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Trabajo Fin de Grado

Aspects of Spoken English in a TV Series:
A Comparative between *The Office* (UK) and *The Office* (US)

Autor/es

Andrea Tiendas Martín

Director/es

Isabel Corona Marzol

Facultad de Filosofía y Letras
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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this dissertation is to develop an analysis of the aspects of spoken language that we can find in modern TV Series. More specifically, comedies, as a specific genre within this media world. The focus will be put under two versions of a same 'situational comedy', or sitcom, being one of them the adaptation of the other. Thus, the goal is to provide an insight of certain categories of the aspects of the spoken language that can be clearly differentiated in these sitcoms, in order to reach some conclusions as regards their respective functions in the screen, when addressed to a specific audience. For the conclusions, the most significant findings of the work will be summarised, as well as possible improvements of the analysis and the applicability of the study.

To this matter, it is paramount to take into account the redressive action of the communicative acts, that is, the chosen strategies by the two versions of the series as a whole enterprise to engage with their respective audiences in the healthiest way. If this communication is successful, the goal of the TV series will be accomplished, as they will have achieved to enlist recurrent viewers.

That is why this dissertation cannot only be based on purely linguistic and grammatical features, but aspects of pragmatics, televisual discourse, paralinguistic traits or even phonetics will be definitely pertinent to the proper understanding of the analyses. As a matter of fact, this short study lacks the space to cover every possible area of analysis, but still, it gives an overview of the main factors to bear in mind when addressing the spoken field of language.

Now, as a means of introduction to the context in which the analysis will run, the two TV versions will be shortly discussed. It is important to stress that the analysis deals with two versions of the same series, which is why their transcripts can be

compared, because of the similarities between them. The former version was aired in the United Kingdom in 2001 and because of its success was four years later adapted for the United States' audience. This fact enforces already significant differences as regards language and cultural values too.

For the purpose of establishing connections and finding similarities and, at the same time, dissimilarities, the content under study needs to be interconnected, that is, to belong to the same subgenre. This way, topics are bound to be comparable, and vocabulary will likely coincide. Due to constraints in place in the essay, vocabulary differences will not be approached, though they are discernible in the comparative tables of the Appendix.

Moreover, by taking the same TV series, there is a reassurance of the existence of resembling characters and their consequent attitudes, which will be quintessential to the distinctiveness of their speeches. The former TV series and the adaptation that I am referring to is *The Office*. *The Office* fits in the group of 'mockumentary', which comes from the combination of 'mock' plus 'documentary', that is, "a movie or television show depicting fictional events but presented as a documentary" (dictionary.com). As an essay commenting on camera shots in *The Office* (ukessays.com) so aptly states,

> All of the characters are fully aware of the camera's presence and act with that notion in mind. The show […] follows the conventions of a regular documentary which includes confessionals and on-site footage. The camera acts as a link to the audience so that when they watch, a closer connection forms between the characters on the show and the viewers watching.

Briefly explained, *The Office* deals with the lives and deeds of the workers of a paper company. The series tries to show, in the most humorous way possible, how ridiculously trivial the events of a work space can result. *The Office* is centred on a main character, the General Manager, who happens to be the most mundane and foolish of the

crew. In the UK version, he is named David Brent, and his American counterpart is Michael Scott. Both develop different ends and different attributes, but they are equally loved in their respective primarily addressed countries, as many TV critics have pointed out.

The fact of choosing both versions' pilots to analyse was not accidental. The first episode of both series was nearly identical, as the American version merely adapted the British script, with the exception of a few scenes. As Jalonen (2007) elaborates, "[f]rom the second episode onwards, however, the American […] events and characters begin to move to a different direction from the British equivalents. For this reason the pilot episodes are the best source for comparisons of culture-related and language differences."

The framework to carry out the study of the two sitcoms mainly relies on Biber *et al.*'s (1999) work, the *Longman Grammar Of Spoken And Written English*. Because of the extension of this dissertation, I took the decision to draw mainly on this major grammar outlook. The specific categories to be under study will be: dysfluencies, inserts, ellipsis, vocatives, polite language and face-saving acts, stance adverbials, hedges and vague language, lexical bundles, idiomatic expressions and familiarizers, heads, tails and repetitions, question tags and elision.

In some cases, other resources may be as mainstream as Leech (1998), McCarthy and Carter (1995) or Brown and Levinson (1987) in their respective fields of study, or less recognized yet relevant in their fields of expertise, like Povolná (2010). On the overall, all of them are leading figures in the fields of the different areas of linguistics that this analysis covers, like politeness theory or other pragmatic issues.

As regards analytical tools, the main focus has been on extracting the patterns or structures of each category. After that, if the matches allow and are pertinent, the procedure will consist in the counting of the samples, in order to arrive at certain finding that tells the true nature of the feature. From here, I will be able to reflect on the effect and functionality of the categories having in mind the essence of the series.

Before leading up to the analytical unfolding, it must be explained the precedency of the texts that are going to be analysed, as much as the concerning changes they underwent in terms of transcription style. Initially, I downloaded the scripts of both episodes, that is, *The Office* (UK) 1x01 Downsize and *The Office* (US) 1x01 Pilot, from an online script database, *Springfield! Springfield! TV & Movie Scripts.* The texts were rather disorganised, so I had to adjust the lines of every character and then add punctuation, pauses, inserts and scenic comments. From there, only the analogous scenes of both episodes were selected for the analyses (see the Appendix). The extent of the totality of the corpus is around 7000 words, which will serve to show some meaningful findings.

In what transcription conventions are concerned, as the analysis is not focused on interruptions or on the specific speaker performing the acts, they have been reduced to the simplest. The speaker is highlighted in bold and the scenic comments –way of acting or side actions– are in between brackets or parenthesis. What is truly important in the Appendix is the 'Key' to understand every category, named after my own criteria. Each one of them is delimited in one colour font or colour highlighter with the only purpose of better differentiating them. Finally, the idea for marking ellipses as "^" was taken from Biber *et al*. (1999).

1. SPOKEN GRAMMAR IN ACTION: ANALYSIS OF *THE OFFICE*

The analysis of the two versions of *The Office* scripts follows a classification representing the most characteristic elements of spoken language as instantiated in the selected scenes of the transcripts. Thus, each section will explain the occurrence and functionality of the traits disclosed. My personal deep familiarity with both pilots of the series will complement the whole analysis, which I have contemplated as a mere spectator and now, from a critical point of view.

As expected, spoken grammar is formed by a number of features that respond to the spontaneity and closeness of conversation. Hence, the categories have been established in terms of correspondence or resemblance towards a common functionality. Moreover, for the sake of better differentiating the British version from the American one in the examples, the abbreviations 'BrS' and 'AmS' will respectively stand for British script and American script of the episodes.

1.1. Dysfluencies

Spoken discourse is sometimes, as a matter of fact, imperfect. It performs some errors that come with the speed of speaking and with the work to get a message across bringing to fruition what we want to express in our minds. Spontaneity in conversation plays a major role in these dysfluencies, as "speakers are continually faced with the need both to plan and to execute their utterances in real time" (Biber *et al*. 1999: 1048).

As expected, the scripts under analysis are filled with dysfluency traits, simply because it is inevitable in any conversational act. Dysfluencies can go from plain pauses -to think how to put into words what it is going to be said next- to grammatical incompletion of utterances. Then, in the texts, four of the types of dysfluency according

to Biber *et al.*'s (1999) classification are encountered at some point. These are hesitations, repeats and reformulations mainly, with some fewer cases of utterances left grammatically incomplete.

Repeats allow recipients to be aware of the speakers' corrections. In this case, we can separate two types, depending on the grammatical category of the word that is being replicated. Examples of function words and lexical words in repeats can be the following (Appendix, pp. 33, 51):

(BrS) Function repeat ➔   **David:** Thanks. <u>Don't</u>… <u>Don't go</u>, Dawn. Pull up a chair.

(AmS) Lexical repeat ➔   **Michael:** […] Pam has been with us uh… <u>for</u>… <u>forever</u>, right Pam?

On the other hand, the most frequent type of dysfluency found in the texts is hesitations. In this group, we can distinguish two further sublabels, silent pauses and filled pauses. The finding after the analysis is that the American version is brimming with filled pauses, that is, short hesitations that include an insert before restarting the utterance. On the other side, the number of these in the British script is sensibly reduced, while it is true that there are numerous examples of a launcher insert plus the following articulation of words. Nevertheless, the use of inserts in this position will be disclosed in the next section. A prime example of this finding can be seen in this similar communication in both scripts (Appendix, p. 34):

(BrS) **Tim**: (TO THE CAMERA) <u>Uh</u>… I'm a sales rep, which means that my job is to speak to clients on the phone about <u>uh</u>… quantity and type of paper, and whether we can supply it with them, and whether they can… pay… for it. And I'm boring myself talking about it. It just…

(AmS) **Jim**: (TO THE CAMERA) My job is to… speak to clients, <u>uhm</u>, on the phone about <u>uh</u>… quantities and <u>uh</u>… type of… copier paper. You know, <u>uh</u>… whether we can supply to them, whether they can <u>uh</u>… pay for it, and <u>uh</u>… (giggle) I'm boring myself just talking about this.

Here, the most modern version of the TV series is quite more dubitative. The speaker requires a significant quantity of time to string sentences together, needing up to six hesitators in between pauses plus one discourse marker to lead the way to his final product. In comparison, its British counterpart speaks more fluently –maybe even feeling the same indisposition to get the same message across– as he only stops and hesitates once.

At the end of this same interaction, we can also differentiate another category in the dysfluency matter: incompleteness. Categorizing this example into Biber *et al*.'s (1999: 1063) possibilities of sentences left grammatically incomplete, it shall be clearly recognized as a case of abandonment of the utterance, where the speaker, for some personal reason, makes the decision not to pursue the statement. In this case, the viewer reckons it is because of the boredom he admits to feel while explaining the matter, which is a wonderful example of analogy in feeling averse both to his profession and to talk about it.

Finally in this category, retrace-and-repair sequences have also a place in the current analysis. Simply put, they are 'false starts', as they show how the speaker changes his or her mind to the product he or she eventually wants to materialise. They work as a 'start over' of utterances, as the grammatical construction changes. For example (Appendix, p. 52):

> **(BrS)** **Dawn**: <u>I can't</u>… God… <u>I've never</u> stolen as much as a paper clip and you're firing me.
>
> **(AmS)** **Pam**: Uhm… uh I can't believe this, I mean, I have never even stolen as much as a paper clip and now you're firing me.

In this example we can see how the American sample does not use the reformulation strategy, and just starts off the utterance with hesitators.

All in all, the list of dysfluencies in the corpus examined is consistently extensive, as previously said, because of the spontaneity of the conversational act. Their final function and outcome is to be collaborative with the hearers, to put the message in such a way that they can follow the stream of information without major impediments.

1.2. Inserts

This category is clearly one of the most illustrative in the field of spoken language. The reason for this is that very seldom can we encounter some of these "stand-alone words" (Biber *et al*. 1999: 1082) in written production. Mostly, they contribute to the paralinguistic features of the time of speaking, that is, inserts usually go hand in hand with body language and expression. In this same category, we can find others such as polite formulae or greetings and farewells that provide for establishing the different interpersonal relationships that are given in oral communication in real time. Indeed, as Valdeón (2008) indicates, they are peripheral to the clausal structure.

Biber *et al*. (1999: 1082) subcategorise 'Inserts' into nine different groups, depending on their function: interjections, greetings and farewells, discourse markers, attention getters, response getters, response forms, hesitators, polite formulae and expletives or swearwords.

Thus, for the scrutiny of this part, I have had to make some selection and focus on the most relevant facts and findings. In order to get us to a more global idea of the differences of the two scripts, we can see in Chart 1 the total count of 'Inserts', seen as the supra-category.
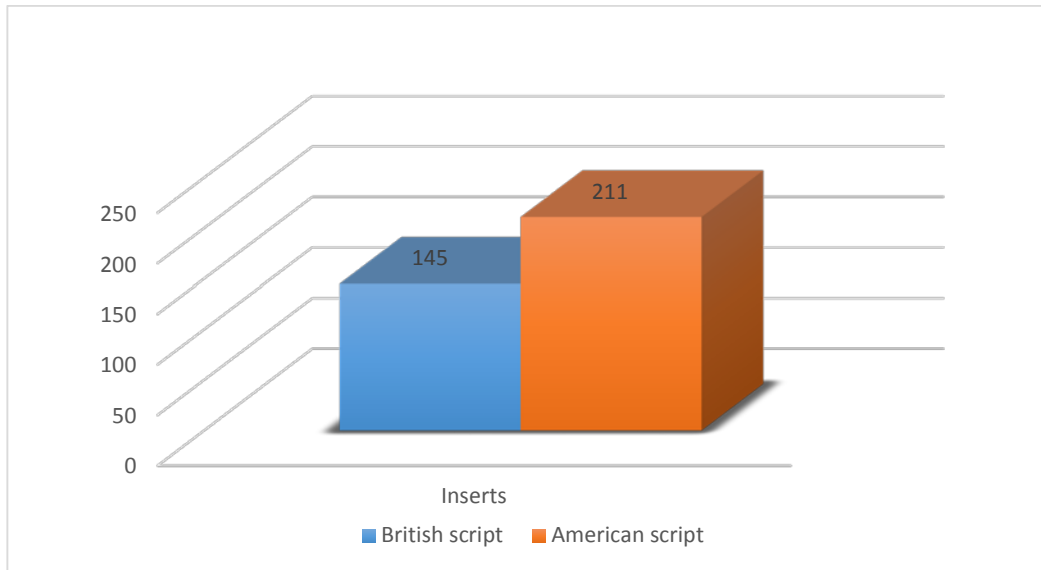
Chart 1. 'Balance of inserts'

Here, it comes to our view the higher use of inserts in the American version of *The Office*. In fact, for a 7000 word corpus, a difference of almost 70 cases is significant. This means that the British version gets the message across quicker, as the following subcategories will consequently affirm, but also that it may rely less on other communication formulae.

On the other hand, and to get us a real impression of the frequency of every subcategory, we can see the incidence rate in Chart 2, exploring their use in both the British and American transcript.

Chart 2. 'Frequency of the different inserts'

It is possible to see the big difference that hesitators suppose between the two versions, and then the affluence in response forms that both scripts make use of. Then, the numbers of the rest of the categories decrease as well as their comparative rates. The gaps get smaller between the American and the British samples, and they come again to the similarity in their scripts.

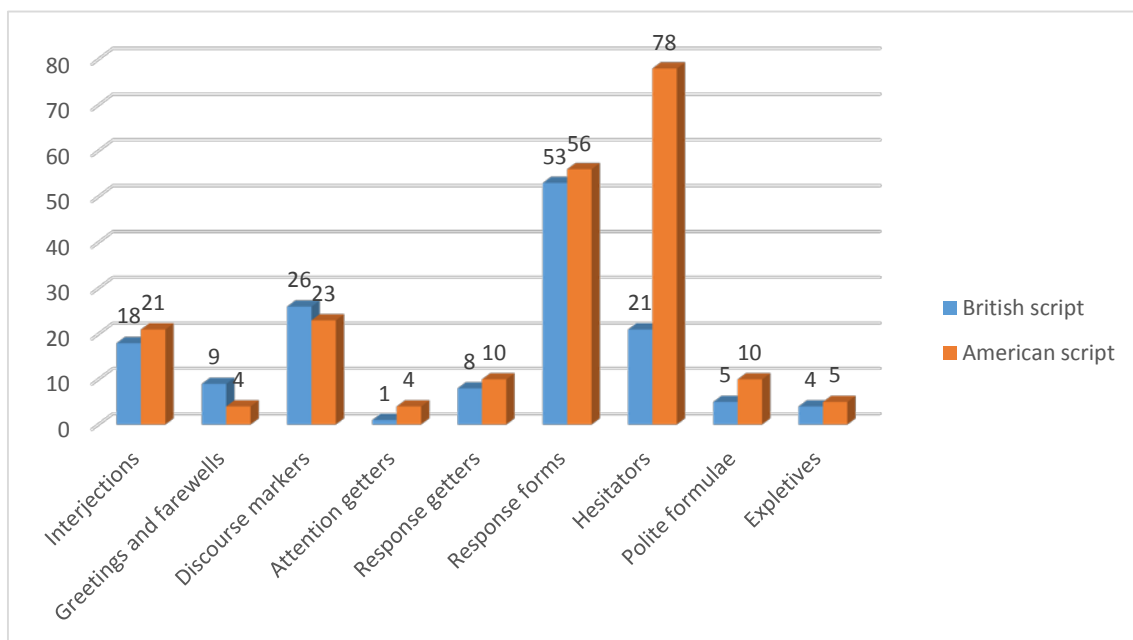For example, in the case of interjections, 'oh' is the most frequent one, but still the cases in the American version double the British. In the same way, the most significant difference can be found in the hesitators, where 'uh' seems to have no competence either with the other possibilities of the category or with its series partner. This shows the tendency that the American *Office* exhibits towards relying on pauses "in the middle of a message, while signaling the wish to continue speaking" (Biber *et al*. 1999: 1092). We take from this that the British characters are more straight-forward in their appearances and interactions, not so hesitant, as in (Appendix, p. 34):

> **(BrS)** **David**: (TO THE CAMERA) […] We call her <u>uh</u>… Camilla Parker-Bowles! ^ Not to her face. ^ <u>I mean</u>, not 'cause I'm scared of her.

> **(AmS)** **Michael**: (TO THE CAMERA) […] I call her Hillary Rodham Clinton, right? ^ Not to her face because <u>uh</u>… <u>well</u> not because I'm scared of her… 'cause I'm not. But <u>um</u>… <u>yeah</u>.

There are also subcategories that are conspicuous by its absence, in both scripts, like greetings and farewells and polite formulae. This can be understandable up to a point, as the public is not expectant for an unfriendly behaviour among characters that can end up resulting cold and putting up a distance. The unmarked property in these cases means that there is familiarity between one another, which is, by all means, more appealing to the final target, i.e. the audience.

Finally, it has been surprising and unexpected the short number of expletives in the texts. There are only nine instances in the whole corpus, and yet five of them are 'God', as in (Appendix, pp. 34, 37, 45, 47):

(BrS) **David**: Chris Finch. ^ <u>Bloody</u> good rep.

David: He's going to fit in here! We're like Vic and Bob and one extra one. Oh, <u>God</u>!

(AmS) **Dwight**: […] (OPENS THE DRAWER) Arg! <u>Damn it!</u> Jim!

Michael: (TO THE CAMERA) People say I am the best boss. They go, "<u>God</u>, we've never worked in a place like this before," […]

Most probably we are dealing with marketing strategies, which, through polls and surveys, detect the dislike of the viewers when there is outrageousness of swearing. Still, in a typical TV comedy, we might expect for exaggerate language, full of hyperboles and, of course, their correlative, expletives. Simply put, bad words accompany us in our everyday lives, but when we, viewers, watch TV, we try to identify with the characters in it, so we can share their problems and intricacies.

1.3. Ellipsis

Elliptical components of the sentence are commonly found in spoken conversation. As Biber *et al*. (2002: 441) put it, "speakers respond to the impulse to speed up communication, avoiding the tedium of unnecessary repetition." Ellipses can occur in all the syntactic components of the sentence –i.e. subject, verb, object, adverbial and so on– but, in this comparison between original series and adaptation, it has been observed that most instances of this strategy happen in subject position in both samples. On the other hand, situational context plays a major role in this category, so as the interlocutor decides to drop a syntactic unit because he or she takes for granted that there is not

going to be any communication misunderstandings in the elapsing time of meanings interchange. As explained in the *Longman Grammar Of Spoken And Written English* (Biber *et al.* 1999: 1042), conversation avoids further elaboration and takes place in a shared context, supposing that every part involved participate in the same cultural and social knowledge.

Furthermore, as McCarthy and Carter (1995: 209) affirm, ellipsis is "of major significance":

> Standard grammars do account for subject and verb ellipsis, but describe such phenomena as being of minor or secondary importance. […] It is also not random, occurring in particular in fixed phrases and related lexical formulae and routines (Nattinger and DeCarrico 1992) such as 'sounds good', 'absolutely right', 'Good job you said', etc. Furthermore, such phenomena are not random, insofar as they occur in certain genres but not in others.

Indeed, in the sample under analysis, subject ellipsis, and sometimes auxiliary ellipsis too, is abundantly used. However, it is true that it is more noticeable in the British *Office*, as its prime character has this idiosyncratic accent plus way of speaking, relying maybe too much on the ability of his recipient to follow his words, as in (Appendix, p. 35):

> **(BrS)** **David**: (weird voice) '^ Did no get an agenda'.
> **Jennifer**: ^ Sorry?
> **David**: ^ Did not get an agenda, no.

On the other hand, its American counterpart, Michael Scott, applies ellipsis mainly in instances where it is almost untraceable. For instance, in the following examples (Appendix, pp. 38, 52):

> **(AmS)** **Michael**: ^ Guilty, guilty as charged!
> **Michael**: Why? Well, ^ theft, and ^ stealing.

'I am' and 'because of' could have been respectively added to the utterance, but it is not necessary for the other interlocutor to hear every grammatical part of it.

1.4. Vocatives and contractions

These two categories have become essential in regular spoken speech. That is the reason why they were expected to occur even before starting the analysis. As Biber *et al.* (1999) regard in their theoretical framework of spoken English, one conversational characteristic is that it is spontaneous and needs to be efficient in an economical amount of time for every participant in it. Contractions are mainly employed to save time and, as they repeatedly occur, they are irrelevant to this dissertation's task.

On the other hand, vocatives are constantly used in order to coordinate and keep an order within interlocutors, that is, to direct the conversation straightly and avoid misunderstandings. On top of that, they also "[…] help to create a personal relationship between speakers and encourage interaction." ("Spoken Language – Technical Terms Defined").

On the overall, both scripts use vocatives on the same grounds, mostly in three positions. First, as a sentence launcher to direct the attention to the addressee of the speaking action. Second, after the lexical utterance, as a form of decreasing the speed of conversation, that is, giving the speaker the necessary time to put together his or her next sentence, as in (Appendix, p. 43):

(BrS) **David**: It won't be out of my hands <u>Malcolm</u>, and that's a promise. OK?
(AmS) **Michael**: It won't be out of my hands, <u>Stanley</u>, OK? I promise you that.

Thirdly, vocatives in this research have been proven to go after a negative insert or a lexical bundle with the same negative connotation. In this case, they also work as a launcher to reorganise the speaker's thoughts and to mild the consequent adverse communication, as in (Appendix, pp. 42, 44):

(BrS) **David**: No, <u>Malcolm</u>, 'cause you didn't see me in there with her.
(AmS) **Michael**: No no no, no <u>Stanley</u>, no, you did not see me in there with her.

1.5. Polite language and face-saving acts

In this category, the analysis shows several fixed structures to express a petition to the addressee in a more formal, or less intrusive, manner. These would concentrate on the following: the modal verb 'should', the lexical bundle 'do you mind if', the suggestion verb 'let' and the interrogative sentence launcher, yet similar in meaning to the precedent lexical bundle, 'can I + request'.

These formulae allow the speaker to take distance from both the situation and the recipient of the message in order to diminish the risk of committing a face-threat. As Brown and Levinson (1978: 199) first formulated in their theory, the concept of 'face' stands for "the public self-image that every member of society wants to claim for itself." Hence, an individual's purpose in a speech act –that is, spoken conversation– will always be to achieve success in it through a series of strategies that protect both his or her identity and, more importantly, those of his or her addressees.

Similar expressions of politeness in both scripts can be seen in (Appendix, p. 39):

(BrS) **Tim**: (ON THE PHONE) Yeah… Look, Mr Davis, <u>can I</u> just call you back?
(AmS) **Jim**: (ON THE PHONE) Sure… Uh, Mr Davis, <u>let me</u> call you right back.

In the compared scenes for the development of the analysis, only five instances adjusting to the previous structures have been found in the BrS and six in the American version, so this category remains similar in both versions of the series.

Thus, from the lack of polite requests that establish a face-saving act on the part of the speakers of both versions of *The Office*, it is taken that comedy language here is straight-forward as well as upfront. In order to create laughter, characters need to be bold and blunt to one another, as in (Appendix, p. 33):

> **(BrS)** **David**: <u>How many times have I told you?</u> There's a special filing cabinet for things from Head Office.

> **(AmS)** **Michael**: <u>How many times have I told you that</u> there's a special filing cabinet for things from Corporate.

It is obvious from the texts that that is the reason why direct requests and orders, through imperative sentences, outnumber the polite situations. Like this, the audience can feel that characters care more for one another, as the more one individual reduces the distance that politeness demands, the closer the social relationship usually results to be.

1.6. Stance adverbials

According to Biber (2006: 97–116), stance adverbials are:

> much more common in the spoken registers than in the written registers, with essentially no differences associated with communicative purpose […] Stance adverbs expressing epistemic meanings are the most common: certainty adverbs (e.g. actually, in fact) are especially common, but likelihood adverbs (e.g. possibly, probably) are also very common.

As this type of adverbials represent the speaker's attitude towards the content of the situation, this assertion can be meaningfully applied to this corpus. In conversation, the interlocutor's posture is needed with the rest of prosodic features to maintain a

successful communication. First, it already comes to our attention the fact that the American adapted script makes use of more stance adverbials. There are similar chunks of both texts where the American version employs these extra attitudinal words to ease the viewer in the humorous and understanding purpose, as in (Appendix, p. 38):

> **(BrS)** **David**: No. Under this regime, Jenny, this will not leave the office.
> **(AmS)** **Michael**: No, <u>absolutely</u>. Under this regime, it will not leave this office.

As regards the inside categories of the different stance adverbials, the research shows that the most resorted type is, by far, 'epistemic'. The combination of certainty and doubt, actuality and reality, and imprecision adverbs sum the total of instances in the texts, with the exception of 'hopefully' and 'frankly' belonging to attitude and style adverbials respectively. This fact represents the need for comedy series to express judgement in propositions, and not so much an evaluation or comment on the matter, as in (Appendix, p. 43):

> **(BrS)** **David**: […] then <u>maybe</u> you should adhere to the ongoing confidentiality agreement of meeting.
> **(AmS)** **Michael**: […] Uh… <u>Maybe</u> you should stick to the… the ongoing confidentiality agreement of meetings.

In this case, both versions of *The Office* use stance adverbials with the same frequency, so it might be said that their use greatly depends on the rest of semantic content of the utterance. That is, if the sentence demands a specific connotation in terms of judgment of speaking, stance adverbials will be the first choice for these two scripts.

1.7. Hedges and vague language

These two groups refer to a similar purpose, that of not being concise enough in the utterance. The reason to do this is the consideration of the distance between

interlocutors, that is, if the speaker considers that his or her recipient of the message is aware enough of the conversation. In the case of hedges, also called 'non-fluency features' (Biber *et al.* 1999), they basically represent hesitancy.

The power that these two groups have for the connecting aim in the speaking production is quite remarkable. The only possibility to use them is to rely on the listeners' ability to be following the conversation. As Biber *et al.* (2002: 457) define them, "[they] are often used to lessen the force of what is said," thus, approaching distances with the other part involved. Hedges help to reorganise sentences and arrange comprehension while saving time.

The analysis has shown that the use of hedges is remarkably larger in the American version and, definitely, more varied. While the British version only counts with one instance of 'like' and one of 'I suppose', the American sample has a range of 10 instances plus two approximators, i.e. hedges accompanying a quantity noun. Examples of the mentioned difference between the two versions are clear in the texts, as in this comparison of the same lines (Appendix, p. 53):

> **(BrS)** **David**: […] It was a joke we were doing. Well done, ^ settling in. Practical jokes ^ for the good.

> **(AmS)** **Michael**: […] It's a joke, we were joking around, you see? OK, he was in on, he was my accomplice and… There was <u>kind of</u> a moral booster thing, and we were showing the new guy around, <u>kind of</u>… <u>kind of</u> giving him the feel of the place, so…

Added to that, as for vague language, something similar in terms of frequency happens. The American *Office* is richer in this aspect, with expressions like 'here's the deal', 'kind of stuff' or 'the thing about'. Similarly, this is also the reason why deictics and some discourse markers could be added to this second part of the category, vaguenesses. When not repeating the antecedent over and over, and actually using demonstrative

pronouns, for example, you are avoiding precision and not providing clear information. The same happens with that two-word insert, 'you know', which works for the sake of the speaker, inviting the hearer to assent and be perspicuous in the transmission of the message, as in (Appendix, p. 50):

(BrS)   **Tim**: You should come, <u>you know</u>. It'll be a laugh.

(AmS)   **Jim**: <u>You know</u> you should uh… you should come with us, because <u>you know</u>, […] I think it could be fun.

Thus, the findings show that the American characters find it harder to get straight to the point, and impose a barrier, a certain distance with the addressee. David Brent, the British character, and his employees rarely use these conversational strategies that try to dissuade the recipients of the utterances.

1.8. Lexical bundles

In the corpus that this essay takes as object of analysis, lexical bundles constitute a significant constant. Lexical bundles "are simply sequences of word forms that commonly go together in natural discourse." (Biber *et al*. 1999: 990). They may be idiomatic or not, and they may be composed of a varied number of words, always more than two. In the compared scenes this paper focuses on, it is clear the abundance in three-word and four-word bundles. Moreover, the most recurrent structure is that of 'subject + verb + (object) + that-clause' and 'subject + want/going + to + verb', as in (Appendix, pp. 38, 41, 51):

(BrS)   **David**: <u>You don't know</u> what it is.

Jennifer: […] <u>I</u> really <u>don't want to</u> worry people unduly.

David: […] You've made my life easier inasmuch as <u>I'm going to</u> have to let you go first.

(AmS)   **Michael**: <u>You don't know</u> what it is!

Jan: […] <u>I don't want to</u> worry people unnecessarily.

> **Michael**: […] And uh… you have made my life so much easier, in that <u>I'm going to</u> have to let you go first.

It is also noteworthy the use of the ability modal 'can', attempting at the same time a polite request, and 'wh- word + auxiliary + subject + verb + that-clause', that is (Appendix, pp. 43, 47):

> **(BrS)** **Office guy**: <u>Can you</u> promise that?
>
> **Tim**: <u>How do you know</u> it was me? (EATING JELLY)
>
> **(AmS)** **Stanley**: Oh, <u>can you</u> promise that?
>
> **Jim**: <u>How do you know</u> it was me? (EATING JELL-O)

Lexical bundles are interesting to bear in mind, as they represent the ease with which speakers recur to their retained knowledge and apply it, in order to maintain a flowing conversation, being efficient in time and understanding. In this case, sitcoms are based on natural discourse and, as such, these subconscious mergers will be very much present and numerous; and this is what we can see much clearer in the American version of *The Offic*e. In this category, the difference in frequency is noticeable, and I infer from this that the American characters rely more in set phrases that come easily to one's mind.

1.9. Idiomatic expressions and familiarizers

An idiomatic expression refers to a chunk of words from which it is difficult, if not unachievable, to infer the meaning from its parts. These expressions are centered on a nucleus, being this a noun or a verb. As Biber *et al*. (1999: 1025) assert, "these idioms are used more commonly to represent stereotyped dialogue in fiction than in actual conversation." That is the reason why sitcoms are the perfect medium to represent cultural and ideological expressions.

On account of this fact, the analysis of the American sample gathers 30 instances of these colloquial expressions, which is actually quite a high frequency as regards a total of almost 7000 words. On top of that, the British version outnumbers the American one in four more cases (34), but still, their incidence rate is similar. Most of the examples are based on a verb, like 'run out of business', 'get away with murder' or 'work out'. However, it is possible to see some constructed around a noun, as in 'I need a quick word', 'it'll be a laugh' or, as in (Appendix, p. 41):

> **(BrS)** **David**: […] Right, I am aware of the rumours that have been circulating, and I just wanna take this opportunity to <u>put the record straight</u>.
>
> **(AmS)** **Michael**: Now, I know there's some rumors out there, and I… just kind of wanna to <u>set the record straight</u>.

In this same category, binominal phrases are also included. Nevertheless, what is salient in this study is the lack of them, with only two instances to account for, 'go and fiddle' and 'let's get out of here and go home'.

As regards familiarizers, the frequency increases. Familiarizers are included in the category of vocatives, but they have been included here because of their colloquial quality and, of course, their expressivity. Familiarizers narrow the distance between participants, and clearly signal the proximity of their social relationship. They, as well as vocatives in general, show an attitude inside the conversation and towards an addressee, as in (Appendix, p. 50):

> **(BrS)** **Tim**: ^ Certainly will, <u>mate</u>. All right, <u>mate</u>. Take care.
>
> **(AmS)** **Jim**: No, definitely, all right <u>dude</u>, awesome, ^ will do.

In this example, we can also see the dialectal difference between two of the familiarizers, 'mate' (BrS) and 'dude' (AmS).What Leech (1998) divides as another subcategory inside vocatives is here included in familiarizers. This further category is

'insults', and in the analysis, four cases have been found in both samples: 'you big poof', 'big ears', 'big queen' and 'old Godzillary'. Yet, we find a higher affluence of simpler familiarizers, like 'son', 'sweetheart', 'baby' or 'man', with the relatively modern inclusion of 'you guys', acting like a compound that means exactly the same as 'guys'. It is used to compensate for the lack of number of the second person pronoun 'you'. Some examples of these insults and appreciatives are (Appendix, pp. 37, 38, 49):

> **(BrS)** **Chris Finch**: Cheers, <u>big ears</u>.
>
> **Dawn's boyfriend:** Hi, <u>sweetheart</u>. Are you ready, yeah?
>
> **(AmS)** **Todd Packer**: Hey uh… is <u>old Godzillary</u> coming in today?
>
> **Roy:** Hey <u>baby</u>!

Both groups are recurrent throughout the scenes of both scripts –seven instances in each version- due to their function: they approximate speakers, creating a bond between them that, in a way, requires them to reply back.

1.10.   Heads, tails and repetition

Heads and tails are similar strategies to focus on some part of the clausal information. The terminology Biber *et al*. (1999) use for them is 'prefaces' and 'noun phrase tags'. They are frequently employed in spoken discourse because they "[have] to do with how the information is distributed" (Biber *et al*. 2002: 418), and so, speakers can play with clausal order as they wish, in order to signal out those elements they may prioritize.

Heads "help listeners orientate to the topic," and tails "echo and reinforce what has been said." ("Spoken English Features"). Clefting, as a strategy, has also been considered within the frames of this group, as it deliberately sends the important information to the final position of the clause, as in (Appendix, p. 43):

> **(BrS)** **Dawn**: […] I was in the meeting with Jennifer, and she said that <u>it could be this branch that gets the chop</u>.

> **(AmS) Pam**: I was in the meeting with Jan and… she did said that <u>it could be this branch that gets the axe.</u>

As regards the feature of repetition, it is important to differentiate the dysfluency type 'repeats' from the strategy 'repetition'. Repetition is important in terms of the flow of conversation. When repeating what the previous speaker has stated, the second interlocutor confirms that he/she is following the interchange of words while providing his/her further input.

In the analysed scenes, there is evidence of the usefulness of this feature in spoken English, as it appears 25 times in the sample. It must now be taken into account how repetition affects the comedic purpose in these TV series. In my opinion, the emphasis on repeating what has been said before works as a boost for expressivity, because, in general, these repetitions are also used as exaggerations. The hyperbolic use of words is another important aspect of TV sitcoms, as it contributes to prevail the humorous aspect, as in (Appendix, p. 52):

> **(BrS)** **Dawn**: Er… What am I meant to have stolen?
>
> **David**: ^ <u>Post-It notes</u>.
>
> **Dawn**: <u>Post-It notes?</u> What are they worth, about 12p?
>
> **(AmS) Pam**: Uh… What… what am I supposed to have stolen?
>
> **Michael**: ^ <u>Post-It notes.</u>
>
> **Pam**: <u>Post-It notes?</u>

1.11.   Question tags

These interrogative constructions following a declarative sentence have a main aim: the reassurance of the hearer's comprehension on the matter. Even more, we could say

question tags are an imposition on the speaker's side to retain the interlocutor in his same opinion. Nevertheless, as explained in the grammar blog 'i love english language' ("Spoken Language – Technical Terms Defined"), "[…] depending on the context they can show a great neediness on the part of the participant who feels the need for constant answers […]", and moreover, Biber *et al.* (2002) give us the completion of their function, asserting that question tags "[illustrate] the characteristic negotiation of acceptance between interlocutors."

Now, focusing on the analysis, it has been noticed that there is, in fact, a high frequency of question tags in the British transcript. There is a total of eight instances of these interrogative bits, but what comes as more striking is that there is only one case in the American version of the series. In the adaptation they rely more on the use of 'response getters', which are included in the category of inserts, sometimes followed by a vocative, to reinforce the direction of the question to the addressee, as in (Appendix, p. 33):

> **(BrS)** **David**: (TO THE CAMERA) […] Lovely Dawn. Dawn Tinsley. ^ Receptionist. ^ Been with us for ages, <u>haven't you?</u>
>
> **(AmS)** **Michael**: (TO THE CAMERA) […] Pam Beesly. Uh… Pam has been with us uh… for… forever, <u>right Pam?</u>

Thus, it is convincing the recurrence of these in the first version of *The Office*. The findings show that question tags are mainly operated by the British protagonist, David Brent, as he is an insecure man who is always looking for the others' approbation and getting in with everybody, most probably to lessen his feelings of loneliness. However, they are not that much used by Michael Scott, at least not in this episode of the American version.

1.12.   Elision

Brown (1978: 60-1, quoted by *teachphonetics* 2010), describes this process as "the 'missing out' of a consonant or vowel, or both, that would be present in the slow colloquial pronunciation of a work in isolation." Furthermore, as the British Council explains, "[t]his is done to make the language easier to say, and faster." Precisely, there is no better opportunity to demonstrate the human capacity to be as little time-consuming as possible in linguistic matters as in spoken interaction.

Normally, elision happens with unstressed patterns, i.e. phonemes or even complete words. In this analysis it is brought to the fore those 'modern' verbs that have changed their pronunciation when speaking quickly and, what is more, which can be seen now written with these new phonologies. These cases consist in eliding the particle 'to', whilst adding its /ə/ sound to the main verb. These are: 'wanna', 'gotta' and 'gonna', standing for 'want to', 'got to' and 'going to' respectively. The findings show a salient use of these forms in the American script, with a total of 21 instances. If paying special attention to the most recurrent elided verb, 'gonna' heads the list with 11 samples. On the other hand, the British episode only offers two cases of elision, which makes it even imperceptible, as in (Appendix, p. 37):

> **(BrS)   David**: Oh… You see? Did I no want to hear that, Jenny. Because redundancies are a tragedy always.

> **(AmS)   Michael**: Me no <u>wanna</u> hear that, Jan, because downsizing is a bitch […]

Accordingly, we might assume that American speakers in this TV series tend to speak even faster than the British ones. However, this is not necessarily a fact, as one thing is which one abuses more of elision and another thing would be the speed of their talks. As a matter of fact and from my point of view, the British version is the one that makes

comprehension more difficult, as its main character has a southern British accent and speaks really fast.

Finally, there is one interaction worth commenting on, which basically consists of an impression of an African-American Vernacular English, or AAVE, way of speaking. It is the following (Appendix, p. 44):

> **(AmS) Michael**: You know, you can go a mess with Josh's people, but I'm the head of this family, and 'you ain't gonna be messing with my chillen'.

In the British version we do not have a counterpart for this, as they did not count with an African-American member in its work group, which may tell us about cultural parameters of both versions. That is, because of its historical background, the American version ensures the figure of a member of this community.

The example above shows a specific feature of elision in this variety of English, which is 'ain't'. It makes the sentence negative, and it has become so influential that, nowadays, it is not only used by the black minority, but it is expanding farther. As Leech (1998) points out, 'ain't' would represent the vernacular range of morphological expressions. Moreover and in the same utterance, we can see the appropriation of 'chillen'. 'Chillen' stands for 'children', but for its understanding, we need to approach the context of the script. The General Manager is giving explanations for the upcoming downsizing that the office is going to undergo, and when speaking directly to one of his African-American workers, he decides to change the register and speak in what he supposes is his worker's accent.

CONCLUSIONS

As it has been shown in the analysis, there are features that appear in a more recurrent way than others. First of all, and in broader terms, we can see in Chart 3 the complete data for the frequencies of the main categories under study. Thus, we can establish some relevant facts both as regards the two different *Office* versions and amongst whole categories:
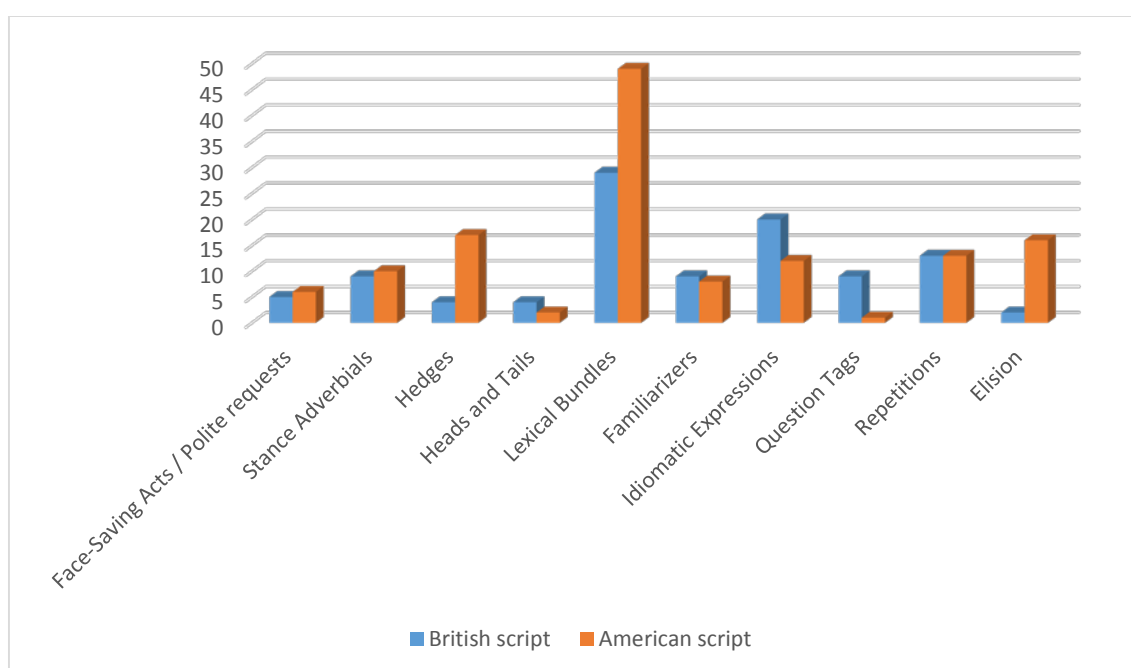
Chart 3. 'Global comparison of features'

As we can see in the chart, lexical bundles lead the count, although it is not surprising because of the structural possibilities they rely on. As with inserts, they are much recurred in the corpus because they avoid elaboration of meaning, that is, reduce the speakers' mental effort to put thoughts together. They work as set phrases that actually are very well accepted by the receivers, given that they all share a context.

On the same ground rules, inserts and dysfluencies have been the most prosperous categories to go through. As the number of cases increases, also the meaningful findings do. With inserts, it is very significant the fact that hesitators in the American version surpass by far the numbers of the rest of the categories, both in the

British and the American scripts. The findings led us to infer the hesitant nature of Michael Scott's office. On the other hand, the British crew relies more on discourse markers, meaning that they care in a greater extent for a healthy communication between interlocutors. However, we can also assume that they take more time to express the message, but still there is little difference with the American version.

As regards the rest of the categories, they have accomplished the expected preconception of not achieving the sufficient frequency in order to draw an accurate conclusion. Still, question tags, hedges and elision are interesting to discuss. It seems that David Brent, the British protagonist, above everything, feels the compulsive need to find the others' approbation through this tag strategy. We can find the opposite balance on the hedges side, as the American version reaffirms again its tendency to be dubious. As regards elision, the abundance is overwhelming in the American *Office*. We may infer from here that they tend to apply this phonological transcription in speech because it is faster, but moreover because they have already accustomed themselves to do so, thus it is no longer a vernacular form, but a permanent trait.

Familiarizers, on their side, are quite a valuable way to examine cultural differences between the two versions, more specifically, insults. Insults need some kind of contextual frame to which the speakers can feel identified; and it is then when they appeal to their imagination to project the humorous aspect in conversation.

The main problems encountered during the analysis have been the duality between lexical bundles with some other groups, inserts mostly. The decision has been to include these cases in both categories, as some of them are blurry and serve the function of both. Moreover, the shortness of the corpus restrains the frequency of the features.

Then, as a means to improve the validity of the analysis, it would be interesting to study how speech changes all along one complete season of episodes for example, and then compare them again between both versions. Accordingly, spoken grammar does not end here and a great range of categories could be added to this basic list of items, such as adjacency pairs, deictic forms, paralinguistic features, hyperboles or non-standard use of grammar, among others.

To sum up, this systematic study of spoken traits of *The Office* gives us a clear picture of how organised and structured spoken language can result to be. The analysis has shown that British and American variations matter when analysing two different versions of a series, as they will openly change grammatical traits but also modify the speed of speaking, the pauses and the directness in speech. Nevertheless, the analysis has proved to be only a part of the study of TV comedies. Visual products as they are, grammar will go hand in hand with film techniques and corporal movements. Moreover, TV series serve themselves with heaps of in-jokes, which makes impossible for us to take the characters' utterances literally at every point of the screening.

From my point of view, I would say the American version is easier to grammatically follow for a non-native viewer. I base myself on the aforesaid detour that this *Office* avails itself with. The time these characters waste at not getting to the point is time that the audience has to better process the bits of information. Moreover, because of the insistency of lexical bundles in this version, the learning of English is facilitated. Viewers can identify these set phrases and then use them in the real world, besides the conversational language and vocabulary they get when watching any type of series. Nonetheless, it is also a good exercise to watch both versions and learn from both the difficulties of each, and doubtless, it has been a rewarding exercise to do so from a grammatical perspective for this dissertation.

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APPENDIX

Columns

UK Version	Features	US Version	Features

In the current analysis, for the sake of better comparing the chunks of the similar scenes, characters' utterances have been displayed in such a way that we can find the similar lines of the characters in the same rows. Then, it has been established a display for the two versions of *The Office,* so we can find in the first column the UK version and in the third the US version. In the other two columns after the scripts of the versions, the main analysis of traits has been disclosed, correlating each feature with the lines of the characters again.

Key for the Comparative Scenes

- VOCATIVES
- CONTRACTIONS
- ^ = ELLIPSIS
- FACE-SAVING ACTS / POLITE REQUESTS
- EVALUATIVE PREDICATIVE ADJECTIVES
- STANCE ADVERBIALS (DIFFERENT TYPES)
- HEDGES
- ABBREVIATIONS
- INSERTS (DIFFERENT TYPES)
- TYPICAL CONVERSATIONAL EXPRESSIONS
- LEXICAL BUNDLES
- BINOMIAL EXPRESSIONS / HEADS OR TAILS
- FAMILIARIZERS
- IDIOMS OR IDIOMATIC EXPRESSIONS
- QUESTION TAGS
- REPETITIONS
- EMPHATIC AUXILIARIES

David		Michael	
David: (TO THE CAMERA) I've been in the… business for twelve years. ^ Been at Wernham Hogg as General Manager for eight of those, so ^ putting together… my team. (WEIRD VOICE) Lovely Dawn. Dawn Tinsley. ^ Receptionist. ^ Been with us for ages, haven't you?	**More ellipsis** **New sentence to explain this** **Here, question tag**	**Michael**: (TO THE CAMERA) I've… uh I've been in Dunder Mifflin for twelve years, the last four as Regional Manager. Uh… If you want to come through here, ah… See we have the entire floor, so this is my kingdom, as far as the eye can see. Ah! This is our receptionist, Pam. Pam, Pam Pam! Pam Beesly. Uh… Pam has been with us uh… for… forever, right Pam?	**Filled pause** **Full sentence** **Overuse of her name** **Repetition and hesitation** **Here, through insert**
Dawn: Yeah.	**Affirmative answer**	**Pam**: Well, I don't know!	**Hesitant**
David: I'd say uh… at one time or another, every bloke here has woken up at the crack of Dawn!	**Would+infinitive** **Joke with the name**	**Michael**: (TO THE CAMERA) If you think she's cute now, you should've seen her a couple of years ago (little roar).	**Conditional sent.**
Dawn: What ^?!	**Same reaction**	**Pam**: What? ^	**Same reaction**
David: Can I have the mail, please?	**More polite**	**Michael**: Uh… ^ Any messages?	**Direct request**
Dawn: Yeah… ^ Just a fax.		**Pam**: Um… Yeah, ^ just a fax.	
David: Uhm… Dawn, this is from Head Office.	**Same structure: Insert+Vocative+info Dialectal difference**	**Michael**: Oh… Pam this is from Corporate.	**Same structure: Insert+Vocative+info Dialectal difference**
Dawn: I know.		**Pam**: I know, I…	**More explanatory, besides getting interrupted**
David: How many times have I told you? There's a special filing cabinet for things from Head Office.	**Question+New sentence** **Dialectal difference**	**Michael**: How many times have I told you that there's a special filing cabinet for things from Corporate.	**Complex sentence** **Dialectal difference**
Dawn: You haven't told…	**Incompleteness**	**Pam**: You haven't told me.	

David: It's called the wastepaper basket! (Laughs) ^ Better get that back.		**Michael**: It's called the wastepaper basket (giggles, then laughter).	
David: (TO THE CAMERA) People say I'm the best boss. They go… you know, "we've never worked in a place like this before,""you're such a laugh,""you get the best out of us." And I go, you know… 'C'est la vie'. If that's true, excellent.	**Dysfluency vs.**	**Michael**: (TO THE CAMERA) People say I am the best boss. They go, "God, we've never worked in a place like this before," "you're hilarious. And you get the best out of us." Um… (SHOWING THE MUG) I think that pretty much sums it up. I found it at Spencer Gifts.	**Vs. expletive**
Tim: (TO THE CAMERA) Uh… I'm a sales rep, which means that my job is to speak to clients on the phone about uh… quantity and type of paper, and whether we can supply it with them, and whether they can… pay… for it. And I'm boring myself talking about it. It just…	**Launcher** **One filled pause** **One insert only** **Two silent pauses** **Incompleteness**	**Jim**: (TO THE CAMERA) My job is to… speak to clients, um, on the phone about uh… quantities and uh… type of… copier paper. You know, uh… whether we can supply to them, whether they can uh… pay for it, and uh… (giggle) I'm boring myself just talking about this.	**Six filled pauses in total (6 hesitators)** **Two silent pauses** **One further discourse marker**
David: (TO THE CAMERA) Head Office don't really interfere with me at all. Uhm… Jennifer… might come down once a week. Jennifer Taylor-Clark. We call her uh… Camilla Parker-Bowles! ^ Not to her face. ^ I mean, not 'cause I'm scared of her.	**Dialectal difference** **Plural denomination** **Straight but with lots of ellipsis.**	**Michael**: (TO THE CAMERA) Corporate really doesn't interfere with me at all, uh… Jan Levinson-Gould, [- Jan, hello!] I call her Hillary Rodham Clinton, right? ^ Not to her face because uh… well not because I'm scared of her… 'cause I'm not. But um… yeah.	**Dialectal difference** **Singular denomination** **More dubitative in general** **Further explanation**

Jennifer: Right… Was there anything you wanted to add to the agenda?		**Jan**: All right, was it anything you wanted to add to the agenda?	
David: (weird voice) '^ Did no get an agenda'.	**Ellipsis vs.**	**Michael**: Mmmmm… (weird voice) 'Me no get an agenda'.	**Insert first Vs. Object pronoun**
Jennifer: ^ Sorry?		**Jan**: I'm s… what, I'm sorry?	**Retrace and repair + repeat**
David: ^ Did not get an agenda, no.	**Abuse of ellipsis of subject**	**Michael**: I didn't get any agenda.	**Full direct sentence**
Jennifer: I did fax you one this morning.	**Emphatic auxiliary**	**Jan**: Oh I faxed one overdue this morning.	**Insert + normal affirmative**
David: ^ Didn't got a fax, did we Dawn?	**Ellipsis Question tag to blame somebody else**	**Michael**: Really? 'Cause I didn't uh… I didn't… did we get a… a fax this morning?	**Inserts Filled pauses**
Dawn: Yeah, we may have.	**Possibility**	**Pam**: Yeah, the one.	**Certainty**
David: Then why isn't it in my hand? Because a company runs on efficiency of communication.		**Michael**: Why… Why isn't it in my hand? Because a company runs on efficiency of communication, right? So… uh… So what's the problem Pam, why I didn't uh… why didn't I get it?	**Repeat** **Insert + Filled pause Blaming sb else** **Filled pause + repeat**
Dawn: You uhm… put it in the bin that was a special filing cabinet.		**Pam**: You… put it in the… garbage can that was a special filing cabinet.	**Hesitations (pauses)**
David: ^ As a joke, yeah. It's not really my joke, it's my brother's joke. It's meant to be with bills. ^ Doesn't really work with faxes.	**Elliptical sentence** **Short sentences (total count = 4)** **Another elliptical sentence**	**Michael**: Yeah! Uh… that was a joke, that was a joke that uh… was actually my brother's, and it was… (giggles) it was supposed to be with bills and he doesn't work great with faxes.	**Utterance launcher Full sentence Hesitation** **Continuation of sentence** **(Total count = 2)**
Jennifer: Do you want to have a look at mine?	**Similar expression, same lexical bundle**	**Pam**: Do you want to look at mine?	**Similar expression, same lexical bundle**
David: Yeah.		**Michael**: Yeah, yeah.	**Far more inserts**

		All right, thank you.	

Jennifer: Right. (CLEARS HER THROAT) Since the last meeting, Alan and the board have decided that we can't justify a Swindon branch and a Slough branch.	Utterance launcher	Jan: OK, since the last meeting, Alan and the board have decided that we can't justify Scranton branch and the Stafford branch.	Utterance launcher **Copied line, adapted only with the names**
David: Oh… OK. Go on.	**Hesitation**	Michael: Oh oh ok.	**Follow-up inserts, non-stop**
Jennifer: No, listen David. Don't panic.	**Same**	Jan: No, Michael, don't panic.	**Same**
David: ^ Should be good. This is it. There are alarm bells.	**Ellipsis + Modal (uncertainty)**	Michael: No no no no, this is good, this is good, this is fine… Excellent.	**Lexical bundle of 'no', + affirmative ending up in exaggeration**
Jennifer: No, no, no, no, no. Don't panic. We haven't made any deci…	**Lexical bundle of 'no' + repetition** **She gets interrupted**	Jan: Michael listen, don't panic.	
David: ^ Don't panic?	**Repetition**	Michael: Although the alarm bells are going off… Mimimimimi.	**Now the Am version adapts here 'the alarms'.** **Mocking**
Jennifer: We haven't made any decisions. I've spoken to Neil in Swindon. I've told him the same as you.		Jan: We haven't made any decisions yet, I've spoken to Joshua in Stanford.	
David: Yeah.	**Different insert**	Michael: OK.	**Different insert**
Jennifer: It's up to either you or him to convince me that your branch could incorporate the other.	**Conditional modal**	Jan: I've told him the same as you and it's up to either you or him to convince me that your branch can incorporate the other.	**Present modal**
David: OK. No problem.		Michael: OK, no problem.	
Jennifer: This does, however, mean…	**She gets interrupted**	Jan: This does, however, mean there's going to be downsizing.	**The news get delivered altogether** **Dialectal difference**
David: Yeah.	**Insert**		
Jennifer: That there are going to be redundancies.	**Dialectal difference**		

David: Oh… You see? <u>Did I no</u> want to hear that, Jenny. Because redundancies are a tragedy always. I wouldn't wish that on Neil's men or certainly wish that on my men… or women. Present company excepted. Is Neil concerned about redundancies?	**Inserts as launchers Again, ellipsis vs. Same vocative** **Softer definition No use of inserts** **Pause** **In BrE the dialectal difference does not have place for a joke**	**Michael**: Me no wanna hear that, Jan, because downsizing is <u>a</u> bitch, it is a real bitch, and I wouldn't uh… wish that on Joshua's men. I certainly wouldn't wish it on my men, or women, present company excluded… sorry. Uh… Is Josh concerned about downsizing… himself? Not ^ downsizing himself, but is he concerned about downsizing?	**Vs. Object pronoun Phonetic use Same place for vocative. Different definition (this one more modern, and gets repeated) Hesitator** **No pause** **Insert (apology) Hesitator as utterance launcher** **Use of vocabulary for a joke (AmE)**
Jennifer: Well, yes, of course, yes.	**Affirmative answer with several inserts**	**Jan**: Well, uh…	**Insert + hesitation**

David: ^ Based on fact. OK! Is there a time limit on? (PHONE RINGS) Let it go onto the answer machine.	**Different way of asking a deadline**	**Michael**: Question: how long do we have to uh… [PHONE RINGS] Oh! Uh… Todd Packer, terrific rep, do you mind if I take it?	**'How long' structure for asking deadline Launcher inserts Terrific = AmE**
David's phone voice: Hi, mate. ^ Not around at the moment, so please leave a mess-AGE.		**Jan**: No, go ahead.	
Phone: (BLEEP) Hello Dave, it's Finch.			
David: Chris Finch. ^ Bloody good rep.	**Bloody = BrE**	**Michael**: Pac man!	
Chris Finch: ^ Got a hangover, you big poof?	**Similar pejorative**	**Packer**: Hey, big queen.	**Similar pejorative**
David: Ah, that's derogatory. That's a shame.	**Further sentence**	**Michael**: Oh, that's not appropriate.	
Chris Finch: You're in with Jennifer today, aren't you? Give her one for me, son.	**To be in vs.**	**Packer**: Hey uh… is old Godzillary coming in today?	**Insert launcher + Hesitation Vs. To come in**
David: Ow…	**Just an insert**	**Michael**: Um… I	**Insert + Lexical**

		don't know what you mean…	bundle (exculpatory)
Chris Finch: Cheers, big ears.	Simple goodbye (with an explative) that RHYMES	**Packer**: Look, I've been meaning to ask her one uh… question: does the Corporate master rape? (INTONATION GOES DOWN)	Another joke and then, Michael has to hang up.
David: ^ Awful. ^ Awful man.	Repeat Ellipsis + adj + noun	**Michael**: Oh my god! Oh… That's horrifying! Horrible… Horrible person.	Expletive insert + Pause (Hesitation) That is + eva. pred. adj Adapted construction

Jennifer: David… Can we keep a lid on this for the time being? I… I really don't want to worry people unduly.	Possibility modal vs. Same expression Stance adv. (intensifier)	**Jan**: So do you think we can keep… a lid on this for now? I don't want to worry people unnecessarily.	Vs. Lexical bundle Same expression but with pause
David: No. Under this regime, Jenny, this will not leave the office.	Demonstrative pron.	**Michael**: No, absolutely. Under this regime, it will not leave this office. Just uh… (HE ZIPS HIS LIPS) like that.	Stance adv. (Intensifier) Vs. Subject pron.
Office man: So what does 'redundancy' actually mean?	Present Simple	**Phyllis**: So what is 'downsizing' actually mean?	Ungrammaticality (to be + meaning verb)
		Stanley: Well…	
Office woman: So you'd just go, would you?	Different development of events	**Oscar**: You guys gotta update your résumés, just like I'm doing.	
Office man 2: Would you?	Question tags	**Angela**: I bet it's gonna be me… probably. ^ Gonna be me.	She takes the blame
Office woman: Well, I don't know!	Indecision (insert + lexical bundle)	**Kevin**: Yeah, it'll be you.	He corroborates

Dawn: This is Mr Brent.	Same introductory phrase	**Pam**: This is Mr Scott.	Same introductory phrase
David: ^ Guilty!		**Michael**: ^ Guilty, guilty as charged!	In the original version, this expression is used afterwards in the

Ricky Howard: Alright? Hi. This is Ricky Howard from the temping agency. Verna sent me down to start today?	**Greeting insert + affirmative (elliptical as well) Interrogative (looking for acknowledgment)**	**Ryan Howard**: ^ Ryan uh… Howard from the temp agency? Deniqua sent me down here to start today?	**Filled pause (hesitation) + Interrogative (looking for acknowledgment) Interrogative (looking for acknowledgment)**
David: Yeah. Temporary. Staff. Only. ^ Ricky?	**Vocative to ask for confirmation**	**Michael**: Howard! Like uh… Moe Howard, "Three Stooges"?	**Joke with the name already (cultural reference AmE)**
Ricky: Yeah.		**Ryan**: Yep.	
David: "Ricky!" "Ricky. No, Ricky!" What was his girlfriend's name on "EastEnders"?	**(Cultural reference BrE)**	**Michael**: Watch this, this is Moe. (IMPERSONATION, THEN LAUGHS) Oh… Right here, high five. Oh Pam, that's a guy thing Pam. I'm sort of a student of comedy. Watch this, here we go (giggles). (HITLER'S IMPERSONATION AND THEN LAUGHS) I'm Hitler, Adolph Hitler! (GOES ON)	**This chunk includes lots of spoken expressions (mostly imperatives)**

Tim: (ON THE PHONE) Yeah… Look, Mr Davis, can I just call you back? Something's just come up. ^ Two minutes. Thanks very much. Bye. (HANGS UP) What are you doing? (very quickly said) [GARETH'S USING A RULE TO SEPARATE THINGS FROM ONE DESK TO THE OTHER]	**Insert + Vocative + polite request (with 'can') Present Perfect vs. Same polite formulae Direct lexical bundle**	**Jim**: (ON THE PHONE) Sure… Uh, Mr Davis, let me call you right back. Yeah, some just came up, two minutes. Thank you very much. (HANGS UP) Dwight, what are you doing? [DWIGHT'S USING A RULE TO SEPARATE THINGS FROM ONE DESK TO THE OTHER]	**Insert + launcher + vocative + polite request ('let') Vs. Past Simple Same polite formulae Addressee + Lexical bundle**
Gareth: What ^?		**Dwight**: What ^?	
Tim: Gareth, what are you doing?	**Addressee + Lexical bundle (repetition)**	**Jim**: What are you doing?	**(Repetition)**
Gareth: I'm just pushing this stuff off	**Different meaning verbs**	**Dwight**: ^ Just clearing my desk, I	**Ellipsis**

of my desk. I can't concentrate.		can't concentrate.	
Tim: It wasn't on your desk.	**Past Simple**	**Jim**: It's not on your desk…	**Present Simple**
Gareth: It was! It was overlapping! It's all coming over the edge here. Alright? One word, two syllables: demarcation. Alright?	**More intense (repetition)** **Insert (response getter)** **Another response getter**	**Dwight**: It's overlapping. It's all spilling over the edge. One word, two syllables: demarcation. [JIM PUTS PENCILS ALL OVER THE EDGE OF HIS DESK]	**Same grammatical construction**

Gareth: You can't do that.	**Exact same conversation**	[JIM PUTS PENCILS ALL OVER THE EDGE OF HIS DESK] **Dwight**: You can't do that.	**Exact same conversation**
Tim: Why ^ not?		**Jim**: Why ^ not?	
Gareth: ^ Health and Safety.		**Dwight**: ^ Safety violation, I could fall and pierce… an organ.	
Tim: (Laughs) Uhm… Why? ^ Crushed by cardboard or what?		**Jim**: (CROSSES HIS FINGERS) We'll see. [DWIGHT SMASHES THE PENCILS WITH THE PHONE]	
Gareth: No. Number one, ^ blocking out light. Number two, ^ misuse of company files.			
Tim: Misuse of files? Right. Yeah, see? This is why the whole redundancy thing doesn't bother me, because if I have to work with him for another… day, I will… I will slit my throat. [MAKES THE GESTURE]	**Same insert launcher** **Same hedge**	**Jim**: (TO THE CAMERA) See? This is why the whole downsizing thing… just doesn't bother me.	**Same insert launcher** **Same hedge**

David: OK. Uhm… Thanks for coming in. Uhm… This will take… a minute. Er…	**Utterance launcher**	**Michael**: Now, I know there's some rumors out there, and I… just kind of	**Utterance launcher Vs. 'to know'** **Hedge, not going**

Right, I am aware of the rumours that have been circulating, and I just wanna take this opportunity to put the record straight.	'To be aware of' vs.	wanna to set the record straight.	straight to the point + interruption
Gareth: Eeh! I'm Team Leader! I should know first.	**Attention getter ins. Different title**	**Dwight**: Uh uh! I'm Assistant Regional Manager, I should know first.	**Attention getter insert / Different title**
David: Yeah. I'm telling everyone, now. Yeah, so…		**Michael**: ^ Assistant to the regional manager.	
Gareth: Just tell me, very quickly, just whisper it to me?	**Directive + directive Same use of 'just'**	**Dwight**: Yeah… Ok. Um… Can you just tell me please? Just tell me quietly.	**Backchannels More polite request + directive Same use of 'just'**
		Michael: I'm about to tell everyone.	**In the adapted version, they keep discussing a bit longer**
		Dwight: Just whisper it in my ear.	
		Michael: I'm just about to tell everyone.	
Office worker: Can you just tell us?			
Gareth: Yeah. Yeah. All right. Shall I tell'em?	**Response getter Discourse marker / Use of modal 'shall'**	**Dwight**: (ASKS FOR SILENCE TO ONE OF HIS WORKMATES) Please?! OK. (TO MICHAEL) Do you want me to tell'em?	**Use of 'want somebody to do something'.**
David: You don't know what it is.		**Michael**: You don't know what it is!	**Exaggerated language**
Gareth: All right. You tell'em, then, with my permission.	**One only sentence with a connector**	**Dwight**: So… you tell'em. ^ My permission.	**Separate sentences**
David: I don't need your permission.		**Michael**: I don't need your permis…	**Interruption**
Gareth: Permission granted. You do as you wish.		**Dwight**: Permission granted. Go ahead.	

David: Head Office have deemed it appropriate to…	**Plural vs. Pause (hesitation)**	**Michael**: Corporate has… uh… deemed it appropriate to	**Vs. singular**

enforce an ultimatum… upon me, and Jennifer is talking of either downsizing the Swindon branch or this branch. [BACKGROUND MUMBLING NOISES]	**Another pause** **Different location of 'either'**	enforce an ultimatum upon me, and uh… Jan is thinking about downsizing either the Stanford branch or this branch.	**Filled pause (hesitat)** **Different location of 'either'**
Office guy: And are you going to let her?		**Ryan**: (HE IS NOT IN THE MEETING, HE IS OUTSIDE TALKING ON THE PHONE) I heard they might be closing this branch down. That's just… That's just the rumor going around, this is my first day, I don't really know.	**Repeat**
David: No, Malcolm, 'cause you didn't see me in there with her.	**Negation + Vocative** **Abbreviation of 'because'**		
Gareth: ^ For his eyes only!			
David: I said, "if Head Office try to come here and interfere, they got me to contend with." OK? "You can go and fiddle with Neil's people, but I'm the head of this family." "You're not going to fiddle with my children, are ya'? If anyone does."	**No hesitation** **Binomial expression vs.** **Question tag expressing aggressivity**		
Office woman: Yeah, but, David, if they do downsize here…	**Insert + contrast connector + vocative + conditional (with emphatic auxiliary)**	**Oscar**: Yeah, but Michael what if they downsize here?	**Insert + contrast connector + interrogative (normal conditional)**
David: Whoa… ^ You think I'd let that happen? No. Way.	**Interjection** **Two demarcated words to express clear negation**	**Michael**: ^ Not gonna happen.	**Straight negative declarative**
Office guy: It'd be out of your hands.		**Stanley**: It could be out of your hands, Michael.	

David: It won't be out of my hands Malcolm, and that's a promise. OK?	**Different location of the insert**	**Michael**: It won't be out of my hands, Stanley, OK? I promise you that.	
Office guy: Can you promise that?		**Stanley**: Oh, can you promise that?	**Surprise interjection**
Gareth: ^ On his mother's grave.		**Dwight**: ^ On his mother's grave.	
David: Well… (WHILE NOT PRECISELY THINKING THAT MUCH) I have promised it. OK? And it insults me that you even have to ask. It's just that… Sorry Malcolm, Dawn wants to speak. Go on, Dawn.	**Tails** **Incompleteness**	**Michael**: Well… What? (Laughs) No… Well, yeah, it is a promise, And… frankly I'm a little bit insulted that you have to… keep asking about it.	**Discourse marker + hesitation + response getter + hesitation + discourse marker + response getter** **Pause** **Hesitation**
		Stanley: It's just that we need to know.	
		Michael: I… I know. I… Hold on a second, I think Pam wanted to say something, Pam? You uh… had a look that you wanted to uh… ask a question, just then?	**Affirmative + interrogative vocative Filled pause Repetition to make her say something / Pause**
Dawn: It was just that I… I was in the meeting with Jennifer, and she said that it could be this branch that gets the chop. [BACKGROUND MUMBLING]	**Hedge, avoiding the answer** **Dialectal variation?**	**Pam**: I was in the meeting with Jan and… she did said that it could be this branch that gets the axe.	**Emphatic auxiliary** **Dialectal variation?**
David: Yeah… If you were in the meeting with Jennifer, then maybe you should adhere to the ongoing confidentiality agreement of meeting. [ZIPPING HIS MOUTH]	**Response getter + hesitation + conditional Polite offer**	**Michael**: Are you sure about that? Pam? Uh… Maybe you should stick to the… the ongoing confidentiality agreement of meetings.	**Question to discourage her Polite offer**

Gareth: Yeah (ZIPPING HIS MOUTH TOO). Information is power.	**Response getter vs.**	**Dwight**: Uh, yeah, Pam, information is power.	**Vs. hesitator and response getter + vocative**
Office guy: So you can't say for certain whether it's going to be us or them, can you?	**Question tag reclaiming an answer**	**Stanley**: So you can't say for sure whether it's gonna be us or them, can you?	**Phonetical transcription** **Same question tag (same purpose)**
David: This is my ship and I've asked you to trust me, and you can't go wrong.		**Michael**: No no no, no Stanley, no, you did not see me in there with her. I said, if uh… if Corporate wants to come in here, and interfere, then they're gonna have to go through me, right? You know, you can go a mess with Josh's people, but I'm the head of this family, and '**you ain't gonna be messing with my children**'. (**chillen'**)	**This chunk has already appeared in the Br version* **Lexical bundle of negation + vocative + negator** **Filled pause (hesitation)** **Phonetical transcrip.** **Different semantic verb (go through vs. contend with)** **Vs. idiom** **Southern (black?) accent and intonation**

David: Oh, ^ careful! Watch this one. Gareth Keenan ^ in the area! ^ Ricky, the new temp. Good to see you.	**Same ellipsis, different ending** **Ellipsis in the introduction**	**Michael**: (ROAR) Watch out for this guy! Dwight Schrute ^ in the building! This is Ryan, the new temp.	**Same ellipsis, different ending** **Full introduction**
		Dwight: What's up	**Falling intonation**
		Ryan: ^ Nice to meet you.	**In between gesture of politeness**
David: Introduce yourself.		**Michael**: Introduce yourself, be polite.	
Gareth: ^ Gareth Keenan, Assistant Regional Manager.		**Dwight**: Er… ^ Dwight Schrute, Assistant Regional Manager.	**Hesitation**
David: Assistant to the Regional Manager. Gareth is	**Same specification (*constant joke in the series)**	**Michael**: Assistant to the Regional Manager. So uh…	**Same specification (*constant joke in the series)**

my right-hand man. I need him… beneath me… Oh! As an actress said to a bishop! No, he's not… I'm not… Tell him about the car and the kung-fu and everything.	**Plays a joke and ends up bad for him** **Incompleteness of the joke and then, order** **Same hedge**	Dwight tell him about the uh… the kung-fu, and the uh… car and everything.	**No joke but hesitation and then, order** **Same hedge**
Gareth: Uh… Yeah, I've got a TR3. I bought it for 1,200, ^ done it up, now it's worth three grand.	**Hesitation + response getter** **Different model of car (cultural and time aspects): it** **Past simple vs.** **Do up vs.**	**Dwight**: Uh… yeah, I got a '78-280Z , I've bought her for 1,200, ^ fixed it up, now ^ worth three grand.	**Response getter** **Different model of car (cultural and time aspects): her** **Present Perfect** **Vs. fix up**
David: The profit on that's just under…		**Michael**: That is his profit!	
Gareth: ^ New engine.		**Dwight**: Er… New engine, suspension, I got it re-sprayed… I've got some photos (OPENS THE DRAWER) Arg! Damn it! Jim!	**Hesitation (interjection)** **Larger enumeration** **Vs. disgusted interjections + expletives**
David: Just a wreck. Do it himself.			
Gareth: I've got some photos. (HE OPENS THE DRAWER TO SHOW THEM, FINDS INSTEAD SOMETHING ELSE) Oh, what is that?!	**Lexical bundle**		
David: Whoa, whoa, whoa, whoa, whoa.	**Repetition of the surprise interjection**		
Gareth: Dav… That is it.			
David: Slow down, you're moving too fast. Solomon's here. ^ All part of the job, what's going on?	**Different orders, same meaning** **Reference to a judge** **Lexical bundle vs.**	**Michael**: OK, hold on, hold on. Judge is in session. What is the problem here?	**Simply 'judge'** **Vs. expression**
Gareth: (TAKING THE JELLY OUT) He put my stapler inside a jelly again. That's the third time he's done it. It wasn't even funny the first time.	**Specification vs.** **Dialectal variation** **Complex sentence** **Even vs.**	**Dwight**: He put my stuff in Jell-O again. [PAM LAUGHS ABOUT IT] That's rough professional, thanks. That's the third time and it	**Vs. vagueness** **Dialectal variation** **Simple sentence**

		wasn't funny the first two times either Jim.	Vs. either
		Dwight: (TO THE CAMERA) It's OK here, uh… but people sometimes take advantage because it's so relaxed. I'm a… volunteer sheriff's deputy on the weekends, and you cannot screw around there. It's sort of… one of the rules.	**This chunk goes afterwards in the Br version** **Filled hesitation** **Just the info** **Cultural variation** **Vs. to screw around** **Vs. hedge (vagueness)**
David: Why has he done that?	**Further explanation of the 'why'**		
Gareth: I told him once I don't like jelly. I don't trust the way it moves.			
David: You show a weakness… He'll pounce. You should know about that. Oh! What is in there?	**Adverbial of place vs.**	**Michael**: What is that?	**Vs. demonstrative pronoun**
Gareth: That's my stapler.		**Dwight**: That's my stapler.	
David: Well, don't do that! Eat it out. There's people starving in the world, which I hate. So… And it's a waste. So… How do you know it's yours?	**Launcher insert + directive** **There is + plural** **Noun + gerund vs.** **Same relative cl.**	**Michael**: No no no, do not take it out! You have to eat it out there, because there are starving people in the world (giggles), which I hate, and it is a waste… of that kind of food.	**Lexical bundle + directive** **Vs. adj + noun** **There are + plural** **Same relative clause** **Vagueness**
Gareth: 'Cause it's got my name on it in Tippex.			
David: Yeah. Don't eat it now. ^ Chemicals.			
Gareth: Right. You can be my witness. Give him an official	**Utterance launcher** **Possessive determiner**	**Dwight**: OK, you know what? (ADDRESSING TO	**Utterance launcher + lexical bundle**

warning!	**Order vs.**	RYAN) You can be a witness. Can you reprimand him please?	**Indefinite determiner** **Vs. polite request**
Tim: How do you know it was me? (EATING A JELLY)	**Same structure**	**Jim**: How do you know it was me? (EATING JELL-O)	**Same structure**
Gareth: It's always you.		**Dwight**: It's always you. Are you gonna discipline him or not?	**Going to (affirmative)**
David: ^ Mad here.			
Gareth: Can't you discipline him?	**Can (negative)**		
David: Ooh, kinky! (Laughs) No. The thing about practical jokes, you've got to know when to stop as when to start… and now's the time to stop putting Gareth's possessions in jelly. Alright?	**Same interjection and adj.** **Heads / Plural vs.** **'Have got to' vs.** **Further explanation + attention getter**	**Michael**: Oooh discipline, ^ kinky! (Laughs) All right, here's the deal you guys, the thing about a practical joke, is that you have to know when to start, as well as when to stop!	**Same interjection and adj.** **Vagueness** **Vs. singular** **Vs. 'have to'**
		Dwight: Yeah.	
		Michael: And yeah, Jim, now is the time to stop putting Dwight's personal effects into Jell-O.	**Response getter + vocative + further explanation**
Tim: Gareth, it's only a trifling matter. (*Different joke)	**Vocative**	**Jim**: OK. Dwight I'm sorry 'cause, I've always been your biggest 'flan'.	**Response getter + vocative** **Abbreviated 'because'**
David: Here we go. ^ Always like this.	**Ellipsis + affirmative**	**Michael**: (LOUD LAUGH) Nice, that's the way it is around here. You just gotta go round and round…	**Expression**
Ricky: You should put him in 'custard-y'!	**Conditional tense**	**Ryan**: You uh… You should have put him in 'custard-y'!	**Hesitation (filled pause)** **Perfect cond. tense**
David: He's going to fit in here! We're like Vic and Bob and one extra one. Oh, God!	**Just delivers the info (exclamatory sentences)** **Expletives at the end to mark the excitement**	**Michael**: Heeey! Yes, new guy! He scores! (Laughing)	**Approval by means of attention getters and a familiarizer**
Gareth: Yeah, I'm more worried really	**Response getter + info**	**Dwight**: OK, that's great, I guess, uh…	**Response getter + expression + hedge**

about damage to company property. That's all.		what I'm most concerned with is damage to company property. That's all.	+ hesitator + info
Tim: Trifling… [TIM, DAVID AND RICKY STOP AND THINK]			
David: I'm just trying to think of other desserts… to do.	**Plural vs. Hesitation (pause)**	**Michael**: (THINKS FOR A WHILE) 'Pudding', 'putting'… I'm trying to think of another dessert to do.	**Vs. singular**
Gareth: (TO THE CAMERA) Yeah, it's all right here, but… people do sometimes take advantage because it's so relaxed. I like to have a laugh… just as much as the next man, but… this is a place of work. You know, I was in the Territorial Army for three years, and you can't mock about there… That's one of the rules. [GARETH EXTENDS HIS HAND TOWARDS TIM]	**Response getter first Unfilled hesitation Emphatic auxiliary** **Discourse marker + info Cultural variation** **To mock about vs. Pause vs. Clear statement**		

Tim: Do you like a drink… at the end of a week?		**Jim**: Do you like uh… going out at the end of a week for a drink?	**Longer formulation of words (verb + complement) Adverbial in the middle**
Dawn: Yup.	**Different insert**	**Pam**: Yeah!	**Different insert**
Tim: Well, this is why we're going out, so we can have a…	**Same launcher insert Interruption**	**Jim**: Oh, well, that's why we're all going out, so we can have an end-of-the-week drink!	**Double launcher** **Completion of the sentence by repetition**
Dawn: When are you going out then?	**Straight interrogative 2nd person plural**	**Pam**: Well then when are we going out?	**Launcher inserts 1st person plural**
Tim: An end-of-the-			

week drink.			
Dawn: When are you going out then?	**Repeat of the question**		
Tim: Well, tonight, hopefully, I thought.	**Insert + information + stance adv.**	**Jim**: I don't know, tonight, hopefully.	**Lexical bundle + information + stance adv.**
Dawn: Er… yeah.	**Interjection + yeah**	**Pam**: Ok, yeah.	**Response getter + yeah**
		Jim: Huh uh.	
Tim: Hi, mate.	**Dialectal difference (both greeting insert and vocative)**	**Roy**: Hey man	**Dialectal difference (both greeting insert and vocative)**
Dawn: Hi!	**Different greeting**	**Pam**: Hey!	**Different greeting**
		Jim: What's going on?	**Catch phrase in between**
Dawn's boyfriend: Hi, sweetheart. Are you ready, yeah?	**Dialectal difference (both greeting insert and vocative)** **'Yeah' instead of question tag**	**Roy**: Hey baby!	**Dialectal difference (both greeting insert and vocative)**
		Pam: (TO THE CAMERA) Uh… Roy is my fiancé, we've been engaged about, uh… about 3 years, and uh… we were supposed to get married in September, but I think we're gonna get married in the spring.	**Further explanation of a character** **Several filled pauses, marking hesitation on the speaking, plus a filled pause plus lexical bundles = uncertainty**
Dawn: Yeah. Er… Do you mind if I went out for a drink with this lot?	**Interjection (pause) before the polite request** **Subjunctive vs.**	**Pam**: Do you mind if I go out for a drink with these guys?	**Same grammar for the permission** **Vs. Indicative**
Dawn's boyfriend: No, no, no. Come on, let's go home, yeah?	**Lexical bundle** **Same 'let's' structure'** **Again, 'Yeah' instead of question tag**	**Roy**: Uh… No, come on. Let's get out of here and go home.	**Dubious interjection + only 'no'** **Same 'let's' structure**
Dawn: OK. I'll uh… I'll be a couple of minutes because… it's twenty past five.	**Response getter + filled pause**	**Pam**: OK, uh… I will be out in a few minutes. Uh… so it's only twenty past five, I've still to do my faxes. [PAM LEAVES TO DO HER FAXES, THE GUYS ARE LEFT	**Response getter + interjection with pause** **Reformulation comparing the American version**

		ALONE]	
Tim: You should come, you know. It'll be a laugh.	**Idiom vs.**	**Jim**: You know you should uh… you should come with us, because you know we're all going out and it could be a good chance for you to… see what people are like outside of the office, I think it could be fun.	**Two discourse markers + repeat + pauses = afraid to go to the point** **Vs. lexical bundle**
Dawn's boyfriend: No. Not tonight. You're all right.	**He is more direct**	**Roy**: No, uh… it sounds… sounds good but… seriously we gotta get going.	**He is not sure about how to put it Interjections, repeats and pauses**
Tim: All right.	**One insert vs.**		
Dawn's boyfriend: Seriously, we got to get off. [DAWN LEAVES TO DO HER FAXES, THE BOYS REMAIN ALONE]			
Tim: (Big silence) Uhm… What's in the bag?	**Launcher insert + question**	**Jim**: Yeah, yeah, yeah. (Big silence) Uhm… What's in the uh… what's in the bag?	**Vs. three inserts Filled pause in a question**
Dawn's boyfriend: Just tell her I'll see her later, yeah?	**See vs. Again, 'Yeah' instead of question tag**	**Roy**: Just tell her I'll talk to her later.	**Vs. talk No tag**
Tim: ^ Certainly will, mate. All right, mate. Take care.	**Both cases, some ellipsis Different familiarizer**	**Jim**: No, definitely, all right dude, awesome, ^ will do.	**He starts with a negator Different familiarizer Both cases, some ellipsis**

David: You've seen the vibe. Yeah… ^ Chilled out. Oh, dear. We work hard. I mean we… play hard. ^ Play hard when we should be working hard sometimes, partly down to me… sure. Uhm… I let them get	**Affirmative (to see)** **Expletives Lexical bundle in between Ellipsis and adv. of freq. at the end** **Longer disclosure, with pauses and ellipsis**	**Michael**: So, uh… have you felt the vibe yet? We work hard, we play hard. Sometimes we play hard when we should be working hard, right? (Laughs) Uhm… I guess the uh… the atmosphere that I've created	**Filled pause + question (to feel) Altogether** **Adv. of frequency + full sentence** **Vs. attention getter + hesitators Vs. guess**

away with murder and they let me go. The girls love me. ^ Not in that way… so much. But, er… you know, I suppose I've created an atmosphere where I'm a friend first and a boss second. ^ Probably an entertainer third. (KNOCKING ON THE DOOR) Hold on! ^ Practical jokes, yeah?	**Hesitator + discourse marker vs. Suppose vs. Relative clause** **Same ellipsis and stance adv.** **Direct to the point**	here is that I am a friend first, and a boss second. ^ Probably uh… an entertainer third. (KNOCKING ON THE DOOR) Just a second! Right? Oh, hey, do you uh… do you like the Jamie Kennedy Experiment?	**Same ellipsis and stance adv + hesitator** **Different way of retention** **Attention getters + filled hesitation + introduction of the game**
Ricky: Right.	**Response getter**	**Ryan**: Yeah, ^ "Punk'd", and all that kind of stuff?	**Response getter**
		Michael: Yeah, OK. Uhm… You are going to be my accomplice, just go on with that, OK?	**Hesitator** **Different but same request + att. getter**
		Ryan: All right.	
David: Right. OK. ^ Practical joke. Don't give me away. Come in! And then Head Office said… (NOW TALKING TO DAWN) Yeah.	**Discourse markers Request** **Dialectal variation**	**Michael**: Just follow my lead, (CLEARS HIS THROAT) don't pimp me, alright? Come in! So uh… Corporate just said that I don't want to… [PAM ENTERS THE ROOM]	**More orders with attention getters** **Filled pause** **Dialectal variation**
Dawn: ^ Fax for you.	**Ellipsis**	**Pam**: You got a fax.	**Full sentence**
David: Thanks. Don't… Don't go, Dawn. Pull up a chair. I was going to call you in anyway. I need a… quick word. Uhm… As you are aware, there are gonna be… redundancies. You've made my life easier inasmuch as I'm going to have to let you go first.	**Polite formulae in both / Imperatives (repeat) and final vocative / Order** **Expression** **Hesitator + aware** **Pause** **No hesitation** **Inasmuch vs.** **Same expression**	**Michael**: Oh thank you, Pam. Pam? Can you come in here for a sec? Just have a seat, I was gonna call you in anyway… ^ Uhm… You know Ryan? Uhm… As you know, there is going to be downsizing. And uh… you have made my life so much easier, in that I'm going to have to let you go first.	**Polite formulae as well. Repeat of the vocative / Polite request (can and have…)** **Just 'know'** **No pause** **He hesitates now** **Exaggeration** **Vs. in that** **Same expression**
Dawn: What? Why?	**Same reaction**	**Pam**: What? Why?	**Same reaction**

David: Why? ^ Stealing. ^ Thieving.	Same ellipsis Two gerunds	Michael: Why? Well, ^ theft, and ^ stealing.	Disc. Marker / Same ellipsis Noun + gerund
Dawn: Thieving?	Both repeat the last word heard	Pam: ^ Stealing?	Both repeat the last word heard
David: Yeah.	Diff. response getter	Michael: Huh uh.	Diff. response getter
Dawn: Er… What am I meant to have stolen?	Hesitation To mean vs.	Pam: Uh… What… what am I supposed to have stolen?	Hesitation + repeat Vs. to suppose
David: ^ Post-It notes.		Michael: ^ Post-It notes.	
Dawn: Post-It notes? What are they worth, about 12p?	Subject pronoun Gives the answer in the question	Pam: Post-It notes?	
		Michael: Yeah… God…	
		Pam: What are those worth, like 50 cents?	Demonstrative pronoun + hedge
David: Oh! ^ Got your Bible on you, Ricky?	Includes Ricky in the conversation with an expression		
Ricky: No.			
David: Thou shalt not steal unless it's only worth 12p. ^ You steal a thousand Post-It notes at 12p, you've made… a profit.	Reference to Bible language Only one pause at the end	Michael: 50 cents… yeah. ^ You steal a thousand Post-It notes at 50 cents a piece, then uh… you know, you've made a… profit margin. You know… ^ Gonna run us out of business Pam.	More dubitative than the other version Two disc. markers plus hesitator
[…] Extra dialogue			
Dawn: Are you serious?		Pam: Are you serious?	
David: Yeah…	Open end	Michael: Yeah.	Closed end
Dawn: I can't… God… I've never stolen as much as a paper clip and you're firing me.	Reformulation with expletive in between + info	Pam: Uhm… uh I can't believe this, I mean, I have never even stolen as much as a paper clip and now you're firing me.	Hesitators + expression + lexical bundle + info
David: And the good news is… I don't need to give you severance pay 'cause it's gross misconduct. So you can go straight away.	Different expression No 'that' but same pause Singular subject + 'need to' / Subject pron. vs. More direct, no	Michael: And the best thing about it is that uh… we are not gonna have to give you any severance pay, because that is gross misconduct,	Different expression Filled pause Plural subject + 'going to have' Vs. demons. pron.

[SHE WEEPS]	**hesitation**	and uh… Just clean out your desk. I'm sorry. [PAM STARTS WEEPING, MICHAEL LAUGHS]	**Pause and hesitation** **Final polite formulae**
David: Oh, now… That was a joke there. (SHE KEEPS CRYING) ^ Good girl. It was a joke we were doing. Well done, ^ settling in. Practical jokes ^ for the good. "Thanks for these. Check'em out." ^ Better do these now actually.	**Discourse marker** **Demons. pron. vs.** **Past simple vs.** **Ellipses and short sentences**	**Michael**: You've been X'd, punk! (Laughs) Surprise! It's a joke, we were joking around, you see? OK, he was in on, he was my accomplice and… There was kind of a moral booster thing, and we were showing the new guy around, kind of… kind of giving him the feel of the place, so… You were… God, you were… we totally got you…	**Cultural reference** **Vs. subject pron.** **Present Simple first and then Past Simple** **Several inserts** **Chunk full of hedges and pauses** **Repeat** **Pause and then repeat with expletive in between**
Dawn: You ^ wanker.	**British insult with middle ellipsis**	**Pam**: You're a jerk!	**Full sentence with American insult**
David: Come on.			
Dawn: You're such a sad little man.	**One more insult**		
David: Am I? ^ Didn't know that.	**Question tag vs.**	**Michael**: Well, I don't know about that. [PAM STORMS OFF]	**Vs. discourse marker + lexical bundle**

David: (TO THE CAMERA) What… is the single most important thing for a company? Is it the building? Is it the stock? Is it the turnover? (SHAKING HIS HEAD 'NO') It's the people. Investment. In. People. Yeah? My proudest moment here wasn't when I increased profit by	**Hesitant pause** **The enumeration changes the options** **Gesture vs.** **Singularization of words vs.**	**Michael**: (TO THE CAMERA) What is the most important thing for a company? Is it the cash flow? Is it the inventory? (SHAKING HIS HEAD 'NO') Unh-unh. It's the people. The "people". My proudest moment here was not when I increased profits by 17%, or when I cut expenses without	**Different options** **Vs. casual negative response form** **Vs. quotation marks**

17%, or ^ cut expenditure without losing a single member of staff. No. It was a young Greek guy, ^ first job in the country, ^ hardly spoke a word of English, he came to me, and he went, "Mr Brent, will you be godfather to my child?" So… (VERY PROUD OF HIMSELF) ^ Didn't happen in the end. We had to let him go. He was rubbish. He was rubbish.	Ellipsis of when **Different vocab.** **One single negator (insert) / Heads vs.** **Subject + go vs.** **Vocative + future simple** **Pause (meaning recognition for himself)** **'To be rubbish' vs.**	losing a single employee. No, no, no, no, no. It was a young Guatemalan guy. ^ A first job in the country, ^ barely spoke English, came to me and ^ said, (IMITATING HIS ACCENT) "Mr Scott, would you be the godfather of my child?" Wow… wow… wow. ^ Didn't work out in the end. We had to let him go. He sucked.	**Different vocab.** **Lexical bundle of negators** **Vs. tails** **Different adverbial** **Vs. ellipsis + say** **Vocative + conditional** **Three times an interjection** **Vs. 'to suck'**

Pictures of both protagonists

David Brent

(UK)

Michael Scott

(US)