT ↗ . // moved to: new YORK ↗ . // did er graduate  
 31 work there for two YEARS ↗ // completed . two master's at TEACHER's ↗ college columbia university //  
 32 and then moved to: \_ wisCONSIn ↘ <ahem> // to do the Ph.D. program in MADison ↘ . // finished up there  
 33 \_ about nineteen-EIGHTy ↗ I think // no not EIGHTy ↘ // eighty is when I MOVED ↗ there I think  
 34 <laugh> // and then SO → \_ // er finished up in nineteen-eighty-FIVE ↘ \_ // no eighty was when I was  
 35 acCEPTed ↗ to the Ph.D. program . // and eighty-five was when I comPLETed ↘ the Ph.D. . // passed my  
 36 passed my orals in <indistinguishable> // and comPLETed ↘ in eighty-five . // and spent a year . looking  
 37 for a job . erm someplace OUTside ↗ the united states // couldn't FIND ↗ any . // but I really wanted to  
 38 take <indistinguishable> so then I took this OTHER ↘ job // then I took a job in japan teaching ENGLISH ↘ .  
 39 // but my: degree is not in ENGLISH ↘ . // er it's in \_ non-FORMal ↘ education // which is OUTside ↘ the  
 40 formal system // E:RM → . // SO: → // junior college would NOT ↘ be a place I would be working // if I  
 41 were doing work in actually my deGREE ↘ field \_ // I: have been HERE ↗ then since nineteen-eighty-six //  
 42 juLY ↗ of nineteen-eighty-six \_ // and will shortly be LEAVing ↘ here <laugh> // SO ↘ //  
 43 **Interviewer:** GREAT ↘ // Okay ↗ // THANK ↘ you //

44 Text 1-2

45 **Interviewer:** // ERM→ \_ // could you tell me about er . a memorable experience from your CHILDhood ↗  
46 //

47 **Subject:** // \_\_ HM↘ // well I can remember ONE ↗ time <laugh> // we lived next to the CHURCH↘ //  
48 because my father was the PASTor↘ of the church // and across the STREET↗ from the church // there  
49 was a city PARK↘ // \_ a:nd s in THOSE↗ days // parks had BANDstands↘ // . a:nd this bandstand also  
50 had *like* a kitchen area underNEATH↘ // so it was a fairly HIGH↘ bandstand // \_ it was on street level on  
51 ONE↗ side // but if you walked around it would be . NOT↘ on street level // \_ and it was a fairly erm \_  
52 FLAT↘ // and this bandstand didn't have a: ROOF↘ on it // so we we would play THERE↘ // because it  
53 was kind of a neat place to PLAY↘ // \_ and my TWO↗ brothers // my the y brother just younger to I↗  
54 and myself // we were er PLAYing↘ \_ once // \_ occupying ourSELVES↗ // while our parents PACKED  
55 ↘ // \_ because we were moving from the old parsonage to the NEW↗ parsonage // they had built on the  
56 other side of the CHURCH↘ // and so we were supposed to stay out of the WAY↘ // \_ and THAT↘ //  
57 SO:→ // <ahem> we we were PLAYing↘ // . a:nd I don't remember what the younger brother DID↗ // .  
58 but he made the older brother MAD↗ // <laugh> and there happened to be an old BRANCH↗ and so the  
59 younger brother STOMPED↗ off // walked down . the steps and round in FRONT↗ of the bandstand //  
60 and the big brother PICKED↗ up this branch // TOOK↗ it over // and dropped it on his HEAD↘ // \_  
61 my parents weren't real HAPpy↘ <laugh> // and THAT→ // cause we had to take him HOME↗ // cause he  
62 was sort of BLEEDing↘ <laugh> // he wasn't knocked unCONscious↗ \_ and THAT→ // but he I don't  
63 remember exactly the seriousness of the INjury↘ // and SO→ \_ so: ER→ // . you can tell the relationship  
64 between the three of us <laugh> from THAT↘ <laugh> // <indistinguishable> never really tried to KILL↗  
65 anybody // but we would just get ANgry↘ at each other // \_ so all three of us have PREtTy↘ good tempers  
66 <laugh> // SO→ //

67 Text 1-3

68 **Interviewer:** // ERM→ // \_ as you a as I'm SURE↗ you know <ahem> // erm princess diana erm recently  
69 er passed er recently DIED↘ // . erm what . was your reaction to that eVENT↘ //

70 **Subject:** // first it was disbelief↘ // \_ becau:se SHE:→ . // the news was casually passed on by \_ my  
71 cousin's DAUGHTer↘ . // we were sitting at my COUSin's↗ house // ERM→ // I had gone to visit them in  
72 st. LOUis↘ \_ // it was that WEEKend↘ // labor day WEEKend↘ // a:nd er I hadn't seen them for about  
73 F:→ // well no I had saw them at my FATHER's→ // I had seen them at my father's FUNeral↘ . // but I  
74 hadn't seen the entire family at that TIME↘ // but I hadn't been in st. louis for FOU:R↘ years . // so it wa:s  
75 *you know* kind of a happy occasion to be TALKing↘ with them . // a:nd ER→ // the DAUGHTer↗ came  
76 down . // my cousin's daughter came down and said er princess diana was in an ACCident↘ // and we were  
77 going like OH↘ . // what HAPpened↗ to her . // and THAT→ and so it was like well you KNOW↗ // and  
78 then that was came out that er . the newspaper people were probably cha CHASing↘ her \_ // we were:  
79 curious . after THAT↘ . // ER→ . //and then . er of course they rePORTed→ . // then we went home and  
80 nothing was on TELevision↘ at that time // this was like around er \_ nine o'CLOCK↘ // that cause she //  
81 my \_ cousin's daughter had heard it o:n \_ Radio↘ // and so we were hoping that there'd be something on  
82 TV↗ \_ // there wasn't much on TV↗ // there wasn't anything on TV at that TIME↘ // so instead we  
83 listened to a garth brooks concert . that they had on VIDEo↘ // <laugh> SO→ // and afterwards we were  
84 just sort of flipping around to see what was happening and then there was the announcement that she was  
85 DEAD↗ \_ // so the . news was late in getting to us in the united STATES↗ // but you're going like oh no  
86 this isn't really TRUE↗ <laugh> // that's just a misTAKE↘ <laugh> // they just think she's DEAD↘  
87 <laugh> // and THAT→ . // it's just another RUMor↘ type of a thing \_ // er and the:n later on you realize  
88 it's not a RUMor↗ // this is really a FACT↘ . // and THAT→ // BUT→ . // at first because \_ er THEY→ //  
89 it seemed so unorganized in their rePORTing↘ \_ // er it made it appear that . they weren't really SURE↘ //  
90 and I can remember \_ when \_ Reagan was \_ SHOT↘ // a:nd hi:s press secretary James BRAdy↗ I believe  
91 his name was . // was also INjured↘ // and at first they reported him as DEAD↘ . // and then later he  
92 wasn't dead but he was seriously INjured↘ // and THAT↘ // and one of the newscasters got real angry on  
93 television and SAID↗ . // I wish they'd get this information RIGHT↘ // and THAT→ // and they kind of  
94 looked on as being negative that he showed eMOTion↘ . // but this was a very close FRIEND↘ // *you*  
95 *KNOW*↗ // and if you're first reporting that he's DEAD↗ // and all of a sudden he's ALIVE↘ // *you KNOW*  
96 ↘ // AND→ \_ // as a newscaster I don't think they like to make mistakes EItHer↘ \_ // and so but THEY→  
97 // people are going to blame THEM↘ // because they're the ones that read IT↘ // not the person who  
98 handed them the piece of PAPER↗ // because they're never seeing THAT↗ person \_ // so: at that time .

99 becau:se they: screwed up <laugh> in reporting a DEATH \\_ // and you're thinking oh no that this isn't  
 100 really TRUE \\_ // this isn't POSSible \\_ <indistinguishable> // so at first it was more or less just disbeLIEF  
 101 \\_ \_ // ERM→ \_ // when I when I actually first heard that she was dead after the garth brooks CONCert \\_ \_  
 102 // and it was kind of unREAL ^ // because you had been we had been listening to this other thing and all of  
 103 a sudden there was this real serious <indistinguishable> //  
 104 **Interviewer:** // erm WHO→ \_ // who do you think erm \_ is reSPONSible \\_ // or should be HELD \\_  
 105 responsible . // for that ACCident \\_ //  
 106 **Subject:** // ER→ // I don't like to JUDGE \\_ <laugh> // which is why I'm NOT \\_ a lawyer <laugh> //  
 107 <ahem> maybe I SHOULD ^ be a lawyer though I think <laugh> // because I don't want to JUDGE ^ // I  
 108 just want to deFEND ^ // \_ partly . everybody is reSPONSible \\_ \_ // ERM→ // whi:le the newspapers did  
 109 hound her sigNIFicantly \\_ . // er much more than they: hounded almost any other ceLEBrity \\_ \_ // and  
 110 while . movie people a:nd er other . er famous people . sometimes WANT ^ that publicity // there are other  
 111 times when they want their PRIVacy \\_ \_ // so I think that they: use the newspapers as much as they CAN \\_  
 112 // and to: know when to stop . is DIFficult \\_ // ERM→ \_ // I don't feel that anyone should dedicate their life  
 113 to taking pictures only of one person to the point of disrupting their PRIVacy \\_ \_ // but I also think that  
 114 diana brought some of this on . by not being clear where the lines should be DRAWN \\_ \_ // er I think the  
 115 royal family is somewhat at fault for not er helping her in the beginning adjust to the fact that she WAS \\_  
 116 going to be a very unprivate person . // and that . what privacy . she would have would . be snatched . erm  
 117 almost by CHANCE \\_ . // by ACCident \\_ . // it could not be PLANNED \\_ \_ // ERM→ \_ // of course I  
 118 don't think she realized to the full extent that . that she would be popular after she married charles Either \\_  
 119 \_ // I don't think anybody realized how popular she was going to beCOME \\_ \_ // E:RM→ \_ // I think the  
 120 the newspaper people of COURSE \\_ // because they hounded her so MUCH \\_ // and if: there wa:s a case  
 121 that . a motorbike was HIT ^ // ERM→ // they're talking about another vehicle being involved in the  
 122 ACCident \\_ // but basically we don't really know what caused the accident at THIS ^ point in time \_ //but  
 123 if: it wa:s because of the ne negligence of somebody DRIVing ^ . // erm \_ of course that person would be  
 124 reSPONSible \\_ . // but I think in general even I as a member of the public am responsible to a deGREE ^ \_  
 125 // because I wanted that information about HER \\_ // at TIMES \\_ // maybe not twenty-four hours a day like  
 126 some PEOPle ^ \_ // but I was always CUrious \\_ and I did read stories about HER \\_ // a:nd ER→ \_ // I  
 127 think we are curious . about people who are in the NEWS \\_ // and so: because we buy those NEWSpapers  
 128 ^ // who have paid these exorbitant PRICes ^ . // to get the:se erm . privacy-robbing PHOTographs ^ . //  
 129 ERM→ // we're also are responsible for what has HAPPened \\_ //

130 Text 1-4

131 **Interviewer:** // ERM→ \_ // can you tell me about something that has made you really HAPpy ^ . //  
 132 REcently ^ //  
 133 **Subject:** // e:r what's made me really HAPpy \\_ \_ // HM→ <laugh> //  
 134 **Interviewer:** // or any particular event that you've enJOYED \\_ //  
 135 **Subject:** // \_ I guess I'm not enJOYing \\_ life very much right now <laugh> // terRIFically \\_ \_ // ERM→  
 136 \_ // though I do enjoy . teaching the kindergarten class at er <INSTITUTION> \\_ . // a:nd er working with  
 137 those KIDS \\_ // the fact that they: er now come up to me and talk to me in japaNESE ^ // even though I  
 138 don't understand ninety-nine percent of what they SAY ^ \_ // e:rm last week . they had a: er \_ store in one  
 139 of the CLASSrooms \\_ // and so I went in and sat down and . ordered SOMETHing \\_ // they I said I don't  
 140 have any MONey \\_ // so one of the kids came and brought me MONey ^ <laugh> // he says here you GO  
 141 ^ // and THAT→ . // so then I walked in and I was looking around just seeing what they were  
 142 <indistinguishable> // are you gonna EAT ^ // and I says well OK \\_ // so I SAT \\_ down <laugh> // and  
 143 they brought the MEnu \\_ // and THAT→ // and now this is all in . sort of . pidgin my pidgin japaNESE ^ //  
 144 and their japaNESE \\_ <laugh> // and SO→ \_ // and THAT→ // so that was kind of a fun thing to DO: ^ //  
 145 ERM→ // it . kind of made me happy that they: didn't stand back and stare at ME \\_ // and SO→ // they've  
 146 pretty much accepted me as a . real human BEing \\_ <laugh> // and SO→ // they're much less aFRAID \\_  
 147 now there are some that are still kind of NERvous \\_ around \_ // one other CUTE ^ little thing that  
 148 happened . // I: . teach only the fifth . FIVE-year-olds \\_ // er \_ A:ND→ // I'm not sure if this little boy was a  
 149 three-year-old or a FOUR-year-old ^ // I don't know which class he CAME ^ from but \_ // one of the first  
 150 couple of weeks this some little boy that is not in my CLASS ^ // came up to me with a BOOK \\_ // and he  
 151 GAVE ^ it to me // and . he pointed at it and I'm s sitting there OH ^ <laugh> // and THAT→ // and I can  
 152 only speak ENGLISH \\_ I don't I don't speak enough japanese even if I was to have a conversation with a  
 153 three or a FOUR-year-old \\_ <laugh> // so ERM→ \_ // then he s we sort of squatted down there and I was  
 154 trying to squat down so I would be on his level and he squatted down next to me <laugh> which made him

155 even shorter <laugh> and we sort of read the BOOK ↘ // <laugh> and THAT → // and I was TALKing ↘ //  
 156 and I says oh what's THIS ↗ and TALKing ↗ to him // and he was just SITting ↘ there . // as if it was a  
 157 normal THING ↘ \_ // which of course it WASn't ↘ a normal thing // cause I'm sure he doesn't have a  
 158 foreigner read him stories at NIGHT ↘ <laugh> // Anything ↘ like this . // and then one of the TEACHers  
 159 ↘ came by // and made some comment and then he LEFT ↘ <laugh> // and SO → . // he probably would  
 160 have stayed longer if the teacher hadn't said something about oh you're in this class with these other KIDS  
 161 ↘ <laugh> // and SO → . // and so I gave him back his book and he LEFT ↘ <laugh> // and SO → . //  
 162 they're just kind of funny to have \_ a total STRANGer ↘ // who I mean I had never met HIM ↘ // I hadn't  
 163 even taught him in one CLASS ↘ // and he came up to with this sort of . like READ ↘ this book to me //  
 164 and I'm going like I can't read but I'll TELL ↘ you <laugh> // SO → . // so that was kind of FUN ↘ //

165 Text 1-6

166 **Interviewer:** // E:R → // what ERM → . // what kind of pla:ns er or drea:ms do you have for er for the  
 167 FUTURE ↘ //

168 **Subject:** // \_ e:rm I'd like to do something a \_ a little more meaningful than what I feel I'm doing at THIS ↘  
 169 point in my life \_ // E:RM → \_ // I I realize it's important to teach BASIC ↘ English . // but er I think after  
 170 you've studied English for SIX ↘ years // you shouldn't need basic English aGAIN ↘ \_ // a:nd E:R → \_ // I  
 171 realize that writing skills aren't taught that much before students get into: a . uniVERSity ↘ in japan \_ // and  
 172 it's a difficult skill to TEACH ↘ // and nonnative speakers it's even harder to: teach and to corRECT ↘ //  
 173 because you're really not sure sometimes of the FLOW ↘ // and so that they would learn very stilted written  
 174 English if they \_ always had japanese people corRECTing ↘ them \_ // but . e:rm it's not the subject I really  
 175 studied in SCHOOL ↘ . // er in uniVERSity ↘ // and so I'd like to: \_ // I'm going to LEAVE ↘ that area  
 176 <laugh> // and get into something I've . become more INterested ↘ in \_ // either in interCULTural ↘  
 177 communica:tion // possibly PEACE ↘ studie:s \_ // possibly: er FOLKlore ↘ . // o:r compar not . really  
 178 comparative LITERature ↗ // but using . stories from other cultures \_ er to: TEACH ↘ . // as opposed to  
 179 always using aMERican ↘ short stories // or BRITish ↘ short stories . // a:nd . using these \_ LITERature →  
 180 forms // either STORIES ↘ // novels tend to be too long to do a LOT ↘ of teaching with . // some POetry ↘ //  
 181 though I'm not . a real big fan of POetry ↘ \_ // to: \_ tea:ch about the CULTures ↘ // to teach about  
 182 underSTANDING ↘ // the problems THOSE ↘ people have // are similar to what WE ↘ have . // and to get  
 183 people to realize . the value of intercultural communiCATION ↘ in those areas \_ // ERM → // I'd kind of like  
 184 to combine all of those into one caREER ↘ // but I don't know if it's POSSible ↘ <laugh> \_ // but possibly  
 185 throu:gh u:sing \_ literatures from other COUNTRIES ↘ // E:RM → \_ // would be working in the area of  
 186 peace eVENtually ↘ // because . er by getting people to underSTAND ↘ each other // they're more likely to  
 187 not want to FIGHT ↘ each other \_ // and to accept the fact that there are that \_ // being different is not  
 188 necessarily being WRONG ↘ <laugh> // or being BAD ↘ \_ // and that to get across the point that  
 189 differences are not BAD ↘ . // they're just DIFFerences ↘ \_ // and sameness is . not necessarily thrilling  
 190 ALL ↘ the time \_ // so I'd kind of like to work \_ in some other area than simply teaching converSATION  
 191 ↘ \_ // to people that have already studied english for a long TIME ↘ //

192 **Interviewer:** // all RIGHT ↘ //

193 Text 2-1

194 **Interviewer:** // oKAY ↘ . // WELL ↘ . // first I wonder if you could er . give me a . erm a brief explanation  
 195 of you:r BACKground ↘ //

196 **Subject:** // well I was <ahem> excuse me I was born in BEDford ↗ massaCHUsetts // in nineteen-hundred  
 197 and twenty-ONE ↗ \_ // erm the: youngest of five CHILdren ↘ // and the only girl . in the FAMily ↘ \_ //  
 198 and er I went to . paROchial ↘ school \_ // GRAMmar ↘ school // and HIGH ↘ school \_ // a:nd I: \_  
 199 entered the CONvent ↘ \_ // the FOLlowing → // I graduated in JUNE ↘ // and I entered the convent the  
 200 following FEBruary ↘ \_ // and I made my vows in . // that was in nineteen-FORTy ↗ . // and I made my  
 201 vows in nineteen-forty-TWO ↗ \_ // and I was assigned to salem . st. joseph st. JA:MES's ↘ school . // in  
 202 SAlem ↘ massaCHUsetts // and I stayed there until nineteen-hundred and fifty-ONE ↗ . // when I came to  
 203 jaPAN ↘ \_ // and I've been on mission in japan ever since THEN ↘ //

204 **Interviewer:** // that's GREAT ↘ \_ // allRIGHT ↘ //

205 Text 2-2 (Note: this text was excluded from the corpus analysis)

206 **Interviewer:** // ERM → \_ // I wonder if you can tell me er tell me about a memorable experience er from  
 207 your CHILdhood ↘ //

208 **Subject:** \_ // a memorable experience from my CHILdhood ↘ \_ // no I don't think I've ever had THAT

209 \ kind of experience //

210 **Interviewer:** // oh Okay ↗ . // all RIGHT ↘ //

211 Text 2-3

212 **Interviewer:** // ERM→ . // well as you know erm . princess er diana . recently PASSED ↘ away // and er .  
213 oh yeah erm // what was your reACTION ↘ to that event //

214 **Subject:** // I was very sad when I HEARD ↘ it // because er . even though you read . various .  
215 letters-to-the-editors of the PAPER ↘ // you KNOW ↗ // in that reader's er \_ COLUMN ↗ // in the japan  
216 TIMES ↗ // and YESTerday ↗ there was a nasty one I thought \_ // but er . I think she did a lot of GOOD ↘  
217 // but I . really think she married too YOUNG ↘ \_ // which was . PART ↘ of her trouble \_ // TO→ // I don't  
218 think the age difference \_ can mean always means that much in a married in a COUPLE ↘ \_ // but I think she  
219 married TOO ↘ young // she hadn't had her \_ as we would say her FLING ↗ yet \_ // and she had to settle  
220 DOWN ↗ // and she she had to settle down in a much mo:re . DIFFicult ↗ way than . the ordinary person I  
221 think . // but I think she: ER \_ // except for a few \_ INcidents ↗ // but er \_ NObody ↘ i:s perfect \_ // I  
222 think she was VErY ↘ very good I . // admire HER ↘ //

223 **Interviewer:** // erm . maybe along . along the same lines you probably also . know of course that sister er  
224 mother teresa . PASSED ↘ away // what was your reACTION ↘ //

225 **Subject:** // that aGAIN→ // there aGAIN ↘ // I felt very SORry ↘ \_ // because I think we've lost a great  
226 PERson ↗ // and as a matter of FACT ↗ // to \_ show how much power I think she has with the LORD ↗ \_  
227 // my <indistinguishable> nephew <indistinguishable> has either WEEKS ↘ to live // if he doesn't have an  
228 operAtion ↗ // or MONTHS ↘ to live . // even WITH ↘ the operation // I'm praying to HER ↗ \_ // to see if  
229 she'll get a \_ a MIRacle ↘ from the lord \_ // so I admire her greatly TOO ↘ //

230 **Interviewer:** // well I hope that <indistinguishable> //

231 **Subject:** // YES ↘ // please GOD ↘ // it does TAKE ↘ // he's only he'll be fifty-four in JANuary ↘ // SO→  
232 \_ // just came on all of a SUDDen ↘ . // SO→ \_ // it's . another part that makes it so . HARD ↘ to take //

233 **Interviewer:** // RIGHT ↘ //

234 Text 2-4

235 **Interviewer:** // ERM→ \_ // can you tell me about something that er that has made you really HAPpy ↗ . //  
236 REcently ↗ \_ // or . er an event that you: have enJOYED ↗ recently //

237 **Subject:** // \_ not <ahem> excuse me not REcently ↗ // because <laugh> I've been having er \_ physical  
238 troubles recently so I can't saying anything that has happened recently that has really made me HAPpy ↘ \_  
239 // in that exTENT ↘ // exTENT ↘ // to that exTENT ↘ //

240 **Interviewer:** // well if not if not recently er . then SOMetime ↗ //

241 **Subject:** // well when I really KNEW:→ // this is years and years aGO ↗ . // but it really made me very  
242 HAPpy ↗ // and very PEACEful ↗ . // when I knew where what convent what religious order I wanted to  
243 ENter ↘ \_ // because . I knew I wanted to be a MISSIONary ↗ // but . I wasn't attracted to any of the  
244 missionary orders even though I had Interviewed ↘ them \_ // and then . when I wa:s interviewing  
245 <MISSIONARY ORDER> ↗ \_ // which was we were: \_ in on the MISsions ↗ // but we weren't strictly  
246 speaking a missionary ORder ↘ \_ // like mary <indistinguishable> \_ // but when I found out that it was  
247 <MISSIONARY ORDER> was all I wanted I felt very very PEACEful ↘ // and COMfortable ↘ \_ // so  
248 that's SOMething→ tha:t // I mean it's a blessing TOO ↗ // because I never doubt my voCAtion ↗ \_ // I had  
249 such PEACE ↗ . // after I made that deCIision ↗ //

250 **Interviewer:** // that's GREAT ↘ //

251 Text 2-5

252 **Interviewer:** // E:RM→ \_ // why did you come to jaPAN ↗ //

253 **Subject:** // WELL→ . // it goes back to: . always wanting to be a MISSIONary ↘ \_ // a:nd E:R→ // in  
254 ninetee:n forty: \_ EIGHT ↘ . // either early nineteen forty eight or late nineteen forty SEVen ↘ // a a letter  
255 went out asking for volunTEERS ↘ \_ // and I volunTEERED ↗ . // and I wasn't acCEPTed ↗ \_ // and the  
256 next year . a letter went out asking for volunTEERS ↗ // and I wasn't acCEPTed ↗ \_ // the next year no  
257 letter went OUT ↗ . // and the next year when it did I said this is the last time I'm gonna volunTEER ↗ // if  
258 I'm not accepted it's the END ↘ \_ // and I was acCEPTed ↘ \_ // SO→ . // I think in the beginning it was  
259 kind of a SELFish: ↗ . er motive // but I think I've learned to \_ you know overcome THAT ↗ // and make  
260 it more SPIRitual ↗ . // I think it was a case of . you know if I go to missions <telephone interruption> // er  
261 I think it was a SELFish ↗ motive // you KNOW→ // save my SOUL→ . // the best I could DO→ // but er I

262 think \_ that was a spiritual MOtIVE↗ // you KNOW→ // how . the best service I could give to the LORD↗  
 263 . // but . aGAIN↗ . // it was . what I was going to get out of it TOO↘ . // but I think I've got over THAT↘  
 264 now \_ // and ER→ // you KNOW→ // purely for the LORD↘ //  
 265 **Interviewer:** // GREAT↘ //

266 Text 2-6

267 **Interviewer:** // E:RM→ \_ // what er . what kind of PLANS↗ // erm or dreams for the FUture↗ . // do you  
 268 HAVE↘ //  
 269 **Subject:** // WELL→ \_ // since I am . really reTIRED↗ . // erm I'm reTIRED↗ // I'm only a part-TIME↗  
 270 teacher // so I'm . officially retired from TEACHing↗ \_ // so I wanna teach as long as I CAN↗ . // as long  
 271 as the lord gives me HEALTH↗ enough \_ // A:ND→ \_ // I'm seventy-six years OLD↗ // SO→ \_ // I  
 272 WANT→ to \_ // even though I've been through the years prePARing↗ for meeting the lord // I \_ I wanna  
 273 make a:s good a preparation as I CAN↘ . // for THAT↘ //  
 274 **Interviewer:** // Okay↗ // that's GREAT↘ //

275 Text 2-7

276 **Interviewer:** // ERM→ // what er what more what do you hope to acCOMplish↗ // no what MORE↗ do  
 277 you hope to accomplish // HERE↘ . // er in jaPAN↘ . // before you retur:n HOME↘ . // do you expect to  
 278 return HOME↘ //  
 279 **Subject:** // the lord hasn't TOLD↘ me that question answer yet // and that's what everybody at home ASKS  
 280 ↘ me // so NOW↗ \_ // whe:n somebody asks that in front of my SISter-in-law↗ // and she's the one who  
 281 brought me up after my with my brother after my PARents↘ died \_ // er she say:s er the lord hasn't TOLD  
 282 ↘ her yet \_ // SO→ e:r // \_ // when he \_ makes known to me that he wants me to go HOME↗ . // then I'll  
 283 GO↗ // but until THEN↗ // if it means I DIE↗ here // I DIE↗ here \_ // A:ND→ \_ // personally I don't  
 284 think foreigners are NECESSary↘ \_ // I mean they have such good \_ japane:se \_ english-speaking \_  
 285 TEACHers↘ // proFESSors↘ // I think they can do WITHout↘ us \_ // to a great exTENT↗ // SO:→ . // I  
 286 don't think I'm NECESSary↗ here // but I think . it is necessary for ME↘ \_ // because it invol:ves sac  
 287 certain SACrifice↗ \_ // and I NEED↗ that //  
 288 **Interviewer:** // very well SAID↘ //

289 Text 3-1

290 **Interviewer:** // Okay↘ . // WELL→ // FIRST↘ // erm I wonder if you could er give me: . just a brief er  
 291 explanation of your BACKground↘ //  
 292 **Subject:** // would that be my ETHnic↗ background // where I'm FROM↗ // <indistinguishable> //  
 293 **Interviewer:** // E:RM→ \_ // ALL↘ of the above \_ // WHATever↘ //  
 294 **Subject:** // Okay↘ // we:ll my name is <NAME>↘ . // I'm from haWAIi↗ . // and I've been I was born  
 295 and raised in haWAIi↘ . // a:nd I came to japan about SIXteen↗ years ago . // after majoring in japanese  
 296 LANguage↗ . // and then in graduate school . in TESL↘ \_ // A:ND→ . // so for fifteen years I've been  
 297 living in jaPAN↗ . // a:nd teaching ENGLISH↘ \_ // ERM→ \_ // anything ELSE↗ I should say // <laugh>  
 298 **Interviewer:** <laugh> // that's GREAT↘ // that's GREAT↘ //

299 Text 3-2

300 **Interviewer:** // e:rm can you TELL→ me one of the: one // or tell me about a MEMorable↘ experience //  
 301 from your CHILDhood↘ //  
 302 **Subject:** // GOOD↗ // BAD↗ //  
 303 **Interviewer:** // \_ MEMorable↘ //  
 304 **Subject:** // well I remember the first time \_ that \_ I received a trophy: for SOMething↘ // and this was  
 305 when I was in the EIGHTH↘ grade \_ // I was \_ part o:f the schoo:l BASKetball↘ team // a:nd that year  
 306 we: had . go:ne undeFEATed↘ \_ // i:n eighth grade that's twelve games a:nd we also won the state  
 307 CHAMpionship↘ \_ // and so: . although I didn't PLAY↗ much . // actually really didn't play that much at  
 308 ALL↗ . // everyone on the team . got a TROphy↘ . // which was about . so HIGH↗ // and . since  
 309 EVeryone↗ got it // I said . WOW↘ \_ // I guess being on a team was . an exPERience↘ . // so that was  
 310 one of the memorable . MEMorable↗ experiences \_ // because it meant a LOT↘ to me . // I mean even  
 311 though . I didn't PLAY↗ . // that MUCH↗ . // it showed that . you were part of the TEAM↘ . // and  
 312 EVeryone↗ . // in the END↗ . // gets the same reSULTS↘ //  
 313 **Interviewer:** // GREAT↘ //

314 Text 3-3

315 **Interviewer:** // e:rm as you know erm princess diAna↖ . // recently er DIED↘ //

316 **Subject:** // unFORtunately↘ //

317 **Interviewer:** // YES↘ // E:RM→ // what er what was your reACtion↘ // to the eVENT↘ //

318 **Subject:** // well FIRST↗ // SHOCK↘ . // ERM→ \_ // after all someone of that stature ju:st suddenly  
319 DYing↘ \_ // especially: in some way: that . you would never . really exPECT↘ . you know CAR↘ crash  
320 \_ // of cour:se SHE↖ wasn't the one driving // BUT→ \_ // after reading all the NEWS↖ reports // a:nd  
321 thinking about the PAST↖ . // she wa:s probably . the most HUNTEd↖ woman \_ // in terms of  
322 PHOtographs↘ \_ // A:ND→ \_ // SO→ \_ // the wor:ld lost . a GREAT↘ person . // and that's why . as  
323 elton john said . in his remade song candle in the WIND↖ . // she'll be long reMEMbered↘ . // even . after  
324 . her DEATH↘ // BU:T→ // also I think that \_ because of . the age she was when she got MARried↘ . //  
325 she really missed a lot of her LIFE↘ \_ // she didn't get to experience things that many: other: young many  
326 other . PEOPle↘ // not just WOMen↖ . // in their TWENTies↘ // or THIRties↘ \_ // HAD↘ // A:ND→ //  
327 she also had to live according to other PEOPle's↘ expectations \_ // so I think it was a SAD↘ loss . // but \_  
328 perhaps . maybe she now she has real HAPPiness↘ //

329 **Interviewer:** // ERM→ // who who do you think erm should be held reSPONSible↘ // erm or might be  
330 held reSPONSible↘ // if Anybody↘ . // for erm for her DEATH↘ //

331 **Subject:** // that's HARD↘ to say . // part of it it's because it's because who she IS↘ . // after all if you're  
332 rich and famous people always want to get PHOtOs↘ of you // that's \_ part of the paparazzi's JOB↘ \_ //  
333 and so \_ the death . occurred as a result of them trying to PHOtograph↖ her . // on the other hand \_ you  
334 really can't blame THEM↘ // if they're doing their JOB↘ \_ // and then you say is it the: DRIVER↘ . //  
335 who was SPEEDing↘ // to eSCAPE↘ . // now it's . part of his TRAINing↘ // of course the alcohol level  
336 was . not . what it's supPOSED↘ to be \_ // but then recent reports in the newspapers and so on suggest that  
337 there was anOTHER↖ car //which had purposely slowed DOWN↘ \_ // a:nd that might have helped  
338 CAUSE↖ the accident // and unfortunately that car has still not been FOUND↘ . // yesterday's daily  
339 yomiuri SAID↗ . // ERM→ // it may have been a conSPIRacy↘ . // there were all these THEories↖ . //  
340 after ALL↖ . //↖ diAna herself said . // she was a so-called . loose CANnon↘ . //and people would be off  
341 to GET↖ after her . // one of the theories is that \_ people in different circles didn't want her marrying a  
342 MUSlim↘ \_ // her boyfriend dodi Fayed↘ \_ // so it's HARD↖ to say . // ERM→ . // probably: the:  
343 blame lies with many DIFFerent↖ people . // you can't put the finger on any one PERson↘ . // it's just  
344 THEM↘ . // the way the circumstances WERE↘ . // maybe if the DRIVER→ // you can say all these IFS↘  
345 \_ // maybe: if she: weren't . PRINcess↘ diana // of course it WOULDn't↘ have happened // maybe: if they  
346 weren't WAITing↘ for her // it WOULDn't↘ have happened \_ // maybe if the driver hadn't been DRUNK  
347 ↖ . // he would have driven SWIFTly↗ . // without getting into an ACCident↘ . // maybe if the other CAR  
348 → . // which we don't know if it WAS↖ there or not . // HADn't↖ been there . // then maybe he could have  
349 sped aWAY↖ . // it's . all hypoTHETical↘ // we CAN'T↖ say //

350 **Interviewer:** // OKAY↘ // GOOD↘ //

351 Text 3-4

352 **Interviewer:** // ERM→ . // can you tell me about something er . that has made you really happy . er  
353 REcently↗ . // or an event that you've enJOYED↗ recently //

354 **Subject:** // YEAH↘ \_ // actually last week I finally started getting my video set up on my compUTer↘  
355 working \_ // A:ND→ \_ // WELL↘ . // I started editing video on my computer about a YEAR↘ ago . //  
356 a:nd although I had known about . the limit being . nine MINutes↘ \_ // either windows or MACintosh↖ //  
357 because OF→ \_ // well the compUTers↘ \_ // I had read . in a certain . MAGazine↖ . // that . it is possible  
358 . to get around the limiTAtion↖ . // by using a little-known application i:n the: power mac . that I have .  
359 called MOVie↖ player . // to copy the part of the movie I WANT↖ \_ // a:nd part of the VIDEos↖ I want  
360 // and PASTE↖ them // onto a NEW↘ one . // and save it as a NEW↖ file \_ // but it doesn't save the  
361 VIDEos↘ \_ // it sa:ves . the: . POINTers↘ . // to where the video is GOing↘ \_ // and so . I kept try:ng . to  
362 see exactly how long I could GO↘ to . // a:nd I managed to do . a twenty-five minute . THING↘ \_ //  
363 which . I was very sur . surPRISEd↖ at // and PLEASEd↘ with . // because \_ nine MINutes↘ \_ // on two  
364 GiGabytes↘ \_ // and trying to get twenty-FIVE↖ minutes // out of the same <indistinguishable>↖  
365 gigabytes . // so I was very HAPPy↘ . // because the first three TIMES↖ . // I kept getting close the END  
366 ↖ // and . the computer always STOPPEd↘ on me . // it said <indistinguishable> TRANSfer↘ errors . //  
367 but FINally↖ . // it WORKED↘ . // I thought it was beginner's luck the FIRST↘ time . // and so I  
368 DUPLICated↖ it // a:nd it worked again for the next three TIMES↘ . // so now I know IT↘ works // . it's a



369 possible WORKaround \\_ \_ // and so that made me very HAPPY \\_ // because right now I'm planning on  
 370 working on a short \_\_ thing \_ that I \\_ want to do for our school //  
 371 **Interviewer:** // OKAY \\_ GREAT \\_ //

372 Text 3-5

373 **Interviewer:** // E:RM→ *let's see* // why did you come to jaPAN \\_ //  
 374 **Subject:** // well to be honest when I was i:n . haWAIi \\_ . // I studied japaNESE \\_ . // a:ND→ \_\_ // well  
 375 japanese is not really a very important language in SCHOOLS \\_ // in even haWAIi \\_ // but I decided to  
 376 STUDY \\_ it // because . when I was a university student I had always thought that . if I'm going to study a  
 377 foreign LANguage \\_ // I may as well choose one which is USEful \\_ . // and being from haWAIi \\_ // the  
 378 majority of the tourists are japaNESE \\_ // japanese made the most SENSE \\_ // and so I majored in  
 379 japaNESE \\_ // but then . when graduation was coming BY \\_ . // I was thinking am I really . going to be  
 380 interested working in the TOURist \\_ industry . // and so I was still THINKing \\_ about it . // so I . talked  
 381 with a few profESSors \\_ // and they said . well . DENnis \\_ // it seems that . you like LANguages \\_ //  
 382 a:nd you've helped with ENGLISH \\_ // and so . why don't you try coming to japan to \_ teach ENGLISH \\_ // I  
 383 said . why teach ENGLISH \\_ // they said well . if you want to practice japaNESE \\_ // being in the country  
 384 itself . you'll be TOTally \\_ exposed to it \_ // a:nd english teachers are always in deMAND \\_ //  
 385 <indistinguishable> on the other hand if you do that . it's better to . get a TEACHing \\_ license // or . *you*  
 386 *KNOW*→ // so-called MASTer's \\_ degree . // because the pay scale is DIFFerent \\_ . // a:nd so I SAID \\_ //  
 387 we:ll at that time I really hadn't thought . would I be willing to go directly to WORK \\_ // after all .  
 388 <indistinguishable> a student for a long TIME \\_ . // all of a sudden STOP \\_ // and go back to WORK \\_ .  
 389 // so I decided I'll spend another . YEAR \\_ and a half . // getting my MASTer's \\_ . // and come to jaPAN \\_ //  
 390 . // maybe in the meantime I'll foRGET \\_ about it // and just work in the TOURist \\_ industry \_ // but \_ I  
 391 decided w while studying ESL \\_ . // I realized that I DID \\_ enjoy teaching languages // a:nd LEARNing \\_ //  
 392 // and compARing \\_ . // japanese versus ENGLISH \\_ // because they are two very dissimilar LANguages \\_ .  
 393 // *and SO*→ \_ // after I GRADuated \\_ // I came to jaPAN \\_ // but before I came to japan I thought I had  
 394 made a misTAKE \\_ // because \_ // well from my teachi:ng pRACTice \\_ // my INternship \\_ . // there was  
 395 this . six-month PROgram \\_ // where two students from my department of ESL at the university of haWAIi  
 396 \\_ // wou:ld go: to: taiWAN \\_ // for six \\_ months // to practice teaching english THERE \\_ // and in  
 397 return two teachers from the system WE \\_ were going to // would learn our TEACHing \\_ methods \_ // and  
 398 so I told myself I spent FOUR \\_ years learning japaNESE \_ // to go to taiWAN \\_ // to teach ENGLISH \\_ //  
 399 but then I . I TOLD→ myself . // but THEN \\_ // as a teacher of ENGLISH \\_ . // it doesn't matter if you  
 400 KNOW \\_ the native language or not . // it would SHOW \\_ . // to mySELF \\_ // how MUCH \\_ . // I really  
 401 COULD \\_ teach . // without using . the students' native LANguage \\_ . // it was harder . than teaching .  
 402 USING \\_ the native language // but it HELPED \\_ . // but AFTER \\_ the six months // I came to jaPAN \\_ //  
 403 *and* \_ // I've been at . our school ever SINCE \\_ . // I \\_ enjoy it //  
 404 **Interviewer:** // GREAT \\_ // GREAT \\_ //

405 Text 3-6

406 **Interviewer:** // erm what er \_ what are what are your plans or dreams for the FUTURE \\_ //  
 407 **Subject:** // you know I really don't KNOW \\_ // sometimes I think I live a day to day exISTence \\_ <laugh>  
 408 // erm REALly \\_ // I haven't THOUGHT \\_ // LONG \\_ term . // about my . FUTURE \\_ . // and SO \\_ on // I  
 409 ju:st . think of always getting the best possible best possible . results with my STUDents \\_ . // HERE \\_ . // I  
 410 *mean* the NEAR \\_ future . // after all . it seems I'm always thinking about . when is the next TEST \\_ // or  
 411 SO \\_ on // ERM→ // I really don't have time to make long range . PLANS \\_ // I . // for exAMple \\_ // what  
 412 do I expect to be doing in TWO \\_ years // I REALly \\_ don't know // what do I expect to be doing in TEN  
 413 \\_ years . // I don't KNOW \\_ . // it just COMES \\_ // and it HAPpens \\_ . // the only thing I can say for  
 414 certain I HAVE \\_ planned // for SURE \\_ // i:s I will be visiting my FAMily \\_ . // in DEcember \\_ . // but  
 415 that's because . DIFFerent \\_ things . // THOSE \\_ things // you HAVE \\_ to plan for // but . otherwise for  
 416 MY \\_ personal self // I REALly \\_ don't know <laugh> //  
 417 **Interviewer:** // OKAY \\_ //

418 Text 3-7

419 **Interviewer:** // E:RM→ // what do you hope to acCOMplish \\_ here . // before you do \_ er before you go  
 420 HOME \\_ . // if you PLAN \\_ to go home //  
 421 **Subject:** // Okay \\_ // so you're thinking about not me as a <indistinguishable> but reTURNing \\_ \_ // I  
 422 would have hoped . that . the students I have had as . STUDents \\_ \_ // would have had some good .

423 exPERiences ↘ // erm not just learning ENGLISH ↘ // but learning a little bit about american CULTURE ↘ . //  
 424 as WELL ↘ \_ // it's often said that LANguage ↘ . // and CULTure ↘ . // are very much interreLAted ↘ //  
 425 you can't really SEPARate ↘ them \_ // and so: many times in class I use examples from MY ↘ culture . //  
 426 being from haWAIi ↘ . // comPARing ↘ // and conTRASTing ↘ \_ // A:ND → // students are . always .  
 427 surPRISED ↘ // and INterested ↘ . // in WHAT ↘ I have to say . // sometimes they're BORED ↘ // but that  
 428 happens <indistinguishable> <laugh> //  
 429 **Interviewer:** // OKAY ↘ // GOOD ↘ // all RIGHT ↘ // WELL → // thank you very MUCH ↘ //  
 430 **Subject:** // oh NO ↘ problem //  
 431 **Interviewer:** // that's er that's all I've GOT ↘ //

432 Text 4-1

433 **Interviewer:** // Okay ↘ . // erm well I wonder . first . if erm if you wouldn't mind . just telling me about er  
 434 your BACKground ↘ //  
 435 **Subject:** // hm: my BACKground ↘ //  
 436 **Interviewer:** // PERsonal → // and or proFESSIONal ↘ //  
 437 **Subject:** // WE:LL ↗ \_ // I was BOR:N ↗ // in virGINia ↗ . // we moved to chiCAGO ↗ . // then we moved  
 438 to new YORK ↗ \_ // e:r went to schoo:l high school . in the new YORK ↗ public school system \_ // e:r  
 439 GRADuated ↗ // went on to LIBeral ↗ arts education \_ // er wasn't I wasn't expecting . to be a teacher at  
 440 FIRST ↘ . // bu:t \_ one door of opportunity Opened ↗ up // and . then anOTHER ↗ one // and anOTHER ↗  
 441 one // and I \_ finally ended up as a kind of a \_ COUNselor ↗ . // er a counselor fo:r a camp . designed to:  
 442 \_ prepare students fo:r \_ eventually erm going into . thei:r HOMEstay ↘ // FAMILies ↘ // we had . groups  
 443 of students COMing ↘ from \_ // er CENTral ↗ // and SOUTH ↗ america // from EUROpe ↗ // from koREa  
 444 ↗ // EVerywhere ↘ . // er Asia ↗ // and . ER → // those students were:n't necesSARily ↘ prepared . // in  
 445 their HOME ↘ countries // before entering \_ HOMEstays ↘ // entering e:r \_ HIGH ↘ schools // aMERican  
 446 ↘ schools . // so \_ one of my jobs was to \_ kind of oversee their . DORM ↘ life // while they were going to  
 447 \_ er mock \_ HIGH ↘ school classes // and \_ er experiencing \_ erm . visiting . places in aMERica ↘ // they  
 448 went on TOURS ↗ // and \_ ERM → \_ // basically . acclimated try to acclimate to \_ aMERican ↘ living //  
 449 aMERican ↘ life . // aMERican ↘ schools . // this is all . set up artiFicially ↘ . // a:t a COLlege ↘ campus //  
 450 a:nd . they stayed at . IN ↘ the dorms on the college campus \_ // and \_ my job was to wake them UP ↗ in  
 451 the morning \_ // to: try: to . take care of them if they got HURT ↗ . // e:rm drive them to the hospital if it  
 452 was SERious ↗ // which DID ↘ happen \_ // a:nd e:r TALK → to them // a lot of them were HOMESick ↗ \_  
 453 // they had HEARTbreaks ↗ \_ // with students I:N ↗ the school . // they were er missing their boyfriends or  
 454 girlfriends back in . their home COUNTRY ↗ \_ // ER → \_ // so: there were a lot of things that CAME ↗ up  
 455 // a:nd my job was to oversee everything that was happening . in the DORMitory ↘ // to help with games  
 456 AFter ↘ classes \_ // so I wasn't involved directly with the classes at FIRST ↘ . // or . at all in THAT ↘  
 457 program // BUT ↘ \_ // when that program \_ ENDED ↘ // E:RM → \_ // the: HEAD ↘ counselor . // of that  
 458 program recommended \_ MY ↘ name // or MENTIONed ↘ my name // to the \_ er directors of the \_ english  
 459 language school PROPER ↘ . // this was kind of PART ↘ of the english language school \_ // but the english  
 460 language school PROPER ↘ . // e:rm because they needed a new TEACHER ↘ . // and so // er they needed  
 461 someone to \_ work with . the: students in ENGLISH ↗ conversation // american HISTOry ↗ // and SO ↘ forth  
 462 \_ // and er so \_ after the program ended with the: HOMEstay ↘ students // I entered . the school PROPER ↘  
 463 // teaching students who . had come to complete TOEFL ↗ preparation // and . TOEIC ↗ // and all KINDS  
 464 ↘ of things . // and I started teaching THERE ↘ // so I gained some teaching exPERience ↘ \_ // E:R → \_ //  
 465 then \_ I: had received information from \_ ERM → \_ // this is a long STORy ↘ // but . I RECEIVED ↘  
 466 information // or I \_ er was talking to friends . of my PAREnts ↘ \_ // a:nd they: mentioned er that their  
 467 friend had \_ er \_ had . participated in . TEACHing ↘ . // er english . aBROAD ↘ . // and they had \_ they  
 468 had \_ been teaching in HONG ↘ kong // I ↘ think // in HONG ↗ kong // or SINGapore ↗ // for a COUple  
 469 ↘ of years . // and that they had reTURNED ↘ to the states // and continued on to . a career reLAted ↘ to  
 470 that // related to . er international reLAtions ↗ // and SO ↘ forth // it sounded INteresting ↘ // it sounded  
 471 GOOD ↘ // it something it sounded something \_ e:r like what I wanted to DO ↘ . // I was INterested ↘ in  
 472 japan // to beGIN ↘ with \_ // a:nd E:R → \_ // I wanted to come BACK ↘ . // to japan . to continue . er s  
 473 learning about the CULTure ↗ // and learning about . the LANguage ↗ // and SO ↘ forth \_ // e:r I didn't  
 474 have it clearly in mi:nd . what I wanted to do FInally ↘ // and I still am not sure what I want to do  
 475 eVENTually ↘ . // bu:t if things work OUT ↗ . // maybe I'll be a teacher HERE ↘ for a long time // or . I  
 476 may stay here for a while AND → \_ // ERM → // it's always been a kind of dream to study LAW ↘ . // so I  
 477 want to . maybe \_ work in jaPAN ↘ // or work in between america and jaPAN ↘ // with international .  
 478 CONtract ↗ law // OR → // I don't want to read all those CONtracts ↘ // so . maybe something in e:r \_ in

479 \_\_ e:r \_\_ american CONSulate ↗ // MAYbe ↗ \_\_ // it's kind of a VAGUE ↘ . // DIStant ↘ dream // but right  
 480 now I'm concentrating on TEACHing ↘ \_ // anyway I joined . the: E:RM→ \_ // what my . my parents'  
 481 friends e:r \_ had MENTIONed ↘ // was princeton in Asia ↘ // the princeton in Asia ↘ program // and  
 482 princeton university has been . er SENDing→ \_\_ // o originally they sent students and TEACHERs ↘ // to .  
 483 to interACT ↘ // e:r to live among e:r at first . er chiNESE ↘ people \_ // in CHIna ↘ . // and er . then they  
 484 started to→ // . I guess more students started e:r were sent to . koREa ↗ // to jaPAN ↗ // and SO ↘ forth . //  
 485 and eventually not so much→ . // it it eventually turned into . a: TEACHER's ↘ exchange // not just students  
 486 LEARNing ↘ // but er princeton began to send \_ er STUdents ↘ // to \_ o:r graduates to: teach ENGLISH ↘ //  
 487 i:n \_ different asian COUNtries ↘ . // erm princeton in asia \_ // I'm not sure when . they stopped being a  
 488 kind of exchange program for teachers and STUdents ↘ // and started to be a kind OF→ \_ // I wouldn't say  
 489 EMPLOYment ↘ agency // bu:t E:R→ // a kind of \_\_ // head not a HEADhunter ↗ // I'm not sure I'd say  
 490 HEADhunter ↘ // EITHER ↘ // BUT→ // . what they do is they kind of SCREEN ↘ graduates . // or .  
 491 soon-to-BE ↘ graduates . // of unIVERSities ↘ // and see if they're \_\_ if they're QUALified ↘ // to: edit . er  
 492 english maTERial ↗ // or to teach english as a . as a FOREIGN ↗ language // or as a SECond ↗ language \_ //  
 493 E:RM→ // I confess I don't really know . that much about how they choose . the PEOPle ↘ . // but there  
 494 there was the JET ↘ program // that . everybody KNEW ↘ about \_ // a:nd princeton in Asia ↘ . // which I  
 495 hadn't HEARD ↘ of . // but er sounded INTEResting ↘ . // and eventually I was accepted to both the: JET  
 496 PROgram ↗ // and to princeton in Asia ↘ // <ahem> but . er the JET ↘ program . // being an asSISTant ↘ .  
 497 language teacher // o:r . a teacher that goes from school to SCHOOL ↘ // a different school every WEEK ↘  
 498 // or something like THAT ↘ . // it didn't sound like I would . gain a whole lot of . independent life  
 499 experience or independent TEACHing ↘ experience // ER→ . // it didn't sound \_ like \_ it didn't sound as if  
 500 \_ I would . be spending . a year or two years really GAINing ↘ a lot \_ // I think . the MONey ↘ is attractive  
 501 . // first of all if you're . working at a . erm near-minimum wage JOB ↗ // or . whatEVER ↘ // and you look  
 502 oh look at the SALary ↘ I could get . // erm and I don't really have to have a TEACHing ↘ certificate or  
 503 anything . // to beGIN ↘ with . // ERM→ // or to get into the PROgram ↘ . // it's VErY ↘ attractive \_ //  
 504 ERM→ // but I was also thinking well if I'm going to spend a year . or two years aBROAD ↘ . // what am I  
 505 really going to . GAIN ↘ // in the END ↘ \_ // could I gain more erm USEful→ . experience . // could I gain  
 506 . BETter→ experience . // erm doing something ELSE ↘ \_ // if you go to japan and you're an . assistant  
 507 TEACHER ↘ . // for one year or TWO ↘ years \_ // what do you have . when it's time to go HOME ↘ // do  
 508 you have something that's really . good for your RESume ↗ // do you have something that was fulfilling to  
 509 YOU ↗ // . or really made you into an aDULT ↗ // or . a MAN ↗ // or whatEVER ↘ . // er what HAVE ↘  
 510 you // so \_ the . it looked like the JET program was good SALary-wise ↘ // but . it didn't look like it was  
 511 going to . REALLY ↘ help me . // ER→ // . to: . to gain any kind of . useful WORK ↘ experience // or LIFE  
 512 ↘ experience . // er if I was going to QUIT ↘ my job // a:nd LEAVE ↘ america // and come BACK ↘ to  
 513 japan // I wanted it . to be for . a REALLY ↘ good reason \_ // and the PRINCEton ↘ in asia program . // the  
 514 SCHOOL ↘ they offered me . // er let me have my OWN ↘ classes . // and I was responsible for gra:ding  
 515 the students mySELF ↗ // and to teach my OWN ↗ classes . // E:r→ \_\_ // and it was in a RUrAl ↘ area . //  
 516 more rural than I WAS ↘ // er I was in Tokyo ↘ . during COLLEge ↘ . // and I wanted to go OUT ↘ \_ //  
 517 out from the BIG ↘ city // and it was in a fairly rural ARea ↘ // I read about kuRASHiki→ . // that's where I  
 518 WENT ↘ \_ // I read about kuRASHiki ↘ // and er . okaYama ↗ // and \_ it sounded like it was . CiTY-like ↗  
 519 // but . e:rm fur:ther out from the city than . of course TOKyo ↘ // or CHiBa ↘ would be . // er and the job  
 520 opportunity sounded really good TOO ↘ \_ // ERM→ \_ // aGAIN→ // like s <laugh> so many THINGS ↘  
 521 // I didn't have a concrete idea . of what I wanted to come to DO ↘ specifically . // but the princeton in asia  
 522 looked like it edged out the JET ↘ program . // for real . LIFE→ experience // and real TEACHing ↘  
 523 experience \_ // what I hope to GAIN ↘ from that \_ // FINally→ // or what my final GOAL ↘ was // erm \_ is  
 524 not CLEAR ↘ <laugh> // e:r I'm still trying to FIGure ↘ out // a lot of people \_ have . very clearly when  
 525 they're in high school SAY ↘ // I'm going to be a DOctor ↘ // Okay ↘ // I'm going to MEDical ↗ school //  
 526 I'm going to COLLEge ↗ // I'm going to study pre-MED ↗ // I'm going to take my . MCATs ↗ // I'm going  
 527 to what→ // I THINK ↘ it's MCATs \_ // I'm going to be a DOctor ↗ // a:nd . at . twenty-six twenty-eight  
 528 thirty . they're a DOctor ↘ // or . a LAWyer ↘ . // they've decided very CLEARly ↘ \_ // E:R→ \_ // I  
 529 haven't been \_ THAT ↘ lucky . // I ↘ think // erm to: just SAY→ // OH ↘ . // I just KNOW ↘ . // I'm going  
 530 to be a TEACHER ↘ . // or I'm going to be a LAWyer ↘ // I'm going→ // it's it was never that CLEAR ↘ // it  
 531 still ISn't ↘ clear . // but right NOW ↘ // I'm TEACHing ↗ // and I'm enJOYing ↘ teaching // for the most  
 532 PART ↗ // a:nd E:RM→ \_ // I don't think the story is over . by . a LONG ↘ way . // but so far . I've been  
 533 teaching here for thr: over FOUR ↘ years . // a:nd it's been good SO ↘ far . // I think I'm getting BETter ↘ .  
 534 // but you'd have to ask my STUdents ↘ . // for THEIR ↘ opinion // e:rm but Anyway ↘ . // liberal ARTS→  
 535 // to . a little bit of work after GRADuation→ // . straight back to japan pretty MUCH→ . // e:rm the fina:l

536 goal or whatever . is still out there SOMEwhere ^ // I'm not SURE \ . // it hasn't \_ it hasn't E:R→ // \_\_  
 537 lightning has not STRUCK \ me yet // as far as what I FINally \ want to do // or what I'm really CAPable  
 538 \ . of doing \_ // er \_ we'll SEE \ . // I still have I'm twenty-SEVen ^ now // so I still have a few years yet  
 539 to figure out . some THINGS ^ . // anyway but I'm enJOYing ^ it . // that's basically my WORKing ^  
 540 background //  
 541 **Interviewer:** // that's erm that's very GOOD \ //  
 542 **Subject:** // Okay \ //

543 Text 4-3

544 **Interviewer:** // e:rm // as you know er as I'm sure you know princess diAna ^ // . erm recently DIED \ . //  
 545 what was your reACtion \ . // to that eVENT \ //  
 546 **Subject:** // surPRISingly ^ // I was a little bit shocked mySELF ^ // ERM→ \_\_ // I wa:s WATCHing ^  
 547 CNN // BUT→ // . the TV was . TURNED ^ to CNN \_ // a:nd it was kind of BACKground \ . // I was  
 548 DOing \ something // I was l ying on the taTAmi→ // and the TV was ON→ // I was doing SOMETHing→  
 549 . // but then I hear:d \_ them reCAPPING \ . // they SAID→ // aGAIN \ // er princess diAna \ // and er \_\_  
 550 dodi al faYED \ // er have bee:n INjured→ // possibly KILLED→ // in a car crash in PARis \ // and  
 551 E:RM→ // at FIRST \ // my FIRST \ reaction \_ // they they reported that dodi had DIED ^ \_ // and that  
 552 princess diana was seriously INjured \ \_ // and I THOUGHT→ . // for a SPLIT \ second . // I THOUGHT  
 553 → . // well . it would be big news if she DIED ^ \_ // but she's just INjured ^ \_ // so it really→ // you  
 554 KNOW \ . // w wouldn't it be specTACular ^ // in a kind of strange kind of WAY ^ // I was THINKing ^  
 555 \_ that . // and I CAUGHT ^ myself // I SAID→ // what on earth are you THINKing \ // I was really  
 556 SHOCKED ^ // that's what I reMEMber ^ . // being shocked at my own . original my FIRST \ reaction //  
 557 WAS→ // hey that's not such big NEWS ^ // if she died that would be big NEWS ^ \_ // then I kind of I  
 558 kind of reeled back I SAID \ \_ // that's TERrible \ \_ // E:R→ // and then my→ // \_ that was my FIRST \  
 559 reaction // but then . I SAID→ // NO \ // that's TERrible \ // you KNOW \ // . of course you should have  
 560 hoped that she's oKAY ^ \_ // and she's doing so much work fo:r work with AI:DS PA:tients ^ // and and .  
 561 er crusading against the land MINES ^ // and \_ E:RM→ \_ // I think . basically the SICK ^ . // and the  
 562 POOR ^ // she did a LOT \ for // I didn't know a WHOLE ^ lot \_ // because that didn't make the PAPers  
 563 ^ as much as // oh . she's . vacationing with Dodi ^ // and she's found a new LOVE ^ // and all these  
 564 things that are . pretty much her PRiVate \ life // that . I . really don't want to KNOW ^ // I hope that  
 565 people don't pry into MY \ affairs like that . // er but PEOPle \ wanted to know . // and so she \_ she had  
 566 that kind of image of a . kind of SUPERstar ^ // or POP ^ star \_ // a:nd ER→ // I guess maybe that's why I  
 567 THOUGHT→ // oh well it would be BIGger ^ news . // if she er were killed INSTantly \ // or SOMETHing  
 568 \ // bu:t yeah my first r my first reaction to THAT ^ \_ // e:RM was a reaction to mySELF ^ // OH \ // you  
 569 KNOW \ // how could you THINK \ that \_ // but of COURSE \ // THEN \ // LATer \ // after three or  
 570 four HOURS \ // it started to SINK \ in // WOW \ . // she's only thirty-SIX ^ \_ // <finger-snap> we  
 571 could ALL \ go // we c // any of us COULD \ go // it doesn't matter if you're . TWO ^ years old // if  
 572 you're ONE ^ year old // if you're . ninety-NINE ^ \_ // it just takes one INSTant \ . // and you're GONE \  
 573 // so: the: \_ // er I don't know there's some kind of buddhist e:r feeling that ER→ \_ // EVerything \ is  
 574 temporary . // there's NOTHING \ that's permanent . // it's ALways \ changing . // the the buddhist . the  
 575 buddhist trainees or the buddhist monks make . a: . terrifically . complex . design . out of SAND \ // out of  
 576 colored SAND ^ // or do something like THAT ^ . // and it takes them a year or more to DO ^ it . // and  
 577 then when they're FINished ^ . // I don't know if if THEY ^ do it . // maybe they have to do it  
 578 themSELVES ^ // or the TEACHER ^ does it // but they just <non-verbal 'whoosh' sound> just let the wind  
 579 carry all the sand AWAY→ // or they just . you know just <non-verbal 'woosh' sound> let it VANish \ \_ //  
 580 so that SOMEhow \ . // in that MOMent→ at that INSTant→ they have a realiZAtion \ that \_ // you  
 581 KNOW \ no matter how permanent no matter how much work goes into a certain thing no matter . WHAT  
 582 ^ // that it's not PERmanent \ \_ // and er WOW \ // that really HIT \ me \_ // when . I imagined→ // I  
 583 didn't know: . dodi al fayed . very WELL \ // but everybody knew princess diAna ^ . // e:r fro:m  
 584 nineteen-EIGHTy ^ // I still have the TIME magazine I think somewhere . of the WEDding ^ \_ // and er so  
 585 \_\_ princess diana has been wi:th . US \ // with OUR \ generation \_ // since . almost since we were . kind  
 586 of thinking about the world outside our SCHOOL ^ // or outside . our own FAMILies ^ . // er since I was  
 587 TEN ^ years old . // in nineteen-eighty I was TEN \ \_ // and so I'm THINKing→ // diAna \ // diAna \ //  
 588 she's always been on the back of my MIND ^ \_ // a:nd recently she's had PROBLEms ^ but . for that kind  
 589 of \_ Icon ^ // I guess popular Icon ^ // or SOMETHing ^ // to suddenly just be pulled OUT \ . // of . what  
 590 you've what has been \_\_ your whole life experience your a common experience you have with other  
 591 PEOPle \ . // suddenly it's GONE \ \_ // and then I started to iMAGine→ // oh you KNOW \ // \_ when

592 people are very OLD ^ . // you KNOW \ // the cars that they LIKE ^ // the cars that they rode IN ^ // that  
 593 they grew → . // the cars that → // the people they KNEW ^ // everything starts to disappear ^ // one by  
 594 ONE \ . // and so when you're very old \_ e:r these things are GONE \ // and if you don't rePLACE ^ them  
 595 // or even if you do replace them with something NEW ^ . // those things that you grew UP ^ with // that  
 596 are PART ^ of you // disappear ^ // SLOWly \ // until . maybe it's just a couple of your FRIENDS ^ \_  
 597 // are still LIVing ^ // and then maybe THEY ^ die // and then SUDdenly \ \_ // all the things that you  
 598 KNEW ^ // and all the things that were valuable to YOU ^ // as you were growing UP ^ \_ // you KNOW  
 599 \ // are disappearing one by ONE ^ // and SUDdenly → // OH \ . // and I'm OLD \ . // I'm not part of this  
 600 . thing that's going ON \ anymore \_ // er . and to have something like that VANish \ \_ // when I'm still  
 601 twenty-SEVen ^ // I THINK → // WOW \ // diana is really . // you KNOW \ she's part of the who:le time  
 602 period that I grew UP ^ // a:nd suddenly she's GONE \ // a:nd er ronald reagan is SICK \ . // but he wa:s  
 603 president from nineteen-EIGHTy ^ . // aGAIN ^ // when I was TEN ^ // until \_ . I was fully an aDULT  
 604 \ // quote unquote aDULT \ // at eightTEEN ^ // and VOTing \ \_ // ER → \_ // and to have him → // well  
 605 he's he's he's not DEAD ^ // but he has alzheimer's disEASE ^ // I THINK ^ // and ER → . e:r . // he's a  
 606 kind of . icon . of the nineteen-EIGHTies ^ // and SO \ forth // all the time I was growing UP \ \_ // so:  
 607 you THINK → // oh he's going he's . not going to live forever NOW ^ // and \_ things just start  
 608 disapPEARing \ . // a:nd whe:n \_ // I didn't think diana would disappear that QUICKly \ though . // it was  
 609 a real SHOCK \ \_ // so \_ when she was gone I just THOUGHT → // WOW \ // you KNOW \ // nothing is  
 610 PERmanent \ // even someone as BIG ^ // or as FAmous ^ // <END OF TAPE>

## APPENDIX 2

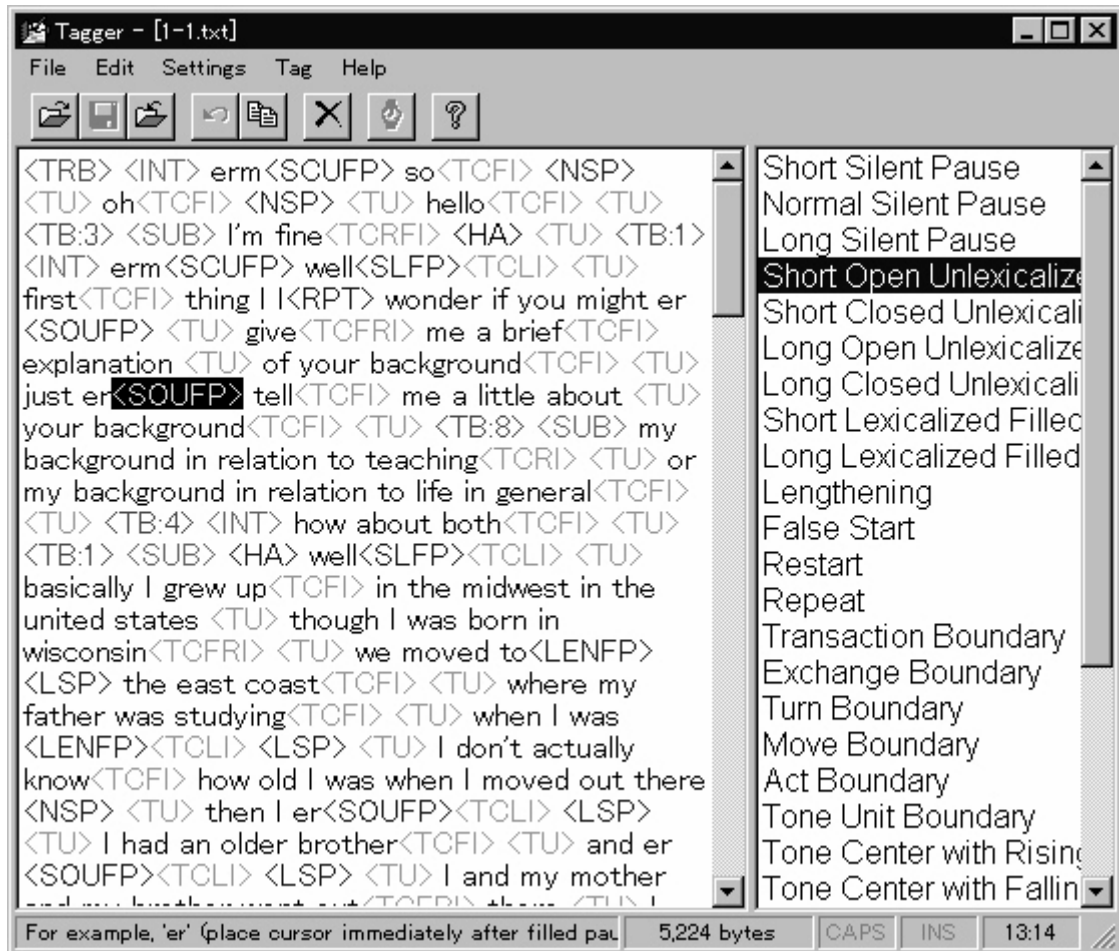
## TAGS USED IN CORPUS TRANSCRIPTION

Tag	Denotation
<SSP>	short silent pause
<NSP>	normal silent pause
<LSP>	long silent pause
<SOUFP>	short open unlexicalized filled pause
<SCUFP>	short closed unlexicalized filled pause
<LOUFP>	long open unlexicalized filled pause
<LCUFP>	long closed unlexicalized filled pause
<SLFP>	short lexicalized filled pause
<LLFP>	long lexicalized filled pause
<LENFP>	lengthening
<FS>, </FS>	false start
<RS>, </RS>	restart
<SC>	self-correction
<RPT>	repeat
<TRB>	transaction boundary
<EB>	exchange boundary
<TB>	turn boundary
<MB>	move boundary
<AB>	act boundary
<TU>	tone unit boundary
<TCRI>	tonic syllable with rising tone choice
<TCFI>	tonic syllable with falling tone choice
<TCRFI>	tonic syllable with rise-fall tone choice
<TCFRI>	tonic syllable with fall-rise tone choice
<TCL>	tonic syllable with level tone choice
<IA>	inaudible
<HA>	laugh
<AM>	ahem (throat-clearing)
<OT>	other
<INT>	interviewer
<SUB>	subject

### APPENDIX 3

#### "TAGGER" INFORMATION

The figure below shows the main window of Tagger which was programmed using Visual Basic 4.0 for Microsoft Windows 95. A program listing may be obtained from the author.



**Tagger Main Window**

Following is a sample of tagged text as produced by Tagger. These lines correspond to lines 2 to 43 in the transcripts in **APPENDIX 1**.

```
<TRB> <INT> erm<SCUFP> so<TCFI> <NSP> <TU> oh<TCFI> <NSP> <TU>
hello<TCFI> <TU> <TB:3> <SUB> I'm fine<TCRFI> <HA> <TU> <TB:1>
```

<INT> erm<SCUFP> well<SLFP><TCLI> <TU> first<TCFI> thing I I<RPT>  
 wonder if you might er<SOUFP> <TU> give<TCFRI> me a brief<TCFI>  
 explanation <TU> of your background<TCFI> <TU> just er<SOUFP>  
 tell<TCFI> me a little about <TU> your background<TCFI> <TU> <TB:8>  
 <SUB> my background in relation to teaching<TCRI> <TU> or my background  
 in relation to life in general<TCFI> <TU> <TB:4> <INT> how about both<TCFI>  
 <TU> <TB:1> <SUB> <HA> well<SLFP><TCLI> <TU> basically I grew  
 up<TCFI> in the midwest in the united states <TU> though I was born in  
 wisconsin<TCFRI> <TU> we moved to<LENFP> <LSP> the east coast<TCFI>  
 <TU> where my father was studying<TCFI> <TU> when I was<LENFP><TCLI>  
 <LSP> <TU> I don't actually know<TCFI> how old I was when I moved out there  
 <NSP> <TU> then I er<SOUFP><TCLI> <LSP> <TU> I had an older  
 brother<TCFI> <TU> and er<SOUFP><TCLI> <LSP> <TU> I and my mother  
 and my brother went out<TCFRI> there <TU> I think<TCFRI> my mother was in  
 wisconsin <TU> to take care of her<LENFP> older sister<TCFI> <NSP> <TU>  
 erm<SCUFP><TCLI> <TU> who had a heart attack<TCFI> <AM> <TU> and so  
 <SSP><TCLI> <TU> my mother being a nurse <LSP> got to go out and take care  
 of her sister<TCFI> <TU> and then we moved back to the east coast<TCFRI>  
 <TU> erm<LCUFP><TCLI> <TU> <LSP> the earliest memories I have are living  
 in missouri<TCFI> <NSP> <TU> so I don't know<LENFP> too much about what  
 actually happened on the east coast<TCFI> <SSP> <TU>  
 though<LENFP><TCLI> <TU> my mother says that <SSP> I sort of met  
 Einstein<TCFI> <SSP> <TU> though not really<TCFRI> <HA> <TU> cause I  
 don't remember<TCFI> him <HA> <TU> neither does my brother<TCFI> <TU>  
 so<TCLI> <TU> if my mother<TCFRI> does <HA> <TU> anyway<TCFI>  
 <TU> and we moved erm<LCUFP> to a small town in missouri<TCFI> <NSP>  
 <TU> my father was originally from er<SOUFP> st. louis<TCFI> missouri  
 <NSP> <TU> and<LLFP> erm<LCUFP><TCLI> <LSP> <TU> I can remember  
 going through<LENFP> erm<SCUFP> second grade<TCFI> <LSP> <TU> I  
 think<TCFRI> <HA> <TU> a year and a half of school<TCFRI> <TU> and then  
 we moved to an even smaller<TCFI> town <TU> that didn't even have  
 milk<TCFI> delivery <NSP> <TU> so as a result we <SSP> er<SOUFP> got  
 milk in from the farmer<TCFI> <SSP> <TU> er<SOUFP> <TU> twice  
 <SC>every other day</SC><TCFI> <SSP> <TU> in<LENFP> regular  
 quart<TCFI> jars <TU> not real milk<TCFI> bottles <SSP> <TU>  
 and<SLFP><TCLI> <TU> which was an experience<TCFI> <TU> and<LLFP>  
 er<SOUFP><TCLI> <TU> it wasn't pasteurized<TCFI> <TU> either<TCFI>  
 <TU> <NSP> <TU> so we er<SOUFP> <LSP> moved to illinois after<TCFRI>  
 that <TU> to springfield<TCFRI> illinois <SSP> <TU> and I went to school  
 there<TCFRI> for a few years <TU> and then I moved to<LENFP> <NSP>  
 iowa<TCFI> <TU> hartley iowa<TCFI> <TU> a small town in the upper  
 northwest corner<TCFI> <SSP> <TU> near the iowa five<TCFI> great lakes  
 <NSP> <TU> erm<SCUFP><TCLI> <SSP> <TU> maybe it's three<TCFRI>  
 great lakes there <HA> <TU> anyway<TCFI> <SSP> <TU> and then after that  
 we moved to wisconsin<TCFI> <TU> where I started high<TCFI> school <SSP>  
 <TU> I did my university<LENFP> <SC>first university</SC> degree in  
 wisconsin<TCFRI> <SSP> <TU> and er<SOUFP> taught for a couple years in



missouri<TCRI> <SSP> <TU> then er<SOUFP> went to india<TCFRI> for a few years <TU> moved to<TCLI> <NSP> <TU> moved back<TCFRI> to the united states for six months <TU> and<LENFP> then<LENFP> left and went to japan<TCFRI> for two years <TU> and taught<TCFRI> <SSP> <TU> moved to<LENFP> new york<TCRI> <SSP> <TU> did er<SOUFP> graduate work there for two years<TCRI> <TU> completed <SSP> two master's at teacher's<TCFRI> college columbia university <TU> and then moved to<LENFP> <NSP> wisconsin<TCFI> <AM> <TU> to do the Ph.D. program in madison<TCFI> <SSP> <TU> finished up there <NSP> about nineteen-eighty<TCFRI> I think <TU> no not eighty<TCFI> <TU> eighty is when I moved<TCFRI> there I think <HA> <TU> and then so<TCLI> <NSP> <TU> er<SOUFP> finished up in nineteen-eighty-five<TCFI> <LSP> <TU> no eighty was when I was accepted<TCFRI> to the Ph.D. program <SSP> <TU> and eighty-five was when I completed<TCFI> the Ph.D. <SSP> <TU> passed my <RS>passed my</RS> orals in <IA> <TU> and completed<TCFI> in eighty-five <SSP> <TU> and spent a year<LENFP> <SSP> looking for a job <SSP> erm<SCUFP> someplace outside<TCFRI> the united states <TU> couldn't find<TCFRI> any <SSP> <TU> but I really wanted to take <IA> so then I took this other<TCFI> job <TU> then I took a job in japan teaching english<TCFI> <SSP> <TU> but my<LENFP> degree is not in english<TCFI> <SSP> <TU> er<SOUFP> it's in <NSP> non-formal<TCFI> education <TU> which is outside<TCFI> the formal system <TU> erm<LCUFP><TCLI> <SSP> <TU> so<LLFP><TCLI> <TU> junior college would not<TCFI> be a place I would be working <TU> if I were doing work in actually my degree<TCFI> field <NSP> <TU> I<LENFP> have been here<TCFRI> then since nineteen-eighty-six <TU> july<TCFRI> of nineteen-eighty-six <NSP> <TU> and will shortly be leaving<TCFI> here <HA> <TU> so<TCFI> <TU> <TB:203> <INT> great<TCFI> <TU> okay<TCFRI> <TU> thank<TCFI> you <TU> <TB:2> <TRB>

## APPENDIX 4

## QUIZ GAME SAMPLE QUESTIONS

1. What's your name?
2. Where do you live?
3. How old are you?
4. When is your birthday?
5. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
6. What do you do?
7. What color are your eyes?
8. What color is your hair?
9. What time do you usually get up?
10. Who's your best friend?
11. What did you have for breakfast?
12. How much is 15 plus 13? *28*
13. What is the day before Monday? *Sunday*
14. What is today?
15. What is the date today?
16. What time is it?
17. When is Valentine's Day? *February 14th*
18. What is December 25th? *Christmas Day*
19. On what days of the week do you have Oral class?
20. What is 10 minus 7? *3*
21. What kind of music do you like?
22. What's your favorite fruit?
23. What sport do you like?
24. Where do you like to go shopping?
25. Who's your favorite musician?
26. What kind of dessert do you like?
27. What's your favorite holiday?
28. When does your favorite TV show start?
29. What is the capital city of Australia? *Canberra*
30. What country is Cairo in? *Egypt*
31. Where is Mount Everest? *Nepal*
32. Which is smaller in population; Tokyo or New York? *New York*
33. Where is the Eiffel Tower? *Paris, France*
34. Where is the White House? *Washington, D.C., USA*
35. (showing picture of famous person) Who is this? *e.g., Mariah Carey*
36. (as above) What does he/she do? *e.g., singer*
37. (as above) Where does he/she live? *e.g., USA*
38. (as above) Have you ever seen her in concert?
39. (show picture, etc.) What is this? *Coca Cola*
40. (as above) How often do you drink this?
41. How often do you go to the movies?
42. Where is your favorite restaurant?
43. How tall are you?