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**A CONTRASTIVE STUDY OF SENTENCE STRUCTURE, CLAUSE  
COMBINATION STRATEGIES AND SYNTACTIC COMPLEXITY IN  
ORAL INFORMAL NARRATIVES PRODUCED BY NATIVE  
SPEAKERS OF ENGLISH AND ADVANCED EFL LEARNERS**

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MENCIÓN LENGUA INGLESA**

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## Table of contents

1	INTRODUCTION.....	1
2	OBJECTIVES.....	7
2.1	Specific Objectives.....	7
3	THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	9
3.1	Main differences between the spoken and written language .....	9
3.2	Genre and narrative structure.....	13
3.2.1	The study of genre and grammatical choices .....	13
3.2.2	Oral narratives.....	14
3.2.3	Genre analysis and storytelling genres.....	15
3.3	Segmentation of oral data: identifying a unit for analysis .....	18
3.3.1	The problem of sentences in the spoken language .....	19
3.3.2	Discussion of units of segmentation used in oral data analysis.....	20
3.3.3	The analysis of speech unit (AS-unit) .....	24
3.4	Marked and unmarked structures in spoken English.....	27
3.4.1	Word order choices .....	28
3.4.2	Structural choices.....	32
3.4.3	Summary .....	35
3.5	Adjuncts .....	37
3.6	Clause Combination .....	40
3.7	Complexity .....	42
4	METHODOLOGY .....	45
4.1	Participants .....	45
4.2	Data collection .....	46
4.3	Data analysis procedure .....	48
5	RESULTS AND DISCUSSION .....	53
5.1	Data .....	53
5.2	The stories .....	54
5.3	Marked structures .....	60
5.4	Clause combination .....	71
5.5	Complexity .....	74
6	CONCLUSIONS .....	78
6.1	Findings .....	78
6.2	AS-unit and genre analysis.....	81
6.3	Limitations of the study .....	82
7	REFERENCES.....	85

Appendix 1: Task instructions to elicit oral, informal narratives .....	87
Appendix 2: Participant N1 .....	88
Appendix 3: Participant N2 .....	95
Appendix 4: Participant N3 .....	103
Appendix 5: Participant N4 .....	111
Appendix 6: Participant A1 .....	118
Appendix 7: Participant A2 .....	130
Appendix 8: Participant A3 .....	140
Appendix 9: Participant A4 .....	151

## 1 INTRODUCTION

In the last twenty five years, there have been dramatic changes in the study of English grammar. New technologies and increasing research into spoken language have clarified the syntactic differences that exist between speech and writing and among different genres in the two mediums. This has had an effect on how grammar is described, leading to improved syntactic and semantic characterisations of the two mediums and their respective genres.

The fact that speaking and writing are different has been acknowledged since as far back as the 1920's. For example, Woolbert claimed that "speaking and writing are alike and different. Just how like and how different has never been adequately stated" (Woolbert 1922 in O'Donnell 1974). However, analysis of the spoken language has often been neglected in grammar studies, mainly because it has been regarded as formless and featureless, full of mistakes and riddled with hesitation and silences (Beattie 1983 in Halliday 1989), therefore impossible to analyse systematically and, then, not worth of analysis.

Leech (1998) reports that until recently there were not enough corpora of spoken language in terms of quantity and coverage, which explained why little had been done to study spoken English. Since the 1990's this problem has been addressed and large and varied corpora have been collected. Currently, there are three main English corpora administered by publishers who aim at an effective and systematic description of the features of spoken language: Longman collects the British National Corpus, Collins COBUILD collects the Bank of English Corpus, and Cambridge University Press collects the CANCODE Corpus (Leech 1998).

Available information technology has been crucial in the development of research in the area of spoken language in the last decades. As a result, work done in corpus linguistics and grammar studies (see Halliday 1989, McCarthy

1998, McCarthy and Carter 1995, Carter and McCarthy 2006, and Biber et al. 1999) has helped to undermine three long-held beliefs.

First, the belief that the spoken language is less elaborate, superficial and low in content in comparison to the written language has changed. Now it is believed that the spoken language has its own kind of complexity determined by the medium: "The spoken language is, in fact, no less structured and highly organised than the written. It could not be otherwise, since both are manifestations of the same system" (Halliday 1989, p. 79). Second, it is now recognized that written-based grammars exclude grammatical features that occur widely in conversation and other spoken genres (Carter and McCarthy 1995, McCarthy 1998). Third, it is acknowledged that even though the repertoire of grammatical features is shared in the activities of writing and speaking, their uses vary depending on the purpose of the text (Biber et al. 1999, Leech 1998). For example, the grammar of written narratives is different from that of oral narratives, and oral narratives have distinctive grammatical features that are not shared with other spoken genres, such as lectures. Correspondingly, descriptions and studies aiming at comparing or describing grammatical features need to control the genre variable.

Consequently, in the present study, we will examine some aspects of the grammar of the genre of spoken informal narratives, contrasting the oral performance of a group of native speakers and one of advanced EFL<sup>1</sup> learners. The study of this particular genre has been motivated by the fact that, firstly, oral narratives are a well-documented genre in grammatical studies and, therefore, the findings of previous research will be useful for comparison with our findings.

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<sup>1</sup> We will use the acronym EFL as Chile is a non-English speaking country; therefore English is learned as a foreign language.

Secondly, we will argue that narratives are a common genre in casual, everyday conversations and that they have an important cognitive and social value. They constitute a cognitive style that reflects how individuals make their way into the world and structure their thinking (Herman 2003). From a social standpoint, stories are a resource to assess and confirm affiliations with others. They involve a representation of the world as we narrate events reflecting the values, attitudes, and ways of seeing the world (Eggins and Slade 1996).

Finally, it is interesting to observe how advanced EFL learners use oral, informal narratives, especially as they do not normally engage in casual informal conversation in English outside the classroom. This factor should also result in differences between the two groups, as the group of learners will not only be performing in a foreign language, but also in an unfamiliar genre in English as a foreign language.

Despite the potential advantages of new English grammar descriptions, studying spoken data has demonstrated to be difficult for researchers to handle. First, because “oral data is particularly messy and second language oral data is generally messier” (Foster et al. 2000). Second, because there has been no agreement regarding how the object of study should be approached and analysed. For example, the concept of ‘sentence’ as a formal unit of language has proved to be inapplicable to the study of speech mainly because it is difficult to determine when a ‘sentence’ starts and finishes in spoken data, as there are no explicit boundaries (capital letters and stops). At a cognitive level, sentences do not reflect the ‘chunks’ of language that result from working memory planning constraints (Foster et al. 2000). At the same time, according to Brazil (1995), sentences do not reflect the step-by-step process of speech construction. On the contrary, he argues, sentences are constructed hierarchically. Finally, sentences are self-contained, decontextualised structures, whereas, in reality, users produce language in communicatively significant situations where the context has an impact over each utterance (p.

16). As a consequence, different researchers have suggested different analytical units for segmenting oral data. Unfortunately, this kind of disagreement has made much, if not most, of the work done incomparable (Beaman 1984; Foster et al. 2000), thus constraining a more productive development of the discipline.

In this study, we will review some of the most common analytical units that have been used to segment oral data as well as the problems involved in their employment. Moreover, we will propose and argue for the AS-unit as a valid and reliable unit for the study of oral data. As we will discuss later on, this unit, proposed by Foster et al. (2000) could also be considered psychologically valid as it may reflect the cognitive planning process, which could make it suitable to compare the speech of native speakers with that of advanced EFL learners.

An additional difficulty to the study of spoken English that can be pointed out is that not enough corpus studies have been carried out involving EFL text grammar learners. Even though extensive work has been done in order to describe the 'oral' grammar of native speakers of English (Biber 1986; Carter and McCarthy 2006), in the course of this study it has been difficult to find relevant research on the characteristics of L2 learner's spoken grammar of English. Overall, learner corpus is still in its initial stages of development. So far, learner corpora reviewed for this study are only based on written discourse (including the largest learner corpus, the Cambridge Learner Corpus).

As part of the theoretical framework, we will refer to the main characteristics of spoken grammar and the cognitive principles that underlie online production and that have an effect on the grammatical choices made and the resources used by speakers. We will discuss that speaking is a cognitively demanding activity as it is unplanned and takes place in real time. We will argue that for the group of advanced EFL learners, any speaking task, even though it is in an informal context, is more cognitively complex than for the group of native



speakers. This assumption will be used to provide possible explanations to observed differences and similarities between the two groups.

After reviewing some of the current English spoken grammar descriptions, we have identified three main characteristics which we will be focusing on, namely: the manipulation of 'marked' structures, clause combination strategies, and complexity and deeper degrees of subordination.

In English speech, the canonical (unmarked) English sentence word-order, Subject – Verb – Object – Adverbial is frequently manipulated to serve different focus functions, such as foregrounding or contrasting. According to Carter and McCarthy (2006), 'markedness' can be of two different types: word order choices, where the grammar is not affected, and structural choices, which involve changes to the structure of a construction. We will argue that word order choices can be explained by text-planning constraints, while structural choices may not be motivated by the nature of the medium, but by the informative communicative content and text configuration requirements. One possible word order choice particularly common in the spoken language include the movement of adjuncts to initial position (fronting) in order to achieve rhetorical functions. We will thus observe what types and functions of adjuncts are used in spoken narratives.

Regarding clause combination strategies, a spoken text is characterized by chains of propositions strung together with the use of simple narrative links, particularly of coordinating conjunction *and*. However, the coordinating function of *and* is not always clear as it can achieve several textual functions. Correspondingly, we will observe whether there are any differences in the frequency and the functions of the coordinating conjunction *and* in front position between the two groups. In order to identify other possible clause combination strategies, we will also observe the use of other conjuncts or discourse markers

in initial position. We will argue that this phenomenon can be explained by the principles of online production as a strategy to maximise cognitive resources.

Finally, speech is also characterised by higher levels of intricacy, i.e. a higher number of subordinate and embedded clauses per clause. In our study, we will attempt to identify similarities and differences between native speakers and advanced EFL learners in relation to the number of subordinate clauses in each complex unit, and the number of subordinate clauses that depend on other subordinate clauses. This will enable us to observe whether further cognitive constraints in the planning of speech by advanced EFL learners affect complexity in oral informal narratives.

Within the context thus far delineated, the present study is intended as a preliminary description of advanced EFL learners' competence to employ oral English text grammar in the elaboration of informal, oral narratives. The study also attempts to provide further information in the field of spoken English text grammar by using a unit for analysis that is more valid than the ones used so far and by studying a less explored area, that of advanced EFL learners' spoken English grammar.

## 2 OBJECTIVES

The present study aims at identifying and describing a set of syntactic choices made at discourse-text level by native speakers of English and advanced EFL learners in spontaneous production of oral, informal narratives, relating them to the cognitive constraints of the spoken medium.

### 2.1 Specific Objectives

Specifically, this study intends to:

- 2.1.1 Test the AS-unit as a valid, reliable and operationally effective unit to analyse spoken data.
- 2.1.2 Characterise storytelling genres in casual conversation by native speakers and advanced EFL learners, by identifying stages within the genre-analysis framework from Eggins and Slade (1996).
- 2.1.3 Characterise principles of online production proposed by Biber et al. (1999) and relate them to our findings, providing a possible explanation of how they may affect the discursual-grammatical choices made by advanced EFL learners and native speakers.
- 2.1.4 Identify and compare the use of 'marked' constructions used by the two groups, relating the findings to principles of online production and task complexity. These constructions include word order (such as fronting, 'headers' and 'tails') and structural choices (such as *there* constructions).
- 2.1.5 Identify and compare rhetorical functions of word order and structural choices of marked constructions that are used by the two groups, relating the findings to principles of online production and task complexity.

- 2.1.6 Identify and compare rhetorical functions of adjuncts in front position, which are particularly common in informal spoken English, relating the findings to principles of online production and task complexity.
- 2.1.7 Identify differences in the frequency and functions of coordinating conjunction *and* in initial position as a combination strategy between the two groups. In order to identify other possible clause combination strategies, we will also observe the use of other conjuncts or discourse markers in initial position. Again, we will relate the findings to principles of online production and task complexity
- 2.1.8 Identify preferences by each group over the production of complex versus simple units, relating the findings to principles of online production and task complexity.
- 2.1.9 Identify similarities and differences between native speakers and EFL learners in relation to the number of subordinate clauses in each complex unit, and the number of subordinate clauses that depend on other subordinate clauses, relating the findings to principles of online production and task complexity.

### 3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study is framed within the domain of English grammar and, specifically, the studies in the field of spoken English grammar. In this section we will account for some of the cognitive and contextual constraints underlying the spoken language. These constraints have an effect on the grammatical choices made and the resources used by speakers, which will be described in more detail and will include the manipulation of 'marked' structures, clause combination strategies, and complexity and deeper degrees of subordination. Subsequently, we will refer to the characteristics of the genre that we will be analysing: oral, informal narratives. In addition, we will describe the units that have been used in the study of spoken data and will provide a detailed description of the unit we will use: the AS-unit.

#### 3.1 Main differences between the spoken and written language

The differences encountered in comparing and describing oral and written language originate in the context of communication and the mental processes that underlie both mediums as well as the planning time available in both tasks (Biber et al. 1999, Chafe and Danielwicz 1987). These aspects interrelate and, consequently, have an effect on the syntactic features of each medium.

There are several factors that explain why and how the context of communication affects the general characteristics that make speech distinct from writing. Typically, speech occurs in face-to-face interactions (Carter and McCarthy 2006). Also, how oral text is structured can be explained by the fact that participants may pursue either shared or unshared communicative purposes (Brazil 1995). The written language, on the other hand, is normally a detached social activity, where the writer and the audience are removed from each other in time and space (Chafe and Danielwicz 1979, reported in Beaman

1984). Chafe and Danielwicz (1987) suggest that this relationship between writer/speaker and audience has an effect on syntactic complexity. For example, written texts present a significantly greater number of dependent clauses than spoken texts.

Moreover, spoken discourse, whatever genre or register may be involved, is subject to the limitations of working memory due to the fact that it happens in real time and is unplanned (Biber et al. 1999, Carter and McCarthy 2006, Ochs 1979). In contrast, written discourse is normally constructed over a longer period of time and is an activity that takes place until the writer is satisfied with their text (Chafe and Danielwicz 1987). Biber et al. (1999) identify as a result of the limitations of spoken discourse, three principles of online production: 'keep talking', 'limited planning ahead', and 'qualification of what has been said'.

The first principle, 'keep talking', has a communicative explanation: speakers, as interactants, avoid communication breakdowns and keep moving forward. A speaker can hesitate, restart, fill in the silence with 'fillers' while he or she plans what to say next, but will avoid silence (Biber et al. 1999). According to Beaman (1984), speakers do not tolerate silence: "The tendency in speech is to fill up empty space and not leave time for an awkward silence to build up" (p. 61). Kroll states that filler words function as a resource to hold the floor for the speaker to indicate that there is still more to say (Kroll 1977, in Beaman 1984).

The second principle, 'limited planning ahead', has to do with the limitations of our working memory when we speak. According to the cognitive psychologist Miller (1956), the memory span of an adult has a capacity of around seven elements at a time, which make a single 'chunk'. This means that there is a limit to the amount of incomplete sentence structures that we can hold in our working memory and the amount of planned structures that we can hold for future completion (Biber et al. 1999, p.1067). As an example of this, Biber et al. (1999) have observed that in English, in the initial and medial position of a

clause, the elements tend to be simple and short; also, clause subjects usually consist of single words instead of elaborate noun phrases. Thus, working memory capacity is freed and used more efficiently to carry out other tasks at the moment of speaking, as when monitoring the reaction of the interlocutor or adjusting the style or sequence of the following text (Foster et al. 2000).

The third principle, 'qualification of what has been said', is related to the previous principles above. Planning constraints may cause the production of incomplete or unclear ideas, but the speaker can correct back by adding 'tags' to their utterances to clarify and, therefore, avoid miscommunication. Carter and McCarthy (2006, 1995) label these tags as 'tails'. They have a counterpart at the beginning of the clause: 'headers', which foreground elements according to the immediate interpersonal situation and also maximize the use of working memory by prioritising the theme of a clause. These constitute a common grammatical feature of the spoken language which has often been neglected by mainstream grammar (we will refer to this syntactic feature in more detail in section 3.4.1).

Concerning the contextual constraints, Halliday (1989) suggests that speech and writing differ in terms of three interrelated aspects: 'medium', 'function' and 'form'. Primarily, the nature of the medium affects both the communicative functions served by the text and its formal properties. If we compare similar texts that differ in the medium of production, the basis of the distinction between speech and writing becomes apparent. Halliday illustrates this point with the following examples (1989, p. 81):

(1) *"Every previous visit had left me with a sense of the futility of further action on my part."*

(Written extract from text)

(2) *"Whenever I visited there before, I'd ended up feeling that it would be futile if I tried to do anything more."*

(Possible rendering of (1) in spoken form)

On the basis of such utterances as in (1) and (2), Halliday argues that the written language maps events as 'products', while the spoken language represents them as 'processes'. In writing, he reflects, reality is presented as an object and this affects the form of the utterance. By using the grammatical resources of nominalization or grammatical metaphor, actions are viewed as objects. This is why in written extract (1) we find more nouns than verbs: *visit, sense, futility, action*. On the other hand, speech reflects reality as it happens, as action, dynamically, which explains the use of more verb phrases in (2): *visited, ended up feeling, would be futile, tried to do*. Consequently, the spoken language is lexically less dense, i.e. it contains less lexical items per clause. According to Halliday (1989, p. 80), the lexical density of the written language is normally twice as high as that of the spoken language.

Spoken language preference for representing events as processes adds another characteristic to itself: complexity. Speech "is complex, but in a different way" (Halliday 1989). In speech, processes are not represented in isolation or sequentially, but as whole configurations of processes related to each other in different ways by means of coordination and subordination. This leads to much more intricate structures: more complex and longer units arranged via coordination and subordination at deeper levels.

Summing up, there are several factors that have an effect on speech, thus making it different from writing. Speech takes place in a real time context with interlocutors or with a speaker and an audience. The lack of planning time available and the limitations of working memory make speech a complex mental activity where speakers have to maximise the use of their cognitive resources in order to achieve effective communication. Unfortunately, the main works reviewed for this study do not account for how these factors affect the spoken grammar of learners of English as a second or foreign language (ESL/EFL learners) as they are intended as descriptions of English as first language (L1) (Biber et al. 1999; Carter and McCarthy 1995, 2006). However, it



has been observed in previous studies that cognitively complex tasks for language learners have an effect on the complexity and fluency of their speech: as the complexity of the task increases, learners will prioritise complexity or fluency to communicate effectively (Skehan and Foster 2001). Therefore, we should expect differences between learners of English and native speakers as the task of speaking will be more complex, from a cognitive point of view, for learners than native English speakers.

### 3.2 Genre and narrative structure

Together with the text-planning and contextual constraints described above, in the present study we will also regard 'discourse genre' as another factor affecting the grammatical choices made by native speakers at text level. To this effect, we have selected oral, informal narratives as a relevant genre of study. Subsequently, a general description of some of the main characteristics and the stages of the oral, informal narrative genre is presented below.

#### 3.2.1 The study of genre and grammatical choices

Research into the domains of discourse analysis, conversation analysis and corpus linguistics have amply demonstrated that texts belonging to different genres display different lexico-grammatical options (Beaman 1984, Biber 1986, Carter and McCarthy 1995). Correspondingly, it has been suggested that, in order to make reliable and valid descriptions, text grammar studies need to take into account the genre variable (Beaman 1984; Biber 1986; Carter and McCarthy 1995). Thus, Biber et al. (1999) in the Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English make the distinction of genre and registers. They report on frequency findings of grammatical choices in conversation, fiction, news and academic prose. Alternatively, Carter and McCarthy (2006) in the Cambridge Grammar of English, make a general distinction between speaking and writing throughout the book and report differences of specific varieties, e.g. narratives, conversations, academic papers, when they become relevant.

According to Beaman (1984), in order to obtain reliable data from studies of spoken language it is necessary to control discourse genre variables as well as text register, formality and planning time. At the same time, Beaman argues that, unfortunately, the first studies aiming at unveiling the lexico-grammatical differences between speech and writing did not control such variables. As a result, the findings made in those studies are, to a large extent, unreliable and not comparable (1984, p. 51). For example, in her study of the differences in subordination between spoken and written informal narratives produced by native English users, Beaman found they were infrequent in the two modes, whereas Chafe (1979, reported in Beaman 1984) and Kroll (1977, reported in Beaman 1984) found they were more frequent in the written language. Yet, Chafe's contrastive samples are taken from natives' informal dinner conversations and academic papers, respectively; while Kroll's data is gathered from narrative recounts of native speakers' significant personal experiences and written accounts of the same experience. In other words, the fact that the results reported in these studies diverge from each other may be explained in terms of the differences of the genres involved. In order to control this variable in our study, the data collected for the present study is representative of a specific genre: oral, informal narratives. In section 3.2.2 and 3.2.3 below, we discuss and characterise this particular genre.

### 3.2.2 Oral narratives

Oral narrative discourse is not only common in everyday conversation, but has been given important cognitive and social values. Narrative genres constitute a cognitive style that reflects how individuals make their way into the world and structure their thinking (Herman 2003). From a social standpoint, Eggins and Slade claim that stories are a resource for assessing and confirming affiliations with others. They involve a representation of the world as we narrate events bounded to time and place, as well as reactions to such events. Therefore, stories represent the values, attitudes, and ways of seeing the world (Eggins and Slade 1996).

According to Eggins and Slade (1996), oral narratives are primarily present in conversational contexts, but instead of having 'chat-like' sequences, the participants hold the floor for longer periods of time elaborating extended 'chunks' of discourse. We may argue that, in a sense, this discourse genre is closer to others involving extended 'chunks', like academic lectures, but oral narratives do not display the same level of self-monitoring or planning involved (Eggins and Slade 1996).

Besides taking into account their cognitive and social values, we will study oral narratives because it is a discoursal genre that can be realised in speech and in writing. In other words, spoken narratives can have a written counterpart, and vice versa (Beaman 1984). Accordingly, this explains why it has been used to study the syntactic differences between the two modalities. Beaman (1984) argues that written and spoken language cannot be compared by analysing non-complementary genres, e.g. a formal speech and a letter. Non-complementary genres can only reflect the general syntactic differences between the two modalities, but cannot reveal the syntactic choices originated within the genre.

Finally, it is interesting to observe how advanced EFL learners that participated in this study used oral, informal narratives. We know that they do not normally engage in casual informal conversation in English outside the classroom. We expect that there would be a greater difference between the two groups, as the group of learners will not only face a different language, but also an unfamiliar genre in English as a foreign language.

### 3.2.3 Genre analysis and storytelling genres

As the object of study and corresponding data selected for the present research fall within the genre of oral, informal narratives, it seems then necessary to introduce both the concept of 'genre analysis' and the stages and components of storytelling genres. In this section we will refer to these. The

information presented will be also used in our study to classify our data within the genre of oral, informal narratives. For the most part, the description below is based on Eggins and Slade's (1996) model for the analysis and description of casual conversation in English.

According to Eggins and Slade (1996), "the semantic and lexico-grammatical [genre] analysis reveals how text types realize particular social purposes: how the participants and participant relations are constructed; how the text systematically relates to the contextual factors and how particular ideological (gender, class, ethnicity) positions are constructed and represented" (p. 235). In order to study the lexico-grammatical features of oral genres, these authors propose a type of analysis that includes six stages:

Stage 1: Recognising a 'chunk'. In this model, 'chunks' are longer exchanges that take place when a participant holds the floor for a longer period of time. 'Chunks' reflect the global structure of the text and goes beyond the exchanges typical of casual conversation (p. 231).

Stage 2: Defining the social purpose of the 'chunk' and labelling the genre. For instance, the interactive function of a chunk could be to amuse or entertain and the genre may be "telling a story". In casual conversation, four types of stories can be identified (p. 233):

- a) Narratives: They present a complication or a crisis and are followed by a solution of that crisis. Normally, the significance of the story is provided by evaluative meanings (p. 236).
- b) Anecdotes: They focus on the crisis or the complication but, unlike narratives, there is no explicit solution but a reaction to the crisis (p. 237).

- c) Exemplums: They lay an emphasis on “how the world should or should not be”. The events are narrated in order to set an example of a cultural or ethical significance (p. 237).
- d) Recounts: They involve the retelling of a sequence of events in order to make explicit the speaker’s appraisal of such events. Unlike exemplums, they include a prosody of evaluation throughout the story, making its telling worthwhile (p. 237).

Stage 3: Identifying, differentiating and relating constituent stages within a genre. The different stages have a functional role in relation to the global structure and the other stages. Labov and Waletzky (1967, in Eggins and Slade 1996) identified six narrative stages (pp. 233-234):

- a) Abstract: It serves the purpose of providing a summary of the story, encapsulating the point of the story.
- b) Orientation: Its purpose is to orient the listener in relation to the place, time and behavioural context of the story.
- c) Complication: It constitutes the main section of the story and presents the sequence of events that lead to the crisis or problem.
- d) Evaluation: Its purpose is to reveal the speaker’s appraisal of his or her story.
- e) Resolution: It makes explicit how the problem or crisis is resolved.
- f) Coda: This is the concluding stage of a narrative. The narrator makes a point about the text as a whole. It can also function as a device to close the story and return to the present moment.

Stage 4: Specifying obligatory and optional stages within the generic structure. The obligatory elements in a generic structure characterise the genre as such. In Within storytelling genres, the orientation, complication, evaluation, and

resolution stages are compulsory. The optional elements do not define the genre. In storytelling genres, the abstract and the coda are optional stages.

Stage 5: Devising a structural formula to describe the genre. The formula presented below comprises the stages in a linear sequence with the symbol ^ between them to indicate how they are ordered to one another. The optional elements are marked in brackets:

(Abstract) ^ Orientation ^ Complication ^ Evaluation ^ Resolution ^ (Coda)  
(p. 235).

Stage 6: Analysing the semantic and lexico-grammatical features of a genre. In a generic analysis, it seems necessary to analyse the semantic and lexico-grammatical characteristics of each stage in the schematic structure. Otherwise, the analysis would be inaccurate. The purpose is to describe the semantic and grammatical characteristics of each stage in the schematic structure. For example, identifying attitudinal lexis (e.g. *ridiculous*), the use of repetitions, intensifiers (e.g. *really*), or tenses for each stage (p. 244).

In the present study, we will examine the grammatical features which are present within oral, informal narratives. As we will discuss in the next section, the first challenge for the analyst is to identify valid units for analysis. We will discuss the units that have been used in previous studies and then propose the AS-unit as a reliable and valid unit for analysis.

### 3.3 Segmentation of oral data: identifying a unit for analysis

In this section we will discuss the study made by Foster et al. (2000) where they review the different analytical units for segmenting oral data that had been used in previous studies as well as the problems involved in their use.

Additionally, we will propose and argue for the AS-unit as a valid and reliable unit for the study of oral data.

### 3.3.1 The problem of sentences in the spoken language

Whenever the analyst approaches a stretch of spoken language, the task of segmenting it into sentences turns out to be very difficult (Carter and McCarthy 2006; Foster et al. 2000; McCarthy and Carter 1995). Sentences cannot be identified in spoken texts as objectively and as clearly as they can in written texts (Carter and McCarthy 2006; Foster et al. 2000). First of all, in a spoken stretch of language, there are no explicit boundaries: no capital letters at the beginning of a unit nor full stop at the end of a sentence, which help identify the formal boundaries of sentences (Biber et al. 1999; Brown and Yule 1983; Carter and McCarthy 2006). Secondly, even though we would expect pauses from speakers between the units, these are not reliable: sometimes speakers speak too fast or pauses are part of hesitation or disfluency in the middle of an idea (Foster et al. 2000). Third, given the online nature of speech and its interactivity, it is common to find false starts, incomplete sentences, sentences completed in collaboration between two or more speakers, and long string of clauses in combination (Biber et al. 1999; Foster et al. 2000).

At a cognitive level, sentences do not reflect the 'chunks' of language that result from working memory planning constraints. According to Foster et al. (2000), the units used to study spoken data should be equivalent to what the speaker can achieve in a single 'chunk' of macro-planning (multi-sentences) and micro-planning (clauses), in terms of complexity, accuracy, and fluency of the language produced (p. 355). At the same time, according to Brazil (1995), sentences do not reflect the linear, step-by-step process of structuring units. On the contrary, he argues, sentences are constructed hierarchically. Finally, sentences are self-contained, independent structures that are not context-bound, whereas a unit for analysis should take into account the fact that users produce language in communicatively significant situations where the context has an impact over each utterance (p. 16).

### 3.3.2 Discussion of units of segmentation used in oral data analysis

As part of the discussion on segmenting spoken language, many units have been proposed and used. For example, among other units, O'Donnell (1974) used the 't-unit', Halliday (1989), the 'clause complex', Carter and McCarthy (2006) the 'tone unit', and Biber et al. (1999) the 'c-unit'. The lack of agreement among researchers has limited the progress of the study of the spoken language as studies cannot be compared reliably (Beaman 1984). Unfortunately, studies reporting findings of research normally do not define and/or exemplify properly the unit used. According to Foster et al. (2000), fruitful comparison or replications of research is not possible because units of segmentations in use are characterised by two problems:

- a) Definitions: "identical units are either defined in different ways or not defined at all, or defined in a way which is too simple to be used with real spoken data" (p. 357).
- b) Applications: "if exemplified at all, definitions are accompanied by one or two citation examples which bear little resemblance to the messy reality of speech transcripts" (p.357).

Foster et al. (2000) surveyed 87 studies where spoken language needed to be segmented. Only 43 of these studies defined the unit used varying in the detail provided. Still, the units defined (45 in the study) can be classified into three categories: semantic, intonational and syntactic units.

Semantic units include the 'proposition' defined as "a semantic unit consisting of at least one major argument and one or more predication about this argument" (p. 358). In semantic units, it is the information or meaning that determines the unit. The problem with these units is that they are difficult to establish with certainty because each researcher may apply a different criterion subjectively (p.358), making them unreliable.



Intonational units include the tone unit and the notion of 'utterance'. Carter and McCarthy (2006) define this criterion as follows: "The minimal unit of communication is the tone unit, which consists of at least one intonation contour which ends in a rising or falling tone. If a unit does not have one such intonation contour, it is heard as incomplete. A tone unit typically coincides with a clause, hence the clause may be considered the basic unit of grammar in spoken language" (s. 83). According to Foster et al. (2000), relying purely on pausing or intonational features is problematic because these units cannot be applied to the speech of non-native speakers. They argue that in the speech of second language learners, pauses can be used either to mark boundaries or may be a result of disfluency (p.359). Thus, as intonational-based units cannot clarify this, their use will not reveal planning abilities or proficiency attainment. However, intonational criteria can be useful to complement other criteria, mainly syntactic ones (p.359).

Syntactic criteria offer more reliability and validity (p. 360). However, there has not been an agreement on what to consider as part of the unit, especially, when it comes to disfluency elements such as false starts, hesitations, repetitions, and lengthy stretches of language.

Among the syntactic units that have been used to segment spoken language, the most common is the t-unit proposed by Hunt in 1965 (p. 360). The t-unit is defined as "the minimal syntactic unit containing one independent clause and the dependant clauses (if any) syntactically related to it" (O'Donnell 1974, p. 103). However, researchers have used and proposed different versions of it. According to Foster et al. (2000), the different studies that have used this unit have varied in the consideration of embedded clauses as dependant clauses and coordinated clauses as one or two different units (p. 360). In addition, 'non-clausal' structures or 'sentence fragments', which are typically product of disfluency are not considered units (or part of them) (p. 360). Accordingly, this

unit has been inadequate to study fluency in spoken discourse, particularly that of language learners (p. 360).

Another syntactic unit is the clause complex proposed by Halliday (1989) It is similar to the t-unit in that it includes a main clause and all the clauses that relate to it. However, they differ in that he considers coordinated clauses within the unit. He argues that the clauses that are related to the main clause do so through the logical processes of 'hypotaxis' (subordination) and 'parataxis' (coordination). From his logic-semantic perspective, this unit reflects the process of speaking as a reflection of how individuals present and relate events in the world. However, like the t-unit, sentence fragments are not addressed by Halliday.

The syntactic-based units just presented –the t-unit and the clause complex– are supra-clausal. According to Foster et al. (2000), these units are valid in respect to their psycholinguistic reality, as they allow both the observation of how speakers construct longer sequences that can be related to sophisticated planning processes and, taking Halliday's perspective, the observation of how speakers relate events in the world. Nevertheless, working with longer stretches of language raises a series of challenges originated by the online, unplanned nature of language (p. 362). To illustrate these problems, the authors discuss the following examples.

### 3.3.2.1 'Because' adverbial clauses.

Adverbial clauses introduced by 'because' are problematic in oral language. First, it is common that these clauses relate to the main clause as well as previous elements in the text. *Because*, for example, can work cataphorically or anaphorically. Second, *because* may function as a discourse marker and not as a conjunct that introduces a subordinate clause when there is no clear semantic cause/effect relationship, and occurs normally after a pause, as in example (3) below. For these cases a semantic criteria should be used as complement (p. 363).

- (3) ... *I would like to see now a Europe a strong Europe like er maybe in the eighteenth century [1-second pause] because er I think we're going to have a lot of more more troubles in the next decade...* (p. 363).

### 3.3.2.2 Coordination.

Regarding coordination, in t-units, coordinated main clauses should be treated as separate units, while coordinated verb phrases that share the subject should be included in one unit. However, detailed observation of the spoken language presents cases where coordinated verb phrases sharing the same subject should constitute two separate units, as pauses between the phrases (intonational criteria) reflect a new start, hence a new unit, as exemplified in example (4), below. Moreover, there are also cases in informal discourse where the subject is dropped. Initially it will be regarded by the analyst as one unit, but after careful observation it would be clear that there are two different units. Finally, *and* can function as a filler word and not necessarily as a coordinator, as we will discuss in section 0.

- (4) *The other woman is very happy now [0.5-second pause] and [3-second pause] just walking away with a great smile* (p.364).

### 3.3.2.3 'Topical' noun phrases ('headers').

Independent noun phrase satellite units, such as examples (14), (15), (16), and (17) in section 3.4.1.2, below, are common in speech. However, none of the units described have provided a satisfactory answer to such phenomena (p.364). It could be argued that the notion of 'headers' and 'tails' proposed by Carter and McCarthy (1995, 2004, 2006) is a solution, as they propose these additional structures to the core clause in pre and post positions. Even so, according to Foster et al. (2000), they do not tackle the problem in mid-position, as in example (5) below. In addition, they argue that these structures are

common in EFL or ESL learners whose first language is a topic-comment language (p. 364).

- (5) *Apples are grown in Pakistan. These fruits are same as like yours but not gooseberries and strawberries these are not grown in my country* (p. 364).

#### 3.3.2.4 Scaffolding and interruption.

In interactive conversation, constructing units collaboratively by the speakers is also common. Situations like the one exemplified in (6) below “raises complex questions about how the resulting units are to be divided and assigned” (p. 364):

- (6) A: *They both look fairly sort of* [B: *Miserable*] (p. 364).

To summarise, semantic and intonational units are unreliable. The former are subjective in nature and the latter are not applicable to all the cases. As regards syntactic units, even though syntax is a more reliable criterion, the examples above have illustrated the difficulty involved in segmenting oral data due to its dynamic nature. Foster et al (2000) argue that a unit for analysing spoken language needs to take into account those problems (p. 365).

Accordingly, they propose a unit, the analysis of speech unit (AS-unit). This unit intends to be an accessible, standard, explicit and exemplified unit of analysis that can be applied reliably to a wide range of oral data. The AS-unit is presented as a psychologically valid unit. In the next section we will describe this unit in more detail and discuss arguments in favour of its use in this study.

#### 3.3.3 The analysis of speech unit (AS-unit)

The unit adopted by Foster et al (2000), the AS-unit, is mainly syntactic. They argue for its validity because studies of pausing in native-speaker speech have

shown that pauses normally occur at syntactic unit boundaries, therefore suggesting that syntactic units are genuine units of planning. (p. 365). The AS-unit is defined as a single speaker's utterance consisting of an independent clause or a sub-clausal unit (e.g., phrases) together with any subordinate clause(s) associated with either. It differs from the t-unit in that it allows independent sub-clausal elements which are common in speech. Even though it is mainly syntactic, intonational criteria can be used to clarify awkward cases.

Moreover, the unit proposed allows multi-clausal units. As we mentioned above, there is evidence that these are valid in respect to their psycholinguistic reality. Additionally, they are crucial for the study of proficiency as Foster et al. (2000) claim that there is a relation between these units and proficiency: "We propose that the ability to plan at the multi-clause level is important for establishing a speaker's level of proficiency, and evaluating the complexity of a particular performance by a speaker" (p.365). They argue that the ability to produce units with more than one clause is associated with planned speech and with L2 development.

As we mentioned above, Foster et al. (2000) argue that one of the problems of the units that have been used for segmenting oral data is that the units have not been well defined or exemplified. As a consequence, many of the previous studies have yielded unreliable and incomparable data. In order to tackle this persisting issue, the AS-unit is presented with clear definitions and examples of the constituent elements, which we describe below. The purpose of these detailed criteria is to help the analyst identify the units of segmentation and to contribute towards the reliable replication of studies.

#### 3.3.3.1 Independent sub-clausal units

An independent sub-clausal unit will consist of either one or more phrases which can constitute a full clause by recovering elliptical items from the context of discourse, as in example (7) below; or minor utterances or 'nonsentences' (Quirk et al. in Foster et al. 2000, p. 366) and exemplified in (8) below:

(7) A: *Who did you come with?* (1 AS-unit)

B: *With my mother.* (1 AS-unit)

(8) *Thank you.* (1 AS-unit)

### 3.3.3.2 Subordinate clauses

A subordinate clause will consist of a finite or non finite verb element plus at least one other clause element, as in (9) below. Given this definition, non-finite verbs like *reading* in *I like reading* are not considered subordinate clauses as an additional clause element will be necessary. This specification has not been specified in other studies reviewed (p. 366).

(9) *It is my hope to study crop protection.*

(subordinate clause with a non-finite element followed by an object)

### 3.3.3.3 Coordination

As we mentioned in 3.3.2 above, the second verb phrase (VP) of coordinated VPs may sometimes constitute a fresh start marked by a long pause, as shown in example (4), below. To address this problem, two intonational conditions are identified: “in cases where coordination of verb phrases occurs, the coordinated phrases will be considered to belong to the same AS-unit, unless the first phrase is marked by falling or rising intonation and is followed by a pause of at least 0.5 seconds” (p.367).

According to Foster et al (2000), the AS-unit is flexible and can be applied in different ways, varying in the level of data excluded, depending on the objective of the study. In our case, we are primarily interested in what speakers can do individually in the production of longer units, therefore we will discard data related to interactivity. In other words, we will exclude responses or one-word minor stand-alone utterances (*Okay, Right*) and include longer ‘chunks’ as part of our data.

Finally, we argue that the AS-unit will be useful to compare the speech of native speakers with that of advanced EFL learners as it addresses the issue of proficiency. As we mentioned above, multi-sentential chunks reflect the cognitive planning process and the production of units with more than one clause is associated with planned speech and with L2 development. We also argue that its clear framework and definitions of the constituents of the units will make the segmentation more operationally clear-cut, contributing to obtaining more reliable data and consequently, more reliable findings.

### 3.4 Marked and unmarked structures in spoken English

Now that we have defined the unit we will be using for segmenting our data, we will now turn to the grammatical features that we will analyse in our study. In this section, we will discuss and describe marked structures in spoken English.

According to McCarthy (1998), the canonical (unmarked) English sentence word-order, Subject – Verb – Object – Adverbial is frequently manipulated in informal speech (and thus, becomes marked) to serve different focus functions: foregrounding of referential entities, signalling of topically-prominent discourse referents, and interactive features. According to Zenteno (1996), ‘markedness’ also helps to add an attitudinal meaning to the propositional meaning in the sentence.

According to Carter and McCarthy (2006), ‘markedness’ or non-canonical sequences can be of two different types: word order choices, where the grammar is not affected, and structural choices, where the grammar of the sentence is affected (p. 779).

In the following sections, we will describe marked structures in spoken English in more detail. We will characterize the categories that reflect word order and structural choices.

### 3.4.1 Word order choices

Word order choices include arrangement of elements without affecting the grammar of the sentence. They include ‘fronting’ and the use of ‘headers’ and ‘tails’.

#### 3.4.1.1 Fronting

Fronting or ‘front–placing’, refers to the movement of a clause constituent from its canonical (unmarked) position to the initial position in the construction, thus putting an emphasis on this fronted element. According to Carter and McCarthy (2006), the clause constituents that take fronting are the following:

- a) Direct object: a direct object can be fronted in a declarative clause, typically to show contrast:

(10) *I must admit, my favourite books I do read over and over.* (p. 780)

- b) Predicative Complement: Subject predicative complements (and less frequently object predicative complement) may be fronted to maximise focus on contrast:

(11) [looking at a photo of an old car] *mmm, my very first car, that was.*  
(p. 780)

- c) Adjuncts: adjuncts are fronted for emphasis or contrast.

(12) *Without my glasses, I can't see a thing* (p. 781).

In data collected from written narratives, Zenteno (1996) identifies a subclass of adjuncts, adverbial ‘n’, that has the property of occurring multiple times in a sentence and that is optional, peripheral, and mobile within sentence structure (p. 169). The relative position they can take in a sentence has to do with the rhetorical function of ‘background’ information. In other words, when an



adverbial 'n' element, either a phrase or a subordinate clause, takes initial or medial position, it provides information about the circumstantial context of the utterance and will be followed by the main, or 'foreground', information presented in the main clause. His view is different from Carter and McCarthy (2006) who claim, based on spoken corpora, that the rhetorical function of adjuncts in the spoken language is to emphasize and contrast. Thus, we could suggest that in informal speech fronted adjuncts have the function of emphasizing or contrasting, while in written language the function of adjuncts in initial position is to present 'background', circumstantial information. In this study we will observe the functions of adverbial 'n' in initial position in order to evaluate whether they only have the function of emphasis and contrast or others, such as backgrounding. Taking into account Zenteno's findings in written narratives, we should expect to find that backgrounding will be one of the functions taking into account the genre: oral, informal narratives.

In this study, we will observe what types and functions of adjuncts and adverbial clauses are used in spoken narratives. Evidence from corpus linguistics and grammar studies has shown that the fronting of adjuncts is particularly common in the spoken language and that speakers manipulate the position of adjuncts in order to achieve rhetorical functions. As for learners the task is more complex from a cognitive point of view, we should expect that they will front adjuncts to achieve rhetorical functions differently. In order to compare the semantic and rhetorical functions of adjuncts in front position between native speakers and advanced EFL learners, we will provide a detailed account of the characteristics of adjuncts in section 3.5.

- d) Verbs: a verb followed by an adjunct or a complement may be fronted to focus on another element of the VP

(13) Sitting in the garden, I've been all day (Carter and McCarthy 2006, p. 782).

### 3.4.1.2 'Headers' and 'tails'

'Headers' and 'tails', as we pointed out in section 3.1, refer to elements outside unmarked sentence structure which are characteristic of the spoken language. The former are located at the front of the clause and the latter at the end of the clause. These pre and post-clause structures are inherent to speech and reflect its dynamicity (Leech 1998) and are well accounted in the study of the spoken language. They are generally referred to as left and right 'dislocations' (Carter and McCarthy 1995)<sup>2</sup> or 'topic comment structures' (Givón 1979).

Headers generally involve the placement of (a) noun phrase(s) at the front of the clause that is co-referential with the subject or object of the clause as in (14), and have the rhetorical function of orienting the listener by anticipating the 'topic' The topic is the structure that then becomes the main subject or object of the clause. By anticipating the topic, there is a focus on a specific entity or a contrast is highlighted (Carter and McCarthy 2004; McCarthy 1998).

- (14) *Edward, he's always the first person to complain* (Carter and McCarthy 2006, p. 782).

There can also be cases of 'quasi-left dislocation', where the initial noun phrase is indirectly related to the subject as in (15).

- (15) *This friend of mine, her son was in hospital and he'd had a serious accident* (Carter and McCarthy 1995, p. 149).

Then again, the front-placed item may be grammatically indeterminate and only pragmatics relates it with the subject in the main clause, as in (16).

- (16) *You saying about that chap with the newspaper, that, one of dad's many stories of how he escaped death* (Carter and McCarthy 1995, p. 149).

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<sup>2</sup> Although this term is avoided by Carter and McCarthy for its misleading negative connotation inherited from written grammar tradition (Carter and McCarthy 1995).

According to Carter and McCarthy (1995), this phenomenon is particularly common in the narrative genre, where it is evident that speakers use this feature for textual and interpersonal motives: “speakers use this slot to flag a variety of items of information that will be helpful to the listener in identifying participants, in linking current topics to already mentioned ones, in reactivating old topics, and generally anchoring the discourse” (p. 150).

In relation to language learning, Carter and McCarthy (1995) suggest that learners manipulate this topic slot to their advantage and thus, it is common to find examples such as *‘my sister, she is a nurse’*.

Tails describe the slot available at the end of the clause, where the speaker inserts a grammatical pattern, normally a noun phrase, which has the function of amplifying, extending or reinforcing what they are saying. Most commonly, a tail clarifies or repeats the referent in the preceding clause as in (17), below. The unplanned and interactive principles of the spoken language explain the need for tails: unplanned discourse can lead to unclear statements that need clarification and linguistic or non-linguistic feedback from the listener may indicate that further clarification is needed (Carter and McCarthy 1995, 2004, 2006; McCarthy 1998). Additionally, they may also have the function of expressing an affective response, a personal attitude or an evaluative stance towards the clausal proposition, as in (18), and therefore take different functions (Zenteno 1997).

(17) *They’re incredibly nice, our neighbours* (Carter and McCarthy 2006, p. 195)

(18) *It’s going to rain soon, I think.* (Zenteno 1997)

Headers and tails are an optional grammatical resource but when used they carry important interpersonal functions. Carter and McCarthy (1995) argue that in the language learning classroom it should be expected that students are

taught regarding these resources and it would be expected that proficient language learners use them to their advantage for effective communication.

### 3.4.2 Structural choices

Choices of structures include using, for example, passive or active structures, or even more complex structures such as the use of 'cleft sentences' or embedded clauses (Carter and McCarthy 2006). As we will see below, only some of these choices are characteristic of the spoken language.

#### 3.4.2.1 Indirect object or propositional complement

Unmarked structures have an indirect object (IO) followed by direct object (DO), as seen in (19) below. However, in order to focus on the beneficiary or recipient of the action, a marked choice can be made by using a prepositional complement (PC) at the end of the clause thus adding focus to it (Carter and McCarthy 2006, p. 783), as in example (20), below:

(19) *I bought Mary a present.* (IO, unmarked, no focus)

(20) *I bought a present for Mary.* (PC, marked, focus on recipient)

#### 3.4.2.2 Active versus passive voice

Unmarked active voice word order locates the subject at the beginning of the clause as the agentive or 'doer' of the action. The use of the marked passive voice construction responds to the fact that, in a proposition, the agentive needs to be omitted or placed after the verb in a prepositional phrase to create focus as on example (22) (p. 784):

(21) *I was granted a scholarship.*  
(Focus on the fact of being granted a scholarship)

(22) *George was attacked by two men.*

(Focus on the agent in the prepositional phrase after the verb phrase)

### 3.4.2.3 Cleft sentences

In a cleft sentence, the message is split into two clauses allowing focus to be placed on different clause elements. Typically, cleft sentences include a clause introduced by *it* followed by a 'wh-clause'. The focus is at the end of the '*it*-clause' and the *wh*-clause provides given information (Carter and McCarthy 2006, p. 785):

(23) *It was mom* *who called you.* (Focus on the agent)

### 3.4.2.4 Wh-cleft sentences

*Wh*-cleft structures have the discourse function of highlighting the information at the end of the clause, which can be a phrase or a clause. *What* followed by a clause is especially common in spoken language. Usually, the information in the *wh*-clause is old or given and works as an explicit reference for the rest of the clause, whereas the copular complement contains new and important information (Carter and McCarthy 2006, p.786).

(24) *What she needs* *is a boyfriend.*

(25) *What she needs* *is a man that keeps her busy.*

The *wh*-cleft construction can use the complement position in a main clause, thus receiving the focus (p.786):

(26) *I think that* *what she needs* *is a boyfriend.*

*Wh*-cleft sentences can also be introduced by *why*, *where*, *who*, *when* and *how*, and are more frequently introduced by the corresponding nouns: *the*

*reason, the place, the person, the time or the manner* that needs to be highlighted (p.786):

(27) The reason why I didn't call you was because it was too late.

(28) The venue where the concert is going to be should be the same as last year's.

Another possible structure is to have clauses introduced by *this* or *that* with a *wh*-cleft complement formed by (a) clause(s), which is highlighted. *This* clauses, as in (29) usually point forward, while *that* clauses usually point backwards (p.787), as in (30).

(29) So this is what we'll do. *Firstly, introduce the speakers.*

(30) *It's not the characters it's the jokes.* That's what makes you laugh.

Finally, in spoken language, the connecting copular verb after *wh*-cleft structures is often omitted (p.788):

(31) What I did, I cooked the bacon with the fish in one pot.

#### 3.4.2.5 *The/one/something* + relative clause

Constructions that begin with *the thing, one thing, something*, plus a relative clause, are typically present in informal contexts and can be used to highlight subsequent clause elements like in cleft constructions (p. 788):

(32) Something I hate about this house *is that it is very humid and cold.*

#### 3.4.2.6 Anticipatory *it*

Anticipatory *it* structures enables to foreground the subject located at the end of the structure (p. 788):

(33) *I thought it was illegal to smoke in restaurants.*

#### 3.4.2.7 Existential *there*

Existential *there* constructions allow an optional and preferred variant of clauses with indefinite subject in which case the focus is on the agent by locating it at the end of the sentence and not in the canonical subject position (p. 789):

(34) *We drove past it one time and there was a woman standing outside (p.789).*

#### 3.4.2.8 Raising of subject

Finally, adjectives such as *difficult, easy, hard, impossible* typically take an infinitive clause complement occurring frequently with anticipatory *it* as seen in example (33) above. The infinitive complement can occur as subject of a clause or as 'raised subject', to create different types of focus (p.789):

(35) *To summarize our work is impossible (p.789).*

(36) *This distinction is impossible to make (P.789).*

#### 3.4.3 Summary

In this section, we have observed that markedness can involve both word order choices and structural choices. In table 1 below, we provide a summary of the different types of marked structures we have introduced based on Carter and McCarthy (2006).

As we have discussed above, Carter and McCarthy (1995, 2006) have identified the use of marked structures in relation to word choices as predominant in the spoken language. In this study, we will argue that fronting and the use of headers and tails are motivated by two characteristics of the spoken language we have discussed: namely, planning time constraints and rhetorical functions of the speaker within interactional contexts. In relation to the marked structures that involve structural choices, there is no clarity regarding whether they are motivated by the nature of the medium. However, we can observe in the examples that their use is constrained by the informative communicative content and text configuration requirements. For example, using cleft structures as in example (32) above, it is the context of the interaction that requires a clarification and thus, a focus on the agent, which explains the use of these structures to achieve a particular purpose.

Accordingly, we will also argue that word order choices will be more frequent than structural choices, and that the latter will occur when the text requires them. In relation to complexity, structural choices involve a higher level of proficiency in the English language and we will expect to find more of these in the data elicited from native speakers than in the data of advanced EFL learners.



Table 1: Summary of marked structures in English

Word order choices	
3.4.1.1 Fronting	Direct object
	Predicative complement
	Adjuncts
	Verbs
3.4.1.2 Headers and Tails	Headers
	Tails
Structural choices	
3.4.2.1 Indirect object v/s propositional complement	
3.4.2.2 Active v/s passive voice	
3.4.2.3 Cleft sentences	
3.4.2.4 <i>Wh</i> -cleft sentences	
3.4.2.5 <i>The/one/something</i> + relative clause	
3.4.2.6 Anticipatory <i>it</i>	
3.4.2.7 Existential <i>there</i>	
3.4.2.8 Raising of subject	

### 3.5 Adjuncts

In section 3.4.1.1 we characterised adjuncts as being typically fronted in spoken English. We also pointed out that speakers manipulate the position of adjuncts in order to achieve rhetorical functions. In this section we will describe and exemplify in further detail the categories and functions of adjuncts.

Adjuncts are a clause function, (at the same level of the subject, verb, object and complement) which are optional. Their function is to modify, comment on or expand the meaning of the clause in terms of manner, place, time, frequency, among others. They can be realised by an adverb phrase, a prepositional phrase, a noun phrase or by (an) adverbial or noun clause(s) (Carter and McCarthy 2006).

As well as being optional elements in a clause, adjuncts are movable and can take initial, medial or final position. As we discussed in section 3.4.1.1, in initial position they tend to have the rhetoric function of emphasising, contrasting and also of providing background information.

In our analysis, we will describe and compare the semantic and rhetorical functions of adjuncts in front position between the two groups. We will argue that adjuncts in front position will be less common and that their rhetorical function will be less clear-cut in the data elicited from advanced EFL learners. As adjuncts are strategically used by speakers to achieve rhetorical functions and taking into account that the task is going to be more complex for advanced EFL learners than native speakers, we will argue that the group of learners will have less cognitive resources available to plan on rhetorical functions. In table 2, below, we provide an account of the general meanings and functions of adjuncts that we will use to classify our data. These categories and their examples in front position are taken from Carter and McCarthy (2006).

Table 2: Meanings expressed by adjuncts

Type	Definition	Example in front position
Manner	Refers to how much, to what degree something happens	<i>Without a car you'll never get there. (emphasises the problem of being carless)</i>
Place	Refers to where something happens	<i>Up near the church there was an old tree. (helps to orient the listener)</i>
Time	Refers to when something happens	<i>Thirty-one years we've been together. (the number of years is important)</i>
Duration	Refers to length of time over which something happens	<i>Throughout history, all commanders have known that no victory is complete until the chief of the opposing side has been killed, captured or fled.</i>
Definite frequency	States how often something happens using specific time expressions	<i>Every day she spends hours on her personal fitness programme, which includes gym sessions, aerobics and swimming.</i>
Indefinite frequency	States how often something happens using specific time expressions	<i>Every now and again they would get her to fill in these forms for them.</i>
Reason	States why	<i>Because of all the confusion, I didn't tell them until the next morning</i>
Purpose	Sates goal or purpose	<i>For safety and security reasons, cycling is forbidden on the canal path.</i>
Degree and intensity	Refers to how much, to what degree something happens	<i>To some extent the problem has already been solved.</i>
Focusing	Focuses on or specifies an entity	<i>Above all it is a family matter and in taking my decision, I've given priority to family considerations.</i>
Modal	Expresses degrees of truth, possibility, necessity, etc.	<i>Probably 'The Sun' is the most popular newspaper</i>
Evaluative	Judges or comments on the event, gives the speaker's opinions	<i>Appropriately, he was wearing a long black coat.</i>
Viewpoint	Expresses the perspective or standpoint from which the speaker sees things	<i>Quite honestly, I think we need more representation.</i>
Linking	Links and relates clauses to one another	<i>But then again, if you're interested in computers, , it's very easy to learn quickly.</i>

(Carter and McCarthy 2006, p. 579-594)

### 3.6 Clause Combination

As a result of the principles that underlie speech (see section 3.1) and contributing to its fragmented texture, spoken language is characterised by a sequence of finite clauses strung together or chained in a non-hierarchical way, using strategically coordinating conjunctions (*and*, *but*) and subordinate conjunctions (*because* or *so*) to link the segments of discourse (Biber et al. 1999; Carter and McCarthy 2006; Schleppegrell 1996). A closer look to the functions of these conjunctions has taken researchers to agree that the meaning of these conjunctions is different from their “traditional” meaning (coordinator and subordinators, respectively) (Schleppegrell 1996).

Speech is quite dense in the use of the coordinating conjunction *and*. Their frequency of occurrence of coordinating conjunctions is over twice in speech (Beaman 1984). In Beaman’s study on spoken narratives, she established a frequency index of 0.72 of *and*, which meant that there were 0.72 *and* every 1000 words (p.60).

Conjunctions are a grammatical resource to link text and their use contributes to identify the differences between genres (Schleppegrell 1996). Their meaning, unfortunately, is hardly a straight forward matter: it is not overtly conveyed by the conjunct nor is conveyed by the marking of the relations between the parts of the text, but it depends on the overall text. Their semantic force varies among texts and a formal and functional analysis is necessary to establish the meanings of conjuncts: “Conjunctions are signals of clause relations, but clause relations also clarify the meanings of conjunctions. It is only by examining the ideational content of the clauses, the sequential distribution of the conjunctions, and the interactional contexts in which they occur that we can identify the functions they perform and the meanings they contribute” (Schleppegrell 1996).

In spontaneous spoken language, different research has shown that the frequently used *and* serves different functions. It has also been demonstrated that the coordinating function of *and* is not the most typical one. According to Schleppegrell (1996), in spoken English the main function of conjuncts such as *and* and *because* is that of discourse markers<sup>3</sup>. According to Beaman (1984), in spoken narratives, *and* functions mainly as a weak connective and a filler. Kroll (1977 in Beaman 1984) states that *and* is a discourse marker used by speakers to hold the floor and indicate that the speaker will continue. Pu (2006) also carries out a research comparing spoken and written narratives and states that in narratives *and* is used to link events and in more emphatic cases where a sequence needs to be highlighted, *and then* is used.

In relation to *because*, research has shown that it is also commonly used with functions similar to *and*: i.e. filler, link, discourse marker, and not as subordinating conjunction within an adverbial clause. As we discussed in section 3.3.2, the meaning and function of conjuncts in the text needs to be defined in relation to the whole text (Carter and McCarthy 2006; Foster et al. 2000; Pu 2006; Schleppegrell 1996).

The frequent use of conjunctions serving different meanings weakens their meanings: “when a single word or feature is used with such an enormous frequency as these coordinators, it diminishes in its semantic meaning” (Beaman 1984, p. 61). This is what has happened to *and* in spoken narratives: “Its use as a filler word, as an introducer of clauses, and as an indicator of the

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<sup>3</sup> The definition we will use for discourse markers is taken from Carter and McCarthy (2006): words and structures used to mark boundaries in conversation between one topic, one stage or phase of the conversation, or one bit of business and the next: for example, items such as *anyway, right, okay, you see, I mean, mind you, well, so, now*. Discourse markers help with the planning and organisation of speech. Structurally, discourse markers function outside the boundaries of the clause (p. 208).

sequential ordering of events in a narrative, has so generalised its meaning that it has lost its specific coordinating function” (Beaman 1984, p.61).

There has been a large amount of research done in relation to the study of coordination in the spoken language and in spoken informal narratives, as spoken data has shown high percentages of coordinated structures (Beaman 1984). Frequent coordination is one of the factors that gives the spoken language its complex quality by serving to the combination of clauses in a spoken text. Yet, the research reviewed for this study is based on data of native speakers of English.

In this study, we will observe whether there are any differences in the frequency and the functions of the coordinating conjunction *and* in initial position between the two groups. In order to identify other possible clause combination strategies, we will also observe the use of other conjuncts or markers in initial position.

We will argue that the use of coordinating conjunction *and* in initial position with the primary function of combining clauses is overruled by the principles of online production. In other words, the use of *and* is not strategic but a result of the principles ‘keep talking’ and ‘limited planning ahead’ in order to avoid silence and to present events in sequence (see 3.1, above). We will therefore expect not to find significant differences between the two groups.

### 3.7 Complexity

In section 3.1, we mentioned how complexity is different in the speech and writing modes. The complex quality in writing is determined by the planning time available (Biber et al. 1999), its detached nature, and the fact that language represents phenomena as products (Halliday 1989). In written texts, complexity is reflected in lexically dense texts, with more frequent instances of nominalisation. Furthermore, writers have more time available to integrate

ideas into a more coherent whole (Biber et al. 1999, Chafe and Danielwicz 1987; Halliday 1989) by the use of subordinated structures. If we understand complexity in terms of lexical density and frequency of complex structures, the spoken language could be considered less “complex”. In the spoken language, events are simply chained in sequences strung together by *and* as well as other fillers, conjuncts and/or discourse markers in order to maximise cognitive efforts. Examples (1) and (2) in 3.1, above, compare a spoken and written text in these terms.

However, it can be argued that spoken language is more complex in that its grammar is more intricate (Beaman 1984; Halliday 1989). In speech we find longer stretches of words that relate events and phenomena through clauses with deeper levels of interdependency. In other words, clauses relate to each other by means of coordination and also subordination, but in a more intricate way: subordinate clauses can have further subordination or coordination and so on, as in (37). According to Biber et al. (1999), this phenomenon does not show signs of planning difficulty in the speaker. On the contrary “speakers appear to be skilled at adapting their language to the constraints of the principle ‘limited planning ahead’ (p.1068).

(37) *Because it didn't matter what sort of dog anyone had it'd bark.*  
(Halliday 1989, p. 85)

To prove the ‘intricacy hypothesis’ proposed by Halliday (1989), Poole and Field (reported in Beaman 1984) carried out a study and found that spoken discourse has a greater degree of subordination and elaboration of syntactic structures. In Beaman’s study (1984), she found that even though non-finite clauses were more prominent in written narratives, there was a tendency to have more finite clauses per unit in spoken narratives than in their written counterpart. In written narratives, she found up to six finite clauses in one sentence, while in her spoken data she found up to 13 finite clauses joined into a sentence. She also found that the combination of subordinate and

coordinated clauses in one unit were more frequent in spoken narratives. Her findings, and those of Poole and Field, support the intricacy hypothesis of Halliday (1989), proving that, when dealing with spoken language, the idea of 'complexity' has to be broadened and interdependency in text needs to be considered.

In this study, we are interested in observing complexity in the light of intricacy, as it is relevant to the study of the spoken language as a process. More specifically, we will attempt to identify similarities and differences between native speakers and advanced EFL learners in relation to the number of subordinate clauses in each complex unit, and the number of subordinate clauses that depend on other subordinate clauses.



## 4 METHODOLOGY

In this section, we will present the methodology used for this study, describing the participants, the data collection and the analysis data procedures.

### 4.1 Participants

We collected data from six adult native speakers of Spanish who were advanced learners of EFL and four adult native speakers of English. Two of the Spanish speakers participated at the initial stage of the research to pilot the experiment.

At the time of the data collection, the group of advanced EFL learners was in their last semester of their fourth and last year of their undergraduate programme in English language and literature at Universidad de Chile. The group consisted of only female participants aged between 22 and 26 years old, born and raised in Chile. None of them has ever lived in an English-speaking country. Their social interaction in English occurs mainly in their English classes at the university.

The four native speakers of English are professionals and were born and raised in the United Kingdom and Ireland. Specifically, two participants are of English origin, one is Welsh and one is Irish. The group was made up of one male and three female participants whose ages ranged from 26 to 52 years of age at the time of the data collection. The four participants had lived in Chile for at least four years when the data was collected. However, most of their everyday communication and interaction occurs mainly in English, both at their workplaces and at home.

## 4.2 Data collection

The activity designed to elicit data consisted of a face-to-face oral interaction by previously arranged pairs of peer participants. It has to be noted that the participants in each pair knew each other well, which helped to provide a more informal environment. This activity was administered by the researcher on different occasions, at the participants' most convenient time and venue, during October 2007 in Santiago de Chile. On the day before the activity, each pair of participants had been informed that the main object of their interaction was to tell each other about a memorable or significant experience in their personal lives.

Two pairs of native speakers of English and three pairs of advanced EFL learners were arranged. Once the pairs of participants had been arranged, a date, time and place for the recording of the paired interaction were agreed. We made sure that the venues where the activity would take place were isolated to avoid interruptions and external noises as well as familiar to the participant, so that they could feel at ease. In the case of the advanced EFL learners, the data elicitation task took place in a seminar room at the university. As to the native speakers, the tasks were conducted at one of the participants' office and at another's home.

One day before the task, the participants were sent a set of instructions by e-mail (see Appendix 1). The purpose of instructing the participants one day in advance was to give them enough time to both recollect and prepare themselves for narrating a memorable personal experience that would be interesting for their respective partner to listen to and that would stimulate further social interaction. On the day of the interaction, the participants were instructed to perform two consecutive roles: as narrator and as interlocutor. In the role of interlocutor, they were instructed to make comments, ask questions, and to react with back-channels (i.e., verbal responses, like *Mm*, *Right*, *No*,

*Oh!*, thus acknowledging incoming information) just as they would do in a similar spontaneous conversational situation.

For recording purposes, two digital audio recorders were used during the activity: a professional recorder (Sony IC Recorder ICD-P210) and an MP3 Player with recording function (Phillips GoGear audio player SA1345). Then, the researcher explained how the recorders worked and where microphones were located, asked them if they had any questions, and reminded them of the time allocated for the activity. Participants were reminded that they were supposed to tell their stories one at a time, with no external observer. Finally, the researcher turned the recorder on and left the room.

The recordings of the tasks were transcribed verbatim (see Appendix 2 to Appendix 9 for transcriptions), in their orthographic version onto a Word document, following the conventions used by Carter and McCarthy (2004, p. 20), which is a simple orthographic transcription system with the following exceptions:

- a) Overlaps are marked by extra indentation and a connecting line:  $\lfloor$ .
- b) Utterances with no or slight overlaps, but without pause between speakers were marked with an extra indentation and a connecting line:  $\lfloor$   
 $\lfloor$
- c) A comma was used to indicate that a speaker has recast what she/he was saying or to indicate hesitation; three commas indicated pauses lasting longer than one second; square brackets (for example, [8 secs]) were used to indicate long pauses and their duration. Paralinguistic or non-linguistic sounds, like coughing or laughter, were also signalled in square brackets.
- d) Pairs were numbered <S01> and <S02>.
- e) Each text line was numbered sequentially.

- f) Grammatical mistakes were not corrected unless they affected the understanding of the story. In these cases, the correct form was provided in square brackets.

When all the data was transcribed, each group and each participant were assigned an identifying label. The groups were labelled *N* for native speakers and *A* for advanced EFL learners. Each participant was given a number. In the end, each sample was labelled with the name of the group plus the number of the participant. For example, *N1* or *A2*.

### 4.3 Data analysis procedure

- 4.3.1 The analysis began by classifying the participants' stories into the storytelling categories presented by Eggins and Slade (1996) in 3.2.3: narratives, anecdotes, exemplums, and recounts. Next, the stages of each narrative were identified (see 3.2.3): abstract, orientation, complication, evaluation, resolution, and coda. The aim of this categorisation was to ascertain whether the data collected truly corresponded to the genre we used in this study: oral, informal narratives.
- 4.3.2 Next, the AS-units were identified in the transcripts. As we mentioned in 3.3.3, AS-units consist of an independent clause or a sub-clausal unit and any subordinate clause(s) associated with either. In the cases where this purely syntactic criterion was not clear to identify the boundaries between clauses, an intonational criterion was used. For example, falling intonation or pauses were taken into account to segment the data.
- 4.3.3 The segmented data was transferred onto an Excel 2003 spreadsheet for analysis. Within each participants' account, we excluded all the 'chat' sequences, the elicitation sequences between the speaker and listener,

and kept only the 'chunks' with data that corresponded to the participant's main narrative account (see 3.3.3).

4.3.4 We analysed each AS-unit in terms of the following aspects (see Appendix 2 to Appendix 9 for spreadsheets):

4.3.4.1 Number of words, after eliminating hesitations (*eh, erm, um*) from the word count.

4.3.4.2 Complexity of the units: simple or complex.

4.3.4.3 Subordinating structures within complex units. For example, if an AS-unit had two subordinate clauses following the main clause, this was presented in the analysis as (M(S)(S)), where M stands for the main clause and S for the subordinate clause. This served as preliminary data to study the degrees of subordination.

4.3.4.4 Number of subordinating conjunctions in each unit. Here we considered subordinate clauses. As we noted and exemplified in 3.3.3.2, a subordinate clause consists of a finite or non- finite verb phrase plus at least one other clause element.

4.3.4.5 Degree of subordination. Level 1 indicates one subordinate clause, level 2 indicates that there is a lower level subordinate clause within a higher level subordinate clause, and so on.

4.3.4.6 Function of subordinate clauses and embedded clauses (for example, adverbial or nominal, respectively). Concerning adverbial clauses, a further classification was applied to specify their semantic function (time, place, manner, etc.).

4.3.4.7 Markedness. Each AS-Unit was categorised as marked or unmarked (see 0).

4.3.4.8 Category of marked constructions. Marked AS-Units were classified

according to the categories presented in 0: front-placing, headers and tails, passive structures, cleft structures (*it was* or *wh*-clefts), *the/one/something* plus relative clause, anticipatory *it*, existential *there* or 'subject raising'. If one unit presented more than one marked construction, this was expressed as two separate marked constructions. We have to note, as well, that given the frequency of fronted adjuncts, we classified fronted items into two categories: fronted adjuncts and other fronted constructions. Finally, headers and tails were also entered into different categories. In both cases, the final analysis included the results as separate categories as well as one category.

4.3.4.9 Conjunctions and discourse markers in initial position. We marked conjunctions and discourse markers, such as *ok* or *well*, at the beginning of each unit.

4.3.4.10 Function of coordinating conjunction or discourse marker in initial position. We identified the following functional categories: coordinator, discourse marker, filler, narrative link, subordinating conjunction, and temporal sequence marker.

4.3.5 Partial results derived from the two groups were compared quantitatively. As the length of the corpus varied among the participants and between the two groups, the arithmetical results were converted into percentages in relation to each group's totals to make our data comparable.

4.3.6 The following calculations were then carried out:

4.3.6.1 Percentage of AS-units per participant in relation to the total number of AS-units of their respective group (native speakers of English or advanced EFL learners).

4.3.6.2 Percentage of marked and unmarked AS-units per participant in

relation to the total number of marked and unmarked structures of their respective group.

- 4.3.6.3 Percentage of overall marked and unmarked AS-units obtained by each group.
  - 4.3.6.4 Percentage of the use of the different categories of marked structures per participant and per group.
  - 4.3.6.5 Percentage of complex AS-units per participant in relation to the total number of complex AS-units of their group.
  - 4.3.6.6 Percentage of simple AS-units per participant in relation to the total simple AS-units of their group.
  - 4.3.6.7 Percentage of complex and simple structures produced by each group.
  - 4.3.6.8 Percentage of the different levels of subordination in relation to the number of subordinate clauses obtained by each group.
  - 4.3.6.9 Percentage of coordinating conjunctions in initial position in relation to AS-units in each group.
  - 4.3.6.10 Percentage of the different functions of coordinating conjunctions in initial position in relation to the total number of coordinating conjunctions in initial position in the two groups.
- 4.3.7 We calculated a proportional relation between subordinate clauses and complex AS-units in order to determine the number of subordinate clauses per complex AS-unit. We did this by dividing the total number of subordinate clauses by the total number of complex AS-unit. This yields an index that is interpreted as the number of occurrences of subordinate clauses per every complex AS-unit. This calculation was done for each participant and per group.

- 4.3.8 We calculated a frequency index to measure the occurrence of the conjunct *and* individually and per group. This was done by dividing the total number of occurrences of *and* by the total number of words in the sample for each group and then multiplying it by 1000. This yields an index that is interpreted as the number of occurrences of *and* per every 1000 words. We used this index to be able to compare the results with those obtained by Beaman (1984).
- 4.3.9 The validity of the results from 4.3.6 and 4.3.7 was tested by using a *t* test to determine whether the differences found were statistically significant. For this test we used “GraphPad QuickCalcs: *t* test calculator”.
- 4.3.10 We carried out a quantitative analysis of the categories of marked structures with 5% or higher percentage of occurrence in relation to the total of marked AS-units in each group. These categories were considered frequent or “preferred” and the rhetorical functions (backgrounding, emphasis, focus, etc.) of the representatives in those categories were then determined.

In the next section we will present and discuss the results obtained in this study.



## 5 RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

### 5.1 Data

The data selected for the analysis consisted of the AS-units found in the narrative accounts of the two groups under study. The analysis was carried out on the basis of the model presented in 3.3.3 and proposed by Foster et al (2000). The four stories produced by the group of native speakers of English - labelled N1, N2, N3, and N4- totalled 198 AS-units, while the samples from the advanced EFL learners, labelled A1, A2, A3, and A4, totalled 302 AS-units.

Table 3 below shows in detail the distribution of the corpus, indicating the number of AS-units obtained per participant and the total of AS-units per group. The table also shows the average of AS-units per participant and per group and the P-value to indicate if the difference between the two groups is statistically significant. In this case, the P-value shows a significant difference between the two sets of data (0.0042).

Table 3: Distribution of corpus

Native speakers	AS-units	Advanced EFL learners	AS-units
N1	54	A1	82
N2	54	A2	61
N3	45	A3	84
N4	45	A4	75
Total	198	Total	302
Average	49.5	Average	75.5
P-value	0.0042		

In order to minimize the effects on the results caused by the difference in the size of corpus between the two groups, the calculations for the data analysis were carried out in terms of percentages (see 4.3.6).

## 5.2 The stories

We will briefly describe the eight stories identifying the constituent stages in storytelling genres defined by Eggins and Slade (1996) and explained in more detail in section 3.2.3. As explained previously, storytelling genres have obligatory and optional stages that occur linearly. The identification of all or some of these stages enables the categorization of a story into one of these sub-genres: narratives, anecdotes, exemplums and recounts. The formula devised for storytelling genres is repeated below:

(Abstract) ^ Orientation ^ Complication ^ Evaluation ^ Resolution ^ (Coda)

The purpose of this description is to demonstrate that our stories fit into a narrative genre structure and that our analysis can satisfactorily account for the genre that we are researching into: oral, informal narratives. This description is also useful to introduce the topics and events of each story, as we will make them explicit in this section.

### 5.2.1.1 Native speakers of English

Table 4: Story N1

N1 (Male, age: 54)	
Abstract	The participant introduces the story by saying "it's a funny event that took place when I was at the university".
Orientation	He and his friend decided to go out drinking as they had both just returned from their term break and were feeling miserable.
Complication	Being drunk, they decided to go to a Chinese restaurant, where they ordered more food than they could actually afford. His friend decided to leave without paying so he sneaked out through a window on a first floor, so he had a bad fall and broke his leg.

Evaluation	The participant never took his friend's plan seriously.
Resolution	He had to take him to the infirmary. Afterwards, he had to get his meals for eight weeks because he could not move.
Coda 1	He concludes the story by saying "so that was my first night out in the summer term".
Coda 2	(not present)

The story of participant N1 is classified as a narrative as it contains all the elements of a story.

Table 5: Story N2

N2 (Female, age: 58)	
Abstract	The participant introduces the story saying "something I always remember and that was quite funny was the first time I ever came to Chile".
Orientation	She refers to how Antofagasta was an important city thirty years ago and she travelled there directly from London to see her parents who were living there at that time.
Complication	She arrived there alone without any knowledge of Spanish. She had to contact her parents so they could pick her up at the airport, because they did not receive a telex where she informed them about her arrival.
Evaluation	She was surprised of Antofagasta "that was in the middle of nowhere".
Resolution	(not present)
Coda 1	(not present)
Coda 2	(not present)

Story N2 can be classified as an anecdote because it describes a stressful moment in the participant's life, but no events unchain a resolution.

Table 6: Story N3

N3 (Female, age: 27)	
Abstract	The participant tells a story about the first summer she went to France with her family.
Orientation	She explains how her family ended up spending nine summers in France, and provides details of the location and the setting.

Complication	She had an argument with her younger sister and she hit her with a metal ball.
Evaluation	She says it is probably the only memory she had of that summer.
Resolution	(not present)
Coda 1	(not present)
Coda 2	She manifests she would like to go back.

Story N3 fits in the category of an anecdote since it focuses on the place where she spent nine summers with her family. What can be identified as a complication is a memory of a specific event that happened without any further development or resolution.

Table 7: Story N4

N4 (Female, age: 57)	
Abstract	The participant indicates that her story is related to Africa where she was a volunteer and the time when she went back to Ireland.
Orientation	There is a detailed description of the limited circumstances she lived in: with little food, and where most of it was provided.
Complication	When she got back to Ireland she had problems shopping as it was an overwhelming experience. The first time she went shopping, she was only able to buy toothpaste. Later, when she got married and was living in England, her first shopping experience was in an expensive supermarket where she bought a pack of potatoes. When she got home her husband got angry when he realised how much she had spent on a pack of potatoes.
Evaluation	She uses expressions such as "it was so silly" when she refers to buying only toothpaste the first time. In her second experience at the supermarket, she stresses twice that she "didn't have a clue". She also refers to that experience as "quite hilarious".
Resolution	She started going to the local market.
Coda 1	(not present)
Coda 2	(not present)

Story N4 is classified as a narrative given that it contains all necessary stages of the genre.

## 5.2.1.2 Advanced EFL learners

Table 8: Story A1

A1 (Female, age: 26)	
Abstract	The participant introduces the story as a "scary" event that happened to her.
Orientation	The events took place while she was taking a bus to the University.
Complication	She realised her wallet had disappeared and started chasing an ice-cream seller she believed had stolen her wallet.
Evaluation	She wanted her wallet back desperately.
Resolution	The policemen had heard her scream and chased the thief. As the thief got scared, he returned the wallet.
Coda 1	She expresses surprise of the way she behaved, as she confronted the thief. It was a dangerous thing to do, but she got her wallet back.
Coda 2	(not present)

Story A1 fits into the genre of narratives as it has a resolution.

Table 9: Story A2

A2 (Female, age: 22)	
Abstract	The participant begins by indicating that she will share a story that happened to her and her friend Mane.
Orientation	The events took place last summer when they travelled to the south of Chile and hitchhiked to a place called Petrohué.
Complication	During a storm, their tent broke. They ended up meeting a group of welcoming locals that were actually dangerous fugitives. Even when they realised this fact later on, they could not leave the place as there was no transport available since the boats were busy looking for a fisherman that had drowned.
Evaluation	There is a special focus on the description of the tent ("if it rained we were lost!"). There is also a description of the time when they met the group of locals as being "great". Afterwards, when they could not leave the place she states that "it was terrible".
Resolution	(not present)
Coda 1	She realised they had been very lucky.
Coda 2	(not present)

Story A2 fits in the category of anecdote as there is no specific resolution. It prioritises the fact that the sequence of events was “terrible” rather than clarifying how the problem was finally solved.

Table 10: Story A3

A3 (Female, age: 23)	
Abstract	The participant begins by stating that she recalls a “funny” event that happened last Christmas.
Orientation	The events took place at a shopping mall at Christmas time, where she took her sister who was visiting her.
Complication	After trying clothes on and taking care of her naughty son at the same time, she did not notice that by mistake she had taken a bag from a shop. After the alarms went off and while they were waiting for the bus, she finally noticed she had taken a bag by mistake as her son made her realise. Her son panicked thinking his mother was a thief.
Evaluation	There is a stress on the idea of how unpleasant a crowded mall in Christmas time can be and how naughty her son was behaving. She also uses expressions like "I'm really absent minded" and "it was a small, comfortable bag" to explain the events.
Resolution	She decided to take the bag back and even though all the alarms went off again, nobody noticed anything.
Coda 1	She says: "I could have kept the bag".
Coda 2	She states that the experience was a good one to teach her son to be an honourable person.

Story A3 is considered a narrative as it has a resolution to the conflict.

Table 11: Story A4

A4 (Female, age: 22)	
Abstract	The participant indicates that her story also has to do with shops.
Orientation	The events took place at a shopping mall at Christmas time where she was buying a Christmas present for her grandmother. She bought her a massage device, which she named a "vibrator", without knowing that that word had a sexual connotation.
Complication	She run into her neighbours and when they asked her what she had bought for her grandmother, she shouted "a vibrator" and everyone turned around surprised.

Evaluation	She stresses the fact that she really did not know the meaning of the word “vibrator”: "for me it was natural", "maybe girls at that age now-a-days are more mature sexually speaking [...] but I didn't know that it was a [...] taboo word”.
Resolution	(not present)
Coda 1	She says: "It was very frustrating"; "I was so blushed I couldn't believe it"; "I wanted to be swallowed by the Earth".
Coda 2	She points out that it has been the most "embarrassing" present she has ever given to anybody, but that her grandmother liked it.

Story A4 fits into the category of anecdote as there is no specific resolution. It focuses on the feeling of embarrassment, but there is no clear sequence of events and, therefore, no resolution of events.

To summarise, the data that was analysed corresponds to narrative genres. Each group provides two narratives and two anecdotes, as determined by the framework of constituent stages of storytelling genres proposed by Eggins and Slade (1996), summarized in Table 12 below.

Table 12: Stages of storytelling genres

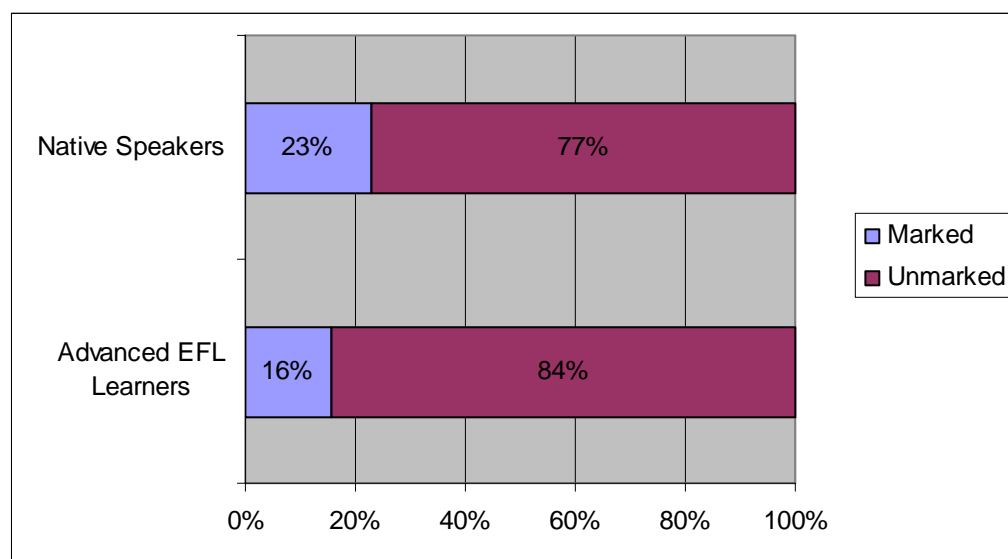
	N1	N2	N3	N4	A1	A2	A3	A4
(Abstract)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Orientation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Complication	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Evaluation	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Resolution	✓	x	x	✓	✓	x	✓	x
(Coda 1)	✓	x	x	x	✓	✓	✓	✓
(Coda 2)	x	x	✓	x	x	x	✓	✓
Narratives	✓	x	x	✓	✓	x	✓	x
Anecdotes	x	✓	✓	x	x	✓	x	✓

### 5.3 Marked structures

Regarding the use of marked and unmarked structures, we aimed at examining the similarities and differences between the two groups concerning the use of marked structures involving word order and structural choices made by narrators. We also wanted to examine the meanings and rhetorical functions of adjuncts in front position.

In figure 1 below, we can observe that there is a slight difference that suggests that native speakers of English tend to use a slightly larger number of marked structures than advanced EFL learners in oral, informal narratives. That is, in the data under analysis, we have found 45 occurrences of marked structures of a total of 198 AS-units produced by native speakers. In the data of advanced EFL learners, on the other hand, we have found 47 occurrences in a corpus of 302 AS-units. In terms of percentages, then, while native speakers' production of marked structures makes up 23% of their overall production, EFL learners' production of such constructions is comparatively lower, constituting 18% of their total production of clauses.

Figure 1: Marked and unmarked structures in the speech of advanced EFL learners and native speakers

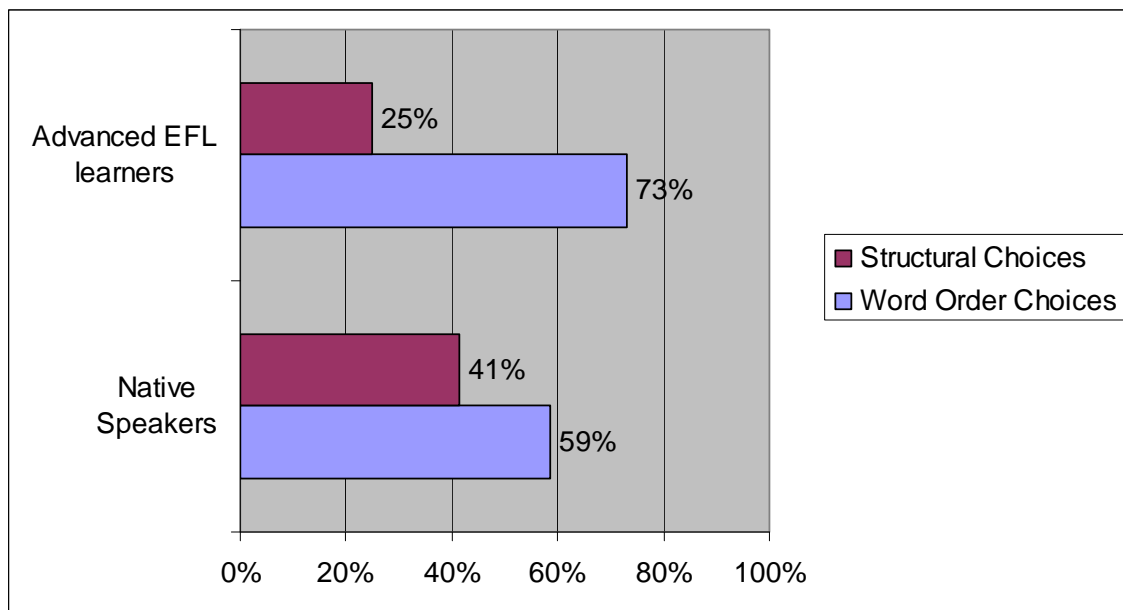




As we discussed in 3.4.1, the word order choices, fronting and the use of headers and tails, are predominant in English native users' spoken language (Carter and McCarthy 1995, 2006). We will argue that these choices are motivated by two characteristics of the spoken language: text-planning constraints (Biber et al, 1999) and the rhetorical functions that the speaker wants to achieve within an interactional context (Carter and McCarthy 1995, 2006). Regarding structural choices, we will argue that their use cannot be clearly explained as motivated by text-planning constraints. On the contrary, it seems that their use is constrained by the message content or the information that needs to have a special focus. We have also stated that word order choices should be more frequent than structural choices on account of the influence of the medium upon online text construction. On the contrary, structural choices should occur when the spoken text requires them. Concerning complexity, as we believe that the narrative task is cognitively more complex for advanced EFL learners than native speakers (Skehan and Foster 2001), it was expected to find more structural choices being used by native speakers, as they involve greater complexity and a higher level of proficiency in spoken language use (see 3.1 and 3.4.1).

As regards the distribution of word order and structural choices among marked units, we can observe in Figure 2 below, that there is a clear tendency for advanced EFL learners to rely more on word order choices (75%) than structural choices (25%) in order to realise focus functions. As for native speakers, even though they seem to show a greater tendency to use both constructions just as frequently, one cannot ignore the fact that their choice for lexical constructions is still higher by 18%, as evidenced by the respective percentages: 59% vs. 41%.

**Figure 2: Word order and structural choices by advanced EFL learners and native speakers**



As an explanation to the tendency of native speakers of English to use a greater number of structural choices we may suggest that this is due to the fact that the task of narrative text configurations is less complex for them (on account of their 'nativeness' status) than it is for advanced EFL learners; also, they seem to have available more cognitive and linguistic resources for complex syntactic construction configuration.

Table 13 shows the use of the different categories of marked structures, word order and structural choices, in the two groups. If we look in more detail into the word order choices, we can observe that in both groups the most frequent marked structure corresponds to the front placing of adjuncts. This agrees with Carter and McCarthy's claim (2006) that these are particularly common in spoken language (see 3.4.1.1).

Table 13: Distribution of marked structures

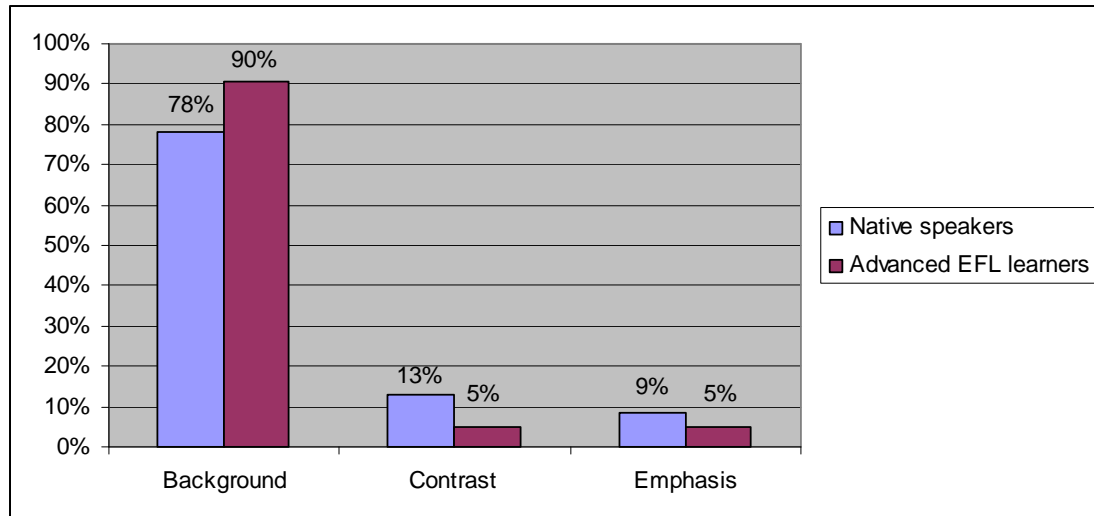
	Word order choices				Structural choices							
	Front Placing (Adjuncts)	Front Placing (others)	Headers	Tails	Passive	Cleft <i>it was</i>	wh-cleft (what she)	the, one, sth + rel	Anticipatory <i>it</i>	Existential <i>there</i>	Raising	
Native Speakers	50 %	2%	2%	4%	7%	0%	9%	2%	9%	15%	0%	
Advanced EFL learners	44 %	8%	2%	19%	8%	0%	2%	0%	6%	8%	0%	
P-value	0,73	0,35	1	0,13	0,84	1	0,17	0,36	0,82	0,61	1	

In the theoretical framework (see sections 3.4.1.1 and 3.5), we hypothesised that there would be differences between the two groups in terms of the rhetorical functions of fronted adjuncts. We suggested that as adjuncts are strategically used by speakers to achieve certain rhetorical functions and that as the task is more complex for advanced EFL learners, we believe that this group has less cognitive resources available to plan rhetorical functions at text level. However, we found no significant differences between the two groups, as it is illustrated in Figure 3, below. We can suggest that, just as word order choices can be explained by planning constraints of the spoken medium, the fronting of adjuncts is a less demanding way to achieve rhetorical functions, than, for example, more complex structural choices.

As regards the rhetorical functions, it calls our attention that, contrary to Carter and McCarthy's (2006) claims that adjuncts in front position have the rhetorical function of emphasising or contrasting information, the most common rhetorical function found is to provide background information. Examples of the different rhetorical functions are provided in examples (38), (39), (40), (41), (42), (43) below. This agrees with Zenteno's (1996) findings in written narratives. This observation leads us to suggest that in oral, informal narratives, adjuncts in front position are used mainly to provide background information conveying

various semantic meanings, mainly (but not only) temporal, spatial, reason or contrast.

Figure 3: Rhetorical functions of adjuncts in advanced EFL learners and native speakers



(38) (N1) *And as, as we were ordering more and eating more and getting fuller and began to become a little bit sober and more serious, we, and, and Dave said to me (...).*

(Background)

(39) (A3) *Because when people were at the, I, I mean at the cashier when they were going to erm actually buy the things, sometimes the alarm rang because it was too near to the door.*

(Background)

(40) (N2) *And in those days, Barniff flew from London to Antofagasta which may seem a bit odd now.*

(Contrast)

(41) (A1) *But, but at that moment, it was really [terrifying].*

(Contrast)

(42) (N4) *Oh God!, every week to do that.*

(Emphasis)

(43) (A3) *And suddenly, I looked at my son.*

(Emphasis)

In relation to the meanings expressed by adjuncts, these were also similar between the two groups. In Table 14, we can observe that the most frequent meanings used by the two groups corresponded to 'time' and 'reason', highlighted in the table. In examples (44), (45), (46), and (47) below, we can see how time adjuncts are used in front position, probably, to orient the listener to locate the story in time. This clearly makes sense in narratives, which are mainly constituted by sequences of events. Reason adjuncts, as we can observe in examples (48), (49), (50), and (51) below, also provide information relevant to the story that may help the listener understand the events.

Table 14: Meanings of adjuncts expressed by advanced EFL learners and native speakers

	Native speakers	Advanced EFL learners
Manner	0%	5%
Place	9%	5%
Time	43%	57%
Duration	4%	0%
Definite Frequency	4%	5%
Reason	26%	29%
Focusing	4%	0%
Evaluative	4%	0%
Concession	4%	0%

- (44) (N1): *And so, when he was sure the waiter wasn't there he turned around.*  
(Time / Background)
- (45) (N4): *And after two years as a volunteer, I went back to Ireland.*  
(Time / Background)
- (46) (A3): *And after we had window-shopped a lot of time she decided to go inside erm the store called Fes.*  
(Time / Background)
- (47) (A4): *And when I ran into my neighbours I told them "I'm looking for gifts, blah blah blah, wha, what are you doing here?"*  
(Time / Background)
- (48) (N1): *And, and then, because being young men, we were, we were hungry.*

(Reason / Background)

- (49) (N4): *and erm, after two years without a bar of chocolate inside or things like that I mean, it was quite amazing to go to my sister's local supermarket in Dublin.*

(Reason / Background)

- (50) (A2): *and of course, as we were two girls alone and you know Mane is very beautiful and I, very talkative we met some people from there.*

(Reason / Background)

- (51) (A3) *but as Martín was crying I decided to go back again and to put the bag in its place.*

(Reason / Background)

We have observed that in relation to the fronting of adjuncts, in oral, informal narratives, they are very common in our data from native speakers of English and advanced EFL learners. We believe that this frequency may be due to the fact that they serve the rhetorical function of backgrounding contextual information to orient the listener and to help sequence the communication of the main and secondary the events. The fact that there is no difference between the two groups in this respect may suggest that fronting adjuncts is not a cognitively complex activity. Quite the opposite, we may suggest that fronting adjuncts can be an efficient way to maximise cognitive resources to achieve communicative goals successfully.

Also in the category of word order choices, we can observe that the main difference between the two groups lies in the frequent use of tails by advanced EFL learners (19%), which are uncommon in the native speaker's corpus (see Table 13 above). As we mentioned in 3.1 and 3.4.1.2, tails are a result of the online principle of 'qualification of what has been said' (Biber et al. 1999). As planning constraints may cause incomplete ideas, the speaker can use these tails to correct retrospectively by adding elements to clarify what has just been said. (52) and (53) below are instances of clarification, and (54) is a case of correction. Correspondingly, we may explain this frequent use of tails by

advanced EFL learners by the fact that their cognitive resources are more limited than those of native speakers. Consequently, they may be prone to produce incomplete or unclear utterances which they will need to clarify via the use of tails. In some cases, we also observed that tails were not only used to clarify but also to correct utterance content. The following examples illustrate the use of tails (underlined text) by advanced EFL learners.

(52) (A1) *And... I had to come here, to the university.*  
(Clarification of place (*here*))

(53) (A2) *It was almost dying, the tent.*  
(Clarification of subject)

(54) (A1) *And that guy was the seller of ice, the ice-cream, the ice-cream seller.*  
(Correction of subject)

As regards the structural choices (see 3.4.2), we will focus on those that have been used by the two groups. We have argued that their use may be constrained by two factors. First, their use may be determined by the discourse and text content and the information that needs to have a special focus (Carter and McCarthy 2006). Second, we have also argued that structural choices may be related to higher levels of proficiency (Skehan and Foster 2001).

As we can observe in Table 13, advanced EFL learners use structural choices less frequently than native speakers. This may be possible due to the second constraint explained above: proficiency. We can also observe that the use of structural choices is quite heterogeneous. In terms of preferences, the most preferred structural choice is existential *there* by native speakers of English. Other structures that have been preferred include the use of passive forms, *wh*-clefts, and anticipatory *it*. The structures that were not preferred include *the/one/something* + relative clause with only 2%, as well as *it was* clefts and subject raising with 0% in both groups. We would like to suggest that the varied and unsteady use of structural choices by the two groups may explained by the

requirements of the text content. Below, we will discuss examples of the structural choices that have been preferred by the two groups, providing a possible explanation of why their use may be determined by the content of the stories.

- a) Passives. In the two groups, the instances of passive structures were selected from the stories of one participant in each group. Upon closer examination of the stories, we can observe that the text requires the use of passive structures. (55) is taken from N4's story. In the participant's story about her deprived life in Africa, there is a constant emphasis on the lack of supplies. In this example, the use of the passive structure is explained by the need to put an emphasis on the supplies that she managed to get. The speaker's choice for the active counterpart would involve positioning the agentive, the supplier, as clause subject, but the relevant aspect to emphasise are the supplies. Similarly, (56) is taken from participant A2, whose story gets complicated because of the weather. In the cases where the passive voice is used, as in (56), the agentive is omitted because it is an inanimate entity; therefore, the highlight is on the participants who suffer the consequences of bad weather.

(55) (N4) *All I could think of, erm was toothpaste and also soap because those things weren't actually supplied there.*

(56) (A2) *We were pushed to leave Petrohué because the tent didn't resist.*

- b) *Wh*-cleft. These structures were more common in the narratives of native speakers than advanced EFL learners. From the examples taken from the two groups, we can confirm that, as Carter and McCarthy (2006) propose, the information in the *wh*-clause is old and works as an explicit reference to highlight the new information in the following clause, which is relevant in the story.



(57) (N1) *And what David had forgotten was that the restaurant was upstairs.*

(58) (A3) *And that was why erm all the alarms rang.*

In (57), the *wh*-clause is used to introduce important new information: it was because David did not remember that he was upstairs that he fell from a window, which, then, introduces the complication of the story. In (58), the new information introduced by the *wh*-clause is also crucial in the story as it finally explains a complicated event in the story, namely, the fact that all the alarms went off with no apparent reason. However, their use was not frequent and a larger corpus might confirm this explanation.

- c) Anticipatory *it*. In 3.4.2.6, we stated that this structure is used to foreground the subject by locating it at the end of the clause. Both groups used this structure with low frequency. From the instances below, selected from the corpus, we can observe that the group of native speakers of English and advanced EFL learner use it to link their story and introduce new, important information, as (59) and (60) demonstrate.

(59) (N1) *It's a funny event that took place when I was at the university.*

(Colloquial use to introduce a topic)

(60) (N1) *It was this Chinese restaurant in the middle of Oxford, overlooking, you know is, is, erm, what is it called? Saint Giles!*

(Colloquial use; speaker is trying to remember or identify the restaurant)

(61) (A4) *It was a very frustrating moment to learn that a vibrator was another thing*

- d) Existential *there*. These constructions were used more frequently by native speakers than by advanced EFL learners, with 15% and 8% of

occurrence, respectively. The following instances may suggest that the narrative text requirements may explain their use. Existential *there* is mainly used for descriptions, as it can be observed in the following examples from the two groups:

- (62) (N2) *And there was a telephone in it.*  
(Description of a room)
- (63) (N4) *And there used to be a cafe downstairs.*  
(Description of a house)
- (64) (A1) *Between them there was a guy that was eeeh selling ice-cream Ok?*  
(Description of a setting)
- (65) (A3) *There was the guard.*  
(Description of a store)

In some fewer instances, existential *there* is used to emphasise a relevant entity in that context, as in the following examples:

- (66) (N2) *And so there I was standing there.*  
(Emphasis on subject being in an unfamiliar place)
- (67) (A1) *And there was my wallet!*  
(Emphasis on the stolen item that finally appears)

Regarding the results obtained for the structural choices used by native speakers of English and advanced EFL learners, they may be an indication that the latter are aware of the different structural choices. However, in order to maximise cognitive resources they tend to use simpler forms. The results are not conclusive in terms of the different rhetorical functions of these structural choices as their use seems to be primarily determined by the informative communicative content and the narrative text configuration requirements. In order to study more substantial differences between the two groups, a larger corpus with more stories would be needed.

#### 5.4 Clause combination

As discussed in 0 above, the conjunct *and* serves different functions in spoken discourse: discourse marker (Schleppegrell 1996) or weak connective (Beaman 1984). In narratives, specifically, previous research has shown that *and* is used to link events (Pu 2006). In this section, we will suggest that the use of coordinating conjunction *and* as a conjunct in initial position is compatible with the principles of online production described by Biber et al. (1999).

In order to compare our data with other studies, we first calculated the frequency index for the use of *and* using Beaman's formula (1984). In her study of spoken narratives, *and* was used 72.9 times every 1000 words. In our data, the native speakers of English yielded a frequency index of 72.7 and the group of advanced EFL learners 62.8. According to the *t* test, the difference between the two groups is not significantly different. However, we can observe a slight tendency of advanced EFL learners to use *and* less in initial conjunct-like position. Since our results are not different from those obtained by other studies using the same genre they serve as a useful reference to suggest that our data may be considered as being reliable despite its comparatively small size.

In the corpus we looked for conjuncts and discourse markers in initial position, which are detailed in Table 15 along with their functions in the two groups. We can observe that the use of *and* is the most common element in initial position in the two groups and that on the whole, units tend to begin with conjuncts.

If we compare the two groups, the similarities are striking, not only in terms of the frequency of the different conjuncts, but also in terms of their respective discursal functions. The main function of *and* is to serve as a narrative link, as observed also by Pu's (2006). In order to stress a sequence of events, other forms can be used such as the correlating conjunctions *and then*, *and so*, *and*

*well*, though with very little frequency. All the other conjuncts have very little frequency and no conclusive findings may be put forward. Yet, it has to be noted that *but* also serves different functions other than coordination, namely as narrative link, discourse marker and conjunct. Examples (68) - (79), below, show cases of different elements in initial position and some of the most frequent functions (the symbol  $\lambda\lambda$  is used to separate AS-units).

Table 15: Functions of conjuncts and discourse markers in initial position

Conjunct / Discourse Marker	Function	Native Speakers	Advanced EFL Learners
<i>And</i>		48%	46%
	Coordinator	16%	14%
	Narrative link	31%	32%
	Filler	1%	2%
<i>And so</i>		3%	0%
	Narrative link	2%	0%
	Subordinating conjunct	1%	0%
<i>And then</i>	Temporal sequence marker	4%	3%
<i>And well</i>	Temporal sequence marker	0%	2%
<i>But</i>		4%	8%
	Coordinator	4%	4%
	Conjunct	0%	1%
	Narrative link	1%	3%
	Discourse Marker (resumption)	0%	1%
<i>Or</i>	Coordinator	1%	0%
<i>So</i>		8%	5%
	Discourse Marker (resumption, subtopicalizer)	4%	2%
	Conjunct	3%	1%
	Narrative link	1%	1%
	Filler	0%	1%
<i>Well</i>	Discourse Marker (contrast/clarification)	1%	3%
<i>OK / OK well</i>	Filler	0%	1%

We believe that, as part of the cognitive processes involved in telling an informal story, speakers, regardless their proficiency level, will tend to use *and* as a conjunct to link propositions identifying events. As production is performed

online, these propositions tend to be expressed sequentially and *and* is used to link them.

(68) (N1) *And when I got down... he was sitting on, on this sort of a wall of the grave yard* λλ *and I, I had to take him to hospital.*  
(Narrative link λλ Narrative link)

(69) (N1) *And what David had forgotten was that the restaurant was upstairs* λλ *and he had come upstairs to the restaurant.*  
(Narrative link λλ Coordinator)

(70) (A4) *But at that moment I didn't know it* λλ *and I was so naïve.*  
(Filler)

(71) (N4) *And then after that, after his outburst, well, that was the end of the big potatoes in Marks & Spencer.*  
(Temporal sequence marker)

(72) (A1) *And then I went out [of] the bus...and, and, and started to, to look around to look for that guy* λλ *and then I saw him eeeh going to another bus ok? taking another bus.*  
(Temporal sequence markers)

(73) (A2) *And so, well, after all we were very grateful for the lucky [luck] we had.*  
(Conjunct)

(74) (N3) *And so, they had a huge area where they could have, serve meals and things.*  
(Narrative link)

(75) (A2) *And well we faced a terrible storm there.*  
(Temporal sequence marker)

(76) (A1) *And I was like in the, in the cashier maybe I don't remember actually but I screamed.*  
(Narrative link)

(77) (A3) *And of course I'm not a thief or anything like that* λλ *But I, I put it on my shoulder* λλ *and it felt like, it felt like my bag.*  
(Conjunct)

(78) (N3) *So they ended up converting the barn and the pigsty into their house.*  
(Conjunct)

- (79) (A2) So we were in a tent  $\lambda\lambda$  it was almost dying the tent.  
(Discourse marker)

## 5.5 Complexity

In section 0 of the theoretical framework, we presented the notion of complexity in spoken language. It has been argued that spoken language is more ‘intricate’, which means that online, oral units tend to have more subordinate and embedded clauses than in written language (Beaman 1984; Halliday 1989). From a cognitive point of view, these complex units show no sign of planning difficulty for the speaker (Biber et al. 1999). On the contrary, “speakers appear to be skilled at adapting their language to the constraints of the principle of ‘limited planning ahead’” (p. 1068). This characteristic of the spoken language can be explained, according to Halliday (1989), by the fact that the spoken language can be viewed as a process (see 3.1 and 0).

In this contrastive study of native speakers and advanced EFL learners’ online production of narratives, we aimed at finding out whether further cognitive constraints in the planning of speech by advanced EFL learners affect the level of multiclausal complexity in oral, informal narratives, thus making it different from that found in the speech of native speakers. In order to study these aspects, we first identified the distribution of complex and simple structures in each of the groups’ total data. Second, we calculated a subordination index, which allowed us to calculate the number of subordinate clauses and embedded clauses per AS-unit. Third, we identified the distribution of the different levels of subordination in the corpus between the two groups. The results are presented in Figure 4, Table 16, and Figure 5, below.

Figure 4: Distribution of simple and complex units

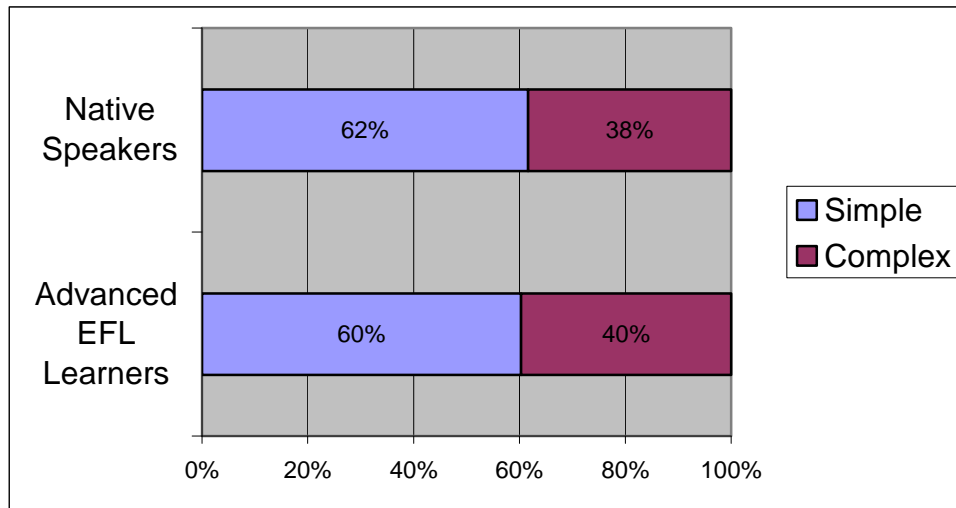
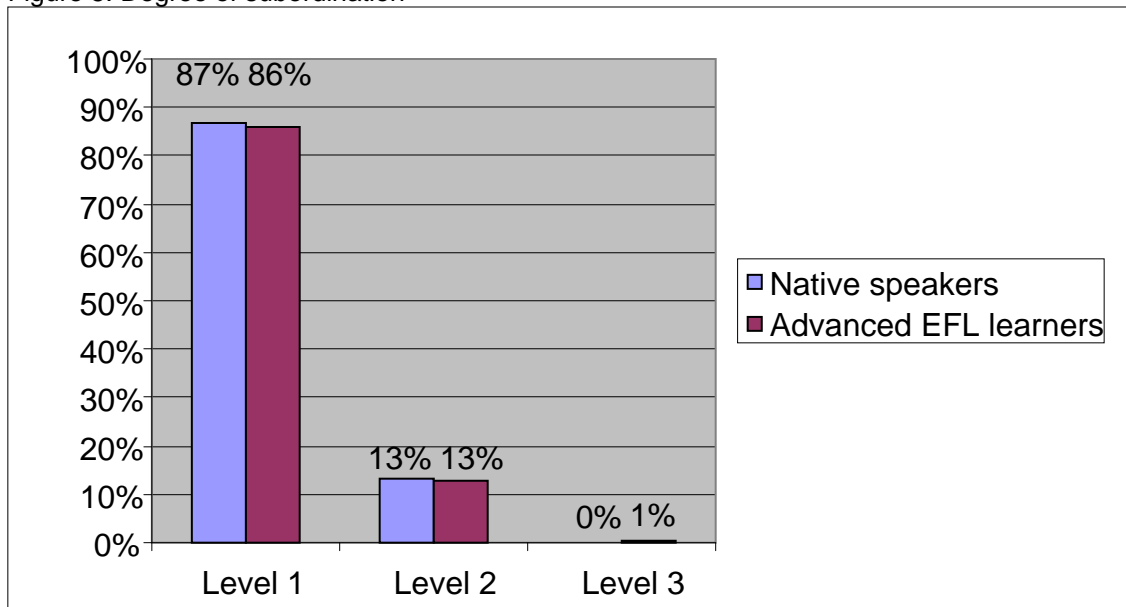


Table 16: Subordination index

	Subordination index
Advanced EFL Learners	1,37
Native Speakers	1,30
P-value	0,5945

Figure 5: Degree of subordination



The following are examples (in square brackets) of the different levels of intricacy produced by the two groups:

(80) (N2) *he called this little man, [who came in and unlocked this little room].*

Level 1: non-defining relative clause.

(81) (A1) *and the police told me that em, the policeman told me [that the guy had been in jail for that night, all night long].*

Level 1: nominal clause.

(82) (N1) *And he just dived out of the window, yeah, obviously [to avoid (paying the bill)].*

Level 2: adverb clause of purpose with an embedded non-finite nominal clause.

(83) (A1) *And actually I think [that I would have realised (if -I, I don't know- if I had to erm take out my bip card or something like that)].*

Level 2: subordinate nominal clause with an embedded conditional clause.

(84) (A3) *So, well the most funny or stupidest thing is [that my mom gave me money (because she wanted (to, to give me a present for Christmas))].*

Level 3: nominal clause with an embedded adverb clause with an embedded nominal clause.

In Figure 4, we can observe that there is a great similarity in the distribution of complex and simple units between the two groups, with a 40% of complex units being produced by the group of native speakers of English and 38% by the group of advanced EFL learners. The similarity is also outstanding in the amount of subordinate clauses per AS-unit and the degree of subordination between the two groups. There is only a very small number of embedded clauses (three in total) in the corpus of advanced EFL learners, while the group of native speakers only produced one and two embedded clauses in a clause.

These results suggest that intricacy, as Biber et al. (1999) claim, is not a sign of planning difficulty. Firstly, for advanced EFL learners, producing more complex, intricate structures does not appear to involve further cognitive constraints.



Secondly, in their production of oral, informal narratives EFL learners can achieve levels of complexity similar to that of native speakers of English, regardless their level of proficiency.

## 6 CONCLUSIONS

We will now discuss how the main findings of this study relate to the cognitive processes involved in speaking and to the characteristics of oral, informal narratives. We will also evaluate the methodology used and put forward some suggestions to be considered in similar researches in the future.

### 6.1 Findings

Speaking, as opposed to writing, is an interactive unplanned activity constrained by the limitation of working memory, as it happens in real time (Biber et al. 1999, Carter and McCarthy 2006, Ochs 1979). Biber et al. (1999) identified three principles of online production that determine the characteristics of the spoken language: 'keep talking', 'limited planning ahead', and 'qualification of what has been said' (see 3.1). It is also a complex cognitive activity and requires certain strategies to maximise linguistic working memory. In this respect, we have argued that it is even a more complex activity for learners, as 'speakers', of English as a second or foreign language. Looking back to our results and the differences and similarities found between the speech of advanced EFL learners and native speakers of English, we can suggest that these can be directly related to the three principles established by Biber et al. (1999).

The first principle, 'keep talking', refers to the fact that speakers avoid silence in order to avoid communication breakdown. In other words, speakers are constantly 'moving forward' via speech. And this implies that speech is characterised by hesitations and restarts. We may add that this principle also has an effect on the structure of speech, which can be identified by stretches of language linked straightforwardly together using the conjunction *and*, both as clausal coordinator and conjunct, in order to avoid pauses or more elaborate links.

In our study, we observed that there were striking similarities between the two groups in relation to the use of the conjunct *and* and the different textual functions that it serves. In oral, informal, narratives the main function of the conjunct *and* is to work as a narrative link connecting two or more clausal chunks. We suggest that this can be explained by the need of speakers to be fluent and avoid communication breakdowns, as the 'keep talking' principle states. We may also suggest that *and* is used similarly by the two groups serving different functions because it is an efficient resource when there are planning time constraints that do not demand much cognitive effort.

The second principle of online production is 'limited planning ahead', which has to do with the limitations of our working memory when we speak and the manner in which speakers maximise cognitive resources so as to be able to complete information chunks, thus avoiding incomplete sentences. To do this, the speaker may use 'maximisation strategies'. For example, Biber et al. (1999) observed that elements at the beginning of a multiclausal unit tend to be single words instead of elaborate phrases. In our study, we observed that the two groups shared similar frequency in the use of fronted adjuncts. This may suggest that speakers tend to begin multiclausal units with the elements that signal topically-prominent information as a strategy to make free cognitive resources to complete the unit.

The third principle, 'qualification of what has been said', is related to the previous principle. It involves that, in order to communicate successfully, speakers can correct themselves retrospectively by adding elements to clarify or correct information. In our study, we observed that the main difference between the two groups regarding the use of marked structures, had to do with the use of tails. The group of advanced EFL learners used tails more frequently than native speakers. Our results may, thus, point to the fact that advanced EFL learners may need to clarify and correct ideas more frequently, which can

entails that, as their cognitive-linguistic resources are more limited, they cannot achieve the same levels of clarity as native speakers do. It may also be indicative of the fact that they may rely more on this principle to communicate effectively.

We also found that the complexity of the task may have an effect on the grammatical choices made by speakers. Based on Skehan and Foster (2001), we have argued that for advanced EFL learners the task is more cognitively complex than for native speakers, and that this may affect the complexity of their grammatical choices. In this respect, we found that, in comparison to native speakers, advanced EFL learners seemed to rely more on word order choices than structural choices. We will suggest here that, as the online narrative task may be more complex for the group of advanced EFL learners, they may have fewer relevant cognitive resources available, and they can rely more on clause construction choices that are less cognitively demanding, namely, word order choices.

We have presented speech as a complex mental activity, and have assumed that, in order to achieve effective communication, speakers need to maximise their cognitive-linguistic resources. As examples of this, we have observed that the conjunct *and* is used effectively to link stretches of language. We have also observed that topically-prominent elements are located at the beginning of such stretches. For advanced EFL learners, the strategies used can be different from those used by native speakers. In this respect, we have observed that, when manipulating canonical structures in order to achieve rhetorical functions, they seem to rely more on word order choices than structural choices and they can use tails as an efficient cognitive strategy to communicate effectively.

Finally, we found that fronted adjuncts with the rhetorical function of providing background information were frequent in oral, informal narratives. In the two

groups, fronted adjuncts tended to have this rhetorical function. The fact that this had only been noted as being characteristic of written narratives in previous studies reviewed (Zenteno 1996), suggests that this is also characteristic in spoken narratives.

## 6.2 AS-unit and genre analysis

For this study, we decided to use a syntactic, multi-clausal unit, the AS-units, as proposed by Foster et al. (2000). First, the unit claimed to be a valid unit for the analysis of speech as it reflects the speaker's psychological reality. The validity of this unit relies on the fact that studies of pausing in native-speaker speech have shown that pauses normally occur at syntactic unit boundaries (p.365). In AS-units, we can observe how speakers construct longer sequences and how these relate to the planning constraints of speech. Second, the unit used was explicitly defined and a clear framework on how to use it in the analysis is provided by Foster et al. (2000). Therefore, from a methodological point of view, it was a practical decision. In most cases, AS-units were identified following the guidelines and definitions of Foster et al.'s model (2000). In the few cases where the units were not clearly identified, an intonational criterion was used successfully.

We believe that AS-units are valid descriptive units and are effective macro-planning units. After carrying out our analysis, we were able to observe that supra-clausal units are useful for a study of how speakers relate events, indicate focus, and manipulate structures, which could not possibly be done with independent simple clauses. On the contrary, clause-like units offer a limited descriptive potential as they can only be analysed independently, detached from their linguistic context and disregarding the planning process.

Concerning genre structure, we found that the model provided by Eggins and Slade (1996) was a useful and reliable tool to validate our corpus. In our study, we had to demonstrate that our data corresponded to oral, informal narratives

by using a model from genre analysis. In carrying out the task of identifying the constituent stages in each participant's story, we found the procedure effective enough. The definitions in the model were helpful and the stages were identified straightforwardly based on the content of the stories. Therefore, we believe that Eggins and Slade (1996)'s model is a reliable tool to identify storytelling genres.

### 6.3 Limitations of the study

We will conclude this study by pointing out some methodological issues and suggest proceedings for similar studies in the future. We will discuss the length and type of the research corpus and we will argue for the participation of at least two analysts in order to obtain more conclusive, valid and reliable data.

According to Carter and McCarthy (1995), in order to study grammar with the use of a corpus, a small corpus is enough. They claim that grammar consists of a small number of patterns that, at text level, are repeated frequently. In their view, a small corpus can yield regularly patterned data for grammatical analysis. Even though this may be true, we would like to suggest that in order to study how grammatical features relate to rhetorical functions at text level, a larger corpus than the one that we used is needed. The corpus was not large enough to find more conclusive similarities and differences between the two groups in relation to the use of marked structures.

Second, we suggest that in future studies the size of the corpus collected from two participant groups should be similar, although this may entail additional methodological efforts in the data collection. Even though the task instructions in our study included the time allocated for each participant's story, the differences in length between the two groups were substantial. While the native speakers produced short stories, advanced EFL learners produced longer stories. In view of this situation, we calculated the total results from each group in terms of percentages in relation to the whole text in order to make results comparable. Even though we proceeded with the calculation of percentages,

still a significant difference in corpus size may alter the real differences and similarities between the two groups. In order to avoid these differences and obtain more reliable results, we suggest that the corpus of each group should be similar and comparable in size. A way to do this, we suggest, is by gathering a larger corpus from larger participants groups and selecting and using only the stories of a given similar length. By doing this, one could avoid affecting the planning time allotted for the data collection task, because if one reiterates to participants that the task should not exceed a given number of minutes, there is a risk that they might plan their story more carefully and that their story could not be regarded as being informal. Another possible action to take may be to cut the longer text(s) to make them comparable to the shorter text(s), thus making them all the same length. However, if one is to study a specific genre it would be advisable to maintain the stories complete, with all their stages.

A final suggestion in relation to corpus may be collecting a corpus which should correspond to the same narrative subgenre. In other words, the corpus to be collected and analysed should correspond to narratives or anecdotes only. An effective data collection procedure may be giving the participants explicit and specific task instructions. For example, in order to elicit narratives, the participants should be instructed that the resolution of a conflict should be a fundamental part of the story. However, there is a risk involved that such an instruction could have a bearing on the planning time of the elicitation event, as we pointed out above. An alternative course of action would be to collect a larger number of stories and select those which belong to the same subgenre.

Finally, we will suggest that in order to minimise error and obtain more reliable data, the data should be processed and analysed by at least two analysts. We strongly suggest that the identification of AS-units, marked and unmarked structures, discoursal or textual functions, and different types of clauses (main, subordinated, embedded and their corresponding functions) are checked by another analyst. Having a second analyst will provide further reliability to the

data obtained, as the features observed by the analyst are subject to error and, in many cases, subjectivity.

Studying spoken discourse is a very challenging task for the analyst. First of all, it is a time-consuming activity, as oral data needs to be transcribed, at least, orthographically. Secondly, the task of identifying the grammatical units to be analysed is also a complex activity as they do not normally have clear-cut boundaries. Similarly, determining the syntactic status and textual function of each unit may be a difficult task at times. The analyst needs to have a sound grammatical knowledge as well as being flexible to make certain descriptive judgements, because some structures take forms and serve textual functions in speech that are not typically present in written language. Today, there is still work to be done in relation to the development of spoken and genre-based grammar. Having completed our study, we consider that there seems to be a need for a standardisation of the methodology to be used to study spoken language. With such a standardised methodology, we believe, analysts will be able to obtain reliable and comparable data for their studies, which may turn into a real advantage for the development of the field.



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Appendix 1: Task instructions to elicit oral, informal narratives

You will be doing this exercise with [name of partner] on [date], at [time], in [place].

Role 1: You as speaker

1. Think of an anecdote in your life, a story of a significant experience. Bear in mind that you will have to interact with another participant, and the story must be attractive and worth listening to.
2. Before you have to tell your story, try to remember as much details as possible as it actually happened, in case your interlocutor asks you questions.
3. Make sure you will be able to tell a story in at least three minutes and maximum five.

Role 2: As a listener

1. Your interlocutor will tell you a story about an experience he or she had.
2. Relax and enjoy the story. Feel free to make comments or ask questions.

Appendix 2: Participant N1

## **Participant N1**

Gender: Male

Age: 54

Country of origin: England

**Transcription and Data Analysis**

1 <S01> It was this thing, you know, it's a funny event that took place  
2 when I was at university. It was the first year at the university and,  
3 it was the first day of the third term, and, and I didn't really want to  
4 be there, back at the university because I was, I'd just left my  
5 girlfriend in Manchester, and I went back, so me and my mate  
6 Dave...we decided to go out and...have a few drinks on the first  
7 night, because he was feeling a bit sorry for himself as well  
8 so...as young men in England can do typically, we went out and  
9 we went to a pub, and we went to another pub, and another pub,  
10 and another pub until pubs closed and they all closed half past  
11 ten in those days. And, and then, because being young men, we  
12 were, we were hungry and [inaudible] <S02> [Oh] and (2 sec) we  
13 were hungry, so we decided to go to the Chinese restaurant,  
14 yeah? It was this Chinese restaurant in the middle of Oxford,  
15 overlooking, you know is, is, erm, what is it called? Saint Giles!  
16 <S02> [Oh, yeah, yeah] and, if you know Oxford, but mm. We  
17 went in there by eleven o'clock at night and to have, buy, to eat  
18 some fry dries or something like that. We were in this little cubicle  
19 just with me and Dave having a meal and this other, a couple  
20 there, and mm we were started to eat and then we saw the, the  
21 other, what the other people were ordering and then we said: "  
22 that looks good", so we started to order more and more food and  
23 as, as we were ordering more and eating more and getting fuller  
24 we began to become a little bit sober and more serious and we,  
25 and, and Dave said to me: "you know, it's gonna be rather  
26 expensive this, this meal for the first night isn't?" So, so, I said: "  
27 yes, I guess it is" And then he says: " you know, we shouldn't be  
28 doing this when we're just back at the beginning and just  
29 spending all our money in the first night" I said: "that's right" He  
30 said: "well, look, don't worry. I think I've got a plan". So, he stood  
31 up in, we were just this little cubicle and the waiter was coming

32 and going and he stood up and he went over the window... it was  
 33 one of those windows, a sash windows <S02> [Ah, yeah] that you  
 34 lift up and he opened it to take a bit breath of fresh air, he came  
 35 sat down and had another bite of his [inaudible] or rice or  
 36 whatever then he said: "Right!, follow! When I go through, you  
 37 follow me! And so, when he showed the way to watching there,  
 38 he turn around and he just dived out of the window <S02>  
 39 [Laughs] Yeah, obviously to avoid paying the bill <S02> [Laughs]  
 40 and he expected to me to follow him <S02> [Laughs] and I didn't  
 41 really take him seriously [inaudible] so anyway, I, I, I didn't have  
 42 time to react before I heard this sort of moaning from under the  
 43 window: "John, John!" <S02> [Laughs] and I looked down to see  
 44 him, see him. So I quickly I paid the bill and, and what David have  
 45 forgotten was that the restaurant was upstairs and he'd come  
 46 upstairs to the restaurant and he dived into a grave yard <S02>  
 47 [Oh God] [Laughs] And when I got down... he was sitting on, on  
 48 this sort of a wall of the grave yard and I, I had to take him to the  
 49 hospital and were the hospital infirmary which was a hundred  
 50 yards up the road for until five o'clock that morning broke in his  
 51 leg in two places and he was, up to his thigh in plaster and all that  
 52 term for the next eight weeks I had to take him, his launch and his  
 53 dinner from the collage hall to his room <S02> [Laughs] because  
 54 he couldn't move and... <S02> [Oh god!] so that

55 <S02> [ so that was your  
 56 first night out

57 <S01> [ It was my first night out, after the summer term

58 <S02> Oh

59 <S01> Yeah

gistro	AS-Unit	of words	imple	Structure	OR subordinate clauses	level 1	level 2	level 3	Embed	ES	E (S) (s)	MC (S)	MC (S(S))	MC (S (S))	MC (S) (S)	MC (S) (S)	MC (S) (S)	MC (S) (S)	MC (S) (S)
1	It was this thing, you know	6	1		0														
2	It's a funny event that took place when I was at the university	13	1	[M][E][S]]	2	1	1		Relative clause non	Adverbial clause time									
3	It was the first year at the university	8	1		0														
4	I didn't really want to be there, back at the university because I was, I'd just left my girlfriend in Manchester	22	1	[M][S][S]	2	2						Nominal clause [non-							Adverbial clause reason
5	I and I went back	4	1		0							Nominal clause [non-							Adverbial clause reason
6	So me and my mate Dave...we decided to go out and...have a few drinks on the first night, because he was feeling very sorry for himself as well	30	1	[M][S][S]	2	2						Adverbial clause [non-							
7	So...as young men in England can do typically, we went out	12	1	[[S][M]	1	1						Adverbial clause condition							
8	I and we went to a pub	6	1		0														
9	And we went to another pub, and another pub, and another pub until pubs closed	15	1	[M][S]	1	1						Adverbial clause							
10	and they all closed half past ten in those days	10	1		0							Adverbial clause reason							
11	and, and then, because being young men, we were, we were hungry and [inaudible]	14	1	[[S][M]	0							Adverbial clause reason							
12	and (2 sec) we were hungry so we decided to go to the Chinese restaurant, yeah?	14	1	[M][S][S]]	2	1	1		Relative clause defining			Adverbial clause result	Nominal clause [non-finite]						
13	It was this Chinese restaurant in the middle of Oxford, overlooking, you know, is, erm, what is it called? Saint Giles!	20	1	[M][E]	1	1													
14	and, if you know Oxford, but rrr	6	1		0														
15	We went in there by eleven o'clock, at night, and to have, buy, to eat some fry fries or something	20	1	[M][S]	1	1						Adverbial clause purpose [non-							
16	we were in this little cubicle just me and Dave having a meal and this other, a couple there	19	1	[M][S]	1	1						Nominal clause [non-							
17	and we started to eat	5	1		0														
18	and then we saw this, the other, what the other people were ordering	13	1	[M][S]	1	1						Nominal clause							
19	and then we said: "that looks good"	7	1		0														
20	so we started to order more and more food	9	1	[M][S]	1	1						Nominal clause [non-							
21	and as, as we were ordering more and eating more and getting fuller and began to become a little bit sober and more serious	24	1	[[S][M]	1	1						Adverbial clause condition							
22	and we, and, and Dave said to me: "you know, it's gonna be rather expensive this, this meal for the first night isn't it?"	23	1	[M][S]	1	1						Nominal clause							
23	So, so, I said: "yes, I guess it is"	9	1	[M][S]	1	1						Nominal clause							
24	and then he says: "you know, we shouldn't be doing this when we're just back at the beginning of the term and just spending all our money in the first night?"	28	1	[M][S][S]]	2	1	1					Nominal clause	Adverbial clause time						







Registro	Line	AS-Unit	Marked	Unmarked	Front Placing Adv N/A/adjuncts	Front Placing	Headers	Tails	Passive	Cleft it was	wh-left (what she)	the, one, sth + rel	Anticipatory it	Existential there	Raising	Coordinator	Coordinator Function
1	1	it was this thing, you know	1										1			0	0
2	1	it's a funny event that took place when I was at the university	1										1			0	0
3	3	it was the first year at the university		1												0	0
4	3	and I didn't really want to be there, back at the university because I was, I'd just left my girlfriend in Manchester	1				1									AND	NARRATIVE LINK
5	3	and I went back	1													AND	NARRATIVE LINK
6	5	so me and my mate Dave...we decided to go out and...have a few drinks on the first night, because he was feeling very sorry for himself as well	1			1										SO	DISCOURSE MARKER - SUMMARIZING
7	7	so...as young men in England can do typically, we went out	1		1											SO	DISCOURSE MARKER - SUMMARIZING
8	7	and we went to a pub	1													AND	COORDINATOR
9	7	And we went to another pub, and another pub, and another pub until pubs closed	1													AND	COORDINATOR
10	7	and they all closed half past ten in those days	1													AND	NARRATIVE LINK
11	11	and, and then, because being young men, we were, we were hungry and [inaudible]	1		1											AND/AND THEN	FILLER/NARRATIVE LINK
12	12	and (2 sec) we were hungry so we decided to go to the Chinese restaurant, yeah?	1													AND	NARRATIVE LINK
13	13	It was this Chinese restaurant in the middle of Oxford, overlooking, you know is, is, erm, what is it called? Saint Giles!	1														
14	16	and, if you know, Oxford, but mm	1										1			AND	COORDINATOR
15	16	We went in there by eleven o'clock at night and to have, buy, to eat some fry dries or something	1													0	0
16	18	we were in this little cubicle just me and Dave having a meal and this other, a couple there	1													0	0
17	19	and we started to eat	1													AND	NARRATIVE LINK
18	20	and then we saw the, the other, what the other people were ordering	1													AND THEN	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE MARKER
19	20	and then we said: "that looks good"	1													AND THEN	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE MARKER
20	20	so we started to order more and more food	1													SO	SUBORDINATING CONJUNCT (RESULT)
21	21	and as, as we were ordering more and eating more and getting fuller and began to become a little bit sober and more serious	1			1										AND	NARRATIVE LINK
22	24	and we, and, and Dave said to me: "you know, it's gonna be rather expensive this, this meal for the first night isn't it?"	1													AND/AND	FILLER/NARRATIVE COORDINATOR
23	25	So, so, I said: "yes, I guess it is"	1													SO	NARRATIVE LINK

Line	AS-Unit	Marked	Unmarked	Front Placing Adv	M/Advuncts	Front Placing	Headers	Tails	Passive	Cleft it was	wh-cleft (what she)	the, one, sth + rel	Anticipatory it	Existential there	Raising	Coordinator	Coordinator Function
24	and then he says: "you know, we shouldn't be doing this when we're just back at the beginning of the term and just spending all our money in the first night?"	1														AND THEN	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE MARKER
25	26	1														0	0
27	28	1														SO	NARRATIVE LINK
29	30	1														AND	COORDINATOR
31	30	1														AND	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE MARKER
32	30	1														AND	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE MARKER
33	31	1														AND	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE MARKER
34	32	1														AND	COORDINATOR
35	32	1														AND	COORDINATOR
36	32	1														AND	COORDINATOR
37	35	1														AND SO	COORDINATING CONJUNCT (RESULT)
38	36	1														AND	COORDINATOR
39	38	1														AND	COORDINATOR
40	38	1														AND	NARRATIVE LINK
41	39	1														SO	NARRATIVE LINK
42	41	1														ANYWAY	DISCOURSE MARKER - RESUME
43	41	1														AND	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE MARKER
44	42	1														AND	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE MARKER
45	42	1														SO	COORDINATING CONJUNCT (RESULT)
46	42	1														AND	NARRATIVE LINK
47	43	1														AND	COORDINATOR
48	44	1														AND	NARRATIVE LINK
49	45	1														AND	NARRATIVE LINK
50	45	1														AND	NARRATIVE LINK
51	48	1														AND	NARRATIVE LINK
52	48	1														AND	COORDINATOR
53	49	1														AND	NARRATIVE LINK
54	54	1														SO	DISCOURSE MARKER - SUMMARIZING
		<b>Totals</b>	16	38	8	0	1	2	0	0	1	0	4	0	0		

Appendix 3: Participant N2

## **Participant N2**

Gender: Female

Age: 58

Country of origin: England

**Transcription and Data Analysis**

- 1 <S02> Erm, something that I always remember and that was quite funny  
2 at that time, it was the first time I ever came to Chile and in those  
3 days Braniff flew from London to Antofagasta, which may seem a  
4 bit odd now but in those days, you know, Chuquicamata was the  
5 center of everything that went on here. And I, in my innocence,  
6 had sent a telex to my parents who lived, er, weekends in the  
7 hotel Antofagasta, well my mother lived there permanently; my  
8 father travelled up and down to Chuqui...
- 9 <S01> Yeah, telex, wow.
- 10 <S02> And I sent a telex, or, or <S01> [yeah] I can't remember <S01>  
11 [yeah] a telegram probably was in those days, and I just assume  
12 they got it. And my Father had said, you know: "if you er, want to  
13 come for Christmas just book and let me know... So, then was I,  
14 and I got on this flight, I got to Antofagasta, I got off the plane and  
15 there was no airport, it was a hangar <S01> [yeah] in the middle  
16 of nowhere, with all these mountains of sand all around <S01>  
17 [yeah] and I a kind of, stood there and I thought: "Where am I?"  
18 Because, you know, how some airports, in some countries are  
19 miles away from, from <S01> [ of course, yeah. yeah] the city  
20 centre, if there was one.
- 21 <S01> [ Because, it's a  
22 deserted area.
- 23 <S02> And, Yeah! So there I was standing there. <S01> [Yeah] And  
24 there've been, a man on the plane who had chatted me up, so,  
25 and he was in this sort of...waiting space <S01> [yeah]  
26 whichever, and I went over and I said: "how, erm, is there a  
27 telephone here?, how can I get in touch with the hotel? How far is  
28 it?", you know. And he said: " just a minute". Because I didn't  
29 speak any Spanish of course. And he went off, he called this little  
30 man, who came in it and unlocked a little room and there was a  
31 telephone in it. And I said: "Wow, you know, I can't really ring the

32 hotel". So, we looked up the number and he rang the hotel for me  
 33 <S01> [yeah] My father was in the bar, where else could you be  
 34 on a Sunday afternoon, you know, and he said: "Oh, this is a  
 35 really good line!!" I said what do you mean this is a goof line I'm  
 36 at the airport for God's sake! <S01> [yeah, yeah] "where?", "here,  
 37 Antofagasta", "Oh! God", he said. "Hang on I'll come and pick you  
 38 up" <S01> [right, ok] And that was my arrival in in Chile <S01>  
 39 [uhum] and ...my arrival in Antofagasta. So I went to Antofagasta  
 40 long before I ever came to Santiago <S01> [uhum] which just  
 41 shows how things have changed over the years.

42 <S01> Yeah

43 <S02> Yeah

44 <S01> Did you spend much time there?

45 <S02> Oh, yeah!, a long time, yes a very long time. Erm, I learned some  
 46 Spanish there and I like the desert, er, er Padre Le Paige was still  
 47 alive, mm, erm there was no museum there just a collection all  
 48 these mummies, he had them all in his bedroom.

49 <S01> But how was Chile different in those days?

50 <S02> [Oh, It was terribly  
 51 different

52 <S01> [yeah] very, very, very different.

53 <S01> Because I only know it in, this, this, this millennium.

54 <S02> [ Well, yes, I mean, It was, It was  
 55 definitely overrun by Americans, because all <S01> [yeah], well,  
 56 all Chuqui was all American run <S01> [yeah] That's why, yeah,  
 57 and...It was a great experience, I do never actually forgot  
 58 standing on this hangar, you know, and looking out thinking:  
 59 "What is this?, Where am I?" [laughs] <S01> [yeah, yeah] yeah.

60 <S01> [And where did you come from  
 61 exactly then?

62 <S02> I'd come from London <S01> [yeah] I come from London, yes, so

63 <S01> [You  
64 can't really imagine a bigger contrast.  
65 <S02> Oh, an enormous contrast, yes, yeah. But er, It was good and I've  
66 enjoyed all my time in the north and I've always had a special  
67 liking for the north. I think because I arrived there first.  
68 <S01> Yeah...okay, great!



Registro	Line	Nº of Words	Simple	Complex	Structure	Nº of Subordinate Clauses	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Embedded	E(s)	F(s)	MC (s)	MC ((s))	MC (s) ((s))	MC (s) (s)	MC ((s)s) (s)	MC (s) (s) (s)	MC ((s)s) (s) (s)
1	58	22	1	1	[(E.+E)M]	2	2			Relative clause non									
										Relative clause non									
2	59	17	1	1	[M(E)]	1	1			Relative clause sentential									
3	61	16	1			0				Relative clause non									
4	62	19	1	1	[M(E)]	1	1			Relative clause non									
5	62	6	1			0													
6	62	8	1			0													
7	67	5	1			0													
8		5	1			0													
9	68	7	1			0													
10	68	7	1	1	[M(S)]	1	1						Nominal clause						
11	69	20	1	1	[M(S)]	2	1						Nominal clause	Conditiona					
12	70	4	1			0													
13	70	6	1			0													
14	71	4	1			0													
15	71	5	1			0													
16	71	5	1			0													
17	72	18	1			0													
18	74	6	1			0													
19	74	6	1	1	[M(S)]	1	1						Nominal clause						
20	74	20	1	1	[M(S)]	1	1						Nominal clause						
21	79	7	1																
22	81	12	1	1	[M(E)]	1	1			Relative clause defining									
23	81	11	1			0													
24	84	4	1			0													
25	84	9	1	1	[M(S)]	1	1						Nominal clause						
26	84	9	1			0													
27	84	6	1			0													
28	84	6	1	1	[M(S)]	1	1						Nominal clause						
29	85	8	1			0													
30	85	4	1			0													
31	86	13	1	1	[M(E)]	1	1			Relative clause non									
32	86	7	1			0													
33	87	12	1	1	[M(S)]								Nominal clause						
34	88	6	1			0													

AS-Unit

Err, something that I always remember and that was quite funny at that time, was the first time I ever came to Chile

and in those days Braniff flew from London to Antofagasta which may seem a bit odd now but in those days, you know, Chuquibambata was the center of everything that went on here

And in my innocence, had sent a telex to my parents who lived, at weekends in the hotel Antofagasta well my mother lived there permanently;

my father travelled up and down to Chuqui.

And I sent a telex, or, or I can't remember a telegram probably was in those days

and I just assumed they got it

And my Father had said, you know: "if you er, want to come for Christmas just book and let me know..."

So, then was I and I got on this flight

we got to Antofagasta

I got off the plane

and there was no airport

it was a hangar in the middle of nowhere with all these mountains of sand all around

and I kind of, stood there

And I thought: "where am I?"

Because, you know, how airports in some countries are miles away from, from the city center, if there is one

And so there I was standing there

And there've been, a man on the plane who chatted me up so, and he was in this sort of...waiting space whichever and I went over

and I said: "how, erm, is there a telephone here?"

"How can I get in touch with the hotel?"

"How far is it?"; you know

And he said: " just a minute"

Well, I didn't speak, any Spanish of course

And he went off

he called this little man, who came in and unlocked this little room and there was a telephone in it

And I said: "Well, you know, I can't really ring the hotel"

So, we looked up the number





Registro	Line	AS-Unit	Marked	Unmarked	Front Facing Adv	Front Facing	HeadTail	Passive	Cleft it was	wh-cleft (what she)	the, one, sth + rel	Antepository It	Existential there	Raising	Reprot Structure	Coordinator	Coordinator function	
1	58	Erm, something that I always remember and that was quite funny at that time, was the first time I ever came to Chile	1	0							1					0	Coordinator function	
2	59	and in those days Braniff flew from London to Antofagasta which may seem a bit odd now	1	0	1											AND	MARRATIVE LINK	
3	61	but in those days, you know, Chuquibambilla was the center of everything that went on here	1	0	1											BUT	COORDINATOR	
4	62	And in my innocence, had sent a telegram to my parents who lived, at weekends in the hotel Antofagasta	1	0	1											AND	MARRATIVE LINK	
5	62	Well my mother lived there permanently;	0	1												WELL	DISCOURSE MARKER - CONTRAST / CLARIFICATION	
6	62	my father travelled up and down to Chuqui.	0	1												AND	MARRATIVE LINK	
7	67	And I sent a telegram	0	1												Or	COORDINATOR	
8		or, or I can't remember	0	1														
9	68	a telegram probably was in those days	1	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR	
10	68	and I just assumed they got it	0	1												AND	MARRATIVE LINK	
11	69	And my Father had said, you know: "if you er, want to come for Christmas just book and let me	0	1												1	AND	DISCOURSE MARKER - RESUME
12	70	So, then was I	0	1												SO		
13	70	and I got on this flight	0	1												AND	MARRATIVE LINK	
14	71	we got to Antofagasta	0	1														
15	71	I got off the plane	0	1														
16	71	and there was no airport	1	0							1					AND	COORDINATOR	
17	72	it was a hangar in the middle of nowhere with all these mountains of sand all around	0	1														
18	74	and I kind of, stood there	0	1												AND	MARRATIVE LINK	
19	74	and I thought: "where am I?"	0	1												1	AND	COORDINATOR
20	74	Because, you know, how airports in some countries are miles away from, from the city center, if there is one	1	0						1						BECAUSE		
21	79	And so there I was standing there	1	0												E		
22	81	And there've been, a man on the plane who chatted me up	1	0							1					AND SO	MARRATIVE LINK	
23	81	so, and he was in this sort of...waiting space whichever	0	1							1					AND	MARRATIVE LINK	
24	84	and I went over	0	1												AND	MARRATIVE LINK	
25	84	and I said: "how, erm, is there a telephone here?"	0	1												1	AND	COORDINATOR
26	84	"How far is it?" you know	0	1							1							
27	84	And he said: "just a minute"	0	1												1	AND	MARRATIVE LINK
28	84	Well, I didn't speak any Spanish of course	0	1														
29	85	And he went off	0	1												WELL	DISCOURSE MARKER - CONTRAST / CLARIFICATION	
30	85	he called this little man, who came in and unlocked this little room	0	1												AND	MARRATIVE LINK	
31	86	and there was a telephone in it	1	0														
32	86	And I said: "well, you know, I can't really ring the hotel"	1	0												AND	COORDINATOR	
33	87		0	1												1	AND	MARRATIVE LINK



Appendix 4: Participant N3

## **Participant N3**

Gender: Female

Age: 27

Country of origin: Wales

**Transcription and Data Analysis**

- <S01> Tell me your very interesting story.
- <S02> Okay. I've tried to think of it, erm, I think probably what I'll tell you is when my first summer, when I went to France when I was about eight or nine, we, and after that we ended up going to find every year <S01> [uhum] but this is the first one, and erm, my mom had, has got some friends who I've never met before, but she knew when she was younger, we used to live in Manchester and they just decided to, to sell everything and move erm... and erm, they moved to...very closed to Nor..., in Brittany <S01> [uhum], but I can't remember where there is, very close to...what was, what was the, the ferry go to in Brittany <S01> [uhum] [inaudible] French place name so
- <S01> [oh, Christ] is not Roscoff isn't? Yes, if we go from Ireland, we go Cork-Roscoff
- <S02> Oh, but Roscoff is in Brittany
- <S01> Yeah, yes I think so, yes
- <S02> [Ah okay, so it is very close to Roscoff. And erm, they bought a guest house and it was very very old and it used to be a cafe downstairs <S01> [uhum] so I think it was called...Marine's cafe or something like that, and so, they had a huge area where they could have, serve meals and things <S01> [uhum] and it was beautiful and they completely done it out and then on this, there is a big garden at the back...and on the side of the guest house was a little tiny farm house, so it ended up converted the barn and the pigsties into their house <S01> [uhum] and then they had the main house; they used it as the guest house
- <S01> [so, they used it as a, as a sort of Gite like they do in France renting out rooms <S02> [yeah] [inaudible]
- <S02> Yeah. Well, no. They would do, I think they did breakfast and an evening meal <S01> [oh] so, they would say that was meals but

lunch time, the people have to go and <S01> [uhum] get their own. And erm, and I remember going to stay with them and it was beautiful and I remember one day, out in the garden, we were playing hurling balls <S01> [yes] with those [laughs], those metal balls.

<S01> [the silver, silver balls

<S02> [Yeah the silver ones and we were all out there and they had three children and I am of three as well so, we all six of us were out there playing in the sand pit with the balls and I have no idea why, I can't remember what it about but I started arguing with my younger sister, who is three years younger than me, so she must have been about six and she picked up one of this balls and locked it up on my head...

<S01> Really?

<S02> Yeah!, and hit me on the back of the head, because I just didn't manage to turn around and I had a huge...

<S01> [Did you, Did you knock you out?

<S02> No, she didn't knock me out, she, because she was about six, she didn't have that much strength but she hit me. And a huge lump on my head and that's probably one of my only memories at all, the whole holiday. [laughs] <S01> [laughs]

<S01> When did, when is the last time you have been there? In this particular place.

<S02> Oh, I would probably went every year from I was nine to I was about fifteen <S01> [wow] so almost ten years ago now, nine years ago, so I'm not sure exactly...

<S01> [would you like to go back again, would you like to go back again to that place?

<S02> Yeah I would, I would. It was very beautiful and... Even though we never met the family before we went the first time, we started

building relationships with them, because we'd seen them every year and now apparently, the older one of the girls is married and the middle one has children and so, lot has changed so I'd like to go back.

<S01> An then, she, they could erm, contact you here?

<S02> Yeah, and they can come...

<S01> [It's quite interesting wondering, to meet when you're adults <S02> [yeah] and to meet the people again <S02> [yeah] yeah

<S02> Okay, so what about you, what's you?









Registro	Line	Text	Marked	Unmarked	Front Pacing Adv	Front Pacing	Head/Tail	Passive	Cleft It was	wh-cleft (what she)	the, one, sth + rel	Anticipatory It	Existential there	raising	Reprot Structure	Coordinator	Coordinator function
1	1	I think probably what I'll tell you is when my first summer, when I went to France, when I was about	1	0						1						0	Coordinator function
2	2	eight or nine, we,	1	0												0	Coordinator function
3	2	and after that we ended up going to France every year	1	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
4	3	but this is the first one	0	1												BUT	COORDINATOR
5	4	my mom had, has got some friends who I've never met before, but she knew when she was younger	0	1												0	Coordinator function
6	5	they used to live in Manchester	0	1												0	Coordinator function
7	6	and they just decided to, to sell everything and moved	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR
8	7	And they moved very close to Nor.... in Brittany	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
9	8	but I can't remember where	0	1												BUT	COORDINATOR
10	9	And erm, they bought a guest house	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
11	10	and it was very very old	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
12	11	and there used to be a cafe downstairs	1	0								1				AND	NARRATIVE LINK
13	12	so I think it was called...Marine's cafe or something like that	0	1												SO	CONJUNCT (RESULT)
14	13	and so, they had a huge area where they could have, serve meals and things	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
15	14	and it was beautiful	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR
16	15	and they had completely done it out	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
17	16	and then on this, there is a big garden at the back...	1	0	1							1				AND	NARRATIVE LINK
18	17	and on the side of the guest house was a little tiny farm house	1	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
19	18	so they ended up converting the barn and the pigsty into their house	0	1												SO	CONJUNCT (RESULT)
20	19	and then they had the main house	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
21	20	they used it as the guest house	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
22	21	I remember going to stay with them	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR
23	22	and it was beautiful	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
24	23	and I remember one day, out in the garden, we were playing hurling balls with those, those metal balls	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR
25	24	and we were all out there	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
26	25	and they had three children	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
27	26	and I am of three as well	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR
28	27	so, we all six of us were out there playing in the sand pit with the balls	0	1												SO	RESUME
29	28	and I have no idea why	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
30	29	I can't remember what it was	0	1												0	Coordinator function
31	30	I started arguing with my younger sister, who is three years younger than me, so she must have been about six	0	1												BUT	COORDINATOR

## AS-Unit

Registero	Line	AS-Unit	Marked	Unmarked	Front Placing Adv	Front Placing	Head/Tail	Passive	Cleft it was	wh-cleft (what she)	the, one, sth + rel	Anticipatory it	Existential there	raising	Reprot Structure	Coordinator	Coordinator function
32	46	and hit me on the back of the head, because I just didn't manage to turn around	0	1													
33	46	and I had a huge lump	0	1													
34	50	She didn't knock me out, she, because she was about six	0	1													
35	50	she didn't have that much strength	0	1													
36	50	but she hit me	0	1													
37	50	and I had a huge lump in my head	0	1													
38	50	and that's probably one of my only memories of all, the whole holiday	0	1													
39	56	Oh, We probably went every summer from when I was nine to I was about fifteen so almost ten years ago now, nine years ago.	0	1													
40	56	so I'm not sure exactly.	0	1													
41	61	It was very beautiful	0	1													
42	61	even though we never met the family before we went the first time, we started building relationships with them, because we had seen them every year	1	0	1												
43	64	and now apparently, the older one of the girls is married	1	0	1												
44	64	and the middle one has children	0	1													
45	64	and so, lot has changed so I'd like to go back	0	1													
<b>Totals</b>			7	37	5	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	0		

Appendix 5: Participant N4

## **Participant N4**

Gender: Female

Age: 57

Country of Origin: Ireland

**Transcription and Data Analysis**

1 <S01> My story is, erm, related to Africa, and after two years as a  
2 volunteer, I went back to Ireland, this is from Tanzania <S02>  
3 [okay] It's a very poor country and erm, and where most things  
4 weren't available in the shops and you got used to living in limited  
5 circumstances <S02> [yeah, yeah] although we were provided  
6 for, by our own company to a certain extent and we relied on  
7 local, the local market and so on <S02> [uhum] and erm, after  
8 two years without a bar of chocolate inside <S02> [yeah] or  
9 things like that I mean, it was quite amazing to go to my sister's  
10 local supermarket in Dublin <S02> [uhum] and I went in with my  
11 big trolley and I had all these ideas of what I could buy <S02>  
12 [yeah] This is the first exhibition at the supermarket <S02> [uhum]  
13 and erm, I have my big trolley and all I could think of, erm was  
14 tooth paste and also soap because those things weren't actually  
15 supplied there <S02> [yeah] and you might get sent out from  
16 home or whatever <S02> [oh] that sort of stuff and then I had a  
17 big problem because I just couldn't make up my mind of, the  
18 choices were so huge <S02> [uhum, yeah] I just didn't know what  
19 to get and I had, I did eventually, pick up a tube of tooth paste at  
20 least to this enormous trolley and I went to the check out and  
21 that's all I had [laughs] it sounds so silly, but at the end of erm,  
22 that year I met Oliver <S02> [uhum] for the first time <S02>  
23 [yeah] and erm, we fell in love and all that kind of stuff and  
24 whatever and then, subsequently, we married there and came  
25 back to live in England <S02> [uhum] because he was going to  
26 go to the university in England <S02> [uhum] and we went to  
27 Southampton <S02> [uhum] and after visiting, having a honey  
28 moon and so on, in Ireland, in England and then we settled down  
29 there and my first experience is as, as a married woman, were  
30 quite hilarious because you would imagine that I would have  
31 grown up in this situation, being trained out to cook and do this

32 things <S02> [yeah] but I haven't a clue and I went to of all places  
33 to do the shopping I went to Mark & Spenser [laughs] you know  
34 Mark & Spenser <S02> [yeah] [laughs] to buy the food! And I  
35 thought "oh my God"! I got big potatoes in beautifully washed and  
36 clean in containers <S02> [yeah] and I came home all excited  
37 about this "Imagine! Oliver, look at this [laughs] and all I have to  
38 do is put them in the oven [laughs] isn't wonderful?" and he said:  
39 "look at the price" and he was going crazy <S02> [yeah] because  
40 at that time it was 80p, which is a lot for potatoes, I do, but I  
41 hadn't much of a clue about prices either because I was using  
42 another currency for so long <S02> [yeah] and it is a different  
43 situation and I have been a volunteer member so<S02> [yeah],  
44 you know <S02> [yeah] money didn't bother me... and then after  
45 that, after his outburst, well, that was the end of the big potatoes  
46 in the Mark & Spenser [laughs] I had to go to the su...the local  
47 market and do shopping like everybody else as sensible people  
48 did it in Southampton [laughs] every week to do that!  
49 <S02> [oh, you must have chosen the  
50 most expensive place in England







Registro	Line	AS-Unit	Marked	Unmarked	Front Placing Adv	Front Placing	HeadTail	Passive	Cleft It was	wh-cleft (what she)	the, one, sth + rel	Anticipatory it	Existential there	raising	Coordinator	Coordinator Function
1	73	My story is, erm, related to Africa	0	1												0
2	73	and after two years as a volunteer, I went back to Ireland	1	0	1										AND	NARRATIVE LINK
3	74	this is from Tanzania	0	1												0
4	74	It's a very poor country and erm, where most things weren't available	0	1												0
5	74	and you got used to living in limited circumstances as with, although we were provided for by our	0	1												0
6	74	company to a certain extent	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
7	74	and we relied on local, the local market and so on	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
8	79	and erm, after two years without a bar of chocolate inside or things like that I mean, it was quite	1	0	1										AND	NARRATIVE LINK
9	82	amazing to go to my sister's local supermarket in Dublin	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
10	82	and I went in with my big trolley	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
11	82	and I had all these ideas of what I could buy	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
12	82	this is the first exhibition at the supermarket	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
13	82	and erm, I have my big trolley	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
14	88	all I could think of, erm was toothpaste and also soap because those things weren't actually supplied	1	0											AND	COORDINATOR
15	90	there	1	0											AND	COORDINATOR
16	90	And you might get sent out from home or whatever that sort of stuff	1	0											AND THE	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE
17	90	and then I had a big problem because I just couldn't make up my mind of, the choices were so huge	0	1											AND THE	MARKER
18	90	I just didn't know what to get	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
19	90	and I had, I did eventually, pick up a tube of toothpaste at least to this enormous trolley	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
20	90	and I went to the check out	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
21	90	and that's all I had	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
22	93	it sounds so silly	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
23	93	But at the end of erm, that year I met Oliver for the first time	1	0	1										BUT	NARRATIVE LINK
24	93	and erm, we fell in love and all that kind of stuff and whatever	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
25	95	and then, subsequently, we married there and came back to live in England because he was going to	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
26	95	go to the university in England	0	1											AND THE	MARKER
27	95	and we went to Southampton	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
28	99	and after visiting, having a honeymoon and so on, in Ireland, in England, then we settled down there	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
29	99	and my first experience is as, as a married woman, were quite hilarious because you would imagine	1	0	1										AND	NARRATIVE LINK
30	99	that (I would have grown up in this situation), (being trained out (to cook)) and (do these things))	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
31	100															
32	100	but I hadn't a clue	1	0											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
33	104	and I went of all places to do the shopping I went to Mark and Spencer you know Marks and Spenser	0	1											BUT	COORDINATOR
34	104	to buy the food!	1	0	1										AND	NARRATIVE LINK
35	106	And I thought "oh my God"	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
36	106	I got big potatoes in beautifully washed and clean in containers	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK



Line	AS-Unit	Front Placing Adv N	Front Placing	Head/Tail	Passive	Cleft it was	wh-cleft (what she)	the, one, sth + rel	Anticipatory it	Existential there	raising	Coordinator	Coordinator Function
34	109 "Isn't it wonderful?"											0	0
35	110 and he said: "look at the price"											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
36	110 and he was going crazy because at that time it was about eighty p or something, which is a lot for potatoes, I don't know											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
37	110 but I hadn't much of a clue about prices either because I was using another currency for so long											BUT	COORDINATOR
38	110 and it is a different situation											AND	COORDINATOR
39	110 and I have been a volunteer member so you know money didn't bother me											AND	COORDINATOR
40	116 and then after that, after his outburst, well, that was the end of the big potatoes in Marks and Spenser	1										AND THEN MARKER	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE
41	116 I had to go to the su...the local market and do shopping like everybody else as sensible people did it in Southampton											0	0
42	116 Oh God! every week to do that	1										0	0
43	123 Because I didn't know											0	0
44	123 and I mean I didn't know the city or England even because I don't even have visited London as. as student and stuff.											AND	COORDINATOR
45	123 I didn't know that procedure											0	0
	<b>Totals</b>	7	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0			0

Appendix 6: Participant A1

## **Participant A1**

Gender: Female

Age: 27

**Transcription and Data Analysis**

1 <S01> Well

2 <S02> [ Hi [laughs]

3 <S01> Hi my name is Carolina Norambuena

4 <S02> and I'm Kirian Sani. This is like a, like a

5 <S01> [ a TV show

6 <S02> radio, yes TV show <S01> [laughs] well...

7 <S01> ok I'm going to, to tell you something that erm happened to me a

8 lot of time ago, no no not a lot of time ago

9 <S02> [ no, it was this year

10

11 <S01> no, last year

12 <S02> Last year?

13 <S01> at the of end of last year, I think

14 <S02> [ ah yes! because you were on, Psycholinguistics

15 <S01> yes

16 <S02> yes I remember

17 <S01> well, eeeh this happened to me and it was amazing

18 [laughs]

19 <S02> [laughs] amazing? It was scarring I think

20 <S01> [ it's not scary but not too funny, maybe now it's

21 funny but, but [<S02> obviously] at that moment it was really [3

22 secs]

23 <S02> terrifying [laughs]

24 <S01> yes well I'm going to tell you... I remember that I

25 <S02> [ a little bit

26 was waiting for my bus on, here in Santiago in Alameda... and... I

27 had to come here to the university... I, I don't remember if I have

28 to meet you or not but I have to come here [<S02> yeah] you

29 were here that day

30 <S02> we were on Psycholinguistics [<S01> yes] and we had something  
31 ... erm I don't remember. We weren't on, we were not on the  
32 same group so  
33 <S01> | yes. but  
34 we were, we were  
35 <S02> | something. We had something ok  
36 <S01> Ok. Well. I was standing there on the street waiting for my bus...  
37 and there were a lot of people there... between them there was a  
38 guy that was eehh selling ice-cream  
39 <S02> | ah ok  
40 <S01> Ok? and yelling ice-cream, ice-cream! [<S02> ah!] and he went  
41 on the buses, you know. And when I, well my bus arrived ok?  
42 <S02> | typically  
43 I, I paid to the driver  
44 <S02> | it was not like Transantiago... oh not because it was  
45 last year ok  
46 <S01> | no no yes and when I realised no no when, when I, I want to  
47 take sit and I realised that my backpack is opened and my wallet  
48 is not there [<S02> oh!] and I said oh my god! Somebody stole  
49 my, my wallet  
50 <S02> | but you said oh my god? [laughs]  
51 <S01> oh no no no  
52 <S02> | not exactly [laughs]  
53 <S01> not exactly and... I don't why but I, I thought the guy that was  
54 behind me... and that guy was the seller of [<S02> oh ok] ice, the  
55 ice-cream, the ice-cream seller  
56 <S02> the ice-cream seller  
57 <S01> and I said that guys was. He was. And then I went out the bus...  
58 and, and,  
59 <S02> | you get off the  
60 bus

61 <S01> and started to, to look around to look for that guy and then I saw  
 62 him eeeh going to another bus ok? [<S02> ah ok] taking another  
 63 bus but, and started to run and I, I and I went to the same bus that  
 64 he was selling his ice-creams [<S02> [laughs]] and I started to, to  
 65 yell “give me my wallet [<S02> [laughs]] give me my wallet!” and,  
 66 and he said “what happened to you? what happened? [<S02>  
 67 [laughs]] I don’t have your wallet are you have I, I don’t have that”.  
 68 “Give me, give me my wallet” and I started to, to, to, to yell and  
 69 people there was, eh people were sitting there looking and  
 70 nobody did anything ok

71 <S02>                   └ but you, you get on the bus without paying? Or you,  
 72 you had to pay

73 <S01>                   └ no I, I, I don’t remember even the driver [<S02>  
 74 [laughs]] I, I, I just want to, eeeh get my wallet again. And eeehm  
 75 he had a box with the ice-cream in his arms and I said “show me  
 76 your box, show me your box, you have my wallet on that box” and  
 77 he said “no no what happened to you? What happened to you?”  
 78 [<S02> [laughs]] and then I took his shirt [<S02> ok] and started  
 79 to move it, to move him [<S02> ah ok] you know? And “give me  
 80 my wallet give me my wallet”

81 <S02>                   └ but shaking him?  
 82 like oh

83 <S01>                   └ shaking him yes. And then we went down the bus, we, we  
 84 went out the bus to the street and I started to scream there...  
 85 “police police! He has my wallet, he has my wallet” [<S02>  
 86 [laughs]] and people in the street started to look to us and... h, he  
 87 got scared because police,

88 <S02>                   └ obviously  
 89 was eh, was arou, around and when he saw that the police was  
 90 coming to him because they, they hear what I said “my wallet, my  
 91 wallet [breathes]” he took, he put [laughs] he put his hand...



123 [laughs]] and, and she's, was close to me and all that [<S02> oh]  
124 and now I think about it and I don't understand how I could do that  
125 [<S02> erm yes] it was dangerous very dangerous but I got my  
126 <S02> [ very, very dangerous  
127 wallet [laughs]  
128 <S02> no yeah your money your documents  
129 <S01> [ my, I, I, wasn't interested on money...  
130 I only wanted to have my documents [<S02> yes] because you  
131 know that it's very important to have them [<S02 yes] and that's  
132 my story it's,'s kind funny but also a kind of...









Registro	Line	AS-Unit	Marked	Unmarked	Front Facing Adv N	Front Placing	Headers	Tails	Passive	Cleft it was	wh-cleft (what she)	Anticipatory it	Existential there	raising	Conjunct	Conjunct Function
1	7	ok I'm going to, to tell you something that erm happened to me a lot of time ago,	0	1											OK	DISCOURSE MARKER / NEW TOPIC
2	8	no no not a lot of time ago	0	1												0
3	16	well, eeeh this happened to me	0	1											WELL	DISCOURSE MARKER / REASUME
4	16	and it was amazing	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
5	18	it's not scary but not too funny	0	1												0
6	18	maybe now it's funny	0	1												0
7	18	but, but at that moment it was really [terrifying]	1	0	1										BUT	COORDINATOR
8	22	yes well I'm going to tell you...	0	1											WELL	DISCOURSE MARKER / NEW TOPIC
9	22	I remember that I was waiting for my bus on, here in Santiago in Alameda...	0	1												0
10	22	and... I had to come here to the university...	1	0				1							AND	NARRATIVE LINK
11	25	I don't remember if I have to meet you or not	0	1												0
12	25	but I have to come here	0	1											BUT	COORDINATOR
13	32	Ok, well, I was standing there on the street waiting for my bus...	0	1											OK WELL	DISCOURSE MARKER / REASUME
14	32	and there were a lot of people there	1	0								1			AND	COORDINATOR
15	32	between them there was a guy that was eehh selling ice-cream Ok?	1	0	1							1				0
16	32	and yelling "ice-cream, ice-cream"	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
17	33	and he went on the buses, you know.	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
18	37	And when I, well my bus arrived ok?	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
19	37	I, I paid to the driver	0	1												0
20	37	and when I realised no no when, when I, I want to take sit	1	0	1										AND	NARRATIVE LINK
21	37	and I realised that my backpack is opened	0	1											AND	FILLER
22	37	and my wallet is not there	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
23	37	and I said "oh my god! somebody stole my, my wallet"	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
24	49	and... I don't [know] why	0	1	0										AND	NARRATIVE LINK
25		but I, I thought [it was] the guy that was behind me....	0	1											BUT	FILLER
26	49	and that guy was the seller of ice, the ice-cream, the ice-cream seller	1	0				1							AND	NARRATIVE LINK
27	49	and I said "that guy was: He was"	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
28	53	And then I went out [of] the bus...and, and, and started to, to look around to look for that guy	0	1											AND THEN MARKER	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE MARKER
29	53	and then I saw him eeeh going to another bus ok? taking another bus	0	1											AND THEN MARKER	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE MARKER
30	58	but, and I started to run	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
31	58	and I, I and I went to the same bus that he was selling his ice-creams	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK



Registro	Line	AS-Unit	Marked	Unmarked	Front Flacing Adv N	Front Flacing	Headers	Tails	Passive	Cleft it was	wh-cleft (what she)	the one, sth + rel	Anticipatory it	Existential there	raising	Conjunct	Conjunct Function
32	58	and I started to, to yell "give me my wallet give me my wallet!"	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR
33	58	and, and he said "what happened to you? what happened?"	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
34	58	"I don't have your wallet are you have I, I don't have that?"	0	1												0	0
35	58	[AND] I SAID "Give me, give me my wallet"	0	1												0	0
36	63	and I started to, to, to yell	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
37	63	and people there was, eh people were sitting there looking	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
38	63	and nobody did anything ok	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
39	69	And eeelim he had a box with the ice-cream in his arms	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
40	69	and I said "show me your box"	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
41	69	"show me your box"	0	1												0	0
42	69	"you have my wallet on that box"	0	1												0	0
43	69	and he said "no no what happened to you? what happened to you?"	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
44	69	and then I took his shirt and started to move it, to move him you know?	0	1												AND THEN	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE
45	69	And "give me my wallet give me my wallet"	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
46	77	And then we went down the bus, we, we went out the bus to the street	0	1												AND THEN	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE
47	77	and I started to scream there... "police police! He has my wallet, he has my wallet"	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR
48	77	and people in the street started to look to us	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
49	77	and... h, he got scared because police was eh, was arou, around	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
50	77	and (((when he saw (that the police was coming to him)) (because they, they hear (what I said "my wallet my wallet")) (he took, he put he put his hand... inside the box))	1	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
51	77	and there was my wallet	1	0												AND	COORDINATOR
52	77	he took it	0	1												0	0
53	77	and then he threw it away...	0	1												AND THEN	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE
54	77	and he said..."here you have your fucking wallet" pah!	0	1												AND THEN	MARKER
55	87	and then I, I run I run to get my, my wallet because, because it was in the middle of the street	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR
56	87	and I got my wallet, again	0	1												AND	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE
57	87	and... he started to run	0	1												AND	MARKER
58	87	and the police was behind him running running	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR
59	87	and then they got him, they catch [caught] him and eeeh	0	1												AND THEN	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE
60	92	...And I had to go to the police station and to make a kind of mmm....	0	1												AND THEN	MARKER
61	92	I don't know the word	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK

Registro	Line	AS-Unit	Marked	Unmarked	Front Placing Adv N	Front Placing	Headers	Tails	Passive	Cleft it was	wh-cleft (what she)	the, one, sth + rel	Anticipatory It	Existential there	raising	Conjunct	Conjunct Function
62	92	I had to put eeeh my name, what happened, what day in where...a register of the, of the event, of the event	0	1												0	
63	97	and the police told me that em, the policeman told me that the guy has been in jail for that night all night long	0	1													
64	101	and... and I remember that when I was eeeh... moving the guy eeeh mmm, shaking him I wasn't afraid	1	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
65	101	I, I, I only want to eeeh	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
66	105	yes I, I never thought that I was going to ahm behave in that way in, in a, in a case like that	0	1													
67	105	I thought that I maybe want to be, I was going to be shyer, I don't know	0	1													
68	105	maybe I was going to cry but no be confrontative	0	1													
69	105	I never thought that I was going to confront him	0	1													
70	109	and when everything happened I started to cry	1	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
71	109	and I, I was, I was on the street crying	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
72	109	and people started to look at me	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
73	109	and I remember that, that a, a woman eeeh told me "cry I, girl cry think I'm your mommy, think I'm your mommy"	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
74	109	and, and she's, was close to me and all that	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
75	109	and I don't understand how I could do that	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
76	109	and now I think about it	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
77	109	it was dangerous very dangerous	0	1												0	
78	109	but I got my wallet	0	1												BUT	NARRATIVE LINK
79	119	my, I, I, wasn't interested on money...	0	1												0	
80	119	I only wanted to have my documents because you know that it's very important to have them	1	0									1			0	
81	121	and that's my story	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
82	121	it's kind of funny but also a kind of ...	0	1												0	
		Totals	11	71	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	3	0		

Appendix 7: Participant A2

## **Participant A2**

Gender: Female

Age: 22

**Transcription and Data Analysis**

- 1 <S02> Okay, so I...well, I would like to share a story <S01> [uhum] well I  
 2 wasn't alone of course, and you know Manne?, la Manne?
- 3 <S01> Ah, okay, yeah.
- 4 <S02> my friend <S01> [yes] and our classmate <S01> [yeah] and well,  
 5 we went to the south this summer <S01> [yes] and we visited  
 6 many places, I don't know Frutillar, Puerto Varas and from Puerto  
 7 Varas, And from Puerto Varas, we took out out things and by,  
 8 hitch.., hitchhiking?
- 9 <S01> (hitch) hicking...okay
- 10 <S02> we travelled to Petrohué
- 11 <S01> okay
- 12 <S02> So, well, by that time, we were five, yeah, we were five girls  
 13 and we, and I and Manne, we were sharing the same tent, and  
 14 the other three girls were sharing another tent. So we were in a  
 15 tent. I don't, I don't lie you, it was almost dying the tent [laughs]  
 16 <S01> [why] I mean, it was a kind of plastic <S01> [laughs] of  
 17 some I don't know er, erm,...
- 18 <S01> Like sticks?
- 19 <S02> Yeah with some sticks and, and that was all, you know,  
 20 and it wasn't even ha, er, it didn't even ...it didn't even have a  
 21 cover, a plastic cover <S01> [yeah, oh!], so that, if, for example, if  
 22 it rained?...er, we were lost!
- 23 <S01> Ah!, the rain, er...would pass the tent.
- 24 <S02> [yeah I mean...
- 25 <S01> [And what about the floor?
- 26 <S02> No, the floor was okay because we were <S01> [okay] carrying  
 27 some, some, I don't know, some plastics <S01> [ah, okay] just for  
 28 the floor you know, because as we...
- 29 <S01> [at least...
- 30 <S02> we were sleeping on the floor! <S01> [yes!], on the floor!, erm, we  
 31 were, er, we were obliged to carry some plastic bags <S01>

32 [uhum]. So well at the end, we got, er, the, the camping <S01>  
33 [uhum], and well we faced a terrible storm there <S01> [laughs]  
34 and the girls, the three girls <S01> [okay!] left, who, well, had a  
35 great tent, it was very technology and everything <S01> [okay]  
36 [laughs] and it almost walk you know <S01> [laughs]. We were  
37 pushed to leave Petrohué because the tent didn't resist.  
38 <S01> But did you see the tent before...?  
39 <S02> No! gosh no! We had <S01> [uhum], I mean, we were, we were  
40 like two months [ah] trying to get a tent from anywhere fro  
41 anyone, it didn't matter...the, the, the current state of the tent  
42  
43 <S01> Didn't you asked me?  
44 <S02> Well, I didn't know [laughs]  
45 <S01> [inaudible] [laughs]  
46 <S02> Well, the things is that we, the other three girls were, were, forced  
47 to leave Petrohué because the tent, the technological tent and the  
48 new tent didn't resist and I was like er, you know, alive  
49 <S01>[oh] so, we, we stayed there and of course, as we  
50 were two girls <S01> [uhum] alone <S01> [uhum] and you know  
51 Manne is very beautiful and I, very talkative <S01> [yes] we met  
52 some people from there, people that, in spite of the fact that they  
53 er, own the whole hill, you know <S01> [yes] were very poor, they  
54 live on a [inaudible], you know what I mean <S01> [yes] and well,  
55 they took us to the Saltos de Petrohué, er they cook for us trucha  
56 <S01> [oh, amazing!], I don't know how, the name in English, but  
57 trucha, trucha [laughs]  
58 <S01> trout, trout, trout.  
59 <S02> trout? I think it could be trout?  
60 <S01> [Or salmon maybe, it's the same  
61 <S02> Some kind of fish they picked up  
62 <S01> But it was salmon?



63 <S02> [Yeah, yeah

64 <S01>

65 [erm...salmon

66 <S02> [I think it could be, yeah!

67 <S01> [It was orange color?, <S02> [yeah,

68 yeah] it was salmon, very delicious!

69 <S02> It was great, great and obviously we didn't know how to, er, to,

70 fire, to...

71 <S01> to get the fire

72 <S02> to get the fire and, it was all wet <S01> [oh], everything was wet

73 and well, mm, we... got to know new friends!

74 <S01> Yeah!, good!

75 <S02> After two days, we learned that those people, who were, whom

76 were so kind to us <S01> [okay] were actually prisoners here in

77 Santiago. One of those had, had <S01> [no way!] robbed a bank

78 <S01> [okay], another was a ripper, had raped a...

79 <S01> Oh! A ripe, or something called ripe something

80 <S02> raped...a girl and the other one had left Santiago because he had

81 been in some fights, some street fights and he had killed a guy.

82 <S01> No way!, oh! [laughs]

83 <S02> And, and, imagine please the tent, the tent, like, like not resisting

84 anymore and the only thing we had was a lock...

85 <S01> Okay

86 <S02> So we locked the tent, er...and one night, a storm, a storm took

87 place <S01> [uhum] and we heard steps around us <S01> [yeah]

88 and because of the wet of the place <S01> [yeah], we, we heard

89 clearly and well, we spent the most horrible night, er, that night.

90 Because well, as

91 <S01> [So you didn't sleep.

92 <S02> No!, we didn't sleep because we also heard a, some shouts from  
93 people, you know, <S01> [oh!] and what the hell is going on  
94 here?!

95 <S01> Where was the camping?, in what specific place?  
96

97 <S02> [I don't know!, in Petrohué, just,  
98 er it was... crossing the, the bridge, you know...]

99 <S01> [but it was inside the park?]

100 <S02> Yeah, inside <S01> [okay] inside, well it wasn't an official  
101 camping. [oh] It was a kind of...I don't know, non-official [coughs]  
102 then...

103 <S01> So there were no shower, no light?

104 <S01> Well, if you pay <S01> [okay] you were allowed to take a shower  
105 for no more, no more than two minutes.

106 <S01> Okay [laughs]

107 <S02> And then, you got frozen <S01> [okay!] [laughs] and well, so,  
108 we...the other, the next day, we were ready to leave <S01> [okay]  
109 of course and we learned that mm, er, a man, a sail...a "fishman"  
110 had died in the river <S01> [yeah] and that people were looking  
111 for him. So we had no boats to cross the river <S01> [oh!], so we  
112 were forced to be there two days more <S01> [oh my God!] with  
113 the killers. It was terrible because then, we, we, when we finally  
114 left <S01> [uhum] we...I don't know, we like, said, said one  
115 another that we were very lucky, I mean <S01> [yes!] the two  
116 alone at, almost plastic, erm, in a kind of tent <S01> [yes], erm,  
117 locked from, from inside the tent <S01> [yes] and I don't know,  
118 surrounded by people that

119 <S01> [they were  
120 criminals!

121 <S02> Yeah, of course.

122 <S01> One of them was a ripper you know <S02> [yeah], that was  
123 dangerous!! Because the other one...okay

124 <S02> [and, and those were the  
125 ones that, well, helped us to, kind of survive in the place.

126 <S01> Wow!

127 <S02> And so, well, after all we were very grateful <S01> [okay] for the  
128 lucky we had.

129 <S01> [ It's a very amazing story

130 <S02> So, well, that was our story, do you have any, anything else to  
131 add?

132 <S01> Oh!, regarding my story, no. About yours?... [laughs] Wow!, no  
133 way!, o

134 <S02> Not again in that place, well I think is very beautiful but...

135 <S01> beautiful but, but you have to plan, to plan the travel because...

136 <S02> Marianne planned the travel...not anymore! <S01> [no], now I am  
137 in charge of that.

138 <S01> [you have to

139 <S02> Okay, so that's all









Registro	Line	AS-Unit	Marked	Unmarked	Front Placing Adv M	Front Placing	Headers	Tails	Passive	Cleft it was	wh-cleft (what she)	the, one, sth + rel	Anticipatory it	Existential there	raising	Conjunct	Conjunct Function?
35	177	and well we... got to know new friends!		0	1											AND WELL	DISCOURSE MARKER? RESUME
36	183	After two days, we learned that those people, who were, whom were so kind to us were actually prisoners here in Santiago	1	0	1												0
37	183	One of those had, had robbed a bank	0	1													0
38	183	another was a ripper,	0	1													0
39	183	had raped a...raped...a girl	0	1													0
40	183	and the other one had left Santiago because he had been in some fights, some street fights	1				1									AND	COORDINATOR
41	183	and he had killed a guy.	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR
42	191	And, and, imagine please the tent, the tent, like, like [not] resisting anymore	0	1												AND	MARRATIVE LINK
43	191	and the only thing we had was a lock	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR
44	194	So we locked the tent, er...	0	1												SO	CONJUNCT
45	194	and one night, a storm, a storm took place	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
46	194	and we heard steps around us	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
47	194	and because of the wet of the place we, we heard clearly	1	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
48	194	and well, we spent the most horrible night, er, that night		0	1											AND	DISCOURSE MARKER? SUMMARIZING
49	200	we didn't sleep because we also heard a, some shouts from people you know,	0	1												AND WELL	0
50	200	and "what the hell is going on here?!"	0	1												AND	MARRATIVE LINK
51	216	and well, so, we...the other, the next day, we were ready to leave of course	0	1												AND	SEQUENCE MARKER
52	216	and we learned that mm, er, a man, a sail...a "fishman" had died in the river	0	1												AND	MARRATIVE LINK
53	216	and that people were looking for him.	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR
54	220	So we had no boats to cross the river, so we were forced to be there two days more with the killers.	1	0					1							SO	SUBORDINATING CONJUNCT
55	221	it was terrible	0	1													0
56	221	because then, we, we, when we finally left we... I don't know, we like, said, said one another that we were very lucky	1	0	1											BECAUSE THEN	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE MARKER
57	221	I mean the two alone at, almost plastic, erm, in a kind of tenterm, looked from, from inside the tent and I don't know, surrounded by people that	0	1													0
58	235	And so, well, after all we were very grateful for the lucky [luck] we had	1	0	1											AND SO	SUBORDINATING CONJUNCT
59	244	Well, Marianne planned the travel...	0	1													0
60	244	not anymore!	0	1												WELL	DISCOURSE MARKER? SUMMARIZING
61	244	now I am in charge of that	0	1													0
<b>Totals</b>			18	42	7	1	1	4	4	0	0	0	1	0	0		0

Appendix 8: Participant A3

## **Participant A3**

Gender: Female

Age: 23

**Transcription and Data Analysis**



1 <S01> I begin?  
2 <S02> yes [laughs]  
3 <S01> ok well I haven't had many eeeh funny events in my life but I can  
4 recall one erm which was last year at Christmas time and my little  
5 sister who's fifteen came from Osorno because she lives there as  
6 you know and she went to my apartment and ask me to take her  
7 to a mall. She wanted to buy because erm it was I think two or  
8 three days before Christmas so we went there to a mall to Parque  
9 Arauco and we went with my little son who's six you know him  
10 Martín and after we had window shopped a lot of time she  
11 decided to go inside erm the store called Fes [<S02> ok] Well we  
12 went there and it was absolutely crowded because as you know it  
13 was Christmas time [laughs]  
14 <S02> [ time  
15 and it was very boring to, for me because I had to pay attention  
16 erm of Martín because he was very naughty and he was tired  
17 because we went there by bus so it was awful. And my sister kept  
18 on erm trying on some clothes on erm, trying some clothes on,  
19 sorry, and whatever she was in the dressing room so I started to  
20 [2 secs] to look you know and I, I saw a little bag which was silver,  
21 very beautiful and I tried it on. Then erm Martín erm ran, ran out  
22 the store so I had to [<S02>[laughs]] pick him up whatever, I  
23 came inside the store again erm my sister told me that she had  
24 finished she, she didn't buy anything  
25 <S02> [ anything  
26 anything I wanted to, to kill her yes and well I, I hurried her up in  
27 fact  
28 because we were very tired and Martín was naughty [laughs] and  
29 very tired so we decided erm to go out and as we were leaving  
30 the store the alarm started to ring [<S02> no?] yes and we started  
31 to laugh because there was a guard and erm I told my sister that

32 maybe she had stolen something [<S02> no] so the guard started  
33 to laugh at us [<S02> [laughs]], with us, so we went out we, we, I  
34 don't know we, we kept in Parque Arauco around five minutes  
35 more something like that then we went out Parque Arauco Mall  
36 and erm the alarm there started to ring again [<S02> no] yes well  
37 whatever we forgot

38 <S02> [ you, did  
39 you think that maybe it was because they hadn't taken out the, the  
40 ticket or something

41 <S01> no because my sister hadn't bought anything so it was impossible  
42 but

43 <S02> [ or the  
44 alarm

45 ok whatever we went out and, erm we were wai,waiting for the  
46 bus and suddenly I looked at my son and he was staring at me  
47 erm really afraid and nervous and he said to me I was a thief  
48 [<S02> no] and I said but what, what has happened to you  
49 [laughs] I told him and he, he erm he erm he pin pointed my  
50 shoulder and then I realised I had the bag hanging on my  
51 shoulder with five labels and the alarm. And I didn't notice that  
52 and

53 <S02> [ my god  
54 my sister started to laugh and that was why erm all the alarms  
55 rang I didn't notice that because I'm really absent-minded I mean  
56 yes

57 <S02> [ I know you  
58 you know me and of course I'm not a thief or anything like that but

59 <S02> [ you  
60 weren't conscious about that

61 <S01> that's, that's the thing I, I put it on my shoulder and it felt like, it felt  
62 like my bag [laughs]

63 <S02> [laughs] so it was a very comfortable bag  
64 <S01> yes erm yes and it was small it was beautiful [laughs]  
65 <S02> [laughs]  
66 <S01> but, but Martín started to cry and he erm tried to hide because  
67 there  
68 <S02> [ aw poor little guy  
69 were cops there I mean but well my sister of course told me “keep  
70 the bag, don’t be stupid” but as Martín was crying I decided to  
71 <S02> [ of course [ go back  
72 [whispering]  
73 go back again and to put the bag in its place. So I entered the  
74 mall again the alarms started to to ring  
75 <S02> [ the alarms [inaudible]  
76 or to sound and the I entered the, the Fes store again there was  
77 the guard and the, the store was crowded again, I put the bag in  
78 its place again, I came out and nobody noticed anything [<S02>  
79 oh] so I could’ve kept the bag.  
80 <S02> bag  
81 <S01> whatever I went back  
82 <S02> [ and, and it’s weird because the guard didn’t tell anything  
83 <S01> that’s the thing I think I didn’t look like a suspect [<S02> yeah]  
84 whatever but I think it’s very easy to  
85 <S02> [ yeah prejudice is very important at the  
86 moment when they I don’t know erm when they think someone  
87 stole something  
88 <S01> that’s, I think that the alarm, erm I mean, that nobody noticed  
89 anything because when people were at the, I, I mean at the  
90 cashier, when they were going to erm actually buy the things  
91 sometimes the alarm rang because it was too near to the door  
92 [<S02> ok] but actually I went out the store and it rang





Line	Nr of words	Simple	Complex	Structure	Nr of Subordinate Clauses	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Embedded	E(s)	E (s) (s)	MC (s)	MC (s)(s)	MC (s)(s)(s)	MC (s)(s)	MC (s)(s)	MC (s)(s)(s)	MC (s)(s)	MC (s)(s)	MC (s)(s)(s)	
1	11	1	0		0				Relative Clause defining												
2	12	0	1	[M(E)]	1	1			Relative clause non-			Adverbial clause (reason)	Adverbial clause (comment)								
3	16	0	1	[M(E)](S)	3	2	1		Relative clause non-			Nominal clause									
4	15	0	1	[M(S)]	1	1						Adverbial clause (reason)									
5	15	0	1	[M(S)]	1	1						Adverbial clause (reason)									
6	10	1	0		0				Relative clause non-			Adverbial clause (comment)									
7	13	0	1	[M(E)](S)	1	1			Relative clause non-			Adverbial clause (comment)									
8	18	0	1	[S](M)(S)(S)	3	2	1					Adverbial clause (time)									
9	4	1	0		0							Adverbial clause									
10	13	0	1	[M](S)	2	1	1					Adverbial clause (comment)									
11	20	0	1	[M](S)	2	1	1					Adverbial clause (reason)	Adverbial clause (reason)								
12	14	0	1	[M](S)	2	2						Adverbial clause (reason)									
13	15	1	0		0				Relative clause non			Adverbial clause (result)									
14	16	0	1	[M](S)	1	1						Adverbial clause (result)									
15	12	0	1	[M(E)]	1	1			Relative clause non			Adverbial clause (reason)									
16	5	1	0		0							Adverbial clause									
17	15	0	1	[M](S)	1	1						Adverbial clause (result)									
18	15	0	1	[M](S)	1	1						Adverbial clause (result)									
19	6	1	0		0							Nominal clause									
20	8	0	1	[M](S)	1	1						Nominal clause									
21	4	1	0		0							Nominal clause (non-									
22	7	0	1	[M](S)	1	1						Adverbial clause (reason)									
23	14	0	1	[M](S)	1	1						Adverbial clause (reason)									

AS-Unit

3 ok well I haven't had many seeh funny events in my life

3 but I can recall one erm which was last year at Christmas time

4 and my little sister who's fifteen came from Osorno because she lives there as you know

4 and she went to my apartment and ask me to take her to a mall.

6 She wanted to buy because erm it was I think two or three days before Christmas

7 so we went there to a mall to Parque Arauco

7 and we went with my little son who's six you know him Martin

7 and after we had window-shopped a lot of time she decided to go inside erm the store called Fes

10 well we went there

10 and it was absolutely crowded because as you know it was Christmas time

and it was very boring to, for me because I had to pay attention erm of Martin because he was very naughty

10 and he was tired because we went there by bus so it was awful

16 and my sister kept on erm trying on some clothes on erm, trying some clothes on sorry

17 and whatever she was in the dressing room so I started to, to look you know

17 and I, I saw a little bag which was silver very beautiful

17 and I tried it on

19 then erm Martin erm ran out the store so I had to pick him up whatever

20 I came inside the store again erm

20 my sister told me that she had finished

20 she didn't buy anything

20 I wanted to, to kill her yes

23 and well I, I hurried her up in fact because we were very tired





Register	Line	Nr of words	Simple	Complex	Structure	Nr of Subordinate Clauses	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Embedded	E(s)	E (s) (s)	MC (s)	MC (s) (s)	MC (s) (s) (s)	MC (s) (s)	MC (s) (s) (s)	MC (s) (s) (s) (s)	
	<b>AS-Unit</b>																		
	56	4	1	0		0													
	57	6	1	0		0													
	58	4	1	0		0													
	59	9	0	1	(M)(S)	1	1												
	60	7	0	1	(M)(S)	1	1												
	61	33	0	1	(S)(S)(M)(S)	3	3												
	62	10	1	0		0													
	63	26	1	0		0													
	64	8	1	0		0													
	65	7	1	0		0													
	66	8	0	1	(M)(S)	1	1												
	67	5	1	0		0													
	68	27	0	1	(M)(S)(S)	2	1	1											
	69	6	1	0		0													
	70	26	0	1	(M)(S)(S)(S))	3	1	1	1										
	71	5	1	0		0													
	72	3	1	0		0													
	73	11	0	1	(M)(S)	1	1												
	74	10	0	1	(M)(S)	1	1												
	75	25	0	1	(M)(S)(S)	2	1	1											
	76	22	0	1	(S)(M)	1	1												
	77	6	1	0		0													
	78	11	1	0		0													
	79	3	1	0		0													
	80	9	1	0		0													
	81	4	1	0		0													
	82	18	0	1	(M)(S)	1	1												
	83	7	1	0		0													
	84	4	1	0		0													
	<b>Totals</b>	<b>895</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>37</b>		<b>52</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>1</b>										
	<b>Nr of And in text: 52</b>																		



Registro	Line	AS-Unit	Marked	Unmarked	Front Placing Adv N	Front Placing	Headers	Tails	Passive	Cleft it was	wh-cleft (what she)	the, one, sth + rel	Anticipatory it	Existential there	raising	Conjunct	Conjunct Function	
1	3	ok well I haven't had many eeeh funny events in my life	0	1												OK / WELL	DISCOURSE MARKER / NEW TOPIC	
2	3	but I can recall one erm which was last year at Christmas time	0	1												BUT	COORDINATOR	
3	4	and my little sister who's fifteen came from Osorno because she lives there as you know	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK	
4	4	and she went to my apartment and ask me to take her to a mall.	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR	
5	6	She wanted to buy because erm it was I think two or three days before Christmas	0	1													0	DISCOURSE MARKER / RESUME
6	7	so we went there to a mall to Parque Arauco	1	0			0	2								SO	RESUME	
7	7	and we went with my little son who's six you know him Martin.	1	0			0	1								AND	NARRATIVE LINK	
8	7	and after we had window-shopped a lot of time she decided to go inside erm the store called Fes	1	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK	
9	10	Well we went there	0	1												WELL	RESUME	
10	10	and it was absolutely crowded because as you know it was Christmas time	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK	
11	10	and it was very boring to, for me because I had to pay attention erm of Martin because he was very naughty	0	1													AND	NARRATIVE LINK
12	10	and he was tired because we went there by bus so it was awful	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR	
13	15	and my sister kept on erm trying on some clothes on erm, trying some clothes on sorry	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK	
14	17	and whatever she was in the dressing room so I started to, to look you know	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK	
15	17	and I, I saw a little bag which was silver very beautiful	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR	
16	17	and I tried it on	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR	
17	19	then erm Martin erm ran, ran out the store so I had to pick him up whatever	0	1												THEN	CONJUNCT	
18	20	I came inside the store again erm	0	1													0	DISCOURSE MARKER / RESUME
19	20	my sister told me that she had finished	0	1													0	DISCOURSE MARKER / RESUME
20	20	she didn't buy anything	0	1													0	DISCOURSE MARKER / RESUME
21	20	I wanted to, to kill her yes	0	1													0	DISCOURSE MARKER / RESUME
22	23	and well I, I hurried her up in fact because we were very tired	0	1												AND	FILLER	

Line	AS-Unit	Marked	Unmarked	Front Pacing Adv N	Front Pacing	Headers	Tails	Passive	Cleft it was	wh-cleft (what she)	the, one, sth + rel	Anticipatory it	Existential there	rating	Conjunct	Conjunct Function
56	63 and nobody noticed anything	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR
57	63 so I could've kept the bag	0	1												SO	SUBORDINATING CONJUNCT (RESULT)
58	70 whatever I went back	0	1												WHATEVER	DISCOURSE MARKER / RESUME
59	72 I think I didn't look like a suspect whatever	0	1												BUT	FILLER
60	72 but I think it's very easy to [STEAL IN SHOPS]	0	1													
61	78 because when people were at the, I mean at the cashier when they were going to erm actually buy the things sometimes the alarm rang because it was too near to the door	1	0	1												
62	78 but actually I went out the store and it rang	0	1												BUT	COORDINATOR
63	84 and actually I was, I was like erm I was like erm I was like supporting it with my like with my, with my hand on my shoulder	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
64	93 and of course I thought for some minutes	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
65	93 but it happens a lot to me	0	1												BUT	FILLER
66	93 and actually I thought it was my bag	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
67	93 but I didn't realise [realise] it	0	1												BUT	COORDINATOR
68	93 and actually I think that I would have realised if, I don't know if I had to erm take out my bip card or something like that	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
69	93 but my son realised it first	0	1												BUT	COORDINATOR
70	98 so, well the most funny or stupidest thing is that my mom gave me money because she wanted to, to give me a present for Christmas	1	0												SO	DISCOURSE MARKER / RESUME
71	98 and I bought the bag	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR
72	100 it was beautiful.	0	1													
73	102 and actually I told the, the salesman there what had happened	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
74	102 and he told me why did I give the bag	0	1												AND	COORDINATOR
75	105 no but I was afraid indeed because actually, I, I used to, to go to that store very frequently so I said well yes	0	1												BUT	FILLER
76	105 or maybe if that was erm recorded in a camera I don't know I didn't want to, to be mean or something	0	1												OR	COORDINATOR
77	105 and I had never stolen anything	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
78	105 so I mean it was really a nervous situation for me	0	1												SO	SUBORDINATING CONJUNCT (RESULT)
79	110 but that's it	0	1												BUT	FILLER
80	110 and Martin was really really touched by that so	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
81	118 and that's the thing	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
82	118 I had to teach him and, and to be erm an honorable person and whatever to teach him values	0	1												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
83	118 and that was the moment I think	0	0												AND	NARRATIVE LINK
84	120 so that was it	0	1												SO	FILLER
<b>Totals</b>		10	73	5	0	0	3	0	1	0	0	1	0			

Appendix 9: Participant A4

## **Participant A4**

Gender: Female

Age: 22

### **Transcription and Data Analysis**





62 <S02> and when they told me like they whispered at me and they told me  
63 like a vibrator is something that women and all the store looked at  
64 me

65 <S01> [ and all of them realised  
66 [ and you screamed it you said it aloud

67 <S02> yeah they were at the entrance of the, of the store and I was like  
68 in the, in the cashier maybe I don't remember actually but I  
69 screamed and everybody looked at me and it was so, so  
70 embarrassing and I remember when they told me because I didn't  
71 know when they told me like what it meant I turned red I mean I  
72 was so blushed I was so blushed

73 <S01> [ you blushed  
74 I couldn't believe it I wanted to be swollen by the earth or  
75 something [laughs] because [<S01> really?] it was so shameful

76 <S01> [ and it's a very weird  
77 couple a vibrator and a grandmother

78 <S02> yeah yeah it's, it's a grand-daughter and a grandmother

79 <S01> [ a grand-daughter  
80 giving it as a present it's very weird

81 <S02> yeah maybe if I had a I don't know a cocky grandmother but my  
82 grandmother is, is so naïve I don't know

83 <S01> [ that's the things as you didn't  
84 know it's meaning it was very natural for you to scream it [<S02>  
85 yeah] and there's nothing wrong about that

86 <S02> [ and I didn't feel shame because  
87 for me it wasn't a bad thing I mean I was being strictly realistic  
88 about the whole thing and erm yeah and now every time I say the  
89 word vibrator I turn red [<S01> [laughs]] because I'm frustrated  
90 about that moment













Registro	Line	Marked	Unmarked	Front Placing Adv N	Front Placing	Head/Tail	Passive	Cleft it was	wh-cleft (what she)	the, one, sth + rel	Anticipatory It	Existential there	raising	Conjunct	Conjunct Function
1	123	0	1											WELL	DISCOURSE MARKER / NEW TOPIC
2	123	0	0											0	0
3	123	1	0	1										0	0
4	123	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
5	123	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
6	123	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
7	132	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
8	132	0	1											0	0
9	133	1	0	1										SO	SUBORDINATING CONJUNCT (RESULT)
10	133	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
11	133	0	1											0	0
12	135	0	1											AND	FILLER
13	135	0	1											0	0
14	137	0	1											SO	SUBORDINATING CONJUNCT (RESULT)
15	137	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
16	137	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
17	138	1	0	1										AND	NARRATIVE LINK
18	137	0	1											0	0
19	140	0	1												DISCOURSE MARKER / CLARIFICATION
20	140	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
21	140	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
22	140	0	1											0	0
23	140	0	1											0	0
24	145	0	1											0	0
25	145	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
26	145	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK

## AS-Unit



Line	AS-Unit	Marked	Unmarked	Front Placing Adv N	Front Placing	Head/Tail	Passive	Cleft it was	wh-cleft (what she)	the, one, sth + rel	Anticipatory it	Existential there	raising	Conjunct	Conjunct Function
26	145 and that was like "what did I say? why are you looking at me?"	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
27	147 And [they told me like (it was a vibrator)]	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
28	148 for me a vibrator was a synonym for a, a massage device a, massage, massage device	1	0		1									AND	NARRATIVE LINK
29	154 and I didn't realised [realise]	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
30	154 and they told me like a vibrator?	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
31	154 And I was like	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
32	155 ah no they didn't tell me anything	0	1												0
33	155 the, the, the my sister, bah my friend's sister and his, and his boyfriend didn't tell me anything	0	1												0
34	155 "you didn't buy a vibrator"	1	0			1								BUT	COORDINATOR
35	155 and I was like "yes I did"	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
36	155 "no you didn't"	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
37	155 and I was like "what is this then?"	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
38	155 and they told me "that's a massage device or" I think	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
39	165 it was a very frustrating moment to learn that a vibrator was another thing	1	0								1				0
40	168 I was like fourteen, fourteen years	0	1												0
41	168 and, and then I learnt that a vibrator had like sexual connotation	0	1											AND	TEMPORAL SEQUENCE
42	168 and it was a sexual toy	0	1											THEN	MARKER
43	168 but at that moment I didn't know it	1	0		1									AND	COORDINATOR
44	168 and I was so naive	0	1											AND	FILLER
45	172 I don't know maybe girls at that age nowadays are more mature sexually speaking like wena naty I don't know	0	1												0
46	172 but I was, I didn't know what it was	0	1											BUT	FILLER
47	172 and I didn't know that it was a bad word or a taboo word	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
48	172 I only considered to be a thing that vibrates it's a vibrator	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
49	177 and when they told me like they whispered at me	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
50	177 and they told me like a vibrator is something that women...	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
51	177 and all the store looked at me	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
52	177 and all of them realised	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
53	181 yeah they were at the entrance of the, of the store	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
54	181 and I was like in the, in the cashier maybe I don't remember actually	0	1											BUT	NARRATIVE LINK
55	181 but I screamed	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
56	181 and everybody looked at me	0	1											AND	COORDINATOR
57	181 and it was so, so embarrassing	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK

## AS-Unit

Registo	Line	Marked	Unmarked	Front Placing Adv N	Front Placing	Head/Tail	Passive	Cleft it was	wh-cleft (what she)	the, one, sth + rel	Anticipatory it	Existential there	raising	Conjunct	Conjunct Function
58	183	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
59	183	0	1												0
60	183	0	1												0
61	194	0	1												0
62	194	0	1											BUT	COORDINATOR
63	199	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
64	199	0	1												0
65	201	1	0	1										AND	NARRATIVE LINK
66	207	0	1											AND	NARRATIVE LINK
67	207	0	1											BUT	COORDINATOR
68	207	0	1												0
69	212	0	1												0
70	212	0	1												0
71	218	0	1												0
72	220	0	1												0
73	220	0	1												0
74	221	0	1												0
75	221	0	1												0
		8	66	3	3	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0		
		<b>Totals</b>													

