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Accentuation of Conversation in English TV serials

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Abstract

This diploma paper deals with expressing of accentuated meaning in authentic conversation of English TV serials. In the theoretical part, accentuation is defined in terms of pragmatic meaning and presented as a modification of the illocutionary force, which reinforces speakers' utterances. Further, the individual accentuation markers are classified on the basis of their function in discourse. In the practical part, the theory is applied to the particular accentuation markers that are identified in the corpus of conversation in the selected serials. The analysis examines primarily the usage, function and meaning of these expressions in speakers' utterances and secondarily their frequency of occurrence. Finally, the prevailing tendencies are interpreted.

Key words

accentuation, accentuation marker, conversation, pragmatic meaning, illocutionary force, modification of the illocutionary force, attenuation

Souhrn

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá vyjadřováním zesíleného významu v konverzaci anglických televizních seriálů. V teoretické části je definována akcentuace z hlediska pragmatického významu a představena jako typ modifikace ilokuční síly, který zesiluje výpovědi mluvčích. Následně jsou klasifikovány jednotlivé prostředky akcentuace na základě jejich funkce v diskurzu. V praktické části je teorie aplikována na konkrétní prostředky akcentuace, které jsou identifikovány v korpusu konverzace vybraných seriálů. Analýza zkoumá primárně užití, funkci a význam těchto výrazů ve výpovědích mluvčích a druhotně jejich četnost výskytu. Na závěr jsou vysvětleny převažující tendence.

Klíčová slova

akcentuace, prostředek akcentuace, konverzace, pragmatický význam, ilokuční síla, modifikace ilokuční síly, atenuace

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1. Introduction

This thesis deals with expressing accentuation of conversation in English TV serials. The main purpose of this paper is to identify accentuation markers that occur in the corpus of British and American serials, distinguish their meaning, usage and function in context and evaluate the prevailing tendencies.

This diploma paper consists of the theoretical and practical part. The first section comprises theoretical background based on presenting and comparing consulted sources of literature related to the topic of this thesis. Chapter 2 examines pragmatic meaning and modification of the illocutionary force in order to introduce the term of accentuation in a broader context. Chapter 3 is devoted to the main subject of investigation. The term accentuation is defined and the classification of accentuation markers that are used to express accentuation is delimited. Moreover, the usage, function and meaning of the particular categories of accentuation markers are explored and supplemented with examples.

The practical part focuses on the investigation of the usage, function and meaning of the individual accentuation markers in conversation of English TV serials. They are scrutinised in detail and analysed with respect to the context. The methods used for the analysis are primarily qualitative and secondarily quantitative. Chapter 4 includes firstly the characterisation of conversational style, determination of the aims and methods of the analysis and description of the corpus. Further, the typical instances selected from corpus are provided in the analysis to demonstrate how the individual expressions behave in context. Consequently, the results of the research are contrasted with the theory presented in the first part of this thesis and the frequency of occurrence of accentuation markers is evaluated.

In the appendix, which is attached to this diploma paper, the corpus containing the transcription of the British and American TV serials with all the identified examples is available.

2. Pragmatic Meaning

Before proceeding to accentuation, it is essential to introduce it in broader background related to this topic. As accentuation is investigated in this thesis in terms of pragmatic meaning, it is appropriate to explicate this term.

Firstly, pragmatic meaning is defined from the viewpoints of various authors. It is determined by Yule as the speaker meaning that is rendered by a speaker and that expresses what is meant by pronounced utterances rather than what the actual meaning of the uttered words is (Yule, 1996, p. 3). As Yule delimits, the speaker meaning can be further characterised as invisible meaning which is expected to be recognised by the hearer even if it isn't necessarily explicitly stated (Yule, 2006, p. 112). Cutting also declares that more information is transmitted during interaction than are the expressed words. His explanation of speaker meaning is adduced as follows:

"The speaker's meaning is dependent on assumptions of knowledge that are shared by both speaker and hearer: the speaker constructs the linguistic message and intends or implies a meaning, and the hearer interprets the message and infers the meaning." (Brown and Yule, Thomas in Cutting, 2002, p. 2)

It means that, as Yule elucidates, the interpretation of the meaning depends on what the hearer thinks the speaker intended to communicate (Yule, 2006, p. 113). In other words, the intention as well as understanding of the message is influenced by both individualities of speaker and listener and their perception of the discussed issue.

Nevertheless, the implied meaning by the speaker, mentioned above, does not have to be always easily distinguished by the recipient. As Cook and Mey point out, the same utterance can carry more possible functions or meanings (Cook, 1990, p. 28-29; Mey, 2001, p. 43-44). Therefore, as Yule indicates, speakers' intended meanings are difficult to analyse from the objective point of view (Yule, 1996, p. 4). Mey confirms that ambiguity of pragmatic meaning of the utterance can be perceived. However, as he further explains, in a real dialogue, misunderstanding of the hearer can certainly be clarified further in the interaction (Mey, 2001, p. 12). It follows that, as Mey illuminates, "ambiguity only exists outside of the actual speaking situation." (Mey, 2001, p. 13) Blakemore specifies that conversation can be successful when its participants are of the same social and cultural background and thus more likely share

identical assumptions and beliefs (Blakemore, 1992, p. 18). To explain, the correct interpretation of the intended meaning of the utterance depends on closeness of background of both interlocutors.

As indicated in the preceding paragraph, the addressee can recognise the meaning on the basis of aspects from background. As suggested by Yule, to interpret the implied meanings of the words, the context in which they occur is used (Yule, 2006, 113). Similarly, Cook asserts that meaning changes with regard to context (Cook, 1990, p. 28-29). Mey emphasises that context is crucial as it helps to indicate things so the speaker does not have to bother to utter every detail of the intended meaning of his words (Mey, 2001, p. 45). To clarify what authors mean by context, Blakemore adverts to "subset of the hearer's beliefs and assumptions about the world," (Blakemore, 1992, p. 18) as to context essential for speaker and listener to share and thus make communication successful (ibid.). It means that Blakemore highlights the importance of context that is perceived in psychological terms (Blakemore, 1992, p. 18). Other authors underscore knowledge of physical and linguistic context as indispensable for distinguishing the meaning of the uttered message. To elucidate, as described by Yule and Mey, linguistic environment called co-text represents surroundings of words in sentences. Physical environment called context includes especially the time and place in which the utterance occurs (Yule, 2006, p. 114; Mey, 2001, p. 64). Thomas does not restrict context to any field and considers physical, social and linguistic context relevant for the interpretation of meaning (Thomas, 1995, p. 22). Cutting regards context as "knowledge of the physical and social world, and the socio-psychological factors influencing communication, as well as the knowledge of the time and place in which the words are uttered." (Cutting, 2002, p. 2) In brief, physical, linguistic as well as social context contribute to better understanding of speaker's message by the listener.

To illustrate the intended meaning, the following example is provided. By uttering *It's hot in here!*, the speaker might expect the other interlocutor to open the window (Thomas, 1995, p. 49). It means that the hearer should be able to recognise the speaker's intention. Further, the importance of context for interpretation of the message can be demonstrated on the utterance *A couple of rooms have complained about the heat*. To explain, a hotel reception creates the context for this proposition. As apparent, the speaker relies on the environment as well as conventions that both the speaker and the

other participant share (Yule, 1996, p. 22). In other words, the listener should be able to recognise that the speaker refers to *a couple of rooms* as to people who are not satisfied with the heat in their rooms. In brief, the recipient of the message cannot rely on the exact words expressed by the speaker. As the speaker does not often explicitly express everything that he or she intends to communicate, the addressee should be aware of the background aspects influencing conversation.

To conclude, this chapter delineated how pragmatic meaning is viewed by various authors and on what aspects its interpretation depends. It can be said that pragmatic meaning is hidden meaning intended by the speaker and deduced by the hearer on the basis of context.

2.1 Illocutionary Force of Utterance

As mentioned in the previous chapter, pragmatic meaning complies with intended purpose of the utterance by the speaker. This subchapter further explores and specifies this intention.

To reiterate, speaker meaning is connected primarily with speaker intention (see chapter 2). Thomas further refers to the speaker's intention as to the force of an utterance (Thomas, 1995, p. 2). Similarly, Nattinger and DeCarrrico claim that the actual intention or function of the utterance, the meaning of which is primary and nonliteral, is determined as illocutionary force of the utterance (Nattinger, and DeCarrico, 1992, p. 48) Austin states that the illocutionary force can be perceived as intention, purpose, meanings or acts such as informing, ordering or warning (Austin, 2009, p. 100, 101, 109). To specify, as asserted by Yule, each utterance is produced with a communicative purpose or function, which means that the utterance can be expressed for instance as a statement, an offer, an explanation, which is regarded as the illocutionary force of the utterance (Yule, 1996, p. 48-49). Yule and Brazil present their conception of the illocutionary force by the words "what the discourse counts as" (Yule, 1996, p. 49; Brazil, 1995, p. 173), meaning that the addressee can understand speaker's utterance for example as a promise, an order, or a challenge (Brazil, 1995, p. 173). To sum up, the purpose of the speaker's utterance can have different illocutionary forces with the aim to, for example, warn, inform, promise etc.

Cruse discusses encoding of the illocutionary force of the utterance, which means

distinguishing whether the utterance aims to promise, warn, beg, threat etc (Cruse, 2004, p. 347). According to Yule, when the addressee recognises this intention, he can react to it appropriately (Yule, 1996, p. 48-49). As mentioned in chapter 2, the speaker can interpret the meaning on the basis of context. As pointed out by Hoffmannová, not only context but also intonation of the speaker is crucial for distinguishing the intention of the speaker's message (Hoffmannová, 1997, p. 82). Green confirms that force of an utterance alters with a different context and intonation, thus the same utterance can have the force of, for example, an assertion, an announcement, or an exclamation (Green, 1996, p. 66). In other words, context as well as intonation is crucial for deciphering the illocutionary force of the utterance (for the explanation of context, see again chapter 2).

To exemplify the above characterisation of the illocutionary force, Yule illuminates that the utterance *I'll see you later* can count for instance as a prediction, a promise or a warning, which means that it can have different illocutionary forces (Yule, 1996, p. 49). Brown and Levinson demonstrate that the illocutionary force can be expressed for example by offering in imperative *Have another drink* or by commanding in assertion *Officers will wear evening dress* (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 132). Green illustrates that the utterance *I'll sit in the front row* can have the force of a promise or prediction. The force in the utterance *You have an appointment with Dean Brown at 3:00* can be different when the intention of the speaker is understood as reminding the listener or when it is interpreted as informing (Green, 1996, p. 113). It is clear from what was said that the receiver of the speaker's message is expected to deduce the intentional meaning hidden in it and to react to it appropriately.

To conclude, although it is not explicitly stated by the speaker at the beginning of his utterance whether he aims for example to promise, warn or inform, the addressee is supposed to recognise the purpose of the utterance according to intonation and context.

2.1.1 Modification of Illocutionary Force

The conception of the illocutionary force, clarified in subchapter 2.1, can be extended by its modification.

Urbanová adheres that "the interpretative character of meaning (...) is reflected in the modification of the illocutionary force in authentic conversation," (Urbanová, 2003, p. 66) which is influenced by context and idiosyncrasies of the speakers (ibid.). As

Urbanová clarifies, "the illocutionary force of discourse utterances is subject to constant modification due to two counteracting, yet co-existing tendencies influencing the relative weight of the message, namely **attenuation** and **accentuation**." (Urbanová, 2003, p. 66) Urbanová depicts both types on an imaginary scale of gradation of the illocutionary force expressing the degree of the speaker's involvement, in other words "the shift from a weak to a strong judgement or commitment" of the speaker to the message (Urbanová, 2003, p. 67). Similarly, Brown and Levinson elucidate that both types modify the illocutionary force and hence signify the speaker's commitment towards what he or she is communicating (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 147). To explain, a particular context and a degree of subjectivity of those who participate in a conversation are crucial while deciding whether to use accentuation or attenuation.

As the same form of expressions can be used to convey either accentuation or attenuation in a different context, it is necessary to clarify the distinction between these two types of modification of the illocutionary force. To begin with the central term of accentuation, Urbanová points out that "the meaning becomes reinforced, underlined, exaggerated, explicit." (Urbanová, 2003, p. 66) Similarly, other authors characterise accentuation as emphasising (Schmitz, 2008, p. 6-7). On the contrary, as far as attenuation is concerned, Urbanová asserts that "the meaning becomes subdued, indirect and implicit." (Urbanová, 2003, p. 66) Some authors refer to this type of modification as to hedging or weakening that tends to "soften or tentativize" the meaning (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 146-147). It means that accentuation is distinctive for reinforcing and attenuation for weakening the meaning of the utterance.

The above explanation can be supported by the following examples. The accentuated type of modification is illustrated by the utterance *I say I think they made up their minds before they started*, in which "the pronoun *I* is prosodically marked with heavy stress." (Urbanová, 2003, p. 67) It means that the use of accentuated *I think* complies with emphatic intonation of the speaker. On the other hand, the use of attenuation is demonstrated as follows: *particularly I think you probably like the sort of clothes I like anyway*. (Urbanová, 2003, p. 67) As apparent from this instance, the meaning of the utterance is weakened also due to other hedges occurring in the surrounding of *I think* in the statement such as *probably* or *sort of*.

In brief, the illocutionary force can be modified in two ways in order to accentuate

or attenuate the particular utterance. In other words, the speaker can either emphasise the meaning of the utterance or weaken this meaning. Since the term of accentuation represents the main topic of this paper, special attention is devoted to it in the subsequent chapter.

3. Accentuation

Proceeding to the actual topic of this thesis, this chapter is devoted to accentuation in conversation.

Firstly, it is appropriate to delimit the term accentuation. Schmitz elucidates: "In speech communication, a speaker sends a message by forming a sequence of words (...) pronouncing these words aloud and emphasising some of them by accentuation." (Schmitz, 2008, p. 6-7) Similarly, Urbanová defines accentuation as "a modification of the illocutionary force resulting in the reinforcement of the utterance meaning." (Urbanová, 2003, p. 28) As Schmitz and Urbanová underscore, the effect of accentuation is perceived as stress signalling increase of the intensity in speech (Schmitz, 2008, p. 20; Urbanová, 2003, p. 67). To explain, accentuation is reflected in intonation of the speaker, which is raised.

Urbanová offers the reason for accentuation, which is predominantly solidarity; only in some cases a negative attitude can be expressed (Urbanová, 2003, p. 28). Urbanová specifies that accentuation complies with "the need of the speaker to have the message confirmed by the hearer." (Urbanová, 2003, p. 71) Schmitz confirms that accentuation serves as "a means of enhancing the ability of the recipient to reconstruct the speaker's message." (Schmitz, 2008, p. 7) Schmitz further clarifies that in the optimal case, a cooperative speaker aims to be understood and thus amplify the words critical for correct interpretation of message by the addressee (ibid.). It follows that, as Urbanová points out, the usage of accentuation in discourse depends on the degree of the speaker's involvement (Urbanová, 2003, p. 72). Moreover, Schmitz and Urbanová underline that the knowledge of the discourse context is also crucial for the listener to recognise the meaning of words pronounced by the speaker (Schmitz, 2008, p. 7; Urbanová, 2003, p. 67). However, Urbanová adds that subjectivity plays an important role in distinguishing possible meaning of a particular utterance (Urbanová, 2003, p. 66). In other words, it can be said that the reason for using accentuation by the speaker is to make his or her message more comprehensible for the hearer.

To sum up, the speaker intensifies his or her utterance in order that the recipient could recognise what the speaker considers important. It means that the speaker naturally emphasises the words that he or she perceives as crucial for the recipient to understand the whole message properly.

3.1 Accentuation Markers and Their Classification

Accentuation can be expressed by accentuation markers. This subchapter presents the term accentuation marker and classifies accentuation markers into relevant classes and categories.

To define accentuation markers, Urbanová determines them as boosters that "can reinforce speaker meaning, or strengthen the impact of the speaker meaning on the hearer" (Urbanová, 2003, p. 69) and can be represented by individual expressions, particularly adverbs, but also by phrases or clauses. Most of these markers are rather colloquial; some of them even slightly vulgar (Urbanová, 2003, p. 71-72). It follows that accentuation markers should be predominantly used in informal conversation. Brown and Levinson see this kind of devices as strengtheners and regard them as emphatic (Brown and Levinson, 1987, p. 147). Some authors classify accentuation markers among discourse markers (Macpherson, 1997, p. 105-106) or pragmatic markers (Andersen in Quaglio, 2009, p. 79). Other authors perceive them as adverbial intensifiers or amplifiers that are used for emphatic purposes, have amplifying effect, increase intensity, boost or maximise meaning (Quaglio, 2009, p. 91-92). As Urbanová further presents, occurrence of accentuation markers also depends on involvement of the speaker (Urbanová, 2003, p. 72) and hence the high frequency of their occurrence complies with "the need of the speaker to reinforce interaction, persuade and influence the hearer." (Urbanová, 2003, p. 68) To explain, since the term accentuation means emphasis or reinforcement of the utterance, as explicated in chapter 3, the term accentuation marker stands for the expression that is used to convey highlighted meaning of the speaker's proposition.

As the examination of the individual categories of accentuation markers plays the crucial role for this thesis, it represents the main part of the theoretical section. The classification provided by Urbanová is used as fundamental in this paper. To explain, her division is done according to the function of accentuation markers in authentic face-to-face conversation, which is relevant for this thesis. Nevertheless, the particular categories in this paper are described from different points of view of various authors in order to compare miscellaneous approaches to the same subject of investigation. As Urbanová states, accentuation markers can be divided into three classes according to the function that they fulfil in discourse. The authoress distinguishes speaker-oriented,

hearer-oriented and discourse-organising boosters (Urbanová, 2003, p. 68). These three classes are further divided into six categories. Within the bounds of the particular categories, the usage, function and meaning of the accentuation markers are investigated. As the extent of the whole diploma paper does not enable to itemise all of the accentuation markers in detail, the common features typical for the particular groups are mainly characterised. In addition, those expressions that are presented by most of the authors and thus considered the important ones are scrutinised and the examples of their usage in the utterances are provided. This examination will be crucial for the practical part of this thesis as its main purpose is to identify the individual markers on the basis of the theoretical part and analyse them in detail.

3.1.1 Speaker-oriented Accentuation Markers

This chapter describes only those three categories of accentuation markers that are oriented on the speaker, namely Assurances, Markers of the degree of a certain quality and Markers of the subjectivity of judgement and opinion. As Urbanová reveals, accentuation markers can intensify the speaker meaning indicating the degree of the speaker's involvement and his or her commitment to the utterance. In this case, they are determined as speaker-oriented boosters, the function of which is expressive (Urbanová, 2003, p. 67-69). Similarly, Povolná refers to this class as to *I*-oriented markers emphasising that the speaker's opinion is expressed (Povolná, 2003, p. 73). It means that this type of markers is used by the speaker to manifest his or her point of view to the message. Moreover, the speaker shows by using these expressions how much he or she believes in the pronounced utterance.

3.1.1.1 Assurances

This subchapter characterises the first category of speaker-oriented accentuation markers determined by Urbanová as Assurances. The authoress includes into this group the expressions such as *certainly*, *of course*, *indeed*, *really*, *I'm sure*, *obviously*, *I know*, *definitely*, *I am convinced* and *I am not surprised* (Urbanová, 2003, p. 69). Palmer and Macpherson perceive particularly *certainly* and *definitely* as markers of confidence (Palmer, 2001, p. 35; Macpherson, 1997, p. 122-123). Other authors mention especially adverbials *really*, *certainly*, *definitely*, *indeed*, *obviously* and *of course* (Quirk et al.,

1985, p. 583; Dušková, 2006, p. 477) and label them emphasisers (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 583) or degree adverbs (Leech, and Svartvik, 1993, p. 200).

To define these devices, Urbanová declares that "assurances are speaker-oriented boosters expressing certainty and conviction; they are highly assertive" and adds that they "tend to be frequently used to amplify the trustworthiness of the message rendered by the speaker." (Urbanová, 2003, p. 69) Similarly, Quirk describes their function as conveying the comment that the uttered message is true. As he clarifies, these markers are used for "expressing the semantic role of modality which have a reinforcing effect on the truth value of the clause or part of the clause to which they apply." (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 583) Dušková and Biber see these devices as sentence modifiers that evaluate the content of the proposition (Dušková, 2006, p. 477) or epistemic stance adverbials that "express the speaker's judgement about the certainty, reliability, and limitations of the proposition." (Biber et al., 1999, p. 854) Palmer and Macpherson also refer to these markers as to those reinforcing the speaker's commitment to the message and thus showing his confidence and certainty about it (Palmer, 2001, p. 35; Macpherson, 1997, p. 122-123). To sum up, the above mentioned authors pinpoint mainly the importance of confirming trustworthiness of the message by emphasising the utterance.

The use of assurances can be thus demonstrated by the following examples. The expression of certainty by using the epistemic marker *certainly* is for instance obvious from the utterance *That sort of gossip certainly should be condemned* (Biber et al., 1999, p. 854), which can be paraphrased as I am sure about what should be done. In *Clarke obviously thinks highly of her* (Oakland and Urbanová, 2002, p. 54), the speaker uses *obviously* to sound confident and thus make the message more persuasive for the hearer. Leech and Svartvik add that these expressions can convey positive or negative emphasis. The latter case is depicted in the utterances *You really will have to be more careful* (Leech, and Svartvik, 1993, p. 200), *I am definitely not going abroad for any commitments next summer* (Urbanová, 2003, p. 69) and *Look this is starting to look really bad for me* (F. A. 247). These instances reflect that the speaker is certain about his or her opinion conveying the negative attitude.

Besides, Quaglio, who concerns himself with emotive language in face-to-face

¹ Each example selected from corpus is supplemented with the bracket containing abbreviation with letters and number, under which it can be found in the corpus available in the appendix.

conversation, regards the frequent stance adverb really as reflecting personal feelings and emotions (Quaglio, 2009, p. 9). In other words, he considers really as the marker of emotional language as well as emphatic content. The utterances removed from the conversation can serve as good examples: That's actually a really good idea. I worked really hard at making this a nice place for us to live (Quaglio, 2009, p. 88-91). It means that the speaker uses really in order to express his strong judgement of the particular situations. The emotive function is also stressed by Leech and Svartvik who perceive the devices such as indeed, really or definitely as indicating emotive emphasis in speech, as apparent from the following examples: We are very happy indeed, He definitely impressed us (Leech, and Svartvik, 1993, p. 134-136) and I really enjoyed your paper on the connection between geographic isolation and rapid mutagenesis (F. B. 61). As demonstrated on these utterances, this type of expressions is used by the speaker with purpose of supporting his or her proposition, making it emphatic and manifesting his or her emotions as well. Except for the marker indeed, they serve as premodifiers. However, all of them fulfil the same function of assuring the hearer. In brief, emotions play the important role as they influence the speaker while expressing his or her thoughts, which is consequently reflected by intensification of meaning of the particular utterance.

Additionally, Leech and Svartvik underline that some markers are used for supporting agreement expressed by the speaker who shows his or her enthusiasm, as in formulation (Yes,) definitely. (Leech, and Svartvik, 1993, p. 123) To explain, these devices can stand on its own or can be used with the expressions typical for approval or confirmation such as yes.

To sum up, the main accentuation markers of assurances described by most of the authors are represented by the expressions *really, definitely, certainly, of course, indeed* and *obviously*. Apart from these individual devices, clauses such as *I'm sure, I know, I am convinced, I am not surprised* are also incorporated into this category. Concerning function of these boosters, they serve as highlighters with purpose to give certitude to the hearer that the speaker's utterance is veracious. Therefore, the speaker uses these markers for conveying his or her commitment to the message which obviously tends to be confident and convincing.

3.1.1.2 Markers of Degree of Certain Quality

Markers of the degree of a certain quality are considered to be the speaker-oriented boosters. Urbanová comprises into this category the expressions such as *very, a lot, very largely, perfectly, frantically, ghastly, terribly, kindly, sharply, typically, absolutely, thoroughly, bloody, damned* + exclamations *oh, to hell with this* (Urbanová, 2003, p. 69-70). Leech and Svartvik determine especially *very, absolutely, a lot, terribly* or *thoroughly* as degree expressions and they also introduce an interjection *oh* (Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 99, 100-103, 134) Quirk names particularly *thoroughly, perfectly, absolutely, terribly* and *a lot* as intensifier subjuncts (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 589-591) Dušková presents *absolutely, thoroughly, terribly* or *largely* (Dušková, 2006, p. 467). Quaglio and Crystal also classify an interjection *oh* as a representative of this category (Quaglio, 2009, p. 9; Crystal, 2003, p. 289).

To delimit these markers, Urbanová defines them as attitudinal boosters "reinforcing the positive or negative quality, thus reflecting the attitude of the speaker towards the message." (Urbanová, 2003, p. 69) Leech and Svartvik confirm that even the same expression can intensify the meaning of a part of the utterance that can denote positive as well as negative evaluation. It means that these devices "can be used in a 'good' sense, as well as in a 'bad' sense." (Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 135) To explain, the above mentioned authors agree that these markers are used for emphasising positive as well as negative attitude expressed by the speaker.

The examples are provided to depict the usage of these devices. In the utterances where he absolutely turned out guts over and American professors are typically determined to toughen curricula, the first mentioned example reflects negative and the latter positive evaluation (Urbanová, 2003, p. 70). For instance, terribly, which can carry positive as well as negative meaning, is used in the statement She's terribly kind to us (Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 135) for the purpose to convey the positive reinforcement by the speaker who might aim to pay the compliment.

Leech and Svartvik determine adverbs such as *very*, *absolutely*, *a lot*, *terribly* or *thoroughly* as degree expressions which "intensify the meaning of the word that they modify." (Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 135) Leech and Svartvik further explain that these degree adverbs serve as premodifiers of mostly adjectives or adverbs and that they can only modify gradable words which can be reflected on an imaginary scale (Leech,

Svartvik, 1993, p. 99-100). Similarly, Quirk and Dušková perceive adverbs such as absolutely, perfectly, thoroughly, terribly, largely, a lot as intensifier subjuncts indicating some kind of degree and expressing a high point on an imaginary intensity scale (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 589-591; Dušková, 2006, p. 467). Quirk classifies these adverbs further into amplifiers having an increasing effect on gradable words and scaling upwards (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 589-591). To illustrate this kind of usage, the following examples are offered. For instance, in the utterance He's very friendly, the expression very represents the degree adverb usually connected with adjective scale words and indicates an extreme position on the scale (Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 100). This kind of usage can be obvious from the following utterances: They thoroughly disapprove of his methods. I can perfectly see why you are anxious about it. I must absolutely refuse to listen to your grumbling (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 590-591). In these cases, the amplifiers thoroughly, perfectly and absolutely intensify the following verbs and rather express a negative attitude of the speaker. In brief, these devices express a high degree depicted on an abstract intensity scale and can modify and thus reinforce the particular gradable word in the utterance.

To be more specific, Leech and Svartvik underscore the important role of the emotive emphasis in speech reflected by the exclamations. This is represented by the interjection oh expressing emotion of surprise (Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 134). The author Quaglio highlights the frequent occurrence of the discourse marker oh in conversation and explains that it "can signal surprise, disbelief, or even indignation depending on intonation and tone of voice." (Quaglio, 2009, p. 9) Similarly, Crystal regards oh as "surprisingly frequent in conversation" and illuminates that "it is an exclamation, expressing a strong emotion whose exact value depends on the choice of intonation and facial expression." (Crystal, 2003, p. 289) On the other hand, Crystal adds that this marker is not always pronounced with the emphasis and in most cases it is difficult to determine its function. Nevertheless, it is easy to distinguish its usage when it occurs in context with related words, such as yeah, reflecting a surprise or aggression, and God or really, used to express the strong emphasis (ibid.). In addition, as Crystal presents, in all cases oh helps to exchange opinions of interlocutors more smoothly in discourse interaction. Thus it is frequently used in the informal conversation. (Schiffrin in Crystal, 2003, p. 289) To demonstrate this kind of usage, the examples are further provided: In *Oh*, what a beautiful present! (Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 134), oh expresses emotion of surprise. For instance, in *Oh my God, can you believe we are surrounded by all this? I can barely control myself* (F. B. 170), the speaker shows her excitement about the given situation. To sum up, exclamations are also integrated into this category. They are represented by the interjection *oh* that conveys many sorts of emotions, particularly surprise.

To conclude, the majority of the above mentioned authors classify especially the markers *very*, *absolutely*, *terribly*, *thoroughly*, *perfectly*, *largely*, *a lot* and *oh* as representatives of this category. Their main function is to emphasise a high degree of positive or negative quality of the part of the utterance and thus express the degree of speaker's confident attitude.

3.1.1.3 Markers of Subjectivity of Judgement and Opinion

The last category of speaker-oriented boosters is determined as Markers of subjectivity of judgement and opinion. Urbanová considers the expressions such as *I think, I thought, I mean, I see, I hope, personally, I'd rather* the main representatives of this group. Other authors mention particularly *I think* (Nattinger and DeCarrico, 1992, p. 96, 149; Quaglio, 2009, p. 9), *I mean* ((Povolná, 2003, p. 80-81), *I'd rather* and *I see* ((Nattinger and DeCarrico, 1992, p. 62; Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1111-1112, 1114) and label them opine markers (Povolná, 2003, p. 80-81) or evaluators (Nattinger and DeCarrico, 1992, p. 96, 149).

To delimit these markers, Urbanová claims that they are considered to be attitudinal boosters expressing beliefs and "emphasizing the subjective attitude of the speaker, making the utterance highly assertive in the case of prosodically strong markers." (Urbanová, 2003, p. 70) Urbanová further illuminates that prosodically marked expressions indicate engagement and sound convincing (ibid.). As Quaglio adheres, the marker *I think* occurs frequently in casual face-to-face conversation with the purpose to express the stance of the speaker including his or her feelings, opinions and evaluations and indicating his involvement (Quaglio, 2009, p. 9, 63). Similarly, Nattinger and DeCarrico consider the marker *I think* an evaluator signifying the relative importance of the piece of information rendered by the speaker and thus signalling his commitment to his point of view, opinion or evaluation (Nattinger and DeCarrico, 1992,

p. 96, 149). Povolná determines mainly *I think* but also *I thought* as opine markers that "indicate that what is being uttered is just the speaker's opinion, his/her feelings and attitudes." (Povolná, 2003, p. 80-81) Quirk also mentions the manifestation of the speaker's emotional attitude in connection with these expressions (Quirk, 1985, p. 1114). In addition, Urbanová and Oakland underscore that these markers often make the utterances relative because "the speaker is aware of the limited validity of his or her utterance." (Urbanová, Oakland, 2002, p. 55, my translation) Dušková agrees that these devices express that the validity of the content of the utterance is restricted to the speaker's point of view (Dušková, 2006, p. 479). Nattinger and DeCarrico also point out that these expressions signify the relative importance of piece of information rendered by the speaker (Nattinger and DeCarrico, 1992, p. 96, 149). To explain, the function peculiar to these markers is presented by the above mentioned authors as reinforcing the subjective opinion and strong commitment of the speaker to the message.

To illustrate the usage of these accentuation markers, the following examples are provided. For instance, the utterances *Personally I see no reason for inviting them* (Dušková, 2006, p. 475-476) and *I think he'll soon realize his error* (Dušková, 2006, p. 479) seem to express a personal opinion of the speaker signalling his or her convincing attitude to the uttered message and strong evaluation of the discussed situation that indicates speaker's high involvement.

Apart from the typical function of the markers from this category, described above, some authors also recognise specific meanings of the individual expressions. Povolná states that *I mean* serves for self-correcting or clarifying speaker's own view (Östman in Povolná, 2003, p. 80). Similarly, Quaglio regards *I mean* as the expression that carries the function of clarification device (Quaglio, 2009, p. 81), as exemplified by *I mean it's a floor, it's not like I'm on a pitch* (B. B. 93), in which the speaker emphasises and clarifies his explanation by *I mean* in order to be understood by the hearer clearly. Besides, Quirk comprises *I'd rather* into clauses of preference (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1111-1112). Nattinger and DeCarrico consider *I'd rather* the expression used for refusing (Nattinger and DeCarrico, 1992, p. 62). The usage of *I'd rather* is demonstrated by the utterance *I'd rather take the slowest train than go there by air* (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1111-1112), in which the speaker shows the preference of one possibility and the refusal of the other. Furthermore, Quirk presents another expression *I*

see that conveys certainty of the speaker (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 1114) while Nattinger and DeCarrico determine *I see* as the marker used for accepting while responding (Nattinger and DeCarrico, 1992, p. 62). For instance, the utterance *I see! I took a risk when I employed you, Manny* (B. B. 51) might demonstrate the speaker's confident response. In brief, each marker of this category fulfils the specific function besides emphasising personal opinions of the speakers.

On the other hand, as revealed by Urbanová, the same forms of these accentuation markers are also expressed by prosodically weak, tentative and vague remarks that are introduced as downtoners or attenuations (Urbanová, 2003, p. 70). To depict the difference between these two types, Urbanová offers the explanation. She maintains that these markers:

"with different intonation patterns and in different contexts, may boost or attenuate the force of the utterances they modify. Moreover, the status of the speaker in the context of utterance is another crucial factor in determining the pragmatic effect of such personalized forms on the utterances in which they occur. Many personalized forms may thus function as Boosters or as Downtoners, and their function in a particular utterance can only be determined in context." (Holmes in Urbanová, 2003, p. 70)

As Quirk confirms, these expressions are mostly considered hedges, which means that they express a tentative meaning (Quirk, 1985, p. 1113). To demonstrate both kinds of usage, prosodically strong meaning of *I think* expressing accentuation is exemplified by the utterance because *I think* you have to supply something yourself to the picture. On the contrary, prosodically weak, doubtful meaning conveying attenuation is illustrated by *I think I* am quite good at abstracting myself really (Urbanová, 2003, p. 59). In further instance, attenuated *I thought* is reflected in but *I just thought* it was horrifying (Urbanová and Oakland, 2002, p. 53). Conversely, accentuation is expressed by and *I thought* well *I* don't want to impose on him (Urbanová and Oakland, 2002, p. 55). To explain, as is obvious from these cases, the markers that contribute to the tentative meaning of the utterance often occur close to other vague hedges such as quite or just, which might mean that the speaker hesitates and is not certain about his proposition.

To sum up, the authors classify mainly the accentuation markers *I think*, *I mean*, *I'd rather*, *I see* and *I thought* as representatives of this category. Their function is perceived as emphasising the speaker's persuasive attitude and high involvement.

However, the same expressions can also serve to express attenuation conveying speaker's hesitation. Thus their meaning has to be distinguished on the basis of the context or intonation of the speaker.

3.1.2 Hearer-oriented Accentuation Markers

The hearer-oriented accentuation markers fulfil the conative function, which means that the speaker's main purpose is the appeal to the hearer (Urbanová, 2003, p. 67). Similarly, Povolná determines this type of expressions as *you*-oriented markers that aim to attract listener's attention or prompts him to respond (Povolná, 2003, p. 73). It other words, these devices support the active involvement of the hearer. This class is represented by Markers of agreement/understanding and Empathisers/emphasisers. They are described in the subsequent subchapters.

3.1.2.1 Markers of Agreement/Understanding

This subchapter focuses on Markers of agreement/understanding that belong into hearer-oriented boosters. Among representatives of this category Urbanová classifies the expressions such as *exactly, right, quite* (including *yes, quite, no, quite), absolutely, that's true, that's right, I agree* (Urbanová, 2003, p. 69). Leech and Svartvik determine the markers reflecting agreement such as *I agree, absolutely, quite, yes, quite, you're right* (Leech, and Svartvik, 1993, p. 123). Nattinger and DeCarrico mentions especially phrases like *Yes, that's right, I absolutely agree* (Nattinger, and DeCarrico, 1992, p. 62). Other authors include mainly the adverb *exactly* under the terms of strengtheners (Brown, and Levinson, 1987, p. 147) or response tokens (Carter and McCarthy 2006 in Quaglio, 2009, p. 104). Quaglio distinguishes either single-word responses such as *Right* or multiple-word responses such as *That's right* (Yngvo in Quaglio, 2009, p. 104).

To delimit these markers, Urbanová points out that they are "generally used for the purpose of backchanneling, i.e. giving feedback in the process of interaction." (Urbanová, 2003, p. 69) Similarly, Quaglio mentions the term backchannel with the usage of these responses (Yngvo in Quaglio, 2009, p. 104). Urbanová and Oakland also underscore the interactive meaning of these devices and the closeness of opinions expressed while using them (Urbanová, and Oakland, 2002, p. 54). The point of view of Nattinger and DeCarrico confirm that these markers are used for the conversational

purpose to symbolise endorsing as a type of responding (Nattinger, and DeCarrico, 1992, p. 62). Congruently, Leech and Svartvik perceive these expressions as those that predominantly convey agreement (Leech, and Svartvik, 1993, p. 123). In other words, the above mentioned authors underline the importance of the interactive function of markers of agreement/understanding used for expressing affirmative responses, which is naturally accompanied with emphasis.

The examples are provided to demonstrate the usage of markers of agreement/understanding. According to Leech and Svartvik, the expression of the agreement can be emphasised with enthusiasm by using these markers, for example in the utterances (Yes,) quite. (Yes,) absolutely. (Yes,) I quite/absolutely agree. You're absolutely right, (it won't). I agree (that it won't) (Leech, and Svartvik, 1993, p. 123). In these instances, the emphatic meaning of these markers is also induced by usage of more expressions of this type. Similarly, Brown and Levinson determine strengtheners with the function of emphatic hedges modifying the illocutionary force (Brown, and Levinson, 1987, p. 147). The extract selected from the corpus is exemplified in order to support this kind of usage: The utterance Is that right? Yeah Yeah (B. A. 132) is followed by Yeah that's right yeah... (B. A. 133). This case proves that these markers are used with emphasis and enthusiasm, which often results in their frequent and repeated usage. Additionally, Leech and Svartvik remark that the expressions I agree or absolutely can also stand on their own because the omitted piece of information is already known from the preceding part of conversation (Leech, and Svartvik, 1993, p. 116). This case is depicted by the example, in which to the question Really? You think that's all it is? (F. A. 282), the following reaction is Absolutely! (F. A. 283). As apparent from this instance, the individual marker absolutely is sufficient for the speaker to express his response.

Furthermore, Leech and Svartvik add that by using these markers, "the expression of JUDGEMENT or OPINION rather than the assertion of FACT is involved." (Leech, and Svartvik, 1993, p. 123) Brown and Levinson confirm that the speaker's attitude is considered while using them (Brown, and Levinson, 1987, p. 147). Leech and Svartvik further explain that it is important "not to offend standards of politeness when the other person's judgement is in question." (Leech, and Svartvik, 1993, p. 123) Similarly, Urbanová mentions that these markers are "essential in the expression of solidarity and

positive attitudes" (Urbanová, 2003, p. 69) Besides, Quaglio introduces the function of the response token, which is defined as "word or phrase used to acknowledge what a speaker says, and to indicate on the part of the listener interest or engagement in what is being said." (Carter and McCarthy 2006 in Quaglio, 2009, p. 104) The expression of polite attitude is illustrated by the following example: The proposition *I could, I could but I don't want to! I want to kiss Joey!* (F. B. 283) is followed by *Alright. I think it's a big mistake but it's your decision* (F. B. 284). It is obvious from this piece of conversation that the speaker by using *alright* expresses different opinion but at the same time tries to respect what was said in the previous utterance not to offend the hearer. In brief, the speaker's attitude plays a significant role. Moreover, these markers are important for maintaining a polite attitude to the preceding utterance.

Aditionally, Urbanová and Oakland would also integrate into this category the disagreement (Urbanová, and Oakland, 2002, p. 54). Leech and Svartvik agree that these markers possibly convey the disagreement as well (Leech, and Svartvik, 1993, p. 123). The following example demonstrates this kind of usage. To the utterance *I know what this is, it's so simple, it's for giving up sugar!* (B. A. 157), another speaker reacts by *Yeah, that's exactly what it's not* (B. A. 158). It is apparent from this instance that *exactly*, which is usually used for expressing agreement, is completed with the second part of utterance in negative, which leads to conveying disagreement.

To conclude, this kind of accentuation markers is mostly represented by expressions or phrases such as *yes/yeah*, *exactly*, *right*, *absolutely*, *that's true*, *that's right*, *I agree*. They can stand on their own and serve as responses in interaction, predominantly used in a positive way, rarely in negative. As reactions to the previous propositions, they help the speaker to express his or her opinion. Moreover, these markers provide feedback to the other participant of conversation.

3.1.2.2 Empathisers/Emphasisers

Empathisers/Emphasisers are determined by Urbanová as a category of hearer-oriented boosters comprising expressions *you see*, *you know*, *you remember* (Urbanová, 2003, p. 69). Other authors mention particularly accentuated expressions *you know* and *you see* (Quaglio, 2009, p. 80; Marshall and Werndly, 2002, p. 82; Povolná, 2005, p. 134).

To define these markers, Urbanová considers them as "primarily attentioncatching, stressing the relevance of the utterance for the hearer. They can also question the validity of the given utterance, asking indirectly for its confirmation." (Urbanová, 2003, p. 69) Similarly, Brown and Levinson claim that you know is used by the speaker to draw the hearer's attention (Brown, and Levinson, 1987, p. 120). Marshall and Werndly also declare that by using you know or you see, the speaker aims to check the listener's attention and thus these expressions stress the importance of feedback for the speaker (Marshall and Werndly, 2002, p. 82). According to Povolná as well, prompting feedback from the hearer, which can be expressed by backchannelling, is perceived as the significant function of you know and you see (Povolná, 2005, p. 134). Povolná further offers explanation by Östman who describes the function of these devices as "the striving on the part of the speaker to get addressee to co-operate." (Östman in Povolná, 2005, p. 134) Urbanová and Oakland see these markers as crucial for keeping the conversation going (Holmesová in Urbanová, and Oakland, 1992, p. 54). In brief, it is apparent that the above mentioned authors underline that these devices are oriented on the hearer. To explain, they serve predominantly for attracting his or her attention and thus requiring the feedback.

The usage of these expressions can be exemplified by the instance *You know*, we'd really better get going (F. A. 229), in which accentuated you know is supplemented with another booster really and thus it signifies that the speaker aims to emphasise her utterance for the listener. Brown and Levinson point out that you know can be used in the same way as tag questions (Brown, and Levinson, 1987, p. 120), as demonstrated by the examples *I really had a hard time learning to drive*, you know (Brown, and Levinson, 1987, p. 120) and but it it it's a bit unnerving you know (Urbanová, and Oakland, 2002, p. 54). In these cases, the purpose of the speaker might be to draw attention of the hearer to the part of his message and hence express the need for confirmation.

Moreover, Urbanová adds that "these accentuation markers reinforce the closeness and intimacy of the interaction." (Urbanová, 2003, p. 69) Urbanová and Oakland present Quirk's perception of these expressions as "friendlier, more informal." (Quirk in Urbanová and Oakland, 2002, p. 54) As Urbanová and Oakland highlight, these markers support empathy, in other words, the mutual understanding (ibid). Brown

and Levinson confirm that these devices express the emphatic understanding (Brown, and Levinson, 1987, p. 120). Quaglio also emphasises that they have the interactive mood and are "open to debate" (the authors in LGSWE in Quaglio 2009, p. 80) In addition, Quaglio claims that the discourse markers such as *you know*, *you see* "function to mark the state of knowledge between participants." (Carter and McCarthy in Quaglio 2009, p. 80) Similarly, Brown and Levinson clarify that the usage of the marker *you know* adverts to hearer's general knowledge rather than to his or her similar experience. It means that the use of *you know* in the utterance does not indicate that the hearer knows what the speaker is talking about. In the case of *I'm just walkin' down the street*, *ya know*, *and I damn near get run over by this huge Cadillac that comes roarin'by*, *ya know*, *like he owns the world...* (Brown, and Levinson, 1987, p. 120), the usage of the marker *you know* does not signal that the listener experienced the same situation as the speaker but it rather refers to his knowledge in general. To sum up, these markers function as the devices that emphasise closeness and empathy in interaction. Moreover, they refer to listener's knowledge in general.

In contrast, this category of markers can also be used for expressing attenuation. Quaglio talks about you know also in connection with vague language, which is typical for attenuation. It means that you know can express hesitation as well (Quaglio 2009, p. 7-8). Nattinger and DeCarrico imply that the marker you know can serve as a fluency device (Nattinger, and DeCarrico, 1992, p. 64), as for instance in the utterance Nothing major, it's just that, you know, they're not really good enough for you, and you deserve the best (F. B. 245). In this case, the speaker seems to be using you know when hesitating, which might be apparent from his initial words signifying that he has difficulties expressing his thought. According to Leech and Svartvik, the expressions you know and you see appear mostly in comment clauses (Leech, and Svartvik, 1993, p. 216-217). Biber explicates that in comment clauses, the speaker's purpose for the usage of you know is purely to provide the information that the addressee does not know (Biber et al., 1999, p. 197), as in the propositions *The Smiths as you probably know are* going to America; He's a pacifist you see (Leech, and Svartvik, 1993, p. 216-217) or You know there's no money to be made out of recycling (Biber et al., 1999, p. 197). In these cases, the speaker might only aim to present new information to the listener.

To conclude, the markers you know and you see are considered to be the main

representatives of this category. The function of them is predominantly described as catching attention of the recipient and thus prompting him to participate in the conversation.

3.1.3 Discourse-organising Accentuation Markers

Discourse-organising devices hold the function of foregrounding, the purpose of which is to make the message more comprehensible for the hearer (Urbanová, 2003, p. 68-69). It means that these expressions emphasise crucial information and relations between pieces of information. This class comprises only one category of accentuation markers represented by Markers of topicalisation.

3.1.3.1 Markers of Topicalisation

The category of Markers of topicalisation represents discourse-organising boosters. Urbanová classifies into this group the expressions such as *actually, anyway, in fact, the first thing, the point is, this is what, this is why, the trouble is, this was the thing, this is what we mean, what it does mean, solely, nevertheless, once again, after all (Urbanová, 2003, p. 70-71). Other authors mention especially expressions <i>anyway, nevertheless* and *after all* and determine them as linking adverbials (Biber et al., 1999, p. 875-879) or conjuncts and concessive adverbials (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 634-636). Leech and Svartvik present sentence adverbials *actually, anyway, nevertheless, in fact* and wh-clauses such as *this/that is what/why/where* (Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 58, 98, 157, 182, 201).

To provide definitions of these markers, Urbanová characterises them as boosters that "serve the purpose of pinpointing parts of the message and foregrounding specific pieces of information within the utterance structure" (Urbanová, 2003, p. 70) and she presents their function as "primarily **textual** and **cohesive**." (ibid.) Urbanová further clarifies that these markers serve as "signals of importance and weight of the message to follow" and "their function is to introduce the rheme." (Urbanová, 2003, p. 71) Similarly, Biber asserts that these devices explicitly highlight the connections between pieces of discourse and create textual cohesion (Biber et al., 1999, p. 875). Biber further points out that these markers emphasise how the speaker views the relationship between two parts of discourse (Biber et al., 1999, p. 875). Congruently, Quirk relates these

boosters to speaker's assessment of how he or she perceives the connection between two linguistic units, such as sentences, paragraphs or phrases (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 632). To sum up, the above mentioned authors regard markers of topicalisation as signals of connections between the parts of discourse that contribute to cohesion of the text, are dependent on how the speaker perceives these relations, and highlight the important pieces of information.

The usage of markers of topicalisation can be illustrated by these examples: I had difficulty in starting the car today. That's what always happens when I leave it out in cold weather. (Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 182) Him, he left, he left like I knew he would. That's what people do when you love them and nurture them and take care of them. (B. B. 8) Hey, that's why I didn't invite you, you have to calm down, alright? (F. B. 167) The utterances demonstrated above formed by a wh-clause, the verb to be and a demonstrative pronoun that are used for focusing and referring back to the preceding piece of information (Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 182, 58). To explain, the important message is expressed before using that's what. In This is what I thought or This is where I first met my wife, the phrase this is what can be used for forward- or backpointing (Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 58). In other words, the usage of this is what implies referring to the message mentioned earlier or later.

Biber includes linking adverbials anyway, nevertheless and after all into the category of contrast/concession and explain that they "in some way mark incompatibility between information in different discourse units, or that signal concessive relationships." (Biber et al., 1999, p. 878-879) Similarly, Quirk classifies the same expressions among contrastive and concessive adverbials (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 634-636). Leech and Svartvik perceive nevertheless as the formal sentence adverbial that can be substituted for the preposition of contrast in spite of this/that because it carries the same meaning. The same authors also mention informal sentence adverbial anyway. It resembles the phrase in any case conveying meaning "whatever the circumstances," which indicates contrast as well (Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 98-99). Congruently, Nattinger and DeCarrico determine nevertheless as a discourse device that fulfils the function of signalling contrast (Nattinger, and DeCarrico, 1992, p. 60). To demonstrate this kind of usage, the marker anyway can serve for expressing the concessive relationship, indicating that the following part of speech shows reservation

about the previous message, as apparent from this example: Now that the lawyers have taken over, science will never be able to reach a verdict, and anyway it no longer matters (Biber et al., 1999, p. 878). The speaker in the previous instance uses anyway to reveal that the situation described by his or her words in the first part of the utterance should not be regarded by the hearer as serious as it might seem. In She looks pretty anyway (Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 99), the contrast is expressed by anyway with the meaning no matter what. In brief, the additional function of these markers is that they can express contrast or concession of pieces of information in discourse.

The slightly different meaning can be expressed by actually and in fact. Leech and Svartvik see actually and in fact as sentence adverbials that "convey the speaker's comment on the content of what he is saying." (Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 201) Quirk perceives the formal marker actually as emphasiser "expressing the comment that what is being said is true" and adds that it also represents content disjuncts conveying degree of truth and asserting "the reality of what is said." (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 583, 620-621) Similarly, Biber regards the expression in fact as actuality and reality adverbial that comments "on the status of the proposition as real-life fact." (Biber et al., 1999, p. 854) To depict this kind of usage, according to Leech and Svartvik, actually and in fact mostly appear in the front-position (Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 202), as illustrated by the following example: Actually, Alby is the guy I broke up with (F. B. 191). It means that the speaker introduces this utterance with actually in order to reveal the actual situation. Similarly, the utterance *In fact I'm taller than the doors* (Biber et al., 1999, p. 854) demonstrates the expression of the real situation. By the instance He actually sat next to her (Quirk et al., 1985, p. 584), the truthfulness of the utterance is exemplified as well. To explain, the markers actually and in fact denote the speaker's comment relating to the content of his utterance expressing the truth and reality of the message.

In conclusion, most of the authors determine as markers of topicalisation the expressions such as *actually, anyway, nevertheless, after all, in fact* and wh-clauses. Concerning the main function of these devices, they are used for underlining the important pieces of information and linking parts of discourse.

To conclude the theoretical section, in chapter 2, accentuation was presented in terms of pragmatic meaning as a modification of the illocutionary force. It signifies that in the practical part, the possible meanings of speakers' utterances will be examined and

interpreted. The main content of chapter 3, comprising classification of accentuation markers, will be crucial for the analysis. As explained in chapter 3.1, all six categories of accentuation markers are classified according to the function that they fulfil in discourse. All of them reinforce the meaning of the utterance with difference that the speaker expresses either his or her attitude or he or she reacts to the previous message expressed by the other interlocutor. On the basis of the features which were determined in chapter 3 as salient for each category, accentuation markers will be identified in the data corpus. Moreover, the typical examples will be analysed in detail in the practical section with respect to the context in which they occur.

4. Analysis

In this chapter, on the basis of the theory examined in the previous part, the accentuation markers will be identified in the selected data corpus and analysed according to their function with respect to the context.

4.1 Conversation Analysis

Due to the fact that the purpose of this thesis is to analyse accentuation markers in face-to-face conversation, the specific features of the register of authentic conversation will be described first.

To delimit conversation, Pridham and Halliday characterise conversation as the form of spoken, spontaneous language (Halliday, 1989, p. 46; Pridham, 2001, p. 2). The majority of authors define conversation as interactive exchanges between participants engaged in this process (Pridham, 2001, p. 2; Mey, 2001, p. 134; Quaglio, 2009, p. 3; Cook, 1990, p. 51). Yule delineates conversation by the following words:

"English conversation can be described as an activity in which, for the most part, two or more people take **turns** at speaking. Typically, only one person speaks at a time and there tends to be an avoidance of silence between speaking turns." (Yule, 2006, p. 128)

Similarly, other authors determine that during conversation, two or more participants are involved in turn-taking, which means that only one speaker talks and stops when the other interlocutor continues in having control of the interaction (Yule, 1996, p. 72; Cutting, 2002, p. 29; Hoffmannová, 1997, p. 51). Mey states that "the basic unit of the conversation is the 'turn', that is, a shift in the direction of the speaking 'flow' which is characteristic of normal conversation." (Sacks in Mey, 2001, p. 139) Mey further asserts that "the main point of conversational structure is to keep the flow of conversation going." (Mey, 2001, p. 138) Pridham and Cook add that the cooperation between interlocutors is crucial and can be facilitated by the factors influencing turn-taking such as body language, intonation, eye contact (Pridham, 2001, p. 2, 4; Cook, 1990, p. 53). Yule illuminates that, in most cases, the hearer waits for the signal of the end of the speaker's turn indicated by pausing or asking a question. The other interlocutor can also signify that he or she would like to take the turn by making short sounds, facial

expressions or body gestures (Yule, 2006, p. 128). Quaglio also suggests that the tone of conversational exchanges is reflected by the volume of voice, intonation patterns, speech rate and nonverbal elements such as gestures and facial expressions (Quaglio, 2009, p. 2). It is clear from what was said above that conversation, which belongs to spoken language, can be characterised specifically by taking turns among speakers based on how they cooperate with each other.

Quaglio further highlights the important feature of stance expressed in conversation. According to him, "especially in casual conversation, speakers often express their feelings, opinions, and evaluations." (Quaglio, 2009, p. 9) This can be conveyed by the use of linguistic devices such as adverbial intensifier *really*, expletive *damn*, discourse marker *oh* and other emphatic features (Quaglio, 2009, p. 2). It follows that these emphatic linguistic devices can be used to express accentuation in conversation. This usage can contribute to successful conversation because the piece of information that is important for the hearer to recognise the meaning of the speaker's utterance is reinforced. Moreover, this also depends on involvement of the speaker who assertively manifests his or her opinion or emotions (see chapter 3). As Urbanová explicates, "the use of accentuation markers contributes to the atmosphere of chattiness, since many of these markers are informal, colloquial, occasionally even vulgar in character." (Urbanová, 2003, p. 72) It means that the use of accentuation markers is characteristic for informal conversation. In addition, as clarified in chapter 3.1.1, emotions and opinions are mainly expressed by speaker-oriented accentuation markers.

As hearer-oriented boosters are used for providing feedback during conversation, this kind of rule is elucidated as well. The authors highlight the importance of feedback in conversation because it is essential for the speaker to be aware of the hearer's attention (Marshall and Werndly, 2002, p. 82; Yule, 1996, p. 75). According to Mey, the essential feature of conversation is back-channelling. It is used for supporting the speaker by short utterances or noises (Mey, 2001, p. 140). As Yule illuminates, feedback to the speaker can be provided by facial expressions or gestures such as head nodding or smiling, as well as by common backchannel signals or vocal indications such as *yeah*, *mmm* (Yule, 1996, p. 75). Quaglio adheres that the single-word responses, such as *okay*, *wow*, salient for the interactive nature of conversation, express interest, agreement, or understanding (Quaglio, 2009, p. 8). Marshall and Werndly confirm that

minimal responses, such as *mm* or *yes*, signify agreement and support. They are considered short overlaps in speech or interjections, which do not interfere with the flow of the conversation. These interjections are important in conversation because they provide feedback for the speaker and hence show the interest of the listener (Marshall and Werndly, 2002, p. 81-82). Yule further clarifies that the absence of backchannels in face-to-face interaction can be understood by the speaker that the hearer expresses disagreement (Yule, 1996, p. 76). In brief, feedback provided by the other participant plays an important role during conversation because it serves as an indicator for the speaker that his or her interlocutor pays attention.

Apart from accentuation, hesitation is also common in conversation. As the authors claim, conversation can result in silent moments. Silence in conversation can induce embarrassment because it signals that the participants of interaction do not know what to say, which means that conversation has failed (Marshall and Werndly, 2002, p. 80; Quaglio, 2009, p. 8). Yule elucidates that although occurrence of long silences during conversation can be awkward, short pauses, marked as hesitations, are common in conversation (Yule, 1996, p. 72-73). As some authors explain, short pauses can appear when the speakers are deciding what to say and due to the reason that the participants of conversation do not have much time for thinking through their reactions (Marshall and Werndly, 2002, p. 81; Quaglio, 2009, p. 8). Most of the authors explicate that the pauses can be filled with hesitation markers such as er, em, um, uh ah or you know (Yule, 1996, p. 75; Marshall and Werndly, 2002, p. 81; Yule, 2006, p. 129). Quaglio adds that these hesitators not only serve as the fillers of the pauses but also give speakers time to express themselves clearly (Quaglio, 2009, p. 8). To explain, quick exchanges of turns in conversation can cause silences or pauses, which is why the speakers often use hesitation markers to have enough time for organising their thoughts.

To conclude, conversation is based on cooperation of two or more participants in accordance with the rules such as taking turns, keeping the flow of interaction going or providing feedback, which make conversation successful. However, silences or pauses can appear during interaction. Their occurrence can be reduced by the signals such as facial expressions, intonation or body gestures as well as emphatic devices that results in accentuation and contributes to better comprehension between interlocutors.

4.2 Aims and Methods of Analysis

This subchapter sets the aims of the practical part and introduces methods that are used for the examination of the data obtained from the selected corpus.

Firstly, the main objective of the analysis is determined in order to clarify what is the central subject of investigation of the practical part. The main purpose is to identify the usage, meaning and function of particular accentuation markers in authentic conversation of the British and American TV serials.

Two methods are used for this analysis. Preferentially, the qualitative analysis is provided. To explain, the accentuation markers identified in the corpus are analysed individually but within the bounds of six categories classified according to the function in discourse, namely Assurances, Markers of the degree of a certain quality, Markers of subjectivity of judgement or opinion, Markers of agreement/understanding, Empathisers/emphasisers and Markers of topicalisation (see chapter 3.1). The analysis aims to prove whether the findings about the scrutinised expressions correspond to the characteristic features of the relevant groups stated in chapter 3.1. Consequently, the research attempts to reveal how the interpretation can alter with regard to the context. Therefore, the markers used to express attenuation are examined as well in order to depict the difference between reinforced and weakened meaning of the same devices. This is researched on the basis of the context in the transcript attached in the appendix and video-recording of the serials from the online sources incorporated in bibliography of this thesis.

Moreover, quantitative method is used. The frequency of occurrences of the expressions marked in the corpus is analysed. Thus the analysis evaluates what kinds of function, meaning and usage predominate in the selected sample of conversation. Furthermore, it is detected in which context the accentuation markers are mostly used by the speaker. Additionally, the examples of the most frequent positions of the boosters in the utterance are provided. Finally, the prevailing tendencies are interpreted.

Concerning the structure of the analysis, in each subchapter, the frequency of the whole category is presented first. Subsequently, the occurrences and example utterances of the individual accentuation markers are demonstrated. Further, their usage, meaning and function are analysed with respect to other expressions of the same kind that are identified in the corpus. The most frequently used expression of each group is naturally

analysed first and in detail in order to give preference to the main representative. For comparison, the instances of the detected cases that encompass attenuation markers are displayed in the analysis as well to depict how they differ from utterances comprising accentuation markers. Moreover, the ambiguous cases with more possible interpretations are explained. Finally, on the basis of these findings, the prevailing kinds of usage, meaning and function are evaluated and justified at the end of each analysed category. The comment on comparison between the American and British sitcom is offered only if these two types of serials significantly differ in the usage or frequency. The identified accentuation markers are inserted into tables with results of occurrences. The table of the relevant category is attached to the accomplished analysis of each group. The reason why certain expressions are not present in the corpus is explained only if they are determined as frequent in the theoretical part. In the cases in which the examples require broader context necessary for the correct interpretation, the names of the speakers are provided in the analysis for better orientation. Otherwise, only the utterance of the speaker is offered. 101 examples demonstrated in the analysis are numbered chronologically and the identified accentuation markers are marked in bold.

4.3 Corpus Description

The corpus with collected data used for the analysis consists of 41 transcribed and analysed pages of 93 minute authentic face-to-face conversation in English TV serials. The corpus is formed by two episodes of the American sitcom Friends set in New York and two episodes of the British sitcom Black Books situated in London. 399 accentuation markers were identified in the corpus. Conversely, markers with weakened meaning or other function that is not compatible with the typical usage and features of accentuation markers were detected in 82 occurrences. Besides, 22 ambiguous cases, which represent a borderline between accentuation and attenuation, were marked. It can be said that in Friends, conversation is conducted in informal and friendly language while speakers in Black Books participate in formal conversation as well.

To clarify the selection of the serials, both the American and British sitcoms were chosen on purpose in order to discover whether the usage of accentuation markers by American speakers differs from how the British participants of conversation apply these boosters into their utterances. As the duration of the episodes selected for the analysis

equals in both sitcoms, the results are not distorted in this way.

The corpus is enclosed in the appendix. All accentuation markers in the corpus are marked in bold and determined in the brackets that contain the category to which the identified accentuation markers belong. As the same markers can be used to express accentuation as well as attenuation, the attenuated examples are written in a blue colour in the corpus. However, the attenuated cases are not further classified, as it is not compatible with the main aim of the analysis. The ambiguous cases, which cannot be easily recognised, are written in a red colour. They are completed with brackets in which the borderline between the certain category of accentuation markers and attenuation is indicated. All detected cases are also marked in italics.

In the analysis, the exemplified utterances selected from the corpus are supplemented with the brackets. The bracket, which contains the abbreviation with letters and the number, is attached to each analysed example and represents the symbol under which it can be found in the appendix. The first letter in the bracket distinguishes the type of series from which the utterance is chosen; F indicates Friends and B stands for Black Books. The second letter in the bracket, A or B, determines the episode as it is marked in the corpus. Additionally, the number symbolises the particular speaker who takes the turn in the conversation, as shown in the corpus.

The introduction to the practical part above will be elaborated in the following subchapters, in which the detailed analysis of the individual accentuation markers is provided within the bounds of their categories.

4.4 Analysis of Assurances

To begin with speaker-oriented accentuation markers, the first category, described in chapter 3.1.1.1, is called Assurances. Regarding its representatives, six kinds of the expressions out of ten, introduced in chapter 3.1.1.1 as members of this group, were identified. The boosters included in the examined material are symbolised by *really*, *I know*, *I'm sure*, *of course*, *obviously* and *definitely*. Concerning the frequency of occurrence within the bounds of this category, 69 accentuation markers (17, 3%) were determined. To compare the British sitcom to the American one, the latter mentioned comprises 48 assurances while 21 of these markers occur in British Black Books (see also table 1 below this analysis). This finding is explained in the evaluation of this

category provided at the end of this analysis. The analysis of the individual markers, demonstrated on the authentic examples, is offered in the following subchapters.

4.4.1 *Really*

The accentuation marker *really* represents the most frequent booster of this category. It occurs in the examined corpus in 50 instances (72%). While 37 occurrences were detected in Friends, only 13 were marked in Black Books (see table 1).

As discovered, in 44%, the function of *really* might be to premodify and emphasise adjectives, as exemplified below.

Example 1: No I'm having fun. I'm really—And I'm really-really excited for you and Ursula. (F. A. 113)

Example 2: Well, I'm really happy for you. (F. A. 26)

Example 3: Ursula's fiancé is really sweet! (F. A. 132)

Example 4: I'm really angry now! (B. B. 141)

Example 5: Well I think you're both being **really** selfish. (B. B. 78)

In all five examples above, the speaker's intention might be to emphasise his or her conviction about the utterance as well as manifest his or her momentary emotions. To explain, *really* seemingly reinforces the meaning of adjectives which express positive or negative feelings of the speaker. Moreover, the repeated marker *really*, in example 1, may achieve even more highlighting effect. As revealed, *really* predominantly functions as a premodifier of an adjective which carries positive meaning, as in instances 1-3. Rarely, as demonstrated on examples 4 and 5, *really* modifies and thus intensifies the adjectives that carry negative meaning. It is mentioned in chapter 3.1.1.1 as well that *really* may also convey a negative emphasis in the utterance as well (see also Leech and Svartvik, 1993, p. 200). To sum up, *really* might serve as a premodifier of an adjective by which the speaker manifests his or her attitude, mainly positive and rarely negative. This finding corresponds to what was presented in chapter 3.1.1.1, i.e. that *really* expresses personal stance (see also Quaglio, 2009, p. 9; Leech and Svartvik, 1993, p. 134-136).

Apart from the most frequent usage expressed above, *really* can also function as a premodifier of a verb, identified in 10 instances, or as a premodifier of an adverb, marked in 2 cases. The examples are illustrated below.

Example 6: Oh! Oh! Can I give out the candy? I really want to be with kids right now. You know, ever since I got pregnant I-I have the strongest maternal instincts. (F. A. 43)

Example 7: I wish I could but I just found out that I have to be at work really early the next day, so I can't go... (F. B. 12)

In comparison with examples 1-5, which express positive or negative emphasis, the verbs and adverbs modified by *really* are rather neutral, as shown in cases 6 and 7 above. In these instances, the speaker seems to be emphasising the situation happening at the time of conversation rather than revealing his feelings, as in the previous examples. He might thus aim to convince the others by giving a persuasive reason.

Moreover, the speakers use *really* when asking for confirmation, as discovered especially in Friends. This kind of usage was determined in 10 instances. In 4 cases, *really* was supplemented with *oh*, as demonstrated by example 9 below.

Example 8: Ursula: Wait! If umm, if you want to come, I guess that'd be okay. (F. A. 27) Phoebe: **Really**? (F. A. 28) Ursula: Sure! Why not? (F. A. 29)

Example 9: Eric: ... we have so much in common. (F. A. 167) Phoebe: Oh Really? (F. A. 168) Eric: We're both teachers. (F. A. 109)

As it seems from examples 8 and 9 above, the speaker who uses *really* does not assure the hearer but might rather feel the need to be assured and have the truthfulness of the previous message confirmed by his or her interlocutor. It means that the instances with *really*, as demonstrated on example 8, can also require confirmation from the other participant. However, in connection with the preceding *oh*, as in example 9, *really* seemingly conveys a disbelief or astonishment. Additionally, in this case, slightly ironical meaning appears to be perceived.

To depict the difference, the usage of *really* which is not emphasised is provided as well. In 3 cases, due to the usage of *really* in the negative utterances, its meaning is weakened. As exemplified by instances 10 and 11 below, negative decreases conviction of the speaker.

Example 10: I'm not feeling really well. (F. B. 129)

Example 11: ... they're not **really** good enough for you... (F. B. 245)

To conclude, in the accentuated cases, *really* serves as a useful tool for expressing the effort of the speaker to convince the hearer about the truth of the pronounced utterance. However, in negative utterances, the meaning of *really* is weakened.

According to the analysis, *really* mostly serves as a premodifier of adjectives but was also identified functioning as a premodifier of adverbs and verbs. As proved in chapter 3.1.1.1, the booster *really* can be used as sentence modifier (see also Dušková, 2006, p. 477). In the cases with adjectives, negative as well as positive emphasis was marked. As confirmed in chapter 3.1.1.1, assurances can be used for both possible kinds of emphasis in a positive as well as negative way (see also Leech and Svartvik, 1993, p. 200).

4.4.2 I know

The next representative of assurances *I know* was identified in 9 cases. 5 occurrences were determined in Black Books and 4 in Friends (see table 1). As discovered, 6 instances comprise *I know* in connection with preceding *yes/yeah*, as demonstrated by examples 12 and 13 below. Besides, *I know* is used isolated at the beginning of the utterance only in 3 cases, as illustrated by example 14.

Example 12: Evan: We're your friends now, Manny. (B. B. 53) Manny: Yes, I know, thank you, Evan. (B. B. 54)

Example 13: Phoebe: Two weeks? That's it? (F. A. 166) Eric: Yeah, I know, it sounds crazy... (F. A. 167)

Example 14: I know, I know, we can drive, we can vote, we can work, what more do these broads want? (F. B. 9)

In examples 12 and 13 above, *I know* functions as an assured response of understanding that supports positive answer *yes/yeah*. It might express awareness of the speaker, as in example 12, or realise the situation, as in instance 13. It means that *I know* might serve as another indicator showing comprehension while the speaker expressing agreement acknowledges the truth of the previous utterance. In example 14 above, the repeated usage of *I know* reinforces the utterance that expresses speaker's understanding but also appears to represent slightly ironical reaction.

On the other hand, as revealed, not all utterances with *I know* are used as assurances and uttered with emphasis. This usage was marked in 5 cases. For example, instances 15 and 16 below might express what the speaker knows or he or she is familiar with. It seems that these cases do not fulfil the function of reinforcement.

Example 15: ... it doesn't matter because I already know who you're gonna go home

with tonight. (F. B. 247)

Example 16: I just know they're gonna be a couple of windbags wearing tweed jackets with suede elbow patches. (F. B. 49)

To sum up, the assurance *I know* is used not only to support the speaker's opinion but also to express of what the speaker is aware. The usage of the phrase *Yes/Yeah I know* which serves as a reply reacting to the previous message prevails. This possible function of these markers that they can also represent responses is presented in chapter 3.1.1.1 as well (see also Leech and Svartvik 1993, p. 123).

4.4.3 Of course

The other representative of assurances is the accentuation marker *of course*. It was identified only in 4 cases. Concerning the position of this marker, it occurs in the middle of the utterance in Black Books and at the beginning in Friends, as exemplified below.

Example 17: ... the only explanation is that somehow you assimilated it into your system overnight which is of course impossible! (B. A. 148)

Example 18: I am so stupid. Of course she was lying! (F. A. 268)

To compare the examples above, in instance 17, the speaker seems to be judging his own words and highlighting the absurdity of the explanation with the marker of course which expresses that there is no doubt about this fact. On the other hand, by using of course, as in case 18, the speaker emphasises his or her judgement about the previous message uttered by the other interlocutor. The speaker using of course seems to realise the true. However, in both cases, expression of assurance is perceived.

4.4.4 Other Expressions (*I'm sure/Obviously/Definitely*)

This subchapter includes boosters that were detected only in three or fewer cases (see table 1). All provided examples below carry the similar meaning. They express the strong opinion and therefore highlight the message.

Example 19: You know what, he's a big boy, **I'm sure** he'll find us, ok? (F. B. 70)

Example 20: There's obviously no point outreaching to people like you. (B. B. 163)

Example 21: It's so much better than first grade when you don't know what's going on and definitely better than third grade. (F. A. 109)

The identified utterances beginning with I'm sure, as exemplified by instance 19

above, might have a very persuasive impression on the hearer since they express strong conviction of the speaker. As demonstrated by example 20, the speaker expresses his negative opinion and reinforces it by *obviously*. The speaker's assertion can be highlighted as it is based on evidence, which is in this case behaviour of the other participant, as apparent from the speaker's utterance. Similarly, it might be said that the usage of *definitely*, illustrated by example 21, is supported by evidence. In this case, the uttered words appear to express speaker's confident opinion based on her previous experience and thus may be considered truthful. To conclude, in cases 19, 20 and 21, judgements of speakers arise either from their inner persuasion or from the background circumstances, happening at the time of conversation or in the past. This might serve as evidence for the accentuated usage of these markers.

To evaluate, 69 occurrences of assurances were determined as reinforced and 8 cases were marked as weakened. As revealed, the function of these accentuation markers is inducing the effect of reinforcing the utterance or its part. As far as the class of speaker-oriented boosters is concerned, the intensity of assertiveness of the speaker's opinion plays an important role as it influences the usage of this kind of devices by the speaker who expresses the assurance. Therefore, by using this type of accentuation markers, the speaker intends to assure the hearer that his or her utterance is veracious. The high frequency of assurances, particularly *really* in Friends in comparison with Black Books, might be due to the expressive function distinctive for speaker-oriented markers. It means that the frequent usage of these markers might be influenced by the assertive and expressive behaviour of personalities of speakers in Friends as well as their close relationships. It means that it is also reflected in their friendly conversation based predominantly on expressing speakers' emphatic judgements about the familiar issues and events. The closeness of the participants of conversation may thus indicate that they do not hesitate to express their thoughts assertively.

Table 1: Frequency of assurances

Assurances		Black Books	Friends	Total number
really		13	37	50
I know		5	4	9
of course		2	2	4
Other	I'm sure	0	3	3
expressions	obviously	1	1	2
	definitely	0	1	1
Total number		21	48	69

4.5 Markers of Degree of Certain Quality

This subchapter focuses on the analysis of the category of speaker-oriented accentuation markers called Markers of the degree of a certain quality. As recorded in table 2 provided below, 121 occurrences (30, 3%) were identified. While 90 of them were determined in Friends, only 31 were marked in Black Books. Although the overall number of occurrences in this group is the second most frequent, only four kinds of these expressions are present in the examined sample of conversation. They are represented by *oh*, *very* and the phrases with *the hell* and *damn*. It should be explained that although the marker *absolutely* appears in the corpus, it is used as a positive reply and therefore serves as a marker of agreement/understanding. In the following subchapters, the individual representatives are analysed in detail.

4.5.1 Oh

The interjection *oh* is very frequently used. According to the research, 103 occurrences (85%) of accentuated *oh* were detected. As apparent from table 2, while 81 occurrences of *oh* were determined in Friends, only 22 were marked in Black Books. The reason why the American speakers use *oh* excessively might be that they participate solely in informal conversation, in which the marker *oh* serves as an interactive device that helps to exchange thoughts and highlight strong emotions.

As discovered, isolated emphatic *oh* standing on its own is used in 39% (40 occurrences), as exemplified below.

Example 22: *Oh!* Well you're just the prettiest ballerina I've ever seen. (F. A. 70)

Example 23: *Oh*, you're a palaeontologist, too! (F. B. 120)

Example 24: Oh! Oh! Can I give out the candy? (F. A. 43)

Example 25: Oh, I am just awful with children! (F. A. 280)

In the cases 22 and 23 above, the speaker might be expressing astonishment or surprise by beginning his or her exclamation with oh. In example 24, the speaker seems to be expressing urgency when appealing to the hearer, which can be also proved by the repeated usage of oh. Moreover, in instance 25, oh possibly convey indignation or disappointment.

Besides, the examined participants of conversation use *oh* in 21% (22 occurrences) as a part of the very frequent phrase *Oh my God* or *Oh God*, as illustrated below.

Example 26: Oh, a soap opera roof party! I'm going to a soap opera roof party! Oh my God, oh my God! (F. B. 100)

Example 27: Monica: *Oh my God, Phoebe!* (F. A. 133) Phoebe: *What?* (F. A. 134) Monica: *You're having a crush on your sister's fiancé.* (F. A. 135)

The typical example 26 demonstrates the usage of oh which reflects positive emotions in the phrase Oh my God. It appears to express astonishment or feelings of happiness. In case 27, the speaker seemingly finds the previous message unbelievable and thus conveys disbelief. In both these cases, the reaction of the speaker reflects exclamation expressed by the accentuation marker oh.

Regarding other phrases with *oh* that occur in more cases in the corpus, the phrase *oh yes/yeah* was identified in 12 cases, *oh no* was marked in 8 instances and 4 occurrences of *oh really* were discovered. The rest of the phrases, such as *oh man*, *oh right*, *oh great*, *oh look*, *oh sorry*, *oh damn it*, *oh wow*, were determined only once. They can be used in either a positive or negative way, as demonstrated below.

Example 28: Chandler: But after chapter 16: "fat, single and ready to mingle," I was uplifted. (F. B. 259) Monica: Oh really! (F. B. 260) Chandler: Oh yeah, I had no idea the amazing journey you go through as a woman! (F. B. 261)

Example 29: Oh no, no, no I'm gonna be late, I'm gonna lose team champion points. Oh no. (B. B. 58)

Example 30: Oh no no no no l'Il just get drunk! (B. A. 66)

Example 28 above illustrates the phrase *oh really* reflecting surprise or more likely disbelief. The reaction to it conveyed by the words *oh yeah* carries slightly ironical meaning. As the accentuated *oh* is supplemented with boosters *really* and *yeah*, even

more intensifying effect seems to be induced. Extracts 29 and 30 above demonstrate another kind of usage of accentuated *oh*. As it seems, the phrase *oh no* can express either indignation or discomposure of the speaker, as in example 29, or incomprehension from the side of the hearer, as illustrated by instance 30. In the latter case, the phrase *oh no* expresses a negative answer with the purpose of clarifying the previously misinterpreted message. Moreover, repetition of *oh* in both cases indicates emphatic exclamation.

On the other hand, 17 cases with *oh* were not determined as accentuated. The examples of this usage are offered below in order to demonstrate the difference.

Example 31: Phoebe: I meant your costume. (F. A. 105) Eric: Oh umm, I'm the solar system. (F. A. 106)

Example 32: Charlie: *I just broke up with someone*. (F. B. 189) Ross: *Ooh... so sad...* (F. B. 190)

As apparent from all the detected cases, the marker oh is not reinforced when it shows hesitation or a sigh, which is demonstrated by instances 31 and 32 above. In example 31, the speaker is seemingly hesitant when using oh. Besides, in instance 32, oh plays the role of an understanding response. It is not uttered with emphasis and more likely expresses a sigh. In this case, the speaker reveals empathy when reacting to the previous proposition.

Regarding all the identified cases, the frequent interjection *oh* mostly stands at the beginning of the uttered thought. It fulfils many functions because it can reflect all sorts of positive or negative emotions such as astonishment, surprise or indignation. The frequent usage of exclamation *oh* expressing a positive or negative evaluation was also mentioned in chapter 3.1.1.2 (see also Crystal, 2003, p. 289; Quaglio, 2009, p. 9). As discovered from the research, *oh* is not always uttered with emphasis. This marker can also be used by the speaker for expressing hesitation or as a sigh. The cases that are not accentuated and thus do not represent this category are demonstrated in the analysis in order to depict the difference between reinforced and weakened meaning of *oh*. This can be distinguished on the basis of the intonation of the speaker. For this reason, the link to the online video-recording of the selected serials is provided among the electronic sources of this thesis. Nevertheless, as confirmed in chapter 3.1.1.2, the function of *oh* can be hardly recognised. Thus the ambiguous cases are discussed in subchapter 4.5.4.

4.5.2 Very

The second most frequent marker of this category is represented by the expression *very*. As depicted in table 2, 11 occurrences of *very* were discovered. 7 instances were found in the British sitcom and 4 in the American one. The booster *very* serves as a premodifier of an adjective in 7 cases and of adverb in 4, as exemplified below.

Example 33: Look at you guys! Wow! You are a very scary witch. (F. A. 45) And you are a very funny clown. (F. A. 47)

Example 34: ... it is a very nice jacket... (B. A. 144)

Example 35: Oh I feel very lucky, she's great. (F. A. 114)

Example 36: Fran, Fran, somebody will be here very soon. (B. B. 40)

Example 37: Ahhh no really I mean, we have to go, it's very late. (B. A. 136)

In the identified cases with *very*, as demonstrated above, the speaker intensifies the particular word in the utterance. In excerpts 33, 34 and 35, *very* modifies and reinforces the meaning of the following adjectives. They are used by the speaker in a positive way and thus express the speaker's positive attitude, evaluations or feelings. This usage of *very* predominates. In statements 36 and 37, the marker *very* fulfils the role of a premodifier of an adverb rather in a neutral way. The marker *very* was not marked to be used in a negative way. The detected function of *very* corresponds to the explanation in chapter 3.1.1.2 that the meaning of the modified part is reinforced by this kind of marker.

4.5.3 Expletives (phrases with *the hell* and *damn*)

This subchapter is devoted to the analysis of the identified expletives. They are represented by the phrases with *the hell*, determined in 4 examples, and *damn*, marked in 3 cases (see table 2). As ascertained, these phrases are always accentuated in the examined sample of conversation and convey negative evaluations. Therefore, they can be incorporated into accentuation markers of the degree of a certain quality. The typical examples of their usage are provided below.

Example 38: What is this? What is this? Have you any idea what the hell this is? (B. A. 170)

Example 39: Where the hell is everybody? (F. B. 173)

Example 40: *Oh*, *damn it!* (F. B. 72)

Example 41: Damn, that's a lot of guys! (F. B. 240)

These slightly vulgar phrases reflect emphatic exclamation and immediate negative emotions of the speaker. As demonstrated by examples 38 and 39 above, by using the phrases what the hell and where the hell in questions, the speaker shows indignation. Exclamations represented by phrases containing damn, as in instances 40 and 41, express speaker's anger or irritation. The phrase damn it in example 40 seems to be used when the speaker is unable to control his or her feelings. Moreover, it can also serve as an insult. Besides, damn in instance 41 illustrates a strong evaluation of the situation. In all the detected instances with expletives, the usage of phrases what the hell and damn it predominates. As discovered, only negative evaluations are expressed by speakers who use this kind of phrases. As these expressions create parts of exclamation, all marked cases are reinforced.

4.5.4 Ambiguous Cases

In accordance with what was discovered, the marker *very* and phrases with *the hell* and *damn* are accentuated in all identified cases and thus no ambiguous examples that include these expressions were marked. Nevertheless, in 12 cases with *oh*, neither from the context nor from the recording it is recognisable whether *oh* serves as the accentuation or hesitation marker. The examples are stated below.

Example 42: *Oh*, *ah*, *isn't there another professor that is supposed to come with us?* (F. B. 65)

Example 43: *Oh*, *I'm sorry. I'll take this. Excuse me.* (F. B. 123)

In case 42 above, the speaker might begin her words either by hesitating or pointing out that the hearer should pay attention. The usage of *oh* in excerpt 43 can be interpreted as expressing an indication that something is happening. Alternatively, it might be perceived as a sigh of the speaker who has to answer her phone call. To explain, apart from revealing strong emotions, the speakers often use *oh* without the emphasis and only as a transition between exchanges of turns in conversation. Such examples are determined as ambiguous that occur neither in the emphatic phrase nor in the surrounding of hesitation markers.

To evaluate, markers of the degree of a certain quality were identified in 121 accentuated examples, in 17 occurrences with the weakened meaning and in 12

ambiguous cases. As detected, *oh*, *very* and phrases with *the hell* and *damn* are used for reflecting positive or negative evaluations. Additionally, the booster *very* serves as a premodifier of some parts of the utterances, especially adjectives. To compare the frequency of these markers to the previously analysed assurances, this category is numerous due to the occurrences of *oh*. Moreover, the number of these occurrences is particularly high in Friends in comparison with Black Books. The reason for it might be that the speakers in Friends more often participate in informal conversation. As this kind of conversation is typical for expressing emotions of the interlocutors (see chapter 4.1), the speakers in Friends frequently begin their thoughts with *oh* in order to express their feelings and evaluations about the previous pieces of conversation. The usage of *oh* between exchanges also supports the interactive mood of conversation. This result corresponds to what was stated in chapter 3.1.1.2 that *oh* is considered a common tool in informal conversation.

Table 2: Frequency of markers of degree of certain quality

Markers of the degree of a certain		Black Books	Friends	Total number
quality				
oh		22	81	103
very		7	4	11
Expletives	Phrases with the hell	1	3	4
_	Phrases with damn	1	2	3
Total number		31	90	121

4.6 Markers of Subjectivity of Judgement and Opinion

The last analysed category of speaker-oriented accentuation markers is called Markers of subjectivity of judgement and opinion. As clarified in chapter 3.1.1.3, the forms of these devices can be used to express accentuation as well as attenuation. As they are represented by the same expressions, their meaning can be distinguished only on the basis of the whole context and intonation of the speakers (link to online video-recording is available among bibliography of this thesis). Based on these aspects, it can be revealed how much the speaker emphasises the part of the utterance with the examined marker and thus to what extent the speaker's judgement or opinion has a convincing appeal to the hearer. However, in some cases, it is not completely

recognisable. It also depends on subjective perception of the hearer. As ascertained, 26 identified markers (6, 5%), 19 in Friends and 7 in Black Books, were determined as accentuated. The recorded occurrences are summarised in table 3, which is provided below the analysis of this category. The rest of markers might be applied by the participants of conversation when hesitating. In other words, in these cases, the speakers express their opinions about which they are not convinced. In conformity with the research, the identified expressions of this category are represented by *I think*, *I mean*, *I thought*, *I'd rather* and *I see*. They will be analysed individually further in this paper.

4.6.1 *I think*

To begin with the most frequent marker of this category, *I think* was identified as accentuated in 13 cases (50%). 9 instances were marked in Friends and 4 in Black Books, as apparent in table 3. It means that in these cases, the speakers seem to be expressing their opinions with conviction and assertiveness.

As demonstrated by the examples below, in 54%, the accentuation marker *I think* occurs in the surrounding of other boosters or emphatic signals. The other examples were determined on the basis of intonation (see electronic sources in bibliography).

Example 44: Oh I feel very lucky, she's great. I think she's the most beautiful woman I've ever seen. (F. A. 114)

Example 45: Monica: So Ross, are you gonna bring Mona? (F. A. 13) Ross: Yeah. Yeah. I think I will. (F. A. 14)

Example 46: Well, I think he's a little out there, but he does have interesting ideas... (F. B. 121)

Example 47: Well I think you're both being really selfish. (B. B. 78)

In all the cases in which *I think* expresses accentuation, as exemplified by 44-47 above, the speaker conveys his or her subjective opinion or judgement about which he or she has no doubts. This might also be recognisable due to the close occurrence of other indicators that signal certainty of the speaker. This assertion can be proved for instance by 44 above, in which the other accentuation marker *very* or superlative of *beautiful* might also support speaker's judgement. Similarly, in example 45, the repeated usage of the booster *yeah* indicates confident decision of the speaker. As follows from utterance 46, since the speaker is familiar with the discussed problem, she can display her point of

view confidently by using *I think* with reinforced meaning. Moreover, the presence of the auxiliary verb *does* increases the emphasis of the utterance. In instance 47 as well, the amplifying effect of *I think* is created when the speaker manifests her assertive judgement about the given situation and does not tend to dispute it. Moreover, the appearance of another booster *really* indicates that the speaker takes her message seriously and thus intensifies the meaning of it. Thus no hesitation as a sign of attenuation is perceptible from these propositions. This can also be confirmed by the recording because speaker's intonation is crucial as well, besides context.

In comparison with the analysed examples of accentuated *I think* above, the instances of *I think* expressing attenuation are provided below in order to mark the difference. The attenuated *I think* was detected in 5 cases.

Example 48: I think I probably should go. (F. A. 98)

Example 49: I think we might find out the answer to our question. (F. A. 179)

The identified examples with attenuated *I think* can be distinguished due to the close usage of other hedging devices such as *probably* or *might* that weaken the meaning of *I think*, as demonstrated on 48 and 49 above. It might indicate that the speaker is not convinced about her proposition and reveals hesitation, which seems to be true also according to the intonation of the speakers.

To sum up, considering all identified cases, *I think* functioning as the accentuation marker is usually applied by the speakers at the beginning of the utterances and often supplemented with other boosters. Another finding is that when *I think* expresses assertive judgement or opinion, the speaker is often familiar with the situation that he or she evaluates, which follows from the context. On the contrary, in the case when *I think* is used by the speaker who hesitates and is not certain about his or her attitude, it is determined as the attenuation marker that does not belong into this category.

4.6.2 *I mean*

Similarly to *I think*, the marker *I mean* has to be pronounced assertively and persuasively in order to be classified as the booster expressing accentuation. Concerning the frequency, 6 occurrences in Friends and 1 in Black Books are regarded as examples fulfilling these requirements. They are also depicted in table 3. The following instances 50 and 51 serve as a typical demonstration of confident propositions.

Example 50: Alby was seriously insecure. **I mean**, he was really intimidated by the guy I dated before him. (F. B. 199)

Example 51: Eh, you think? I mean you went out with a guy who improved the accuracy of radiocarbon dating by a factor of 10! (F. B. 196)

In case 50 above, the speaker seems to be clarifying her preceding utterance for the hearer. To be understood correctly by her interlocutor, she reinforces her following explanation by using the accentuation marker *I mean*, which is also supported by the other booster *really*. To explain example 51, the speaker reacts to the previous piece of conversation and emphasises his opinion in order to persuade the hearer about the uniqueness of the discussed issue. The speaker's conviction can be perceived from the context as well as from his or her intonation.

In contrast, 11 cases of attenuated *I mean* were determined, as illustrated by example 52 below.

Example 52: I'd say it was more or less exactly the same, except... no it's the same, I mean you know I sort of lied on the phone. (B. A. 76)

In case 52 above, the speaker seems to be hesitant when expressing his thought. This finding can be deduced either from the recording or from the context. The hedges such as *sort of* and *you know* also supplement the attenuated marker *I mean* in this case. All these indicators contribute to reflecting the speaker's effort to avoid answering the previous question. Regarding all determined cases with attenuated *I mean*, it seems that this expression serves as a useful tool for filling the gaps in conversation when the speaker needs the time for organising his or her thoughts.

As discovered from all the identified examples, the accentuated *I mean* is mostly used for explaining or clarifying the speaker's point. The speaker aims to emphasise what he or she meant without revealing hesitation. As revealed, the assertive *I mean* stands mostly at the beginning of the utterance while the attenuated *I mean* is rather inserted in the middle.

4.6.3 *I thought*

The accentuation marker *I thought* was marked in 3 occurrences in Friends and once in Black Books (see also table 3). Its usage is demonstrated on example 53 below.

Example 53: Rachel: Oh, you did this to him? (F. A. 56) Monica: What?! I thought he'd

love it! His favourite kid's book was the Velveteen Rabbit! (F. A. 57)

In case 53 above, the speaker uses *I thought* for expressing her opinion based on evidence. To explain, the speaker's assumption results from her knowledge based on the previous experience. This is elucidated in the following utterance. In consequence, the speaker sounds confident. In contrast, one case with attenuated *I thought* was determined, as exemplified by 54 below. In this case which comprises *I just thought*, hesitation can be also proved by using *just*, which means that this example more likely expresses attenuation.

Example 54: I won't do anything with Joey, I just thought that we... (F. B. 40)

As discovered from the identified cases, by using *I thought* with emphasis, the speaker possibly expresses his or her judgement. This is proved by the evidence that the speaker deduced from the previous events.

4.6.4 Other Expressions (*I'd rather/I see*)

This subchapter deals with the accentuation markers *I'd rather* and *I see*. They were identified only once (see table 3). The both examples are provided below.

Example 55: I'd rather have the money. (F. A. 204)

Example 56: I see! I took a risk when I employed you, Manny. (B. B. 51)

To explain the cases above, in example 55, the speaker assertively expresses his refusal and preference by reinforcing his utterance with *I'd rather*. In instance 56, the speaker uses *I see* as a response when reacting to the previous message. It conveys an opinion of the speaker who is angry at his interlocutor. In brief, both markers occur in tense situations in which the speakers are being slightly rude.

4.6.5 Ambiguous Cases

As it is not always possible to identify all the cases, this subchapter analyses only those ones that are disputable and thus stand on the imaginary borderline between accentuation and attenuation. 6 of these cases were discovered. The examples are demonstrated below and possible interpretation of them is offered.

Example 57: Yeah, maybe. I do have my whole career in front of me. I mean, I can still win a Nobel Prize. Although the last two papers I've written were widely discredited. (F. B. 268)

Example 58: Evan: You coming Manny? (B. B. 130) Manny: No I thought I'd put in an extra hour. (B. B. 131)

Instance 57 above with *I mean* can be understood to be expressing either conviction or doubt. To explain, the indicators such as the booster *yeah* and emphatic *do* might convey confidence of the speaker. However, the meaning of this piece of conversation might be weakened by hedging signs. The use of *maybe* or addition of the following utterance that begins with *although* might reflect low-esteem of the speaker accompanied by hesitation. Example 58 demonstrates a disputable meaning of reaction with *I thought* to the preceding question. It seems that the speaker expresses his convincing decision. On the other hand, it can be inferred that the speaker is not decided yet and still hesitates. Generally speaking, as the subjective point of view plays an important role, these ambiguous cases might be interpreted differently. To consider all the cases determined as ambiguous, it might be difficult to distinguish this meaning because it is recognisable neither from the context nor the intonation.

To evaluate, 26 accentuated, 17 attenuated and 6 ambiguous cases of markers of subjectivity of judgement and opinion were identified. While distinguishing this type of markers, it is important to recognise whether the speaker's subjective judgement or opinion is expressed with conviction and assertiveness or hesitation is perceived in his or her utterance. As it seems from this analysis, due to the reason that all these markers can also be used for expressing attenuation, the occurrences of accentuated cases are not so frequent in comparison with the previously analysed categories. It might be deduced from this result that the speakers in the selected corpus more often manifest their emotions (as discovered in the previously analysed category) than express strong opinions about which they would be convinced. The explanation for it might be that as both types of serials are considered situational comedies, judgements of speakers are not expressed in a serious and assertive way but rather tend to be humorous.

Table 3: Frequency of markers of subjectivity of judgement and opinion

Marker of subjectivity of		Black Books	Friends	Total number
judgement and opinion				
I think		4	9	13
I mean		1	6	7
I thought		1	3	4
Other	I'd rather	0	1	1
expressions	I see	1	0	1
Total number		7	19	26

4.7 Analysis of Markers of Agreement/Understanding

The first analysed category of hearer-oriented accentuation markers is called Markers of agreement/understanding. The identified expressions are represented by yes/yeah, right/all right, that's right, exactly, that's true, I agree and absolutely. The overall number of occurrences is 144 (36, 1%). 77 of these markers were detected in Black Books and 67 in Friends (see also table 4). To explain, only the emphatic expressions used as reactions to the previous message and hence oriented on the hearer are analysed in the subsequent subchapters.

4.7.1 Yes/Yeah

The most frequent marker of agreement/understanding is represented by the most common positive response *yeah/yes*. It was determined in 118 instances (82%). 62 cases were marked in Black Books and 56 in Friends.

As the selected conversation is mostly informal, the form *yeah* is used more frequently, in 71%, in comparison with formal *yes*, which comprises 29%. As illustrated by examples 59 and 60 below, the difference between the American and British sitcom can be depicted in the usage of *yes* or *yeah*.

Example 59: Bernard: What, you mean you'd come back and work in the shop, everything would be normal? (B. B. 67) Manny: Yes. (B. B. 68)

Example 60: Rachel: Can I ask you a question? (F. B. 16) Monica: Yeah. (F. B. 17)

Both instances 59 and 60 above represent the common single-word responses to the preceding questions. They are exemplified to demonstrate the typical usage of *yes/yeah* in both sitcoms. To explain, the usage of informal *yeah* prevails in both sitcoms.

Nevertheless, *yes* is also pronounced quite frequently in Black Books while it occurs very rarely in Friends. The reason for it might be that the examined American speakers predominantly participate in informal conversation between familiar people. On the other hand, British speakers often lead dialogues with customers or colleagues and thus it may be why the formal *yes* is often used in their utterances.

Apart from the usage of *yes/yeah* in isolation, this marker can also represent parts of the longer responses. In examples 61-64 below, the expression *yes/yeah* is used for showing understanding or coincident opinion with the previous message rather than the response to a question.

Example 61: Evan: We're your friends now, Manny. (B. B. 53) Manny: Yes, I know, thank you, Evan. (B. B. 54)

Example 62: Phoebe: Ok well give her a chance to see all of that! (F. B. 271) Ross: **Yeah**, you're right, thanks Pheebs, I'm gonna go find her. (F. B. 272)

Example 63: Monica: It sounds interesting! (F. B. 7) Ross: Yeah, it does sound interesting. (F. B. 8)

Example 64: Monica: You're not sick! (F. B. 138) Rachel: What? Yes, I am! (F. B. 139) To explain instances 61-64 above, the usage of yes/yeah seems to induce even more amplifying effect when it is supported by other emphatic words. The utterances above are emphasised by the assurance I know, as in 61, other marker of agreement/understanding you're right, in 62, or other emphatic features such as emphatic does or I am, as in 63 and 64.

Furthermore, another kind of usage is expressed by the frequent phrase *oh yeah*, which occurs in the corpus in 11 cases, as demonstrated on 65 and 66 below.

Example 65: Monica: You really liked it? (F. B. 258) Chandler: Oh yeah! I mean at first I hated it, but why wouldn't I, because as a man I've been trained not to listen! (F. B. 259)

Example 66: Bernard: Ok alright whatever, come again though yeah? (B. A. 137) JW: Oh yes, yes. (B. A. 138)

In case 65 above, *oh yeah* carries slightly ironical meaning which is obvious either from the recording or from the explanation coming after it. In this case, the device *yeah*, normally used for expressing positive affirmative response, rather carries sarcastic meaning. In some cases, the speakers use this marker repeatedly, in order to emphasise

their response even more. In example 66 above, the phrase *oh yes*, *yes* represents emphatic and enthusiastic answer.

To conclude, the frequent occurrence of yes/yeah might be explained in such way that this type of expression is used for providing feedback to the speaker, which is crucial for the successful conversation. Moreover, as discovered about the usage of yes/yeah, it serves as an isolated response when it reacts to the preceding question. This might be for the reason that the other participant is prompted to provide the answer without his or her own initiative. Conversely, it seems that when the other interlocutor feels the need to become involved in the interaction, he or she expresses his or her, mostly positive, opinion without waiting for being asked to take the turn. As indicated, it does not have to be the question that precedes the utterance containing yes/yeah. As detected from the corpus, yes/yeah is surrounded in more cases than once by oh, I know, other markers of agreement/understanding such as that's right, you're right and other emphatic features. In some cases, yes/yeah is repeated in the same utterance. This might be expressed by the speaker who feels the need to emphasise his or her answer or attitude enthusiastically.

4.7.2 Right/All right

The response represented by the marker *right/all right* was identified in 18 instances. 10 cases were discovered in Black Books and 8 in Friends. The examples with *right* occur more frequently in the corpus and are used at the beginning as well as at the end of the utterances. *Alright* mostly appears in the initial position. The reactions that are introduced by *right/all right* are illustrated below.

Example 67: Monica: Rachel, things can get incredibly complicated. (F. B. 39) Rachel: All right, all right, you're right, I won't do anything with Joey... (F. B. 40)

Example 68: Ursula: You know we'd really better get going. (F. A. 229) Eric: Oh right, you've got a church group meeting tonight. (F. A. 230) Ursula: **Right**. (F. A. 231)

In cases 67 and 68 above, the speakers seem to use *right/all right* in order to comply with the opinion of the previous participant of conversation. Thus the speaker's intention might be to satisfy the speaker. As exemplified by 68, *right* can also stand on its own. In 67, the repeated usage of *right/all right* signifies the emphatic response. In brief, by using *right/all right* the speaker manifests the polite attitude to the suggestion

of the other interlocutor. Besides, the usage of the marker *right/all right* is also typical at the end of the question, as provided below. In examples 69 and 70, the expression *right/alright* is used for requiring confirmation of the preceding words.

Example 69: You read comic books right? (F. A. 118)

Example 70: Yeah I'll see you soon alright? (B. A. 81)

To sum up, the expression *right/all right* used at the beginning might serve as a reaction expressing the positive opinion that corresponds to the opinion pronounced by the previous speaker. It means that it provides feedback. At the end of the utterance, the speaker using this marker might rather require feedback from his or her interlocutor.

4.7.3 *Exactly*

The expression *exactly* was detected only in 3 occurrences in Black Books. No case in which this marker would stand for a single positive answer was noticed. Typical instances of its usage are provided below.

Example 71: Bernard: And all I have to do to get that back is say sorry? (B. B. 71) Manny: That's exactly what I'm saying. (B. B. 72)

Example 72: Fran: I know what this is, it's so simple, it's for giving up sugar! (B. A. 157) Bernard: Yeah, that's exactly what it's not. (B. A. 158)

To compare the examples above, in 71, the speaker indicates that his interlocutor understands him precisely, which means that in this case, the expression *exactly* functions as confirming reaction offered to the hearer. Example 72 depicts the slightly ironical reaction that leads to expressing disagreement. It is proved in chapter 3.1.2.1 that this type of markers can also convey disagreement apart from agreement. However, in both cases above, the expression *exactly* helps to emphasise the speaker's reaction to the preceding message. As discovered, in comparison with the rest of the members of this category, the booster *exactly* is not used as one-word response in the examined corpus.

4.7.4 Other Expressions (That's right/Absolutely/I agree/That's true)

This subchapter analyses those markers of agreement/understanding that were identified only twice or once (for the frequency in both sitcoms see table 4 below this analysis).

Example 73: Phoebe: Now wasn't Joey hitting on her at the wedding too? (F. A. 18) Ross: That's right! (F. A. 19)

Example 74: Rachel: Really? You think that's all it is? (F. A. 282) Joey: Absolutely! (F. A. 283)

Example 75: Joey: ... they're not really good enough for you and you deserve the best. (F. B. 245) Rachel: Joey, you're so sweet. (F. B. 246) Joey: **That's true**. (F. B. 247)

Example 76: Bernard: It's never going to be like it was, Fran. (B. B. 106) Manny: Never, I agree. (B. B. 107)

To explain examples 73-76 above, unlike the usage of the marker *exactly*, these expressions represent quite short and isolated responses to the preceding questions or express corresponding opinion to the previous utterance. It is also mentioned in chapter 3.1.2.1 that the representatives of this category can stand on their own. As it seems from cases 73, 74 and 75 above, the accentuation markers *that's right*, *absolutely* and *that's true* express the confirming answer rather than show agreement of opinions. The speakers in these examples provide positive feedback to the hearer by emphasising their responses. Therefore, these markers serve as reactions oriented on the hearer and dependent on the previously uttered information. In instance 76 above, the accentuation marker *I agree* indicates the speaker's identical opinion, in this case agreement with the negative judgement. It follows that the speaker expresses similar attitude without being asked and hence supports the interaction and exchange of opinions.

On the other hand, in 24 cases, which do not represent this category, the same forms of these markers convey neither agreement nor understanding. It means that the speaker does not react to the previous utterance pronounced by the other interlocutor but rather adjusts his or her own utterance, as in examples 77-79 below.

Example 77: Now wait a minute, I've got one more thing I have to say to you... oh right... Shut up! (F. A. 213)

Example 78: You need to learn those rules, **yeah**, and you need to get serious about them... (B. B. 130)

Example 79: Okay, if you say so. All right, ready? Set! Go! (F. A. 237)

To evaluate, the markers of this category are used as reactions expressing emphatic agreement or understanding in 144 occurrences. Conversely, the same forms of devices that do not fulfil this function were determined in 24 cases. The reason for

the frequent usage of markers of agreement/understanding, particularly yes/yeah, might be that they, in most cases, provide feedback, which is obviously necessary for successful conversation. Apart from the finding that these expressions mostly function as backchannels, they are used for emphasising speaker's positive attitude to the given situation that is close to the opinion of the previous interlocutor. The speakers in the selected conversation prefer one-word answers to multi-word replies. These markers can sometimes stand isolated on their own or in some cases can be parts of longer utterances. They can also convey slightly ironical or negative meaning, for example in the phrase oh yeah. In comparison with the speaker-oriented boosters analysed in the preceding subchapters, these markers rather react to the previous utterance. It means that they are in most cases dependent on what the previous speaker utters and show attention and interest of the other interlocutor by offering the positive response. Therefore, these markers of agreement/understanding are classified as hearer-oriented boosters. Chapter 3.1.2.1 also confirms this finding that these expressions serve as positive responses which react to the previous message in interaction and thus give feedback to the speaker (see also (Urbanová, 2003, p. 69; Leech, and Svartvik, 1993, p. 123; Nattinger, and DeCarrico, 1992, p. 62).

Table 4: Frequency of markers of agreement/understanding

Markers of agreement/ understanding		Black Books	Friends	Total number
yes/yeah		62	56	118
right/all right		10	8	18
exactly	exactly		0	3
Other	that's right	1	1	2
expressions	absolutely	0	1	1
	that's true	0	1	1
	I agree	1	0	1
Total number		77	67	144

4.8 Empathisers/Emphasisers

The category of Empathisers/Emphasisers represents the type of hearer-oriented accentuation markers that can be interchangeable with those that are used to express attenuation. Functioning as boosters that convey accentuation, these cases were

identified in 18 occurrences (4, 5%). 13 examples were discovered in Friends and 5 in Black Books (see also table 5). Similarly to the category of markers of subjectivity of judgement and opinion, the intonation of the speaker helps to distinguish accentuation from attenuation.

4.8.1 *You know*

The accentuation marker *you know* was identified in 16 instances (89%). 12 of them were determined in Friends and 4 in Black Books. The usage of *you know* at the beginning of the utterance is exemplified by 80-82 below.

Example 80: You know what, he's a big boy, I'm sure he'll find us, ok? (F. B. 70)

Example 81: You know what honey, we're actually out of candy right now. (F. A. 139)

Example 82: You know, we'd really better get going. (F. A. 229)

As revealed and demonstrated by 80-82 above, when *you know* is used in the phrase *you know what*, it seems to fulfil the function of emphasising the part of message for the hearer and also controlling hearer's attention. Thus these cases are marked as accentuated. Moreover, when other boosters occur in the context with *you know*, such as *I'm sure*, *actually* or *really*, accentuation might be expressed as well.

Apart from the usage of *you know* at the beginning of the utterance, it can also occur in the final position, as illustrated by 83 below.

Example 83: Ok ok I was gonna go you know? (B. B. 158)

In example 83 above, the usage of *you know* used at the end of the utterance resembles tag question, which corresponds to the usage determined in chapter 3.1.2.2. The usage of *you know* at the end of the question indicates that the speaker aims to catch the attention of the hearer and seems to be waiting for the reaction.

To depict the difference, the usage of the marker *you know* reflecting attenuation is demonstrated below. It was detected in 14 occurrences.

Example 84: I don't know! I think it's kind of serious! Oh, you know... I was watching this thing on TV this morning about... Newcastle disease... and I think I might have it!! (F. B. 131)

As discovered, the speakers use attenuated *you know* in the process of speaking when they are hesitating about how to express themselves. The presence of hedging devices such as *kind of* or *might*, as in utterance 84, might indicate that the meaning is weakened

due to the uncertainty of the speaker. Besides, the speaker begins her words with *I don't know*, which also signifies a lack of speaker's confidence.

To sum up, the marker you know is seemingly used for expressing accentuation mostly in the initial or final position. By using you know at the beginning of the utterance, the speaker highlights what will follow. When the speaker pronounces you know at the end of the utterance, he or she expects the reaction from his or her interlocutor. Moreover, you know having intensifying effect is often close to other accentuation markers or creates the part of the phrase you know what demanding hearer's attention. On the other hand, the speaker seems to be using you know in the middle of the proposition when he or she is not certain about how to continue. These cases are regarded as attenuated, which can also be indicated by the hedging devices that occur in such utterances and thus weaken the meaning of you know.

4.8.2 You see

The accentuation marker *you see* occurs in 2 examples, once in Black Books and once in Friends, as demonstrated by 85 and 86 below (see also table 5).

Example 85: You'd think that would embarrass me, but you see I'm maxed out. (F. A. 150)

Example 86: Ok tomorrow I want gold. Ok you see selling books is a game. (B. B. 130)

In case 85 above, by pronouncing *you see*, the speaker seems to be expecting the attention of the other participant. In 86 above, the speaker emphasises *you see* in order to attract the attention of the others. In contrast, the example of attenuation expressed by the same marker *you see* is provided by 87 below. In this example, *you see* seems to represent only one of the hesitators, besides *umm* or *well*, used when the speaker is not sure about how to express oneself.

Example: 87 ... there's been a complication, you see, we went in to remove the book and umm, well in medical terms it's gone.... (B. A. 148)

It can be concluded that the meaning of *you see* might be used instead of *you know* because they can function as hesitators when the speaker needs to fill the pauses or as devices used for attracting hearer's attention.

4.8.3 Ambiguous Cases

Concerning the expression *you know*, 4 ambiguous cases were marked. Two examples are provided below in order to illustrate different ways of interpretation.

Example 88: Maybe she's looking to, **you know**, slum it with some average Joe PhD. (F. B. 267)

Example 89: Oh, no, it's no big deal, I mean, if I weren't doing this I'd just, you know, be at the gym working out. (F. B. 58)

In cases 88 and 89 above, the intended meaning of the marker you know is obscure. It is not easily recognisable whether the speaker uses you know for explaining the information that the hearer does not know or for emphasising the part of the utterance to which the other participant should pay attention. To explain why the utterances above can be understood diversely, the occurrence of hesitation markers such as maybe or just might indicate the tentative meaning. On the other hand, the intonation as well as context might signify that the speaker expresses the need of his or her interlocutor to listen especially to the second part of the utterance.

To evaluate, empathisers/emphasisers expressing accentuation were detected in 18 occurrences. 14 attenuated cases were identified and 4 ambiguous instances were marked. It is apparent that these markers do not appear in corpus so frequently in comparison with the previously analysed categories. The reason for it might be that as the research is carried out in face-to-face conversation, the speakers do not have to check the other interlocutor's attention so often because they can see it from his or her facial expressions or body gestures. Moreover, feedback to the speaker is provided by the use of markers of agreement/understanding, as already proved in the analysis. On the other hand, the same forms conveying attenuated meaning were detected functioning as valuable tools for filling the pauses while organising the speakers' thoughts. In some cases, their usage can be recognisable on the basis of the recording but sometimes their differentiation is quite subjective. However, as revealed, the speaker who uses you know and you see as an empathiser/emphasiser usually makes a short pause after it. It may indicate that the speaker wants to check the hearer's attention or demands the signal of understanding or confirmation from the hearer. In these cases, you know and you see are used for expressing accentuation.

Table 5: Frequency of empathisers/ emphasisers

Empathisers/ Emphasisers	Black Books	Friends	Total number
you know	4	12	16
you see	1	1	2
Total number	5	13	18

4.9 Analysis of Markers of Topicalisation

This subchapter is devoted to the analysis of Markers of topicalisation representing the only category that belongs to discourse-organising class. Concerning the frequency, six representatives were identified, namely *actually*, *anyway*, *in fact*, *the point is*, *this is what* and *this is why*. The total number of occurrences of these expressions is 21 (5, 3%). As apparent from table 6 below this analysis, 16 markers of topicalisation were determined in Friends while only 5 cases were marked in Black Books. The individual representatives of this category are analysed below.

4.9.1 Actually

To begin with the analysis of the most frequently used representative of this category, the marker *actually* is described. As discovered, 8 occurrences (38%) of *actually* were marked. 6 cases were identified in Friends and 2 in Black Books (see table 6).

As detected, this expression can be located either in the initial, middle or final position of the utterance. Nevertheless, *actually* which introduces a new thought was identified in 5 cases, as exemplified by instances 90 and 91 below. This finding corresponds to Leech and Svartvik's assertion (Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 202) that *actually* stands mainly in the front-position (see also 3.1.3.1).

Example 90: Ross: So, eh... it's probably gonna be hard for you to leave Boston, huh? (F. B. 188) Charlie: Actually, I'm kinda happy to be leaving... I just broke up with someone. (F. B. 189)

Example 91: Bernard, will you get an assistant so I don't have to do this all the time, oh but yeah actually I will do it this one time, but you have to do the same for me day after tomorrow. (B. A. 60)

The usage of actually at the beginning of the utterance was determined predominantly

in Friends. In instance 90 above, the speaker begins her words with *actually* when she reacts to the preceding question. Her aim might be to reveal the truth. It seems that in this case, *actually* is used for specifying the previously transmitted message and adjusting the piece of information included in it in order to show the speaker's actual feelings about the consulting issue. Similarly, in example 91 from Black Books, the speaker uses *actually* for initiating a new thought. However, in this instance, the speaker alters her own, previously mentioned, words in order to express a true opinion about the given situation. To explain, in the already presented way of using this marker, the function of correcting the previous message might be fulfilled.

Furthermore, the usage of accentuated *actually* in the mid-position was discovered only in Friends, in 2 cases, as demonstrated below.

Example 92: Hi! You know what honey, we're actually out of candy right now. (F. A. 139)

The marker *actually* in example 92 above seemingly does not represent the function of modifying the meaning when reacting to the preceding utterance. Conversely, it only explains a real situation. Apart from that, one instance in Black Books comprises *actually* in the final position, as illustrated by example 93 below. In this case, the answer to the previously mentioned request is provided by the speaker who might use *actually* in order to admit that his interlocutor is right.

Example 93: Fran: Bernard, you'll just have to do them yourself, I mean it's quite easy. (B. A. 98) Bernard: Yeah, give it a go, sure I could muddle along actually. (B. A. 99)

In contrast, 2 examples with *actually* that were determined as attenuated are offered to depict the difference between the reinforced and weakened meaning of this marker. As apparent from instances 94 and 95 shown below, the usage of *actually* in negative utterances weakens its meaning. In these cases, found only in Black Books, the speakers possibly use *actually* while pointing out that the given piece of information is not completely true.

Example 94: Well to be honest we've never actually thought this far ahead. (B. A. 109)

Example 95: But we're not actually playing football. (B. B. 91)

To conclude, it was revealed that *actually* fulfils the function of correcting the preceding part of discourse in order to reveal the real and true piece of information. This result can be supported by the explanation in chapter 3.1.3.1 that *actually* is mainly used

for expressing the truth of the message (see also Quirk et al., 1985, p. 583, 620-621) As follows from all marked cases with *actually*, the speakers use *actually* predominantly in the initial position. In these cases, the speaker reacts to the previous utterance and provides new information that reveals his or her attitude to the preceding piece of conversation. Nevertheless, this marker can be found also in the middle or final position of the utterance when the speakers rather express the true feelings about their own utterances. To compare both sitcoms, the usage of *actually* in the initial and middle position was determined predominantly in Friends while *actually* at the end of the utterance was discovered only in Black Books.

4.9.2 Wh-clauses (*That's why/That's what*)

Wh-clauses represented by *that's why* and *that's what* were marked in 8 cases altogether. All wh-clauses were identified in the phrases with the demonstrative pronoun *that*, which means that the speakers refer back in discourse, as clarified in chapter 3.1.3.1 (see also Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 58).

More frequently used phrase *that's why* was determined only in the American sitcom in 5 occurrences (see table 6). The typical usage of *that's why* is depicted by excerpts 96 and 97 stated below.

Example 96: Phoebe: Joey's having a party and he wasn't gonna invite us? (F. B. 152) Rachel: Yeah, and he does it every year! That's why he's sending you to that play! That's why he sent us to that medieval restaurant and to that button factory! (F. B. 153) Example 97: Oh, that's why you got these tickets to that play, to get rid of us?? (F. B. 88)

In example 96 above, the speaker realises the situation by using *that's why* which refers back to the preceding part of discourse. In other words, this phrase introduces the utterance comprising explanation of the consequence and follows the message that contains the reason. Similarly, in case 97 above, the speaker refers back to the preceding message. Nevertheless, the important piece of information explaining the reason is repeated by the speaker at the end of the question, which might show the correct understanding of the situation.

The phrase *that's what* was identified in 3 occurrences, twice in Black Books and once in Friends (see table 6). Its usage is illustrated by excerpt 98 below, selected from

Friends, in which the user of *that's what* refers to the utterance expressed before. Moreover, this phrase also initiates explanation conveyed subsequently after it.

Example 98: Joey: ... go, go get yourself a drink or something... (F. B. 167) Monica: Oh yeah that's what you want-my inhibitions lowered. (F. B. 168)

In instance 98 above, the speaker deduces from the preceding message what the main intention of it is and expresses it at the end of her proposition. It is introduced by *that's* what. It follows that this case resembles example 97.

To sum up, wh-clauses *that's why* and *that's what* are used for emphasising the important part of the message. Moreover, its usage is conditioned by the previously uttered thought because they also show the relations between the relevant parts of the given message. In other words, in all marked cases, these phrases initiate an utterance that refers to the previous part of discourse and offers explanation of its consequence. This finding can be confirmed by the clarification in chapter 3.1.3.1 that the function of highlighting a piece of information and referring back can be expressed by wh-clauses with *that* (see also Urbanová, 2003, p. 70-71; Leech, Svartvik, 1993, p. 58, 182).

4.9.3 Other Expressions (*Anyway/In fact/My point is*)

This subchapter focuses on the analysis of markers of topicalisation that were detected only in one or two occurrences.

The expression *anyway* was discovered only in the American sitcom in two occurrences (see table 6). In example 99 shown below, the speaker reacts to the previously stated suggestion by using *anyway* in the final position and indicates that he has to wear a costume in any case.

Example 99: Monica: And everybody has to wear costumes. Come on! It'll be fun! (F. A. 5) Ross: Well, I'll-I'll be there. I mean I have to wear a costume to all my classes that day anyway so... (F. A. 6)

In brief, the identified examples contain *anyway* in the final position. Moreover, the meaning of *anyway* in instance 99 corresponds to Leech and Svartvik's explanation (Leech and Svartvik, 1993, p. 99) that this marker can substitute the phrases *whatever* the *circumstances* or *in any case* (see also chapter 3.1.3.1). Besides, the assertion in chapter 3.1.3.1 that *anyway* is informal (see also Leech and Svartvik, 1993, p. 99) can also be proved by the finding that this expression was discovered only in the informal

conversation of Friends.

The phrase *in fact* was marked twice, once in Black Books and once in Friends (see table 6). In excerpt 100 below, *in fact* introduces the uttered thought by the speaker who reacts to the doubts expressed by the preceding question. In this case, the speaker emphasises his words by using *in fact* for explaining the real situation.

Example 100: Phoebe: Really? (F. A. 172) Eric: In fact, when we were building houses in Uruquay, we were, we were just two towns apart and we never met. (F. A. 173)

In determined cases, the expression *in fact* occurs in the initial position of the utterance and seems to be used for specifying what has already been said in order to reveal the truth. It is also presented in chapter 3.1.3.1 that *in fact* expresses actuality and reality (Biber et al., 1999, p. 854).

The phrase introduced in chapter 3.1.3.1 as *the point is* was discovered only once in Friends (see table 6) in the form *my point is*. It means that the speaker modifies this expression to make it more personal, as in the utterance 101.

Example 101: But my point is, ok so she dated them but she also broke up with them. (F. B. 267)

As apparent from example 101 above, the phrase *my point is* seemingly holds the function of introducing the utterance and thus implying that the important message will follow. It means that the focus is put at the end of the proposition.

To evaluate, the reinforced meaning of markers of topicalisation was identified in 21 occurrences while the weakened meaning was discovered only twice. The reason for their low frequency of occurrence might be explained as follows. Due to the fact that the research is carried out in conversation, these markers, presented in chapter 3.1.3.1 mostly as emphatic linkers, were detected functioning as disjuncts highlighting speakers' attitudes when they react to the preceding utterances. It means that linkers would probably be used more frequently in one person's speech in order to connect his or her thoughts.

Table 6: Frequency of markers of topicalisation

Markers of topicalisation		Black Books	Friends	Total number
actually		2	6	8
Wh-clauses	that's why	0	5	5
	that's what	2	1	3
Other	anyway	0	2	2
expressions	in fact	1	1	2
	my point is	0	1	1
Total number		5	16	21

4.10 Summary of Findings

This subchapter attempts to summarise and evaluate the prevailing usage and frequency of all the accentuation markers identified in the selected corpus. For better illustration, summary table 7 with all occurrences of accentuation markers is displayed below. The difference between occurrences of both sitcoms is depicted as well.

Table 7: Frequency of all identified categories of accentuation markers

Category of accentuation markers	Black	Friends	Total number
	Books		
Assurances	21	48	69 (17, 3%)
Markers of the degree of a certain quality	31	90	121 (30, 3%)
Markers of subjectivity of judgement and opinion	7	19	26 (6, 5%)
Markers of agreement/understanding	77	67	144 (36, 1%)
Empathisers/Emphasisers	5	13	18 (4, 5%)
Markers of topicalisation	5	16	21 (5, 3%)
Total number	146	253	399 (100%)

As apparent from table 7, the overall number of determined accentuation markers is 399. Conversely, in 82 cases, markers with the weakened or other meaning that is not compatible with the subject of investigation of the particular categories were detected. Moreover, 22 instances were identified as ambiguous.

To summarise the identified accentuation markers within the bounds of their categories, it was discovered that the most frequent group is Markers of

agreement/understanding. These expressions were determined in 144 occurrences (36, 1%), as depicted in table 7. The high frequency of occurrence of these boosters might be related to the fact that the examined conversation comprises the frequent exchange of turns and thus increases the need for reaction such as expressing agreement or understanding. Therefore, these markers are indispensable for conversation because they contribute to the mutual comprehension of involved participants by providing feedback to the speaker. The importance of feedback in conversation is proved in chapter 4.1. Within the bounds of this category, the accentuation marker *yes/yeah* was determined as the most frequent booster. It was identified in 118 occurrences (82%). The reason why *yes/yeah* is frequently inserted between turns of the speakers might be that it serves as one of the minimal responses used for backchanneling. It means that this marker reflects the attention of the other participant but the flow of conversation does not necessarily have to be disrupted. Moreover, the prevailing occurrence of colloquial *yeah* in Friends proves that, in this sitcom, the speakers participate in informal conversation.

The second most frequent category of the identified boosters is called Markers of the degree of a certain quality. The overall occurrence of this kind of markers is 121 (30, 3%). This number is so high owing to the frequent usage of the accentuation marker *oh*. It was detected in 103 occurrences (85%). The predominating occurrence of *oh* in Friends may be attributed to the fact that the American conversation is lead in the informal language, which is known for expressing emotions by exclamations such as *oh* (see chapter 4.1). Moreover, the personalities participating in the conversation in Friends and the topics which they discuss, such as relationships, contribute to manifesting speakers' feelings even more.

Subsequently, Assurances were marked in 69 occurrences (17, 3%). Within the bounds of this category, the prevailing tendencies were detected in the usage of *really*. It was marked in 50 cases (72%) while the highest number of occurrence was discovered in Friends. As this category belongs to the speaker-oriented class, it can be said that the casual conversation in Friends complies with the expressive function of this class. To clarify, the examined American speakers might express their assertive attitudes due to the fact that they participate in conversation with familiar people. Thus they might not be embarrassed to express themselves with confidence.

Further, Markers of subjectivity of judgement and opinion were identified in 26 cases (6, 5%). The reason why this category is not so frequently used can be interpreted in such way that all these forms of markers can also be applied for expressing the attenuated meaning. Thus, in some cases, it might not be easily recognisable whether the speaker is convinced about his or her opinion or not. Additionally, it might be said that although the speakers in the examined conversation are accustomed to expressing their strong feelings and emphatic attitudes, they often hesitate about their opinions. It might be explained in such way that since both investigated serials represent situational comedies, speakers' judgements are not stated as strong and serious ones but more likely aim to be humorous.

Markers of topicalisation were detected in 21 occurrences (5, 3%). As this type of markers is introduced in the theoretical part (see chapter 3.1.3.1) mainly as emphatic linking adverbials, their frequency might be rare due to the reason that conversation is used for the research carried out for the purpose of this thesis. It means that the participants of conversation do not deliver longer speeches in which they would need to connect sentences with emphatic linkers. Therefore, as discovered, the examined speakers rather use markers of topicalisation as disjuncts. It means that speakers more likely emphasise their attitudes to the previous message uttered by the other interlocutor.

Lastly, the least frequent category is called Empathisers/Emphasisers. It was discovered in 18 cases (4, 5%). The accentuated empathisers/emphasisers, used for asking for confirmation, might not occur so frequently in the target face-to-face conversation. It follows that the speaker does not have to ask for confirmation or require attention because the other participant might indicate his or her attention or confirmation by using the signals such as facial expressions or body gestures. The feedback is also provided by markers of agreement/understanding that are, due to this fact, used frequently, as already stated above. Apart from that, almost the same number of occurrences of attenuated forms was discovered. They might serve as fillers of pauses while hesitating, which can appear during conversation.

To compare the findings in the American and British sitcom, the number of accentuation markers predominates in Friends. Concretely, the usage of accentuation markers by the speakers in Friends was marked in 253 cases while in Black Books, it

was detected only in 146 occurrences. As indicated in the analysis of the individual categories, the reason for it might be that the speakers in Friends participate in informal friendly conversation, which is distinctive for the high frequency of these markers. Moreover, speakers' high involvement in interaction also contributes to this result (as stated in chapter 3.1). The findings that prove this assertion can be exemplified by the prevailing usage of the colloquial booster *yeah* and exclamation *oh* in Friends, as already mentioned above.

5. Conclusion

In conclusion, the theoretical and practical part will be summarised. The primary aim of this thesis was to explore the usage, meaning and function of the accentuation markers presented in relevant sources of literature and subsequently to compare these findings with the data obtained in the selected corpus.

The main objective of the theoretical part was to characterise accentuation and classify the individual categories of accentuation markers according to their function in discourse. Three categories, namely Assurances, Markers of the degree of a certain quality and Markers of subjectivity of judgement and opinion were determined as speaker-oriented boosters. Further, Markers of agreement/understanding and Empathisers/Emphasisers were included into hearer-oriented accentuation markers. Lastly, Markers of topicalisation were presented as discourse-organising boosters. As assumed, the frequent usage of accentuation markers is conditioned by high involvement of the speakers in conversation and high degree of their assertiveness. Moreover, as the accentuation markers are rather colloquial, their frequent occurrence is typical for informal conversation.

The main purpose of the practical part was to apply the typical features of each category discussed in the theory to the accentuation markers detected in the data corpus. Concerning the qualitative analysis, it was proved that the usage, function and meaning of the identified accentuation markers correspond to general characteristics of the relevant categories. Regarding the quantitative analysis, the overall number of occurrences of accentuation markers in the data corpus is 399. It was confirmed that the accentuation markers that were presented in subchapter 3.1 as frequently used in informal conversation, for example *oh*, *yeah*, were discovered in ample amount in the corpus. This result is in accordance with the fact that the research was carried out predominantly in informal conversation. Moreover, as the speakers in Black Books also participate in formal conversation, their usage of accentuation markers is not so frequent in comparison with the informal conversation in Friends.

However, not all accentuation markers introduced in the theoretical part were present in the selected corpus. Therefore, due to the restricted sample of conversation, not all findings from the theoretical part could have been verified.

To conclude, as the most significant difference was marked in frequency in both

types of serials due to the degree of formality, it would be interesting to investigate further the serials in which the conversation is based exclusively on formal language.

Resumé

Tato diplomová práce se zabývá vyjadřováním akcentuace, tj. zesíleného významu, v konverzaci anglických televizních seriálů. V úvodní kapitole je stanoven a popsán hlavní cíl práce, kterým je identifikace prostředků akcentuace v konverzaci britských a amerických televizních seriálů. Primárně je zjišťováno, zda použití, význam a funkce těchto výrazů odpovídá charakteristickým rysům kategorií klasifikovaných na základě relevantní odborné literatury z oblasti lingvistiky, zejména pragmatiky. Dále je zkoumáno, jak se význam prostředků akcentuace liší s ohledem na kontext, v kterém se vyskytují, a na asertivitu mluvčího. Druhotným cílem práce je zmapovat výskyt prostředků akcentuace a odůvodnit převažující tendence.

Co se týče struktury celé práce, je tvořena teoretickou a praktickou částí. Hlavním cílem teoretické části je vytvořit teoretický základ použitelný pro analýzu v druhé části práce. Na základě odborných publikací je charakterizován pojem akcentuace a jednotlivé prostředky sloužící k vyjádření akcentuace ve výpovědi jsou klasifikovány.

Nejprve je hlavní předmět zkoumání představen v relevantním kontextu. Obsahem kapitoly 2 je vysvětlení pragmatického významu, ilokuční síly výpovědi a její modifikace. Různé přístupy autorů zabývajících se touto problematikou jsou srovnány a definice pojmů jsou doplněny ilustrativními příklady. Vzhledem k tomu, že akcentuace je v této práci zkoumána z pragmatického hlediska, pragmatický význam, jakožto záměr výpovědi mluvčího, je objasněn a připodobněn ilokuční síle výpovědi. Akcentuace je představena jako jeden z typů modifikace ilokuční síly, který zesiluje význam výpovědi. Pro srovnání je uveden druhý typ, označený jako atenuace vyjadřující zeslabený význam, s kterým bude nutno kontrastovat akcentuaci v analýze, která je provedena v praktické části této práce.

Následující kapitola 3 představuje klíčový pojem akcentuace jako zesilování významu a odůvodňuje použití akcentuace v konverzaci. V této kapitole je zdůrazněna důležitost akcentuace, která napomáhá posluchači rozpoznat význam výpovědi mluvčího. Tato kapitola dále vysvětluje prostředky akcentuace jako výrazy používané k vyjadřování akcentuace a klasifikuje tyto prostředky na základě jejich funkce v diskurzu. Tyto výrazy jsou rozděleny nejprve do třech tříd. První třídu tvoří prostředky akcentuace orientované na mluvčího (speaker-oriented), které plní expresivní funkci v diskurzu. Druhá třída obsahuje výrazy orientované na posluchače

(hearer-oriented) a vykonávající konativní funkci. Ve třetí třídě jsou zahrnuty prostředky organizující diskurz (discourse-organising). Následně jsou tyto třídy představeny jednotlivě a rozčleněny na další kategorie. Prostředky akcentuace orientované na mluvčího jsou rozdělené do dalších tří kategorií, jmenovitě na výrazy ujišťující posluchače o věrohodnosti výpovědi (assurances), prostředky znázorňující stupeň nějaké vlastnosti či kvality (markerks of the degree of a certain quality) a výrazy, kterými mluvčí vyjadřuje svůj subjektivní úsudek (markers of subjectivity of judgement and opinion). Zástupci dvou kategorií orientovaných na posluchače jsou prostředky akcentuace, souhlas které dávají najevo pochopení (markers of agreement/understanding) a výrazy, které podporují empatii nebo zdůrazňují (empathisers/emphasisers). Poslední třída zahrnuje pouze jednu kategorii výrazů organizujících diskurz (markers of topicalisation). Jednotlivé kategorie jsou podrobně charakterizovány z hlediska užití, významu a funkce a jsou zastoupeny příslušnými prostředky akcentuace, které jsou považovány za podstatné pro náležitou kategorii. Dále jsou uvedeny a okomentovány příklady výpovědí, v kterých se výrazy vyskytují. Náplň kapitoly 3 je tedy klíčovým pro identifikaci jednotlivých výrazů, které jsou následně analyzovány v praktické části této práce.

Hlavním cílem praktické části, které je věnována kapitola 4, je aplikace teoretických poznatků. V úvodu praktické části je provedena konverzační analýza s účelem představit registr autentické konverzace, v které je prováděn výzkum. Hlavní znaky a pravidla konverzace jsou vysvětleny s ohledem na pragmatické aspekty relevantní pro následnou analýzu korpusu.

V kapitole 4 jsou dále stanoveny cíle a metody analýzy a popsána struktura analýzy. Hlavním cílem analýzy je kvalitativně prozkoumat užití, význam a funkce identifikovaných akcentuovaných výrazů a porovnat, zda se shodují s charakteristickým prvky určenými v teoretické části. Dále je zkoumáno, jak se význam stejných výrazů mění s ohledem na kontext, v kterém se vyskytují. Pro kontrast jsou zjišťovány také výskyty prostředků atenuace, zeslabující výpověď. Druhotným cílem je provést kvantitativní analýzu, která má zmapovat výskyt jednotlivých výrazů a jejich kategorií a interpretovat převažující tendence. Vzhledem k tomu, že pro výzkum byly vybrány epizody jak z britského, tak amerického seriálu, rozdíly ve frekvenci výskytu v obou seriálech jsou taktéž zkoumány. Z důvodu, že v některých případech nebylo možné

přesně rozpoznat význam výpovědí obsahujících prostředky akcentuace jsou poskytnuty nejasné příklady a nabídnuty jejich možné interpretace.

Co se týče struktury analýzy, je použita klasifikace stanovena v teoretické části. V každé podkapitole je vždy nejprve představena analyzovaná kategorie a její celkový výskyt. Poté je věnován prostor jednotlivým prostředkům akcentuace, počínaje vždy tím výrazem, který se v rámci dané kategorie vyskytuje nejčastěji v daném korpusu konverzace anglických seriálů. Na základě teoretických poznatků jsou identifikovány zkoumané výrazy a vybrané typické příklady z korpusu jsou podrobněji analyzovány z hlediska užití, významu a funkce těchto výrazů v konverzaci. Ohled je také brán na kontext, v kterém se vyskytují. Pro kontrast jsou exemplifikovány také prostředky atenuace se zeslabeným významem, pokud jsou objeveny ve stejné formě jako prostředky zesilující výpověď. V některých případech však nelze přesně určit, o jaký význam se jedná, a proto je v analýze věnován prostor také pro nejasné případy, které nabízejí více možných interpretací. V závěru každé kapitoly je zhodnocena kategorie jako celek a jsou odůvodněny převažující tendence.

Dále je popsán korpus, který je přiložen k této diplomové práci. Korpus se skládá z 93 minutové autentické konverzace převedené do písemné podoby. Korpus konkrétně tvoří vybrané epizody z britského seriálu "Black Books" a amerického seriálu "Friends." Obě tyto situační komedie byly vybrány za účelem porovnat rozdíly v četnosti výskytu zkoumaných výrazů v obou seriálech. Americký seriál je založen na neformální konverzaci a v britském se hojně objevuje také formální anglický jazyk. Korpus obsahuje 399 zjištěných prostředků akcentuace, 82 výrazů objevujících se ve stejné formě se zeslabeným významem a 22 neurčitých případů, které nelze s jednoznačností určit.

Následně je provedena analýza jednotlivých prostředků akcentuace v rámci kategorií, do kterých byly začleněny v teoretické části. Hlavním zjištěním analýzy bylo potvrzení předpokladu, že neformální konverzace, která se vyskytuje především v americkém seriálu "Friends," zahrnuje výrazně větší množství výskytu zkoumaných výrazů. Dále bylo potvrzeno, že užití, význam a funkce identifikovaných výrazů odpovídá charakteristice jednotlivých kategorií v teoretické části.

První kategorie zahrnuje výrazy, které slouží k ujištění posluchače o věrohodnosti výpovědi a obsahuje 69 výskytů (17, 3%). V rámci této kategorie byl zjištěn převažující

výskyt výrazu *really*, který je používán hlavně k vyjádření sebejistého postoje mluvčího. Objevuje se v 50 případech (72%), z větší části v americkém seriálu "Friends." Důvodem tohoto zjištění může být fakt, že mluvčí ve "Friends" vykazují výrazné zapojení se do konverzace a projevují tak své asertivních postoje, což souvisí s expresivní funkcí těchto výrazů.

Další zkoumanou kategorií byla skupina výrazů, které vyjadřují stupeň vlastnosti či kvality. Počet zjištěných výskytů je 121 (30, 3%). K vysoké četnosti této kategorie přispívá především velké množství identifikovaných případů obsahujících zvolací výraz *oh*, který slouží k vyjádření nejrůznějších emocí. Jak bylo zjištěno, použití tohoto výrazu opět převládá ve "Friends," což může být odůvodněno tím, že vzhledem k tomu, že tito účastníci konverzace mluví neformálním anglickým jazykem, často vyjadřují své pocity při rozpravě o běžných tématech s familiérními lidmi.

Následující kategorie zahrnuje výrazy subjektivního úsudku, které byly identifikovány ve 26 případech (6, 5%). Vzhledem k tomu, že všechny tyto výrazy mohou být ve stejné formě použity pro vyjádření zeslabeného významu, nebylo možné ve všech případech zřetelně rozpoznat jejich význam. Z tohoto důvodu je nutno říci, že identifikace těchto prostředků záleží spíše na subjektivním názoru. Pokud by se měl hodnotit poměrně malý výskyt těchto výrazů, zdá se, že ačkoliv mluvčí ve zkoumané konverzaci často vyjadřují své emoci, příliš neprojevují přesvědčivé subjektivní úsudky. Toto zjištění může být vysvětleno tím, že oba seriály představují situační komedie, a proto jsou výpovědi mluvčích spíše zlehčovány, než aby se snažily o seriózní výměnu názorů.

Nejfrekventovanější kategorie obsahuje výrazy vyjadřující souhlas a pochopení a je zastoupena 144 výskyty (36, 1%). V rámci této skupiny dominuje použití výrazu yes/yeah, který slouží k poskytování zpětné vazby partnerovi v konverzaci. Tento výraz byl objeven ve 118 případech (82%). Důvodem pro hojný výskyt této kategorie může být fakt, že jakákoliv konverzace je založena na zpětné vazbě vzhledem k tomu, že mluvčí potřebuje být ujišťován, že se mu dostává dostatečná pozornost. Zjištění, že hovorové yeah je aplikováno zejména v konverzaci seriálu "Friends" opět potvrzuje fakt, že se jedná o hovorový anglický jazyk. Naproti tomu, yes se více vyskytuje v "Black Books" ve srovnání s "Friends," což souvisí s použitím některých formálních dialogů objevujících se v britském seriálu.

Nejméně četná kategorie je zastoupena výrazy, které slouží pro vyjádření empatie a zdůraznění. Jejich frekvence výskytu je 18 případů (4, 5%). Důvodem pro nízký počet zjištěných výskytů může být fakt, že mluvčí se v průzkumu účastní konverzace tváří v tvář, a tudíž nepotřebují vyžadovat potvrzení jejich výpovědí posluchačem, který může dát najevo svoji pozornost pouze gesty nebo použitím výrazů pro vyjádření souhlasu či porozumění.

Poslední kategorie zahrnuje výrazy organizující výpověď, které byly identifikované ve 21 výskytech (5, 3%). Ačkoliv tyto výrazy byly prezentovány v teoretické části především jako prostředky pro spojování diskurzu, v probádané konverzaci splňují spíše funkci vyjadřování postoje k předešlé informaci. Tímto může být objasněn nečetný výskyt těchto výrazů. To znamená, že pokud by tyto výrazy byly zjišťovány například v projevu jednoho mluvčího, jejich množství výskytu by bylo pravděpodobně vyšší.

V závěru celé práce jsou shrnuty obě části, jak teoretická, tak praktická, a jsou zhodnoceny hlavní body a zjištění celé práce. Je zdůrazněno, že vzhledem k omezenému vzorku je potřeba brát vyvozované závěry s rezervou. V úplném závěru je navrhnut možný následující výzkum v seriálu, který by byl výhradně založen na formální konverzaci. Mohlo by být zajímavé porovnat, zda by se četnost výskytů prostředků akcentuace, typických pro neformální anglický jazyk, omezila na minimum.

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Appendix

BLACK BOOKS: Cooking the Books (B. A.)

(Bernard Black's shop, he is on the phone)

(1) B: I don't know Nick, you're the accountant

(2) Man: These books

(3) B: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding) I know (assurance)

(4) Man: Hello?

(5) B: Maybe, I'm not sure

(6) Man: Hello there! Excuse me!

(7) B: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding)

(8) Man: Excuse me I just wonder if... Hel...

(Bernard writes 'on phone' on a post it note and sticks it to his head)

(9) B: It'll be much simpler this time Nick, honestly, the accounts are in order, ok *alright* (marker of agreement/understanding) well I'll see you in an hour, ok bye (takes the note off his head)... Now.

(10) Man: Those books, how much?

(11) B: Hm?

(12) Man: Those books, the leather bound ones

(13) B: **Yes** (marker of agreement/understanding) Dickens the collected works of Charles Dickens

(14) Man: They're real leather?(15) B: They're real Dickens

(16) Man: I have to know if they're real leather because they have to go with a

sofa. Everything else in my house is real. I'll give you 200 for them

(17) B: 200 what? (18) Man: 200 pounds

(19) B: Are they leather bound pounds?

(20) Man: No

(21) B: Sorry I need leather bound pounds to go with my wallet, next

(Rings bell) (Manny enters)

(22) M: Hello (23) B: Hello

(24) M: Do you have the little book of calm? I need the little book of calm, do

you have it? I need it I'm late for work, calm, little book, little book,

(25) B: Is this it? (Holds up a book called 'Tanks')(26) M: No it's too big, too big, little, just little, small

(27) B: This one? This one? (Holds up 'The history of screaming')

(28) M: No no, calm, the little book of calm

(29) B: err this?

(30) M: Just a little one, that's the one yes (marker of

agreement/understanding), money, how much

(31) B: 2.50

(32) M: 2.50, could I...

(33) B: I'll just get you a bag

(34) M: No, no, no bag I don't need a bag, just the book

(35) B: I'll do you a receipt

(36) M: No, no I don't need a receipt that's fine (37) B: That's broken I'll have to write one out

(38) M: Please

(39) B: Littleeeeee boooook

(40) M: Look I'll do it, of calm, 2.50 thank you. Umm errr stroke a ... no no eat no let go once in a while, you are a loose lily floating down an amber

river, sorry I hate my job.

(41) B: What a strange man, (through a megaphone) right the shop is closed

everybody get out!

(42) Woman: What?

(43) B: Time to go home, come on (44) Woman: It's only quarter to three

(45) B: **Yes** (marker of agreement/understanding) but it's my shop come on go home bye bye thank you bye

(46) Woman: It's hardly fair

(47) B: It's not fair at all, get out bye bye(48) Man: I expect better service from

(49) B: well expect away, get out bye bye come on all your time wasting bastards, back on the streets come on bye bye, goodbye thank you bye bye back to life back to reality thank you.

Scene 2

(Fran is in her knick knack shop, opens a package containing a large ball shaped object, listens to the ball, sniffs it, Bernard crashes in through the hanging door)

(50) F: Bernard, do you want this? Buy this

(51) B: What is it? (52) F: It's a thing

(53) B: Is it?

(54) F: Yes (marker of agreement/understanding)

(55) B: What does it do?

(56) F: It's *very* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) in

(57) B: You don't know what it is do you

(58) F: It's very (marker of the degree of a certain quality) now

(59) B: Listen would you just pop next door and mind the shop for half an hour I have to see my accountant

(60) F: Bernard will you get an assistant so I don't have to do this all the time,

oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality or attenuation marker) but yeah actually (marker of topicalisation) I will do it this one time, but you have to do the same for me day after tomorrow

(61) B: Ok, why?

(62) F: Well you know my pal Julie?

(63) B: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding)

(64) F: They're inducing the baby on Wednesday and she's asked me to be birth partner

(65) B: eeeugh, that's going to be very intense, there'll be a lot of blood and a lot of shouting and

(66) F: Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) no no no no I'll just get drunk! In fact (marker of topicalisation), she'll be on drugs, I'll be drunk, it'll be just like the old days

(67) B: Ok well have a nice time. bye. (Crashes through the hanging door again)

(68) F: (to the ball) Hello? I do sell a lot of wank don't I.

Scene 3

(The accountant's office)

(69) Acc: So show me your new filing system Bernard

(70) B: Well this is March, to boobedeeboo, this is misc, and the rest are other

(71) Acc: Other what? Other weeks? Other backdated weeks is it?

(72) B: No, other... times, so it goes this week, *very* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) recent and all other times

(73) Acc: You gotta help me out here Bernard *I mean* what period does all other times cover?

(74) B: I dunno Nick I'm not... wonder woman

(75) Acc: This new system, it's *very* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) closely modeled on the old system isn't it

(76) B: I'd go further than that Nick, I'd say it was more or less *exactly* (marker of agreement/understanding) the same, except... no it's the same, *I mean you know* I sort of lied on the phone Nick, I lied

(77) Acc: Well *I mean*, did you hear that?

(78) B: What? What?

(79) Acc: Oh nothing, *I mean* you're lucky I'm so (takes drink and tablets) accommodating. Because a lot of other accountants might be a bit funny, (phone), hello? *Yes* (marker of agreement/understanding) Jane, *oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), *right* (marker of agreement/understanding), ok, *yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding), mm-hm, mm-hmm, *oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality or attenuation marker) *right* (marker of agreement/understanding) (shreds papers in a shredder) *right* (marker of agreement/understanding), Bernard I've just gotta pop off

(80) B: What now?

(81) Acc: **Yeah** (marker of agreement/understanding) I'll see you soon **alright** (marker of agreement/understanding) bye (goes down the fire escape)

(82) Police: He's always one step ahead, the cat has left the basket, the cat has left the basket!

Scene 4

(Manny's office)

(83) M: (on phone) Mmm *yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding), it's flying it's flying I'm right on it, *I mean* it'll be in the pipe soon I tell you, the

best thing is if I ... (puts phone down when his colleague walks by)

(84) Boss: You, Manny, what's that you're eating, soup?

(85) M: Yes (marker of agreement/understanding)... it's extra chunky

(86) Boss: What's in it?

(87) M: Chunks, should I be doing something? Do you need the Gleason accounts now? I have them on disk, err I would've emailed them but err I had a lot of clink on the stuffer expander and err, plug went in some tizer

(88) Boss: Look, just shape up or ship out *alright* (marker of agreement/understanding)?

(Manny makes a face; his boss turns round and sees him, the phone rings, Manny answers it still making the face)

(89) M: Yeah? Oh hi yeah (marker of agreement/understanding), yuh, yuh I'm chasing up the err, the company account, yeah (marker of

agreement/understanding) ok, ok. (The boss goes through the door and Manny reads his little book of calm) "visualise the ocean" Ahhh! (Reads the book again) **oh** (marker of the degree of a certain quality) a calm ocean, **oh** right

(90) Boss: Right come on we've gotta get Friday's invoices in

(91) M: Ok *yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding) here I come (knocks the book into the soup with his elbow, drinks the soup, chokes)

(92) Boss: What is it?

(93) M: I've swallowed the little book of calm, I've swallowed the little book of calm!

(Ambulance drives off)

Scene 5

(In Bernard's shop)

(94) F: (Talking to a customer) Is it some kind of bald furby? (Bernard walks in) Bernard! Early closing? How'd it go?

(95) B: Nick the accountant, Nick the accountant, is a fugitive, I'm not doing my accounts

(96) F: Why?

(97) B: Because you can stick it up your arse.

(98) F: Bernard, you'll just have to do them yourself, *I mean* it's quite easy

(99) B: **Yeah** (marker of agreement/understanding), give it a go, sure I could muddle along *actually* (marker of topicalisation).

(Cut to hours later, Bernard is poring over his tax return)

WHAT? WHAT DOES THAT MEAN? THE WHAT? If you live in a council flat beside a river but are not blind, WHAT? "What is your mother's maiden name?" What's her first name? I just knew her as Ma, Ma, that'll have to do, Ma. Possibly deceased. "Did your non-returnable outgoings for the first half of the year exceed your deductions for quarterly vat returns?

(Cut to Bernard pairing his socks)

Right, that's all my socks paired, back to the accounts. Ok, did your non-returnable outgoings for the first half of the year exceed your deductions for quarterly vat returns? (Dials phone) Hello ma? It's Bernard. No nothing's wrong, come on I don't need an excuse to call my mother do I? (11 seconds later) I am, *yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding) I

know (assurance), yes, yes, yes (markers of agreement/understanding) I will, I know (assurance), ha, yes, yes (markers of agreement/understanding), I know (assurance), yeah (marker of agreement/understanding), ok, yeah (marker of agreement/understanding), GOODBYE I have to do my tax. Did your non-returnable outgoings for the first half of the year (door knock) Ahhh thank Christ. (Opens door to two Jehovah's Witnesses) Yes?

(100) JW: Hello we were wondering if we could talk to you about Jesus?

(101) B: Great! Come in!

(102) JW: What?

(103) B: I'd love to hear about Jesus what's he up to now? come on in, come on

(104) JW: Are you sure?

(105) B: Yes (marker of agreement/understanding), in, in, come in

(106) JW2: It's a trick!

(107) JW: It's just generally people don't say yes

(108) B: Well I'm not people, come on in let's talk beliefs. Come in, come in, grab a pew. *Right* let's go.

(109) JW: Well to be honest we've never *actually* thought this far ahead. It's nice in here, indoors.

(110) B: What's your favourite story about our Lord?

(111) JW2: (thinks) Moneylenders! It has to be the moneylenders, chasing them out of the temple.

(112) B: It is knockout stuff isn't it, *yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding), and yourself?

(113) JW1: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) it's all good but I suppose when he, when he rescued, when Jesus rescued the Samaritan.

(114) B: No that's a story Jesus tells about the Samaritan who helps somebody else.

(115) JW: *Really* (assurance)?

(116) B: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding)

(117) JW: Wow

(118) JW2: And I like the one where he went to dinner with a tax collector

(119) B: Do you have any literature or anything I could look at?

(120) JW2: Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) yes (marker of agreement/understanding)! Those books and magazines we have!

(121) Both: Books and magazines!

Scene 6

(In hospital, beeping can be heard; Manny is on a hospitable bed dressed in a long white cape and sandals)

(122) M: Ah there you are, err time for my results?

(123) Doc: Well it's rather bad news I'm afraid Mr Bianco, the little book of calm is lodged between the small intestine and the pancreas, if it rotates a centimetre or two to the left, you'll be dead in seconds

(124) M: Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my god

(125) Doc: N no hold on a moment that's just the worst case scenario, the other possibility and this is far more likely is that the little book of calm will move to

the right, into the renal canal, now if this happens, you could live for anything up to ten years, one year, who knows.

(126) M: Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my god

(127) Doc: Because of the massive scarring caused by the little book of calm however it is possible that you'll be in a massive amount of pain-

(128) M: Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my god...sorry

(129) Doc: -during that time

(130) M: Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my god (Doctor gets paged)

(131) Doc: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality or attenuation marker) sorry about this, I'm gonna have to go, we'll operate tomorrow, see if there's anything we can do about it, there's a good chance you'll survive, a 30% chance I'd say so try not to worry, as the book itself says, (reading x-ray) whenever you're in a tight spot, try to imagine yourself marooned on a beautiful desert island.

Scene 7

(Bernard's shop)

(132) JW: So he said that because no-one's without sin? Is that *right*? *Yeah yeah* (markers of agreement/understanding)

(133) B: Yeah that's right yeah (markers of agreement/understanding) you know (empathiser/emphasiser) that's what (marker of topicalisation) it was all, but it was hidden, y'know metaphor...

(134) JW: So it's like God and Jesus are the one thing?

(135) B: You got it, *yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding), are you sure you won't stay a bit longer?

(136) JW: Ahhh no really (assurance) *I mean*, we have to go it's *very* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) late

(137) B: Ok *alright* (marker of agreement/understanding) whatever, come again though *yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding)

(138) JW: Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) yes yes (markers of agreement/understanding)

(JW2 hugs B)

(139) B: Yeah yeah (markers of agreement/understanding)

(140) JW: Goodbye

(141) B: **Yeah** (marker of agreement/understanding), later (sees the

accounts)

Scene 8

The next morning

(Bernard's shop)

(142) F: Bernard? Finished with your accounts?

(143) B: **Yeah** (marker of agreement/understanding), I've turned them into a rather smart casual jacket.

(144) F: Bernard, *I mean*, it is a *very* (marker of the degree of a certain

quality) nice jacket but what are you gonna do about your accounts?

(145) B: I dunno, will you do them?

(146) F: Oh well look, you got that wrong for a start coz you divide by ten there, oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) no no no, no no I'm not doing this, no no I have to give all my attention to being Julie's birth partner, oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) look look look look there's something written on the side there's something 15.99 oh no I wrote that.

(147) B: What am I gonna do now? Who's gonna help me?

Scene 9

(Back in hospital)

(148) Doc: Ahhh Mr Bianco back with us at last, there's been a complication, *you see* we went in to remove the book and umm, well in medical terms it's gone, to put it another way it's not there, now I don't know how this could've happened, the only explanation is that somehow you assimilated it into your system overnight which is *of course* (assurance) impossible!

(Cut to Manny sat upright with a halo of light behind his head)

How do you feel by the way?

(149) M: Add a drop of lavender to your bath and soon you'll soak yourself

calm

(150) Doc: I'm sorry?

(151) M: If you want to feel calm, eat more raw fruit and vegetables, yoghurt,

milk and seeds

(152) Doc: Err maybe I should let you get some rest

(153) M: When you rest, you are a king surveying your estate, look at the woodland, the peacocks on the lawn, be the king of your own calm kingdom

(154) Doc: Uh...yes (marker of agreement/understanding).

Scene 10

(Bernard's shop)

(155) F: I've got it!

(156) B: I'm doing them!

(157) F: I know what this is it's so simple it's for giving up sugar!

(158) B: **Yeah** (marker of agreement/understanding), that's **exactly** (marker of agreement/understanding) what it's not

(159) F: No that's absurd isn't it.

(161) F: No no give it up Bernard no you'd have to *really* (assurance) cripple yourself, you're hardly gonna do that just to avoid doing accounts.

(Bernard smiles maniacally)

Scene 11

(162) B: Err we've got a special offer on this one.

(163) Man: *Really* (assurance)?

(164) B: **Yes** (marker of agreement/understanding) it's free if you break my

legs.

(165) Man: Fair enough.

(166) B: Great! I'll just get the hobbling post, ok

(167) Man: Wait, I've read this one, that's the problem with woodhouse isn't it! (168) B: **Yes** (marker of agreement/understanding) it's terrible now hurry up and break my legs.

(169) Man: But I've already read it! No I'm sorry I've got to go.

(170) F: (holding the ball up to the customer's face) What is this? What is

this? Have you any idea what the hell (marker of the degree of a certain quality) this is?

Scene 12

(171) VO: Would the birth partner of Julie Williams please report to delivery room one

(Manny walks out discharging himself)

(Gloria! Can be heard by a choir)

(172) Julie: (screaming, giving birth) Where's my birth partner? I can't do this without my birth partner, where is she? Where is she?

(173) Nurse: We told you Julie we can't find her, we've been calling her all day! (174) M: When you're feeling under pressure, do something different, roll up your sleeves or eat an orange.

(Gloria is heard again, Manny stops a dog from barking by talking to it, stops a car alarm beeping)

Scene 13

(Bernard is trying to hammer a nail through his hand; a group of customers are around Fran in a circle looking at the ball)

(175) Man: Is it some kind of fake breast? *Y'know* (empathiser/emphasiser) that dads wear.

(176) F: What are you talking about?

(177) Man: Y'know (empathiser/emphasiser) for babies.

(178) F: Ba-babies! Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my God,

Julie!

(179) M: Be on the lookout for things that make you laugh, if you see nothing worth laughing at, pretend you see it, then laugh.

(180) F: **Yeah** (marker of agreement/understanding), whatever

(181) Yob: Oi! Hairy! (Manny goes over happily)

(182) Yob: What you lookin' at?

(183) M: Have you ever noticed a calm person with a loud voice? Try and speak softly once in a while

(Yob punches Manny)

(184) M: Add a dab of lavender to milk, leave town with an orange, and

pretend you're laughing at it

Scene 14

(Bernard's shop, Bernard is trying to chain-saw his own hand off)

(185) B: Oi you lot you better clear off I have to do a few, *y'know* I have to, I have to, ah! Skinheads! Perfect! Ahhh!

(Bernard skips over to them)

(186) Yob: Do you think you're funny?

(187) M: What happened?

(188) Yob: Looking for another slap are ya? (189) M: Looking for another slap?

(190) B: Which one of your bitches, wants to dance.

(Yob drops Manny)

(191) B: Hey *y'know* when you're doing the usual sort of threesome thing you do of a weekend *y'know* and err the moonlight's bouncing off your heads and your arses and everything does that not get a bit confusing?

(The skinheads look bemusedly at Bernard)

Right, look this is you, ok? Tralalalalalalalalalalalala

Tralalalalalalalalalalalalala. (Bernard skips and runs around childishly, still no reaction from the yobs)

Millwall! That's the one, do you know this chant? Millwall, Millwall, you're all *really* (assurance) dreadful and all your girlfriends are unfulfilled and alienated.

(They all punch Bernard)

Scene 15

(Bernard's shop, he is coming round, sees Manny in misty light looking like Jesus, Manny slaps Bernard gently)

(192) M: Are you in pain?

(193) B: Not enough! Where have they gone?

(194) M: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) they got tired and went away, why did you do that? That was just so incredible the way you just kept letting them punch you and, thank you!

(195) B: I've been gravely injured now, I don't have to do my accounts, you're a witness!

(Knock on door, Manny gets it)

(196) M: Oh, well I can do your accounts

(197) B: What?

(198) M: Well I'm an accountant, well was an accountant, huh, err it's the least

I could do

(199) B: You mean you could do more?

(200) M: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding)

(201) B: Could I have a glass of wine?

(202) M: Ok

(203) B: And a ham sandwich?

(204) M: If you like (205) B: With a pickle?

(206) M: Alright (marker of agreement/understanding)

(Bernard smiles madly)

(Manny opens the door to the JWs, they think he's Jesus, scream and run away)

(207) B: *Right* well you, you get started on that and I'll begin the business of the day.

(208) F: Car won't start, cab number, cab number, got to get to Julie (Bernard can't find a light, Manny uses the ball to light his cigarette for him, Fran screams)

BLACK BOOKS: Manny, Come Home (B. B.)

(1) FRAN: (VOICEOVER, READING POSTCARD) Dear Bernard, Dear Manny, see, I told you I'd write. Cornwall is, well you've seen the pictures, it's like the pictures except a lot more boring. Everybody is at least three-hundred, and they all speak some kind of medieval English, the most important word being *errr*. Can't wait to see you, get a bottle open. Love Fran...*errr*.

FRAN ENTERS THE SHOP - IT'S A TIP.

- (2) FRAN: Bernard, Manny, hello?
- (3) BERNARD: (O.O.V. FROM THE BACK ROOM) *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), it's you. Go round the green bin bags, then right till you get to the mouldy George Elliott, then right, forward, go on, forward and then its left at the dead badger.

FRAN FINDS BERNARD.

- (4) BERNARD: Lovely to see you. Mwah, mwah.
- (5) FRAN: Bernard are you OK?
- (6) BERNARD: Never better, I've discovered television.
- (7) FRAN: You don't look right, and what's going on with the shop and where's Manny?
- (8) BERNARD: Him, he left, he left like I knew he would. *That's what* (marker of topicalisation) people do when you love them and nurture them and take care of them.
- (9) FRAN: You mean you sacked him
- (10) BERNARD: There may have been an incident, possibly involving a kitchen item and a hand. And maybe the hand was Manny's and maybe the item was a sandwich toaster, and maybe I introduced them to each other.

- (11) FRAN: So he's gone?
- (12) BERNARD: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) no, he still sleeps here, burrowed in like the little tick he is. But he leaves every day, every day is another betrayal.
- (13) FRAN: What, what do you mean?
- (14) BERNARD: Come on (BERNARD SHOWS FRAN HIS SPY HOLE INTO GOLIATH BOOKS WHERE MANNY IS WORKING). There! There he is, half Iago half Fu Man Chu, all bastard.

Manny (REHEARSING) Hello, how are you today, hello, how are you?

CUSTOMER COUGHS

- (15) MANNY: Are you today, hello how. How are you today hello.
- (16) CUSTOMER: I'm fine. Do you have...
- (17) MANNY: Welcome, to Goliath Books.
- (18) CUSTOMER: I'm looking for...
- (19) MANNY: I'll help you, er, how may I help you?
- (20) CUSTOMER: I want...
- (21) MANNY: My name is Manny.
- (22) CUSTOMER: Never mind.
- (23) FRAN: I need a drink, Manny could you, oh, Bernard could you get me one?
- (24) BERNARD: Get it yourself, I'm missing my programme.
- (25) EVAN: Manny! There's no need to flinch, you're safe now, when you're with us you're a team member, what are you?
- (26) MANNY: A team member.
- (27) EVAN: And we're glad to have you. Muffins are for customers. Now, this is you do-te-de-do card.
- (28) MANNY: Do-te-de-do?
- (29) EVAN: This is the most advanced retail software in the world. Now you're gonna need a password.

- (30) MANNY: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) er, what about Surf King.
- (31) EVAN: Ehh, or team member number 8. Now from this retail console you can control the whole shopping environment. There's the shutters, there's the lights, there's the revolving display, the cameras, you can order the muffins, it does the lot.
- (32) Manny: It's fantastic.
- (33) EVAN: It also monitors your toilet visits and scans your retinas every 80 seconds.
- (34) MANNY: Why's that?
- (35) EVAN: Just making sure you're still you! Some people might call that invasive, but we like to think is shows we care, see ya later.

(FRAN ENTERS)

- (36) MANNY: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), Fran, how was your trip?
- (37) FRAN: Manny, come back to the shop.
- (38) MANNY: I'm not going back, I like it here, I've got respect and responsibility, I've got a do-te-de-do. I'm a team member and Bernard was very mean and he wouldn't say sorry. I'm not going back.
- (39) FRAN: You have to come back Manny, Bernard and I need you. (MANNY SHAKES HIS HEAD) Well I'm staying here until you do (FRAN GETS A CHAIR AND LIGHTS A CIGARETTE)
- (40) MANNY: Fran, Fran somebody will be here *very* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) soon.
- (41) EVAN: Hello, how may I help you?
- (42) MANNY: She's a friend
- (43) EVAN: Hey terrific, a friend of Manny's. How may I help you?
- (44) FRAN: I'm just browsing.
- (45) EVAN: Well we have a *really* (assurance) comfortable area just over there specially for that

(46) FRAN: (FRAN STANDS UP) I wanna browse here.

SOMEBODY MOVES FRAN'S CHAIR.

- (47) EVAN: (EVAN TAKES HER CIGARETTE AND PUTS IT OUT IN HIS HAND) Sorry!
- (48) FRAN: *Right*, well I'll just go home and unpack and not talk to anyone today shall I?
- (49) EVAN: So, a friend?
- (50) MANNY: **Yes** (marker of agreement/understanding) er, she used to er come into the shop to see me and Bernard it was great we used to have...
- (51) EVAN: *I see* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion)! I took a risk when I employed you Manny. Don't eat muffins when I'm developing you. I took a risk when I gave you a job, a lot of people would have said Who is this rudder-less hippie? How do I get away from him? Does he have a hunting knife strapped to his shin?, but I saw through that, but you have to work for me, OK?
- (52) MANNY: OK.
- (53) EVAN: We're your friends now Manny.
- (54) MANNY: Yes (marker of agreement/understanding), I know (assurance), thank you Evan.
- (55) EVAN: OK now one of our valued younger customers has blocked up the toilet with monster munch. Now I need that toilet back in play, let's approach that as a team shall we? How can WE make that happen?
- (56) MANNY: OK er, we could er phone for er a plum... (EVAN HANDS MANNY A BUCKET AND RUBBER GLOVES)
- (57) EVAN: Go team!

BERNARD CLEANS HIS TEETH WITH AN OLD BRUSH AND WATER FROM AN OLD TEAPOT.

- (58) MANNY: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) no, no, no I'm gonna be late, I'm gonna lose team champion points. *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) no.. Bernard I've washed your bed sheet, I haven't had time to dry them, can you do it?
- (59) BERNARD: Breakfast, breakfast!
- (60) MANNY: (HANDS BERNARD A BOWL OF VARIOUS FOOD) The beans

are under the milk.

- (61) BERNARD: That's it, you're evicted.
- (62) MANNY: What?
- (63) BERNARD: Up with this I will not put, pack and be gone.
- (64) MANNY: Bernard no, look at yourself, who's gonna look after you? You can't survive on the mushrooms in your hair.
- (65) BERNARD: I'm fine (PICKS A MUSHROOM FROM HIS HAIR AND EATS IT) Go on get out, go to him, go to your fancy man, I don't need you any more.
- (66) MANNY: Look Bernard, it doesn't have to be like this if you would just apologise.
- (67) BERNARD: What, you mean you'd come back and work in the shop, everything would be normal?
- (68) MANNY: Yes (marker of agreement/understanding).
- (69) BERNARD: You'd cook and clean and surprise me every now and again with those profiteroles you make if I took you to the pictures at Christmas?
- (70) MANNY: Yes (marker of agreement/understanding).
- (71) BERNARD: And all I have to do to get that back is say sorry?
- (72) MANNY: That's *exactly* (marker of agreement/understanding) what I'm saying.
- (73) BERNARD: *I thought* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) so...Get out!

BERNARD IS SPYING ON MANNY AGAIN.

- (74) FRAN: Morning.
- (75) BERNARD: He's bending down now, ah look he's getting up again I knew he'd do that.
- (76) FRAN: Is this *really* (assurance) helping?
- (77) BERNARD: Look now he's going up on that little ladder, up he goes with that little wiggle of his, the wiggle of Judas, the Judas boogie.

- (78) FRAN: (WALKING AWAY) Well *I think* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) you're both being *really* (assurance) selfish. What about me, what am I supposed to do? Think about me, I'm a girl and it's horrible in here. (BERNARD COUGHS A LOT) Look at yourself, how can you live like this?
- (79) BERNARD: Don't move.
- (80) FRAN: What?
- (81) BERNARD: Don't move.
- (82) FRAN: (GETTING WORRIED) What? (BERNARD PEELS A CHEESE SLICE FROM A CHAIR AND EATS IT)
- (83) MANNY: (ON PHONE) *Oh* hello, I'm looking for somewhere in the Bloomsbury area, overlooking Hyde Park with a good view of the river and a spiral staircase. My budget is, is 100 a week.
- (84) EVAN: Manny! Do you have a mo for a small chatette? (MANNY HANGS UP QUICKLY)
- (85) MANNY: Fine-a-mundo
- (86) EVAN: Now, I've been thinking about clothes and what they say about us. Now the good think about working here *of course* (assurance) is that we get to wear our own clothes, *I mean* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion or attenuation marker) we're not robots are we?
- (87) MANNY: No (IN A ROBOTIC VOICE) hello can I help you, hello can I help you, hello can I help you...
- (88) EVAN: Manny, we love your style ok, the shirts the sandals, he, he, its funky. But imaging we're all on a football team ok and the guy on the wing he's wearing a crazy shirt. Nobody knows what team he's on, can I pass to him? I don't know. And look his sandal has come off on the muddy ground. *DAMN IT* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) we've lost five nil.
- (89) MANNY: *Oh.*
- (90) EVAN: So tomorrow plain pastels if you please, and if you'd be so good a pair of shoes.
- (91) MANNY: But we're not actually playing football.
- (92) EVAN: Great.
- (93) MANNY: I mean (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion), it's a

floor, it's not like I'm on a pitch...

- (94) EVAN: Good, so long as we're happy.
- (95) MANNY: It's not like we have oranges at half time.
- (96) EVAN: Great!

Fran's voice coming from the Wendy house impersonating Bernard and Manny

- (97) FRAN: Cheers, cheers, cheers. Manny would you hurry up with the wine. *Yes* Manny come on. Sorry Bernard, Bernard, Bernard, sorry, sorry. Now shall we go to the pub or just stay in?
- (98) MANNY: Fran?
- (99) FRAN: Well I have to have somewhere to go Manny. Now Bernard *really* (assurance) wants to talk to you. *Yes* I do. And if you won't go I'm gonna have to live here.
- (100) FRAN: Now we are going to sort this out OK? Bernard *I think* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) you have something you want to say to Manny.

Bernard shakes his head and Fran mouths the word sorry to him

- (101) BERNARD: Manny I'm sorry... I'm sorry I ever let you in here to rob me of my best years before leaving me a burnt out husk.
- (102) FRAN: Well that, that gives us somewhere to work from don't you think Manny? Manny *I think* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) you would like to tell Bernard just how much you'd like to come back and make it all nice again.
- (103) MANNY: No, no wait a minute, this is all about you isn't it Fran. You're being totally selfish, why can't you let us have our viscous soul destroying break up in peace?
- (104) BERNARD: He's *right* (marker of agreement/understanding), we are in pieces and you don't care about anything except having somewhere to hang around.
- (105) MANNY: Hmm thanks
- (106) BERNARD: Not at all. It's never going to be like it was Fran.
- (107) MANNY: Never, *I agree* (marker of agreement/understanding)
- (108) BERNARD: We agree. Manny and I are opposed on every point.
- (109) MANNY: Well put

- (110) BERNARD: Thank you
- (111) MANNY: My pleasure
- (112) BERNARD: Haven't you got other friends to annoy? Why don't you go and persecute them?
- (113) MANNY: *Yeah*, *yeah* (markers of agreement/understanding), society lady. How come you went to Cornwall on your own?
- (114) BERNARD: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding), how come?
- (115) FRAN: I've...got...friends.
- (116) BERNARD: Well go to them.
- (117) FRAN: I will.
- (118) MANNY: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding), don't let us stop you.
- (119) FRAN: I won't.
- (120) BERNARD: Well go on then.
- (121) Manny: Too de loo.

Fran leaves, Bernard and Manny make mocking faces and are about to start chatting.

- (122) MANNY: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) er listen, don't forget to dry your sheets. Well I'll be off then, since it's all over between us. I'll write.
- (123) BERNARD: I won't read it.
- (124) MANNY: Well I'll call.
- (125) BERNARD: I'll hang up.
- (126) MANNY: Well, I'll come and see you.
- (127) BERNARD: I'll be dead by then.
- (128) Manny: Listen, it doesn't have to be like this, if you would just say those two words.

BERNARD STRETCHES OUT HIS ARMS FOR A HUG, SO DOES MANNY, BERNARD APPROACHES MANNY AND TAKES HOLD OF HIS HANDS

HITTING HIM ON THE HEAD

(129) BERNARD: Get Out!

IN GOLIATH BOOKS

- (130) EVAN: Ok huddle time, huddle time, huddle time, gather round guys. Great day today team (everybody "Yes (marker of agreement/understanding)!") OK Ok that was a sliver star day. Ok tomorrow I want gold. Ok You see (empathiser/emphasiser) selling books is a game. It has rules. You need to learn those rules, yeah, and you need to get serious about them, because it's not a game. Ok home time, off you go. You coming Manny?
- (131) MANNY: No *I thought* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion or attenuation marker) I'd put in an extra hour, *really* (assurance) get to grips with the do-te-de do.
- (132) EVAN: Above and beyond the call of duty, that's one team champion point for you right there sir.
- (133) MANNY: Yes (marker of agreement/understanding)!
- (134) EVAN: Manny, your hair, does it ever get in the way at all?
- (135) MANNY: Not really.
- (136) EVAN: Hmmm

EVAN LEAVES, MANNY JUMPS UP ON THE COUNTER IN A SLEEPING BAG WITH A MUFFIN AND A BOOK. BERNARD IS WATCHING, HE CLOSES HIS SPY HOLE, WRAPS UP IN THE WET SHEETS, COUGHING ALL THE TIME, SITS IN HIS CHAIR, LIGHTS A CIG, COUGHS AND IT FALL INTO HIS WINE, THROWS A BOOK AT THE LIGHT SWITCH.

NEXT MORNING AT GOLIATH BOOKS, EVAN ARRIVES WHILE MANNY IS STILL IN HIS SLEEPING BAG.

- (137) EVAN: Morning Manny.
- (138) MANNY: Morning Evan, just popped in to do my yoga. I do it every morning, in my yoga bag. Just running through a few positions. This is the worm, worm saluting the sun, anaconda.
- (139) EVAN: Manny I'm a reasonable guy. I like to be straight with people I expect them to be the same. If you tell me the truth I won't get mad. So tell me, did you sleep here last night?

(140) MANNY: Yes (marker of agreement/understanding) I did (they both laugh)

(141) EVAN: I'm really (assurance) angry now!!

IN BLACK BOOKS:

BERNARD COUGHING AND PALE.

(142) BERNARD: Not so good, not feeling so good. Coffee and something, medicine. (EATS SOME SLUG PELLETS) *Kapow* oven cleaner, if you can clean an oven you can clean me. (FILLS HIS MOUTH WITH OVEN CLEANER) Ah, coffee.

HE TAKES ONE TEASPOON OF COFFEE OUT OF THE JAR AND THEN FILLS THE JAR WITH HOT WATER & DRINKS IT, THEN PROCEEDS TO COUGH VIOLENTLY.

BACK IN GOLIATH BOOKS:

(143) EVAN: Look at me Manny what do you see?

(144) MANNY: Well

(145) Evan: I'll tell you, you see me and you say hey there's Evan. He's a young guy, he likes the Stereophonics, he rides a scooter. Let's see how far I can push him, but you've let me down Manny

(146) MANNY: Please give me one more chance.

(147) EVAN: I need a sign Manny, a sign that you can change, I need you to do something for me

(148) MANNY: What?

(149) EVAN: *I think* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) you know (MANNY IS HANDED A TOWEL AND HAIR CLIPPERS) The hair Manny. It's a wall between you and the customers, between you and me, between you and the future, we need you to look like this (HOLDS UP A PICTURE OF A SHORT HAIRED MANNY)

(150) MANNY: Not the hair, please not the hair, I've had it since I was nine.

(151) EVAN: It's time.

EVERYONE ESCORTS MANNY TO THE WASHROOM, MANNY STARTS THE CLIPPERS UP, SOBBING.

(152) EVAN: (OUTSIDE THE WASHROOM) How you doing in there Manny? We're all rooting for you out here. Manny? Manny? (EVAN ENTERS THE ROOM – MANNY IS GONE) MANNY!

BACK IN BLACK BOOKS:

- (153) MANNY: Bernard I'm sorry, it was my fault you toasted my hand, will you take me back please, Bernard, where are you Bernard?
- (154) BERNARD: Manny, Manny I don't feel that well, like I've been beaten up under water. I can feel bits of my brain falling away like a wet cake, will you help?
- (155) MANNY: I will Bernard, I will.
- (156) FRAN: Bernard, Manny I've come to tell you that I'm moving to Cornwall in order to start a new life
- (157) MANNY: *Yeah*, *yeah* (markers of agreement/understanding), just give us a hand will you?
- (158) FRAN: Ok ok, I was gonna go you know (empathiser/emphasiser)
- (159) MANNY: *Yeah*, *yeah* (markers of agreement/understanding). Hang in there Bernard, Fran get some hot towels and some fluffy water.

ENTER EVAN.

- (160) EVAN: Manny! Come here.
- (161) MANNY: Bernard he wants my hair.
- (162) BERNARD: How dare you. Don't you touch a hair on that boys head, have you no respect? He's mine, get your own human play thing. You quartz brained little cream puff. (AIMS A PUNCH AT EVAN, MISSES AND FALL ON THE FLOOR, FRAN AND MANNY RUN TO HELP)
- (163) EVAN: OK well I tried. There's *obviously* (assurance) no point out reaching to people like you. Manny in two years you could have been vice-deputy-sub-assistant, but you're not, you're here shuffling around on the floor like the worm you are.

EVAN GOES BACK TO GOLIATH BOOKS, MANNY HAS CLOGGED THE DOTE-DE-DO MACHINE WITH MUFFIN CRUMBS, EVAN GETS AN ELECTRIC SHOCK, ALL THE DEVICES GO CRAZY, A CAMERA FALLS ON EVANS

HEAD.

- (164) BERNARD: Manny, I'm so sorry you had to go through that abuse. We're a little hungry now so fetch up some wine would you.
- (165) FRAN: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) *yes* (marker of agreement/understanding) Manny, go on get something nice, we're *really* (assurance) famished.
- (166) MANNY: OK what sort of thing would you like
- (167) BERNARD: (PUSHES MANNY INTO THE BACK ROOM AND CLOSES THE CURTAIN ON HIM) Don't ask questions, just do it! And clean this place up it's a disgrace. And boil my eye bath, and polish the stair rods, de-louse the duvets, and tumble dry our doyleys, and hoover the roof and whistle down the chimneys. MANNY SMILES, HAPPY TO BE BACK HOME!

FRIENDS: The One with the Halloween Party (F. A.)

[Scene: Central Perk, everyone is there as Chandler and Monica enter. Oh, and Joey is wearing a FDNY T-shirt to make this the first nod to the tragedy that Friends have made.]

- (1) Monica: Hey you guys?
- (2) Ross: What?
- (3) Monica: *I know* it's last minute, but we decided to have a Halloween party.
- (4) Phoebe: Oh good! (And there's general excitement.)
- (5) Monica: And everybody has to wear costumes. (And there's general disconcertment.) Come on! It'll be fun!
- (6) Ross: Well, I'll-I'll be there. *I mean* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) I have to wear a costume to all my classes that day *anyway* (marker of topicalisation) so...
- (7) Rachel: Please tell me you're not gonna dress up like a dinosaur.
- (8) Ross: (exhales sarcastically) Not two years in a row.
- (9) Joey: Look, I'll come to the party but I'm not dressing up.
- (10) Monica: You have to!
- (11) Joey: No way! Look, Halloween is so stupid! Dressing up, pretending to be someone you're not...
- (12) Chandler: You're an actor!
- (13) Monica: So Ross, are you gonna bring Mona?
- (14) Ross: Yeah. Yeah (markers of agreement/understanding), I think (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) I will.
- (15) Joey: That hot girl from their wedding?
- (16) Ross: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding).
- (17) Joey: Well hey-hey if she needs any idea for costumes, she could be a bikini model, or a slutty nurse, or a sexy cheerleader huh—*Ooh-ooh* (markers of the degree of a certain quality), Leatherface from *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre*—No-no-no! Slutty Leatherface.

- (18) Phoebe: Now wasn't Joey hitting on her at the wedding too?
- (19) Ross: *That's right* (markers of agreement/understanding)! He was hitting on her, and I got her. I guess the better man won. (To Joey) Please don't take her from me. Opening Credits

[Scene: A Street, Phoebe is walking down it and passes Ursula.]

- (20) Phoebe: Ursula! (Ursula turns, smiles, and continues walking.) Wait! Err-err, it's me! Phoebe!
- (21) Ursula: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), *I thought* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) there was a mirror there. Okay, bye-bye. (Starts to walk again.)
- (22) Phoebe: Wait a second! So, what's new with you?
- (23) Ursula: Umm, nothing. *I mean* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion), I'm getting married next week.
- (24) Phoebe: What?!
- (25) Ursula: *Yeah*! *Yeah* (markers of agreement/understanding), it's gonna be a small ceremony. Just family. (Phoebe looks at her.) His.
- (26) Phoebe: Huh. Okay. Well, I'm *really* (assurance) happy for you. (Starts to walk away.)
- (27) Ursula: Wait! If umm, if you want to come, I guess that'd be okay.
- (28) Phoebe: *Really* (assurance)?
- (29) Ursula: Sure! Why not? You could be my sister for the day.
- (30) Phoebe: **Yeah** (marker of agreement/understanding). Okay. Umm, **y'know** (empathiser/emphasiser), my friends are having a Halloween party tonight at my old apartment so, you could come. Maybe I could meet the guy you're marrying.
- (31) Ursula: Huh. Well, I'm supposed to be working at the restaurant tonight. I'm supposed to be working right now, so who cares.
- (32) Phoebe: By the way, it's a costume party.
- (33) Ursula: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality)! Okay, so that's why you're... (Motions to what she's wearing.)
- (34) Phoebe: (looks down) No. But thanks. (Walks away.)

[Scene: Monica and Chandler's, The Halloween party has started. Monica is setting out some food as Rachel enters.]

- (35) Rachel: Hi!
- (36) Monica: Wait! You're supposed to wear a costume!
- (37) Rachel: I am! I am a woman who spent a lot of money on a dress and she wants to wear it, because soon she won't be able to fit into it.
- (38) Monica: Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality or attenuation marker).
- (39) Rachel: Ahh!
- (40) Monica: I'm Catwoman, who wants to borrow the dress when you're too big for it.
- (41) Rachel: Okay.

(There's a knock on the door.)

- (42) Kids: Trick or treat!
- (43) Rachel: *Oh! Oh* (markers of the degree of a certain quality)! Can I give out the candy? I really (assurance) want to be with the kids right now. Y'know

(empathiser/emphasiser), ever since I got pregnant I-I have the strongest maternal instincts.

- (44) Kids: Trick or treat!!
- (45) Rachel: (to them) Just a minute!!! (She takes the candy and opens the door to two

parents, a witch, a clown, and a cowgirl.) Look at you guys! Wow! You are a *very* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) scary witch. (Gives her candy.)

- (46) Witch: Thank you.
- (47) Rachel: And you are a *very* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) funny clown. (Gives him candy.)
- (48) Clown: Thank you.
- (49) Rachel: (to the cowgirl) And you are so in style right now. *Y'know* (empathiser/emphasiser), I work at *Ralph Lauren* and the whole fall line has got this like equestrian theme going on. I don't suppose you saw the cover of British *Vogue*, but...
- (50) Cowgirl: (interrupting) Can I just have the candy?
- (51) Rachel: *Yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding). Sure. (Throws some in her bag and she walks away as Phoebe, dressed as Supergirl walks up and eyes Monica who eyes her back.)
- (52) Phoebe: Ah, Catwoman. So we meet again.
- (53) Monica: So we do Supergirl.
- (54) Phoebe: No, it's me. Phoebe!
- (55) Chandler: (entering from the bedroom wearing a big, pink bunny costume) Monica! Can I talk to you for a second? Listen, I appreciate you getting me the costume...
- (56) Rachel: (To Monica) *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), you did this to him?
- (57) Monica: What?! *I thought* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) he'd love it! His favorite kid's book was the *Velveteen Rabbit*!
- (58) Chandler: The Velveteen Rabbit was brown and white!
- (59) Monica: Well, it was either a pink bunny or no bunny at all.
- (60) Chandler: No bunny at all!! Always no bunny at all!!!
- (61) Joey: (entering) Hey!
- (62) Monica: You didn't dress up either?!
- (63) Joey: **Yes** (marker of agreement/understanding) I did! I'm Chandler. (Looks at Chandler) Dude, what happened?
- (64) Chandler: How is that me?
- (65) Joey: Okay. I'm Chandler (makes a growling/gurgling sound at the end and the girls laugh.)
- (66) Phoebe: (To Chandler) That is so you!
- (67) Chandler: When have I ever done that?!
- (68) Joey: When have I ever done that?! (And does the sound again.)
- (There's a knock on the door.)
- (69) Girl: Trick or treat!
- (70) Rachel: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality)! (Opens the door to reveal a ballerina) Well you're just the prettiest ballerina I've ever seen.
- (71) Ballerina: Thank you. (Pirouettes.)
- (72) Rachel: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) wow! That deserves another piece of candy.
- (73) Ballerina: Thank you. (Does another ballerina move.)
- (74) Rachel: Well, I have to say that earns two-two pieces of candy.
- (75) Ballerina: I love you! (Hugs Rachel.)
- (76) Rachel: *Ohh... Oh* (markers of the degree of a certain quality), honey here.

Take it all. (Pours the entire large bowl into her bag and closes the door.) Monica! We need more candy?

- (77) Monica: What?! There's only been like four kids.
- (78) Rachel: *Yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding) *I know* (assurance), but one of them just said that she loved me so I just gave her everything.
- (79) Phoebe: No wonder you're pregnant.
- (80) Ross: (entering) Hey! (He's wearing a costume as well.)
- (81) Rachel: Hey.
- (82) Monica: What are you supposed to be?
- (83) Ross: Remember the Russian satellite, Sputnik? (They all look at him.) Well, I'm a potato or a...spud. And these are my antennae. (Points to the colander with an old TV antenna glued on top that he's wearing.) So Sputnik, becomes... (They're still confused) Spud-nik. Spudnik!
- (84) Chandler: Wow! I don't have the worst costume anymore!
- (85) Joey: (sees Ross) Hey *all right*, Ross came as doody.
- (86) Ross: No, I-I'm not doody.
- (87) Monica: No, space doody!

(Joey gives him the okay symbol, and Ross rushes towards him to be stopped by Chandler. Meanwhile, Phoebe goes over to the snack table as some guy, which turns out to be Ursula's fiancée Eric, walks in and smacks her butt.)

- (88) Eric: Aren't you gonna give me a kiss?
- (89) Phoebe: Okay, I will. But right after you tell me *who the hell* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) you are.
- (90) Eric: Ursula?
- (91) Phoebe: Ursula's fiancée?
- (92) Eric: Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my God, you're the sister!
- (93) Phoebe: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding).
- (94) Eric: Okay, I just slapped my future sister-in-law's ass.
- (95) Phoebe: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding).
- (96) Eric: I'm an idiot. Uh, is your mother here? Maybe I can give her a little slap on the butt
- (97) Phoebe: My mother killed herself.
- (98) Eric: See, and I knew that and...now I'm sweating. Look at me, I'm *really* (assurance) sweating—Now I'm saying, "Look at me," I'm getting even sweatier. *I think* I probably should go.
- (99) Phoebe: No-no! That's okay, we'll just start over. Okay? Hi! I'm Phoebe.
- (100) Eric: Eric. (They shake hands and he's squinting. And, no, it's not me.)
- (101) Phoebe: Why are you looking at me like that?
- (102) Eric: 'Cause the sweat's getting in my eyes and its burning.
- (103) Phoebe: Okay. (Hands him a napkin.) So, what are you?
- (104) Eric: I don't think they have a name for it. It's just I get nervous; I start sweating like crazy.
- (105) Phoebe: (laughs) No I-I meant your costume.
- (106) Eric: *Oh* umm, I'm the solar system. (He's wearing a black sweater with the planets glued on around the sun.) *Yeah*, my students helped me make it—I teach the second grade.
- (107) Phoebe: I love the second grade!
- (108) Eric: *Really* (assurance)?

- (109) Phoebe: **Yeah** (marker of agreement/understanding)! It's so much better than first grade when you don't know what's going on and **definitely** (assurance) better than third grade. **Y'know** (empathiser/emphasiser or attenuation marker) with all the politics and mind games.
- (110) Eric: So what do you do?
- (111) Phoebe: Umm, I'm a masseuse...by day. (Stands with her hands on her hips like a Supergirl pose.)
- (112) Eric: Y'know you don't have to stand here with me, believe me...
- (113) Phoebe: No I'm having fun. I'm *really* (assurance) —And I'm *really-really* (assurances) excited for you and Ursula.
- (114) Eric: *Oh* I feel *very* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) lucky, she's great. *I think* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) she's the most beautiful woman I've ever seen.
- (115) Phoebe: Thank you.
- [Time lapse, Monica is going over to talk to Joey.]
- (116) Monica: Hey Joey?
- (117) Joey: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding).
- (118) Monica: You read comic books right (marker of agreement/understanding)?
- (119) Joey: Exclusively.
- (120) Monica: Who do you think would win in a fight, Catwoman or Supergirl?
- (121) Joey: Catwoman, hands down.
- (122) Monica: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding)...
- (123) Joey: But between you and Phoebe, I'd have to give the edge to Phoebe.
- (124) Monica: What?! Really (assurance)?!
- (125) Joey: Are you kiddin'? Phoebe lived on the street. Okay? Plus, she's got this crazy temper. She—She's not standing right behind me is she?
- (126) Monica: No you're fine. (Joey checks anyway.) *All right* well, do you think I could take Rachel?
- (127) Joey: I'm not sure.
- (128) Monica: What?! Come on I am tough! Punch me right here! (Her stomach) As hard as you can!
- (129) Joey: Will you relax?! What are you taking this so seriously for? It doesn't matter.
- (130) Monica: Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) really (assurance)?
- Okay? Well what would you say if I told you that, *y'know*, Ross or Chandler could beat you up?
- (131) Joey: I would say, "Woman, please!"
- (132) Phoebe: (walking over) Hey. Ursula's fiancée is *really* (assurance) sweet! He's a teacher, he does all this volunteer work. *Y'know* normally *y'know*, I don't like *really* (assurance) sweaty guys. But this one? I could just mop him up!
- (133) Monica: Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my God, Phoebe!
- (134) Phoebe: What?
- (135) Monica: You're getting a crush on your sister's fiancée.
- (136) Phoebe: No I'm not! You are!
- (137) Joey: (To Monica) Here comes the temper.
- (There's a knock on the door and Rachel opens it to a little girl.)
- (138) Girl: Trick or treat!
- (139) Rachel: Hi! Y'know what (empathiser/emphasiser) honey, we're actually (marker of topicalisation) out of candy right now. But someone just went out to get

some and I have been giving out money but I'm out of that too. Hey, can I write you a check?

- (140) Girl: Okay!
- (141) Rachel: Okay, what's your name?
- (142) Girl: Lelani Mayolanofavich.
- (143) Rachel: Okay, I'm just gonna write this out to cash.
- (144) Mona: (entering) Hi!
- (145) Rachel: Hey Mona!
- (146) Chandler: Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality)! Hi!
- (147) Mona: Hi!
- (148) Chandler: Joey's gonna be thrilled! He was hoping you'd come by as a slutty nurse.
- (149) Mona: Umm, actually (marker of topicalisation) I'm just a nurse.
- (150) Chandler: You'd think that would embarrass me, but *you see* (empathiser/emphasiser) I'm maxed out.
- (151) Ross: Hey!
- (152) Mona: Hi!
- (153) Ross: You made it!
- (154) Mona: Wait-wait! You're umm, you're a potato...
- (155) Ross: Well, I'm a spud...
- (156) Mona: And the antennae... *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my God you're Spudnik!
- (157) Ross: Yes (marker of agreement/understanding)!
- (158) Chandler: (To Ross) Marry her.

[Cut to Joey and Monica.]

- (159) Joey: Okay, here's a good one for ya. Who do think would win in a fight between Ross and Chandler.
- (160) Monica: I can't answer that! Chandler's my husband.
- (161) Joey: So Ross?
- (162) Monica: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding).

[Cut to Phoebe and Eric.]

- (163) Eric: Hey beautiful.
- (164) Phoebe: Hello handsome. (Sees Ursula over her shoulder) *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) God. (Walks away in shame as they kiss.) *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality or attenuation marker) look at you two. So when did you guys meet?
- (165) Eric: Two weeks ago.
- (166) Phoebe: Two weeks? That's it?
- (167) Eric: *Yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding), *I know* (assurance) it sounds crazy, and it's not like me to do something so impulsive, but she's just so perfect, and we have so much in common.
- (168) Phoebe: Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) really (assurance)?
- (169) Eric: We're both teachers.
- (170) Phoebe: Huh? (Ursula motions for Phoebe to keep quiet.)
- (171) Eric: And we were both in the Peace Corps.
- (172) Phoebe: Peace Corps, *really* (assurance)? (Ursula motions, "I don't know.")
- (173) Eric: *In fact* (marker of topicalisation) when we were building houses in Uruguay, we were, we were just two towns apart and we never met.

- (174) Ursula: **Yeah** (marker of agreement/understanding). It wasn't a town when I got there, but it was a town when I left. (To Eric) Shall we get me **really** (assurance) drunk?
- (175) Eric: Sure. (They walk away.)

[Cut to Mona and Ross walking past Chandler.]

- (176) Chandler: Howdy doody.
- (177) Ross: That's funny. *Yeah. Y'know* (empathiser/emphasiser) you're the funniest man here in a pink bunny costume his wife made him wear.
- (178) Chandler: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality or attenuation marker) relax man, relax. You're looking a little flushed.
- (179) Joey: (To Monica) Hey-hey-hey, *I think* we might find out the answer to our question.
- (180) Chandler: What question?
- (181) Joey: Monica and I were talking about who could kick whose ass in a fight, you or Ross?
- (182) Chandler: There's no question.
- (183) Joey: So you think Ross too?

(Monica turns around slowly.)

- (184) Chandler: (To Monica) You picked Ross?!
- (185) Monica: Ross is *really* (assurance) strong! Okay, he's the strongest out of all three of you! (Joey looks at her.) Except for Joey.
- (186) Chandler: I cannot believe you didn't pick me.
- (187) Ross: Uh, in her defense, she's right. I am stronger. I would destroy you.
- (188) Chandler: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) *really* (assurance)?! You think you're stronger? Why don't you prove it? (He pushes Ross who starts to fall backwards until Mona catches him.)
- (189) Ross: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality or attenuation marker) I'll prove it! I'll prove it like a theorem!!
- (They start to fight with Ross pulling on Chandler's ears and Chandler hitting Ross over the head with his carrot.)
- (190) Monica: Wait-wait!! Okay, stop it! Stop! (Breaks it up.) Now listen, no one's gonna fight in this apartment.
- (191) Joey: Hey Monica! (Grabs her and pulls her into the living room.) People came to see a fight, let's give 'em what they came for!
- (192) Mona: Hey, you guys could arm wrestle.
- (193) Joey: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding). Listen to the slutty nurse.
- (194) Chandler: (To Ross) You're going down.
- (195) Ross: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) *yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding)? You're going further down! Downtown!
- (196) Joey: Seriously guys, the trash talk is embarrassing.

Commercial Break

[Scene: Monica and Chandler's, the party continues with Rachel leaning on the counter as Gunther walks in carrying candy.]

- (197) Rachel: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) Gunther! You brought candy! Thank you so much for picking this up! You are so sweet.
- (198) Gunther: *Really* (assurance)?
- (199) Rachel: Honey, someday you are gonna make some man the luckiest guy in the

world.

(There's a knock on the door.)

- (200) Kid: Trick or treat!
- (201) Rachel: Gotta go! (Opens the door to a boy in a cape.) Hi! Wow! There you go! (Hands him some candy.)
- (202) Boy in the Cape: My friend Lewis told me you were giving out money.
- (203) Rachel: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) *yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding), we were but umm, now we've got candy.
- (204) Boy in the Cape: *I'd rather* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) have the money.
- (205) Rachel: Well, that-that's not your choice. Happy Halloween!
- (206) Boy in the Cape: This isn't fair.
- (207) Rachel: Well is it fair that all you did was put on a cape and I gotta give you free stuff?
- (208) Boy in the Cape: Shut up!
- (209) Rachel: You shut up!

(The gang gets interested now.)

- (210) Boy in the Cape: You can't tell me to shut up!
- (211) Rachel: Uh, *I think* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) I just did. And uh-oh, here it comes again. Shut up!
- (212) Joey: Rach?
- (213) Rachel: (To Joey) No I got it—I'm good—I got it! (Joey slowly backs away.) (To the boy) Now wait a minute, I've got one more thing I have to say to you... *oh right*... Shut up!
- (214) Boy in the Cape: You're a mean old woman. (Runs away.)
- (215) Rachel: No! Wait no! Shut up—*I mean* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion or attenuation marker) don't cry! Let me get my checkbook! (Grabs her checkbook and runs after him.)

[Cut to Mona and Joey clearing the dining room table for the grudge match between Chandler and Ross.]

- (216) Monica: (To Chandler) Look honey, you don't have to do this, okay? It's the strength you have inside that means the most to me. You're loyal, you're honest, and you have integrity! That's the kind of strength that I want in the man that I love!
- (217) Chandler: That means nothing to me. (To Ross) Come on!

[Scene: The Hallway, Phoebe is exiting Monica and Chandler's, and finds Ursula standing in the hallway smoking.]

- (218) Phoebe: Hi liar!
- (219) Ursula: Hey!
- (220) Phoebe: *Y'know* (empathiser/emphasiser) the only reason he's marrying you is because he thinks all the things you were saying about yourself were true.
- (221) Ursula: Well they could be true.
- (222) Phoebe: But they're not!
- (223) Ursula: **Yeah** (marker of agreement/understanding), it's a fine line huh?
- (224) Phoebe: Why are you lying to him?
- (225) Ursula: I don't know. He said he did all this stuff and then I said I did it too and he got so excited, it was *really* (assurance) fun.
- (226) Eric: (entering) Honey?
- (227) Ursula: (waving the cigarette in Phoebe's face) It's a filthy, disgusting habit and I

- want you to quit now!
- (228) Eric: She's helped so many people to quit smoking.
- (229) Ursula: Y'know (empathiser/emphasiser), we'd really (assurance) better get going.
- (230) Eric: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) *right* (marker of agreement/understanding), you've got a church group meeting tonight.
- (231) Ursula: *Right* (marker of agreement/understanding). (Walks down the stairs.)
- (232) Eric: (To Phoebe) Well, it was nice meeting you.
- (233) Phoebe: You too. And Ursula?! It was *really* (assurance) nice meeting you tonight!!
- (234) Joey: (entering) Pheebs come on! Bunny vs. Doody! We're waiting! (They go inside.) (To Chandler and Ross.) Okay. Okay guys, one match, winner take all. (They grasp each other's hand in preparation for battle.) Oh wait-wait! What does the winner get?
- (235) Ross: Pride.
- (236) Chandler: And dignity.
- (237) Joey: (laughing) Okay, if you say so. All right, ready? Set! Go!
- (They start wrestling, only they are unable to move either one's arm despite a huge strain on their faces and a cheering crowd.)
- [Time Lapse: the crowd has left and only Mona, Monica, Joey, and Phoebe are still watching to see who will be able to move the other's arm first. An event that has yet to happen.]
- (238) Mona: (To Joey) Wow! They're both *really* (assurance) strong.
- (239) Joey: Or equally weak.
- (240) Monica: (To Phoebe) Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) God!
- (241) Phoebe: Hmm?
- (242) Monica: Chandler's making his sex face.
- (Basically Chandler's face looks like he's not all there and is staring off into the distance...)
- (243) Ross: (To Chandler) So, you gettin' tired?
- (244) Chandler: Nope! I can do this all day.
- (245) Ross: *Yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding). Me too. (Pause) Gettin' a little tired though.
- (246) Chandler: God, I'm exhausted.
- (247) Ross: Look this is starting to look *really* (assurance) bad for me. Okay? Mona, Mona's standing right over there. (Looks behind him.) *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) God, she's talking to Joey! You gotta let me win!
- (248) Chandler: No way! If anything you've gotta let me win! My wife thinks I'm a wimp!
- (249) Ross: Hey, at least you have a wife! I-I keep getting divorces and knockin' people up! And I'm dressed as doody.
- (250) Chandler: You're Spudnik.
- (251) Ross: Come on, who are we kidding? I'm doody. Please? She's watchin'.
- (252) Chandler: Fine. (He lets Ross win.) *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) no!
- (253) Ross: (celebrating) *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) *yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding)!
- (254) Mona: (clapping) Yay! My hero!

- (255) Joey: (to her) You're a weird lady.
- (256) Eric: (entering) Hey. Ursula said she left her purse.
- (257) Phoebe: *Oh*.
- (258) Eric: (finds it) What a relief. It has all the numbers of the people in her prayer chain
- (259) Phoebe: Sure it does. Yeah, yeah (markers of agreement/understanding).
- (260) Eric: Well, I guess I'll see you at the wedding. (Exits and Phoebe follows him into the hall.)
- (261) Phoebe: Umm listen, I don't think...I don't think I'm gonna make it to the wedding. So I just want to wish you all the luck in the world.
- (262) Eric: *I think* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) we'll be okay. Besides it's so perfect and (whispering) she's been saving herself for me.
- (263) Phoebe: Okay I can't let you do this! She's lying to you.
- (264) Eric: What?
- (265) Phoebe: She is lying! And I bet I can prove it. Excuse me. (She grabs Ursula's purse and starts going through it and finds some papers.) Okay. Okay. Yeah—Not a prayer chain, but what looks like a detailed drawing of a bank floor plan. (Holds up her nametag.) Okay, here's the nametag from the restaurant where she works as a waitress! Not a teacher, a waitress. All right, here's her driver license, this oughta be good, she always lies about this. How old did she say she was?
- (266) Eric: She told me she was 25.
- (267) Phoebe: *Oh*, I almost don't want to show this. (Hands it to him.) Just remember I'm a minute younger.
- (268) Eric: I am so stupid. *Of course* (assurance) she was lying! She's not a teacher. There's not such a thing as the top secret elementary school for the children of spies.
- (269) Phoebe: No. You're not, you're not stupid.
- (270) Eric: I'm not smart. (Phoebe has no comeback.) I just wanted so much to...be impulsive once. To be romantic.
- (271) Phoebe: That's good, you should be impulsive and you should be romantic.
- Just...you did it with the wrong person. (He looks at her.) What?
- (272) Eric: It's just so weird, two people look so much alike, and so different.
- (273) Ursula: (yelling from downstairs) Eric!! Let's go!!
- (274) Eric: I'd better go, deal...
- (275) Phoebe: **Yeah** (marker of agreement/understanding), you should. (They shake hands.)
- (276) Ursula: Hurry up I gotta pray!!
- (Phoebe hands Eric Ursula's purse and he walks away.)
- [Time Lapse: Rachel is returning from chasing down the boy in the cape.]
- (277) Joey: Hey!
- (278) Rachel: Hey! Well, I had to give the kid fifty bucks to stop crying.
- (279) Joey: That's not so bad.
- (280) Rachel: No, I also had to go to a couple houses with him as his girlfriend. *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), I am just awful with children!
- (281) Joey: Come on! You're good with kids. They're just crazy on Halloween. Y'know, they're all greedy and hopped up on sugar!
- (282) Rachel: Really (assurance)? You think that's all it is?
- (283) Joey: *Absolutely* (marker of agreement/understanding)! Halloween is the worst. Except for Christmas...and their birthdays. Kinda get a little crazy during the

summer too. And anytime they're hungry or sleepy. *Y'know*, kids are tough. Good luck with that. (Walks away.)

Closing Credits

[Scene: Monica and Chandler's, Chandler and Monica are standing in the kitchen.]

- (284) Monica: Look, I wanted to tell I'm-I'm sorry you lost.
- (285) Chandler: Listen, I've got a secret for ya. I let him win.
- (286) Monica: (laughs) Is that a secret or a lie.
- (287) Chandler: No, I let him win-Ross!
- (288) Ross: *Yeah*?
- (289) Chandler: Would you tell her I let you win please?
- (290) Ross: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality or attenuation marker). *Yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding). (Sarcastically) Uh Chandler let me win. No, Chandler's *really* (assurance) strong. *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my arm is so sore. *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) nurse! (Waddles over to Mona.)
- (291) Chandler: I am strong! I'll show you! (He sits down at the table.)
- (292) Monica: Chandler please!
- (293) Chandler: Oh what's the matter? Are you scared?
- (294) Monica: Let's go big bunny!

(They assume the starting position.)

(295) Chandler: Okay. 1...2...3—Go! (Once again he's at a stalemate, but this time he's in pain.) (Pause) I'm gonna kill myself!

End

FRIENDS: The One with the Soap Opera Party (F. B.)

[Scene: Monica's apartment]

- (1) Joey: (enters the room) Hey, you guys, what are you doing tomorrow night?
- (2) Chandler: (browsing through a diary) Well, let me see... I-I believe I'm... yes, falling asleep in front of the TV.
- (3) Joey: Look, my agent hooked me up with six tickets to a great play.
- (4) Chandler: I could fall asleep at a play.
- (5) Phoebe: What is it?
- (6) Joey: It's a one-woman play called "Why don't you like me: a bitter woman's journey through life".
- (7) Monica: It sounds interesting!
- (8) Ross: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding), it does sound interesting, I mean (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion), to listen to a woman complain for two hours, I don't think it gets bett... (Ross starts snoring, faking to fall asleep)
- (9) Phoebe: *I know* (assurance), *I know* (assurance), we can drive, we can vote, we can work, what more do these broads want?
- (10) Joey: You guys are gonna have a great time, I promise!
- (11) Ross: What? How come that you don't have to go!
- (12) Joey: I wish I could but I just found out that I have to be at work *really* (assurance) early the next day, so I can't go, but, *you know* (empathiser/emphasiser), take the extra ticket and invite whoever you want.

- (13) Chandler: (browsing through a diary) Uh, let's see, who do I hate?
- (14) Rachel: (gets up from the sofa and moves to the kitchen but Joey blocks her way) *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), sorry... Oops, sorry.
- (15) Joey: (lifts Rachel up and moves her behind him so she can walk on) Hey, here you go.
- (16) Rachel: *Ooh... oooh...* (markers of the degree of a certain quality) (pause) (Rachel is all bah-jiggity about Joey) *oh*, ah... (pause) (to Monica) Can I ask you a question?
- (17) Monica: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding).
- (18) Rachel: Do you think it's possible for two friends to fool around and... and not have it be a big deal?
- (19) Monica: No, I don't think it ever works. Why?
- (20) Rachel: No reason.
- (21) Monica: No, no, Rachel?
- (22) Rachel: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding)
- (23) Monica: Who do you wanna fool around with?
- (24) Rachel: (with high pitched voice) Nobody, forget it!
- (Monica points at Joey, Rachel turns and sees him)
- (25) Rachel: (giggling and whispering) Maybe.
- (26) Monica: (whispering) You can't!
- (27) Rachel: (whispering) Why? (Monica gesticulates mumbling something that starts with "because") Seriously I did not understand a word that you said.
- (28) Monica: In the hall.

[Scene: In the hall]

- (29) Monica: You wanna fool around with Joey?
- (30) Rachel: *Yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding)! *You know what* (empathiser/emphasiser), ever since I had that dream about him, and can't get it out of my head! And what's the big deal, people do it all the time!
- (31) Monica: Who? Who do you know that are friends that just fool around?
- (32) Rachel: Ok, off the top of my head... Don and Janet.
- (33) Monica: Who, who are they?
- (34) Rachel: I know them from work.
- (35) Monica: Both of them?
- (36) Rachel: No. one of them...
- (37) Monica: Which one?
- (38) Rachel: I don't know, what were the names I just said?
- (39) Monica: Rachel, things can get incredibly complicated.
- (40) Rachel: *All right*, *all right*, *you're right* (markers of agreement/understanding), I won't do anything with Joey, *I* just *thought* that we (Joey enters the hall) Ok so that would be two cups of tarragon, one pound of baking soda and one red onion? (Joey enters his apartment)
- (41) Monica: What the hell (marker of the degree of a certain quality) are you cooking?

Opening credits

[Scene: Central Perk, Ross enters]

(42) Ross: Hey!(43) Monica: Hey!(44) Chandler: Hey!

- (45) Ross: Hey, you guys won't believe what I have to do for work today.
- (46) Chandler: **Yes** (marker of agreement/understanding), but, Ross you chose a career of talking about dinosaurs.
- (47) Ross: (covering with his hand Chandler's face, like pretending he's not there) (to Monica) There're these two professors who are joining my department and I have to meet them here and show them around campus.
- (48) Monica: What's so bad about that?
- (49) Ross: It's *I* just *know* they're gonna be a couple of windbags wearing tweed jackets with suede elbow patches.
- (50) Monica: (fingering her elbow): Ross?
- (51) Ross: (looking his elbow, where there's a patch) These aren't suede. (a woman walks in)
- (52) Charlie: (to Gunther) Excuse me, I'm looking for someone. You don't, by any chance, know a Ross Geller?
- (53) Gunther: No.
- (54) Ross: Hi, hi, I'm Ross Geller.
- (55) Charlie: *Oh*, hi. I'm professor Wealer.
- (56) Ross: *Oh*, *oh* (markers of the degree of a certain quality), that's, that's nice.
- (57) Charlie: It's a... It's good to meet you! Thank you so much for taking the time out to show me around.
- (58) Ross: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), no, it's no big deal, *I mean*, if I weren't doing this I'd just, *you know* (empathiser/emphasiser or attenuation marker), be at the gym working out.
- (59) Monica: (to Chandler) Is he gonna introduce us?
- (60) Chandler: (to Monica) No, *I think* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) we're just blurry shapes to him now.
- (61) Charlie: And, by the way, I *really* (assurance) enjoyed your paper on the connection between geographic isolation and rapid mutagenesis.
- (62) Ross: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), ha, I wrote that in one night.
- (63) Monica: (to chandler) Twenty bucks says they're married within the month.
- (64) Ross: (hitting Monica with his suitcase) (to Charlie) We should probably get going, *you know* (empathiser/emphasise or attenuation marker), we got a lot of ground to cover.
- (65) Charlie: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality or attenuation marker), ah, isn't there another professor that is supposed to come with us?
- (66) Ross: I don't think so.
- (67) Charlie: *I'm* pretty *sure* (assurance), professor Spafford from Cornell?
- (68) Ross: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), well he's *obviously* (assurance) late and the rule in my class is "if you can't come on time, then don't come at all". (pause) An option that many of my students use. (pause) Shall we?
- (69) Charlie: You don't think we should wait for him?
- (70) Ross: You know what (empathiser/emphasiser), he's a big boy, I'm sure (assurance) he'll find us, ok?
- (71) Professor Spafford: Professor Geller?
- (72) Ross: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), *damn it* (marker of the degree of a certain quality)!

[Scene: Joey's apartment]

(Rachel enters the room and checks the answering machine)

- (73) Jane: (from the answering machine) Hi Joey it's Jane Rogers, can't wait for your party tonight. Listen, I forgot your address, can you give me a call? Thanks, bye.
- (74) Joey: (entering the room) Hey!
- (75) Rachel: Hey!
- (76) Joey: What's happenin'?
- (77) Rachel: Yeah, it's a real shame you can't make it to that one-woman show tonight.
- (78) Joey: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), I'd love to, but I gotta get up so early the next day and so, you know me, work comes first
- (79) Rachel: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), *yeah*, *yeah*, *yeah* (markers of agreement/understanding) ... (she plays the answering machine)
- (80) Message: "Hi Joey, it's Jane Rogers can't wait for your party tonight" (Joey's upset and stops it)
- (81) Joey: (yelling) Stupid Jane Rogers!!
- (82) Rachel: (angry) You are having a party tonight??
- (83) Joey: Kinda have a... a thing for the Days Of Our Life's people.
- (84) Rachel: And you weren't going to tell us? How did you think you were gonna get away with that?
- (85) Joey: I do it every year.
- (86) Rachel: You do that every year??
- (87) Joey: I didn't have to tell you that!! I'm stupider than Jane Rogers!!
- (88) Rachel: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), *that's why* (marker of **topicalisation**) you got these tickets to that play, to get rid of us??
- (89) Joey: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding)...
- (90) Rachel: And last year *is that why* (marker of topicalisation) you sent us to that medieval times restaurant?
- (91) Joey: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding)...
- (92) Rachel: *OH* (marker of the degree of a certain quality)! And the year before that, when you set up that nighttime tour of that button factory?
- (93) Joey: (Smiling) I can't believe you guys went for that one!
- (94) Rachel: Joey, why wouldn't you invite us to your parties?
- (95) Joey: You're fine, ok? But everyone else acts like an idiot around famous people!
- (96) Rachel: Well, then so you just invite me...!
- (97) Joey: (speaking aloud) Please, I was trying to be nice, you're the worst one!
- (98) Rachel: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), Joey, come on! Please, please! Let me come, I will behave, I promise! I will behave! Please, please, please... (99) Joey: Ok, ok! Fine! You can come, but don't tell anybody else. It's up on the roof at
- (99) Joey: Ok, ok! Fine! You can come, but don't tell anybody else. It's up on the roof at
- (100) Rachel: (yelling and jumping like a child) *OH* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), a soap opera roof party!! I'm going to a soap opera roof party!! *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my God, *oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my God!! (realizing how she's behaving) And it's out of my system!

[Scene: Ross, Charlie and Professor Spafford are sitting at the table in a restaurant] (101) Professor Spafford: (speaking very slowly) And then my wife and I went on a cruise to the Galapagos. There was a sea food buffet you wouldn't believe. There were clams, and mussels, and oysters, and cracked crab, and snow crab, and king crab. It's a pity I'm allergic to shellfish.

- (102) Ross: (very bored, he tries to avoid the conversation speaking to Charlie) So, where did you get your undergraduate degree?
- (103) Professor Spafford: And that's not all I'm allergic to.
- (104) Ross: (to Charlie) Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality), it's not over!
- (105) Professor Spafford: I'm also allergic to peanuts, and cashews, and almonds, and filberts...
- (106) Ross: So basically all nuts?
- (107) Professor Spafford: Interestingly... no.
- (108) Charlie: Kinda playing fast and loose with the word "interesting".
- (109) Professor Spafford: If you'll excuse me I'm going to use the restroom. (he goes away)
- (110) Charlie: Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my God!!
- (111) Ross: I've lost the will to live.
- (112) Charlie: Let's ditch him!
- (113) Ross: What?
- (114) Charlie: Come on, he's still in the bathroom! I'm begging you!
- (115) Ross: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality or attenuation marker)... ok, fine. But... ehm... I just have one question for you, ehm... (aping Professor Spafford) When we exit should we walk, or run, or prance, or stroll...
- (116) Charlie: Stop it, stop it! He talks slow but he might pee fast! Ok, let's go!! (they run outside)

[Scene: Monica and Chandler's apartment]

- (117) Ross: (entering with Charlie) *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), hey you guys! This is Charlie! Charlie, this is Phoebe and my sister, Monica.
- (118) Phoebe: Hi!
- (119) Ross: *Yeah*, Charlie is gonna be joining my department.
- (120) Phoebe: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), you're a paleonthologist, too! (pause) *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), ok, now, what do you think of Ranion's new theory of species' variegation in segmented arthopods?
- (121) Charlie: Well, *I think* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) he's a little out there, but he does have some interesting ideas...
- (122) Phoebe: Ah, ah.
- (123) Charlie: (her mobile phone rings) *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality or attenuation marker), I'm sorry. I'll take this. Excuse me. (she cuts herself off for a moment)
- (124) Ross: (to Phoebe) Ranion's theory of species variegation?
- (125) Phoebe: *Yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding), I saw the article on your coffee table and I memorized the title to freak you out!
- (126) Monica: (to Ross) So, did you two have fun?
- (127) Ross: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my God, she's great! *I mean* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion or attenuation marker), we-we have so much in common and she's just cool, and funny...
- (128) Monica: And I don't know if you've noticed but she's a (aloud) HOTTY!! (Charlie looks at her) HI!
- (129) Rachel: (she enters wearing a bath-robe) Hey... Hi you guys! Listen, you know what (empathiser/emphasiser)? I'm not feeling really well. I think (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion or attenuation marker) I can't get out for the

- play.
- (130) Ross: *Really* (assurance)? Wh-what's wrong?
- (131) Rachel: I don't know! *I think* it's kind of serious! *Oh*, *you know...* I was watching this thing on TV this morning about... Newcastle disease... and *I think* I might have it!!
- (132) Charlie: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality or attenuation marker), Newcastle disease is a secretion borne virus that only affects chickens and... other poultry.
- (133) Rachel: ... Ok, who is this?
- (134) Ross: I'm sorry, Rachel, this is Charlie Wealer, she's a collegue.
- (135) Rachel: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), hi! I would check your hand but... *I'm sure* (assurance) you don't want to get my chicken disease!
- (136) Monica: Hey, Rachel, Can-can I see you for a sec?
- (137) Rachel: Sure! (Monica takes her apart) Oh...
- (138) Monica: You're not sick!
- (139) Rachel: What? Yes (marker of agreement/understanding), I am!
- (140) Monica: Ok, then, why are you... (she opens her robe revealing a nice black dress) all dressed up??
- (141) Rachel: When you're sick, you do whatever you can to make yourself feel better! (she closes her robe)
- (142) Monica: You just wanna stay home so you can make a move on Joey!
- (143) Rachel: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), no, no! I heard you before, that is so not what this is!
- (144) Monica: Ok, what is this?
- (145) Rachel: Ok! (whispering) Joey is having a secret Days Of Our Lives party up on the roof and he sent you guys to the play to get rid of you!
- (146) Monica: (aloud) WHAT?
- (147) Ross: (looking at them) Wh-what's going on?
- (148) Monica: Joey is having a secret Days Of Our Lives party up on the roof!
- (149) Rachel: And he didn't want you guys to know about it but I came over here to tell you!!
- (150) Charlie: *I thought* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) you came to say you were sick.
- (151) Rachel: Ok professor or detective?
- (152) Phoebe: Joey's having a party and he wasn't gonna invite us?
- (153) Rachel: *Yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding), and he does it every year! *That's why* (marker of topicalisation) he's sending you to that play! *That's why* (marker of topicalisation) he sent us to that medieval restaurant and to that button factory!
- (154) Phoebe: And that horrible museum tour!
- (155) Ross: No, I arranged that...
- (Joey enters, wearing a bathrobe)
- (156) Joey: (sounds tired) Hey you guys, I'm turning in. Have fun.
- (157) Phoebe: We know about your party Joey.
- (158) Joey: What party?
- (159) Monica: The game's over! Take off your robe!
- (160) Joey: (looks perplexed and opens up his robe) Ok... I mean...
- (161) Everyone: No!! Cover it up!!
- (162) Joey: (to Charlie after covering himself up again) Nice to meet ya! (Charlie waves

hesitantly and Joey leaves)

[Scene: The Roof]

- (163) Joey: (To some people) Hey! Hey *alright*! Hey, glad you could make it (Shakes a man's hand) Thanks for coming.
- (164) Monica: Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my God! Kyle Lowder!
- (165) Kyle Lowder: (to Monica) Hi. (walks on)
- (166) Monica: (Yells after him) I love you!
- (167) Joey: Hey, *that's why* (marker of topicalisation) I didn't invite you. you have to calm down, *alright*... go, go get yourself a drink or something...
- (168) Monica: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) *yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding) *that's what* (marker of topicalisation) you want my inhibitions lowered.
- (169) Phoebe: Hey!
- (170) Monica: (Excited) *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my God, can you believe we are surrounded by all this? I can barely control myself.
- (171) Phoebe: Monica, you might want to remember that you are married. Where is Chandler *anyway* (marker of topicalisation)? (Looks around)
- (172) Monica: (Shocked) *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my God! Chandler!

[Scene: The theater. Chandler is sitting in the otherwise empty front row, looking around nervously]

(173) Chandler: *Where the hell* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) is everybody?

(The lights dim and Chandler tries to get away but as the bitter lady comes on stage and starts yelling he promptly changes his mind and sits down)

(174) Bitter lady: (yelling) Why don't you like me?! Chapter One: My first period. [Scene: The Roof, Rachel is talking to a guy who hands her a tissue with something written on it]

- (175) Monica: (to Rachel) Hey! Joey said no autographs! But if she's gettting one, then I want one too: To Monica. And none of this "best wishes" crap. I want "love".
- (176) Rachel: Ok *actually* (marker of topicalisation) Mon, Matthew was just giving me his phone number.
- (177) Monica: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) man! If I had known I was coming to this party I never would have gotten married!
- (178) Matthew Ashford: It was nice to meet you Rachel.
- (179) Rachel: Nice to meet you.
- (180) Matthew Ashford: Call me.
- (181) Rachel: Ok

(Matthew leaves)

- (182) Monica: (yelling after him) We will!!
- (183) Monica: (to Rachel) Look at you with all the guys!
- (184) Rachel: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding)!
- (185) Monica: I guess you have forgotten all about Joey?
- (186) Rachel: *Yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding), well, I guess I have forgotten about Joey and clearly you've forgotten about Chandler!
- (187) Monica: Please... Chandler is the love of my life... (At which point a man in leather pants walks by)... oooh leather pants! Have Mercy! (Follows the man in the leather)

- (cut to Ross and Charlie)
- (188) Ross: (to Charlie) So, eh... it's probably gonna be hard for you to leave Boston, huh?
- (189) Charlie: *Actually* (marker of topicalisation), I'm kinda happy to be leaving... I just broke up with someeone.
- (190) Ross: *Ooh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality)... so sad... Still, it can't be easy for you to leave Harvard? Especially after working alongside a Nobel Prize winner like Albert Wintermeyer?
- (191) Charlie: Actually (marker of topicalisation), Alby is the guy I broke up with.
- (192) Ross: You... you dated Albert Wintermeyer?
- (193) Charlie: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding)...
- (194) Ross: ... And you called him Alby!? (laughs) *I mean* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion or attenuation marker) that's like... like calling Albert Einstein... er... Alby...
- (195) Charlie: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding), well, he is a brilliant man.
- (196) Ross: Eh, you think? *I mean* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion), you went out with a guy who improved the accuracy of radiocarbon dating by a factor of 10!
- (197) Charlie: **Yes** (marker of agreement/understanding)! And while that is everything one looks for in a boyfriend, he had a lot of issues...
- (198) Ross: (very interested) *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality)! like what?! (Charlie looks at him confused, but smiling) *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality or attenuation marker) I'm sorry, I don't mean to pry... it's just that this must be what regular people experience when they watch "Access Hollywood".
- (199) Charlie: Ok, you want the dirt? Alby was seriously insecure. *I mean* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion), he was *really* (assurance) intimidated by the guy I dated before him.
- (200) Ross: Who is intimidating to a guy who won the Nobel Prize?
- (201) Charlie: A guy who won two.
- (202) Ross: (a little suprised) Two? Wha...? Don't tell me you dated Benjamin Hobart
- (203) Charlie: Yeah (marker of agreement/understanding)... for three years.
- (204) Ross: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my God! Have you ever been in a relationship with someone who hasn't won the Nobel Prize?
- (205) Charlie: (smiling and thinks for a moment)... no... bu but there was my first boyfriend Billy.
- (206) Ross: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) *yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding)? no, no Nobel Prizes for him?
- (207) Charlie: No, but he did just win the McArthur genius grant.
- (208) Ross: Huh... huh... what a loser! Some more wine? (takes the half-full glasses and goes to the counter)
- (209) Phoebe: Hey Ross!
- (210) Rachel: How is it going with Charlie?
- (211) Ross: (sarcastically) *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) Great! After I finish my wine I'm going to blow my... eh. average-sized brains out.
- (212) Phoebe: Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality), What's the matter?
- (213) Ross: She... she only dates geniuses and Nobel Prize winners. *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my God, at the chinese restaurant earlier today, I put chopsticks in my mouth and pretented to be a woolly mammoth.

- (214) Rachel: I always loved that!!
- (215) Ross: *Of course* (assurance) you would, your brains are smaller than mine!! (Rachel nods) Man, I can't compete with the guys she goes out with, they are so out of my league! *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my God!
- (216) Phoebe: Worse?
- (217) Ross: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) much, much worse. I did my impression of Joan Rivers as one of the earliest amphibians... (gestures with his hands and says in an impression voice?) "Can we walk"? (Phoebe starts laughing) *Oh*, you... you like that?
- (218) Phoebe: (still laughing) No. (points to Rachel who stuck two straws in her mouth to look like a mammoth's tusks)
- (219) Ross: What? (turns around to look at Rachel)
- (220) Rachel: Come on! *I think* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) this is funny! (Ross leaves)

[Scene: Chandler in the theatre]

- (221) Bitter lady: Well, I bet you are all thinkin' "Now would be a *really* (assurance) great time for an intermission", huh?
- (222) Chandler: (To himself) *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) *yes* (marker of agreement/understanding), God *yes* (marker of agreement/understanding)!!
- (223) Bitter lady: (now yelling) Well, you're not gonna get one! Because in life there are no intermissions, people. Chapter 7: Divorce is a 4 letter word. (Now standing right in front of Chandler and bending down almost to his level as if speaking to him, yelling even louder) How could he leave me?!?!
- (224) Chandler: I... I don't know... you seem lovely.

[Scene: The roof, Joey is walking towards Ross with a guy]

- (225) Joey: Hey Ross, this is one of my co-stars, Dirk. (To Dirk) Dirk, this is my good friend Ross. (Ross and Dirk shake hands)
- (226) Ross: Nice to meet you.
- (227) Dirk: Hey! So what show are you on?
- (228) Ross: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), I'm no actor, I'm a professor of palaeontology.
- (Dirk is confused)
- (229) Joey: It's a science.
- (230) Dirk: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality)! Hey well listen, I play a scientist on "Days". And my character has just won the Nobel prize.
- (Ross looks annoyed hearing that even Dirk's character won a Nobel prize)
- (231) Joey: Hey Ross, listen, Dirk was wondering about the woman that you brought and if you guys were together, or...
- (232) Ross: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), well no, but *I mean*, she only goes out with *really*, *really* (assurances) smart guys.
- (233) Dirk: Hey, I got a 690 on my SATs.
- (234) Ross: I'd lead with that.
- (Cut to Monica holding up her shirt, revealing her bra. An actor stands beside her, holding a pen in his hand.)
- (235) Monica: That's it, just sign right on the bra (the actor does so).
- (236) Joey: Monica!
- (237) Monica: Don't worry Joe, I won't come next year!

- (Joey, resigned, walks to Rachel's table)
- (238) Joey: (To Rachel) What have you got there?
- (239) Ross: Just some boys gave me their phone numbers.
- (240) Joey: Ah, let me see! (she hands him a pile of tissues) *Damn* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), that's a lot of guys! Are you a little slutty?
- (241) Rachel: (drunken voice) *I think* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) I am.
- (242) Joey: (browsing the tissues) Let me see if I approve any of these clowns. This guy wears a rug (discards one). This guy's Canadian (discards another). And this guy is in a cult, ok, and it costs you 5,000\$ to get to level three and I don't feel any different. (Rachel is puzzled)
- (243) Joey: (discarding all the remaining tissues one by one) Pass, pass, oh, pass, double-pass, pass...
- (244) Rachel: (picking up the tissues) Why, why, what's wrong with these guys?
- (245) Joey: Nothing major, it's just that, *you know*, they're not *really* good enough for you, and you deserve the best.
- (246) Rachel: Joey, you're so sweet.
- (247) Joey: *That's true* (marker of agreement/understanding). But *you know what* (empathiser/emphasiser), it doesn't matter because *I* already *know* who you're gonna go home with tonight.
- (248) Rachel: Who (looks around)?
- (Joey motions for Rachel to lean in. She does so.)
- (249) Joey: Me.
- (250) Rachel: (surprised) What? (with a nervous smile) Really (assurance)?
- (251) Joey: Yes (marker of agreement/understanding), 'cause we live together, that's a joke!
- (252) Rachel: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality)! Screw it, I didn't get it! (they high-five)
- (253) Joey: Gotcha.
- (254) Rachel: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), *Very* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) funny... Joey.
- (Joey leaves. Rachel gulps down what's left of her drink and grimaces.)
- (Chandler walks in)
- (255) Chandler: (to Monica) So, how did you enjoy the play?
- (256) Monica: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) my god, honey, I'm so so so so sorry.
- (257) Chandler: Well you should be. You missed the most powerful three hours in the history of the theater.
- (258) Monica: You really (assurance) liked it?
- (259) Chandler: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) *yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding)! *I mean* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) at first I hated it, but why wouldn't I, because as a man I've been trained (bitter woman's tone) not to listen! (pause) But after chapter 16: "fat, single and ready to mingle", I was uplifted.
- (260) Monica: Oh (marker of the degree of a certain quality) really (assurance)!
- (261) Chandler: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) *yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding), I had no idea the amazing journey you go through as a woman! Tell me, tell me about your first period!

- (262) Monica: No!
- (263) Chandler: Did somebody sign your bra?
- (264) Monica: So I got it when I was 13...
- [Scene: At the counter, Ross is sitting there, drinking. Phoebe approaches him.] (265) Phoebe: Hey Ross! So listen, about you and the dinosaur girl, are you *really* (assurance) just gonna let a couple of Nobel prizes scare you off? What is that, come on, a piece of paper?
- (266) Ross: It's *actually* (marker of topicalisation) a 1,000,000\$ prize.
- (267) Phoebe: Go Charlie! But *my point is* (marker of topicalisation), ok so she dated them but she also broke up with them. Maybe she's looking to, *you know*

(empathiser/emphasiser or attenuation marker), slum it with some average Joe Phd. (268) Ross: *Yeah* (marker of agreement/understanding), maybe. I do have my whole career in front of me. *I mean* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion or attenuation marker), I can still win a Nobel prize. Although the last two papers I've

written were widely discredited.

- (269) Phoebe: You're so much more than just brains! You're sweet, and kind, and funny...
- (270) Ross: And sexy.
- (271) Phoebe: Ok well give her a chance to see all of that!
- (272) Ross: *Yeah*, *you're right* (markers of agreement/understanding), thanks Pheebs, I'm gonna go find her.
- (273) Phoebe: Good for you! And hey, I thought your paper on punctuated equilibrium in the Devonian era was top notch!
- (274) Ross: Stop going through my stuff (walks away)!

(Rachel approaches Monica)

- (275) Rachel: (to Monica) Hey!
- (276) Monica: Hey!
- (277) Rachel: I just wanted to let you know I've changed my mind: I'm gonna do it, I'm gonna kiss Joey.
- (278) Monica: No, you can't! Friends hooking up is a bad idea.
- (279) Rachel: Please, what about you and Chandler?
- (280) Monica: That's different! I was drunk and stupid!
- (281) Rachel: Well hello (points to herself)!
- (282) Monica: What about all the guys that you've got the phone numbers from? Why don't you just kiss one of them?
- (283) Rachel: I could, I could but I don't want to! I want to kiss Joey!
- (284) Monica: *Alright* (marker of agreement/understanding) (shrugs). *I think* (marker of subjectivity of judgement and opinion) it's a big mistake but it's your decision.
- (285) Rachel: (pause) I'm gonna do it.
- (286) Monica: And I can't stop you.
- (287) Rachel: No.
- (Rachel goes look for Joey. She sees him and Charlie kissing passionately.)
- (288) Ross: (to Rachel) Hey Rach, have you seen Charlie anywhere?
- (Rachel just stands there staring at Joey and Charlie in silence. After a while, Ross turns around and sees them.)
- (289) Ross: I'm smarter than him!

Closing credits

[Scene: The theater. Monica, Phoebe and Chandler are sitting in the first line]

- (290) Phoebe: Hey, thank you so much for these tickets, Chandler.
- (291) Chandler: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality) well, this was a *really* (assurance) important experience for me, and I wanted to share it with you.
- (292) Monica: *Oh* (marker of the degree of a certain quality), you're so wonderful.
- (293) Bitter woman: Why don't you like me! Chapter one: my first period.
- (294) Chandler: Can't believe you guys bought that, enjoy your slow death (runs away).