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A Linguistic Analysis of the Genre of Dream Stories

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Abstract (English)

The starting point of this study is the observation that dreaming somehow happens in a different world than the one in which we are awake. When telling a dream to somebody else, the often bizarre content and experiences are hard to be put into words. This paper investigates in what ways and why dream stories differ from other types of communication, and what they have in common with them.

The nature and characteristics of dreams generally play a major role in their communicative reconstructions. For instance, the fact that a dreamer by definition is experiencing dream events alone, adds to the difficulties he/she has when trying to verbalise them while he/she is awake. The language of the reconstruction itself has so far only rarely been considered in scientific studies on dreams.

As for the idea of the difference of the world of dreams and the world in which we are awake, i.e. the world of everyday life, the theory of multiple realities constitutes another part of the investigation. According to this approach our life can be divided into different realities. Sociality and, therefore, communication are only possible in the world of everyday life, which is the paramount reality we are always part of. Since the world of dreams corresponds to a different province of meaning, the experience therein must be transferred into the reality common to us all in order to be communicated.

The process of telling this experience and making it comprehensible for other people requires a certain common guidance that speaker and listener both can cling to in order to be able to bring it to a common level of understanding. This guidance is in fact available for the interactants in the forms of genres, which are considered to present solutions to communicative problems. Out of various different approaches which have all contributed to the idea of a genre of dream stories, the notion of communicative genres and, more precisely, of the sub-category of reconstructive genres, proves to be a viable tool for the study of accounts of dreams.

Following the communicative genre theory, an empirical analysis of previously recorded dream stories is conducted along three levels, which are the level of external structure, the situative level and the level of internal structure. A focus, hereby, lies on the traces of speech production, which provide a proof for the difficulties dream narrators face when verbalising their dreams.

Abstract (Deutsch)

Der Ausgangspunkt der vorliegenden Arbeit ist die Beobachtung, dass Träume in gewisser Weise als Erlebnisse in einer anderen Welt als der des Wachens erfahren werden. Meist erscheint es dem/der Träumer/in schwierig, die oftmals sehr seltsamen Traumerfahrungen in Worte zu fassen. Die vorliegende Arbeit geht der Frage nach, inwieweit und warum Traumerzählungen kommunikative Besonderheiten aufweisen.

Das Wesen und die Eigenschaften von Träumen spielen eine bedeutende Rolle in deren Erzählungen. Die Tatsache, dass ein/e Träumer/in seine/ihre Traumerfahrung notwendigerweise alleine macht, ist zum Beispiel eine der Charakteristiken, die die Mitteilung der Erlebnisse im Wachzustand erschweren. Sprachbezogene Aspekte wie diese haben bisher kaum Einzug in wissenschaftliche Studien über Träume gefunden.

Was die Unterscheidung der Welt des Träumens von der Welt des Wachens betrifft, erbringt die Theorie der mannigfaltigen Wirklichkeiten einen dienlichen Ansatz für die Erklärung der Kommunikationsschwierigkeiten. Die Lebenswelt wird demnach in verschiedene Wirklichkeiten unterteilt, wobei Sozialität und Sprache nur in der übergeordneten Welt des Alltagslebens möglich sind. Da aber nun die Welt der Träume einer anderen Sinnprovinz entspricht, müssen Erfahrungen aus dieser Welt in die gemeinsame Realität übertragen werden, um sie anderen mitteilen zu können.

Dieser Prozess der Erzählung in Form einer möglichst nachvollziehbaren Darstellung erfordert eine Hilfestellung für Sprecher/in und Hörer/in um die Traumerzählung auf eine Ebene gemeinsamen Verstehens zu bringen. Die Hilfestellung wird den Kommunikationsteilnehmer/innen in Form von Gattungen angeboten, die als Lösungen von kommunikativen Problemen definiert werden. Aus mehreren verschiedenen Gattungstheorien, die alle zur Idee der Gattung Traumerzählung beigetragen haben, erweist sich die Theorie der kommunikativen Gattungen, bzw. deren Unterkategorie der rekonstruktiven Gattungen, als die nützlichste für eine Analyse von Traumerzählungen.

Basierend auf dieser Theorie schließt die Arbeit mit einer empirischen Studie anhand von Beispielen aus Tonaufnahmen von Traumerzählungen, bzw. deren Transkripten, ab. Die Analyse behandelt Aspekte auf den drei Ebenen Außenstruktur, situative Realisierungsebene und Binnenstruktur, wobei besondere Aufmerksamkeit auf die Spuren der Versprachlichung gelegt wird, die die Schwierigkeiten, die Träumer bei der Formulierung ihrer Erlebnisse haben, deutlich belegen.

**Dreaming permits each and every one of us to be
quietly and safely insane every night of our lives.**

William Dement¹

1. Introduction

In the state of dreaming, we are not experiencing the ordinary everyday world known to us when awake. It seems as if we were part of a different reality. What we perceive in the world of dreams is often bizarre and unrealistic and might quite clearly differ from what we consider “normal” in our everyday world. What is more, we are by definition experiencing dreams alone. At no point is there anyone else who perceives the same events and situations, which makes these kinds of experiences particularly difficult to share. Often it seems extremely hard if not impossible for us to put dreams into words. Nevertheless, we do evidently tell them quite often in everyday life. The main question that thus rises is how we share these different experiences; how do we actually manage to communicate dreams to others.

Recollecting dreams, telling them to others and listening to others’ accounts, are situations that we are all familiar with in everyday life. But what strategies do we (and our listeners) use in order to communicate about our experiences? And accordingly, what evidence of the difficulties, which clearly exist in the production of dream stories, can be found in actual conversation? These questions were the starting point of my investigations. In other words, this study examines the specific linguistic characteristics of dream stories and furthermore deals with the question whether stories of dreams are distinct from those of other experiences. Above all, if this is so, can we act on the assumption of a *genre* of dream stories?

In this paper, I am going to discuss these questions theoretically, with regard to the scientific literature available, and empirically, by means of collected data in the form of recorded dream narrations. The topic of dream stories

¹ (Simpson 1988)

might automatically evoke ideas of psychoanalysis and neurophysiology, especially as far as common understanding and popular science is concerned. But also in scientific research, it seems to be a subject almost exclusively treated in these fields. There have been very few linguistic investigations in this topic so far, most of them being in German, which is another reason for my approaching dream stories from a linguistic point of view on the basis of English data.

The individual parts of the paper are designed to give an overview of the various approaches to the topic and broad insights into the different fields of research they have been gleaned from. Chapter 2 comprises an explanation of the methodology of the study, providing a short introduction to conversation analysis and ethnomethodology, as this is the approach used in the investigation. This is followed by a discussion of data collection in general and of the data used for the analysis. The section also includes a consideration of the problems and restrictions associated with it.

In Chapter 3, the subject of dreams itself is approached from different angles. Firstly, the main fields of treatment of the topic in scientific studies are briefly introduced, particularly regarding linguistic investigations that have been carried out so far. I am then going to provide general information on dreams and their special characteristics, taking into account views from neurophysiological, psychoanalytical, psychological, sociological and linguistic publications as well as examples from the data I collected. Another section is dedicated to the theories of multiple realities and provinces of meaning by Alfred Schütz and their significance for a linguistic approach according to the way the sociologist's ideas relate to dreams and dream stories.

The functional and structural frameworks for many communicative actions are provided by the notion of genres. In order to introduce this concept, the first part of Chapter 4 covers the theory of genre and its various approaches to it. It includes introductions to the concept of cognitive psychology and to genre analysis in different fields of study, eventually arriving at the communicative genre theory, which provides the basis for the analysis of

dream stories. In section 4.5, I am going into detail on the sub-category of reconstructive genres, exemplified by accounts of epileptic auras, pain description and near-death experiences.

Following the communicative genre theory, the study of the transcripts of dream stories is then divided into the sections of the level of the external structure, the situative level and the level of internal structure. In the analysis, structural and situational aspects as well as content features will be described. The level of the external structure deals with the connection between a society and its members and a communicative genre. Dialogic aspects are covered on the situative level of communicative genres. On the level of the internal structure, I am going to especially focus on the characteristic features which prove the difficulties, speakers have when telling their dreams linguistically.

Eventually, in chapter 6, I am going to present a complete analysis of one single dream narration in accordance with all the points discussed in the course of the paper. This is followed by a conclusion to the investigation. The paper is completed by the list of references in section 8 and appendices 1 to 3, providing a list of the dream story recordings, the transcription conventions and the full transcripts of the data.

2. Methodology

The methodological basis for my study has been the approach of ethnomethodological conversation analysis as it was also used in previous linguistic studies of accounts of personal experiences (e.g. Gülich & Schöndienst 1999, Gülich & Furchner 2002). In the present chapter on methodology, I first give a broad overview of the ethnomethodological approach with a description of its development and its various influences. The second part of the chapter comprises an introduction to the data and an explanation on how it has been planned, collected and arranged for analysis.

2.1. Conversational analysis / Ethnomethodology

The ethnomethodological approach, which in linguistics is synonymous with Conversation Analysis (CA)², serves as a basis for this study. Originating from the sociological ideas by Alfred Schütz and Erving Goffman, the concept did initially not involve language but emerged “as an approach to the study of social action” (Heritage 1995: 391). The names associated with bringing ethnomethodological ideas into the field of linguistics are Harold Garfinkel, Emanuel Schegloff, Gail Jefferson and especially Harvey Sacks. The beginnings of linguistic ethnomethodology in the 1960s can be well traced back to when Sacks started to record and write down the lectures he held at different Californian universities. After his early death, they were made available through publication (cf. Sacks 1992).

Before the emergence of ethnomethodological ideas in linguistics, ordinary conversation was not seen as a subject worth investigating for scientific purposes. It was regarded “too messy and unpredictable to be analyzed in its

² In the German-speaking scientific world, *Konversationsanalyse* is often used synonymously with *Diskursanalyse* and thus as a generic term for all forms of discourse analysis. In this paper, the term is exclusively meant to refer to ethnomethodological conversation analysis. For a thematic division of CA cf. e.g. Bergmann 1994: 13.

‘raw’ state” (Heritage 2001: 914). With the detection that language actually is in fact ordered and linguistic behaviour does follow certain rules, conversation analysts did not settle for research based on introspection the way it used to be conducted. Moreover, “CA has avoided premature and idealized theory construction in favor of the empirical identification of diverse structures of practices” (Heritage 1995: 397). In doing so, recordings of “natural” conversation have become the premise of data collection in order to gain as authentic information as possible. Only with this precondition is it possible to detect actual performance and behaviour that is most likely not to be found in hypothetical construction, as Harvey Sacks (1984: 25) states in the following statement (cf. also Heritage 1995: 395; Bergmann 1994: 10; Bergmann 2001: 922).

I want to argue that, however rich our imaginations are, if we use hypothetical, or hypothetical-typical versions of the world we are constrained by reference to what an audience, an audience of professionals, can accept as reasonable. That might not appear to be a terrible constraint until we come to look at the kinds of things that actually occur. [...] That is to say, under such a constraint many things that actually occur are debarred from use as a basis for theorizing about conversation. I take it that this debarring affects the character of social sciences strongly.

Our business will be to proceed somewhat differently. We will be using observation as a basis for theorizing. Thus we can start with things that are not currently imaginable, by showing that they happened. We can then come to see that a base for using close looking at the world for theorizing about it is that from close looking at the world we can find things that we could not, by imagination, assert were there. We would not know that they were ‘typical’ (lecture 1, fall 1971). Indeed, we might not have noticed that they happen.

Another advantage of natural data is that it can be consulted “again and again” (Sacks 1984: 26), meaning it can be used for different scientific inquiries. Moreover, it can be made available to others who may thereby form their own opinions on an analysis. In the case of CA, this is especially possible by the use of transcriptions of recorded data, which also primarily provide the basis for the analysis. In Heritage’s words (1995: 395), “[t]he

empirical advances that CA has made rest squarely on the use of recorded data together with the availability of data transcripts that permit others to check the validity of the claims being made”.

As far as analysis itself is concerned, there is no specified way of dealing with the data, no actual instructions or rules are given. Heritage summarizes that the practice of ethnomethodologists does not “rest on methodological guidelines which can be packaged in the straightforward fashion that is often thought desirable in social science” (ibid.: 410). The fundamental idea of CA is that the method of analysis should arise from the particular subject matter of the respective study and, consequently, from the data itself, starting from the idea that social acting is largely self-explanatory. Bergmann calls this a subject-appropriate methodisation³. In his lectures, Sacks explains his idea to approach data even without having a particular question in mind and still be rewarded with discoveries and, ideally, insights.⁴

In reference to the sociological theories CA is based on, he remarks that “whatever humans do can be examined to discover some way they do it, and that way will be stably describable. That is, we may alternatively take it that there is order at all points” (Sacks 1984: 22). In the course of his engagement with these ideas, Sacks, along with Schegloff and Jefferson, found that a system of rules and order can in the same manner be found in language, and as such can not only be identified by the analyst but is also deliberately – though for the most part unconsciously – produced and recognised by the participants of a conversation:

³ “gegenstandsadäquate Methodisierung“ (Bergmann 1994: 9).

⁴ “Now people often ask me why I choose the particular data I choose. Is it some problem that I have in mind that caused me to pick this corpus or this segment? And I am insistent that I just happened to have it, it became fascinating, and I spent some time at it. Furthermore, it is not that I attack any piece of data I happen to have according to some problems I bring to it (lecture 7, spring 1967). When we start out with a piece of data, the question of what we are going to end up with, what kind of findings it will give, should not be consideration. We sit down with a piece of data, make a bunch of observations, and see where they will go (lecture 5, fall 1967)” (Sacks 1984: 27).

We have proceeded under the assumption (an assumption borne out by our research) that insofar as the materials we worked with exhibited orderliness, they did so not only for us, indeed not in the first place for us, but for the coparticipants who had produced them. If the materials (records of natural conversations) were orderly, they were so because they had been methodically produced by members of the society for one another, and it was a feature of the conversations that we treated as data that they were produced so as to allow the display by the coparticipants to each other of their orderliness, and to allow the participants to display to each other their analysis, appreciation, and use of that orderliness. (Schegloff & Sacks 1973: 290, cf. Heritage 2001: 914)

This kind of orderliness in communication, the way people produce and perceive language, or, more precisely, the way how content is formulated and understood by means of an underlying structure of conversation plays an important role in this study. These ethnomethodological ideas provide a basis for the concept of speakers and listeners jointly establishing a conversational situation in which mutually known conversational structures aid the understanding of such complex contents as those of dream stories. This main concept is elaborated on in the chapter on genre as far as genre production and perception along with their expectance are concerned in general, and in chapters 5 and 6, regarding the features of dream stories in particular, illustrated by examples from the collected data.

2.2. Data

Despite their many differences, quantitative and qualitative data have in common that individual parts can better be compared and analyzed the more similar they are in each case. Just as data itself can more easily be handled, a sample group can better be defined by holding as many variables constant as possible. As a matter of fact, the collected data will still always be very heterogeneous, simply because the more it is narrowed down, the less authentic information it will contain. That is to say, that any attempt at

levelling off diverse aspects of the data for the benefit of ease of analysis will contradict the appeal for *natural* conversation, on which especially ethnomethodologists put much emphasis. According to Hanke (1992: 229-230), this means that the more accurately the factors of an experiment are measurable, the less the situation of data collection may relate to the actual “Lebenswelt”:

[J]e meßgenauer die Faktoren eines Experimentes werden,
um so weiter kann sich die Erhebungssituation in ihrer
Übertragbarkeit von der Lebenswelt entfernen.

In the case of my study, I did not opt for any more constant variables than the ones dealt with in the following section. In order to avoid too much manipulation, this has resulted in very heterogeneous data. Furthermore, as is explicitly explained below, not all of the constraints set were met by all of the recording situations. None the less, I also collected the data which became available to me even when it did not fully correspond to the prerequisites, in order to keep interference low and record data that was as natural as possible.

2.2.1. Restrictions and problems

The variables I chose to keep largely constant were – in order of importance –, availability of interviewees, L1, initial question, relationship to the interviewer, recording atmosphere, age, occupation, social class. The participants in the study were deliberately chosen to be friends of mine, native speakers of English and mostly students, implying that they all were of roughly the same age, education and social surrounding.

The role the L1 plays in this study is reflected in the special characteristics of dream narrations, which are explained in chapter 5. Since I am dealing with difficulties in formulating and limits of language, including data from non-native speakers would add much more complexity to the topic. Within the

scope of this paper, it would be impossible to assign certain features to only the difficulty of formulating dreams rather than to the possible problems language learners have to verbalise their thoughts. Given that it would be a highly difficult study in itself, trying to define a threshold of linguistic competence in order to be able to include non-native speakers of a certain level of proficiency, I opted for first language speakers of English only.

The procedure of the introduction and realisation of the recordings mostly followed a similar pattern. In most of the cases I told the participants long before the interviews that I wanted to record them and asked for their consent. Five of the participants were asked only a short time before the recording and did not know about the study beforehand. In the interview situation itself, the recording device and microphone were presented and put openly on the table. Especially in single interviews, I tried to familiarise the interviewees with the recording situation by a short introduction phase of small talk before asking directly for a dream story. In most cases, the interviewees took some time to remember a dream, before they actually started narrating. After the recording, I explained the aim of my study and the way I was going to use the interviews to the participants.

The reason for only asking friends for an interview was the assumption that dreams are too intimate a topic to explicitly tell them to strangers. I did so, even though Hanke & Schmitz (1988) provide an analysis with the counterevidence to this privacy hypothesis. Their study comprises a sample of 50 randomly chosen people whom they presented with a questionnaire of 44 questions about the significance of telling dreams in everyday conversation. They conclude that dreams constitute a relatively important part of communication for many of the people asked. Furthermore, dreams are often told much more openly than could be expected. In reference to this study, Goetze, Hanke & Richter (1988: 159) summarize that situations in which dreams are told or reported are more numerous, more varied and often of a more public and accessible nature than is generally assumed. According to them, dreams are also not bound to certain places or persons.

Especially in a society where self-portrayal in the media seems to become more and more common, there are, without doubt, many people who do not consider dreams to be too intimate to talk about to a stranger or in public. However, there definitely are also people who do regard dreams as private and would rather only tell their memories of them to someone they know well. In reference to the study by Hanke & Schmitz (1988), Hanke (2001) mentions a certain kind of trustfulness as prerequisite of dream narrations. He believes that in spite of their ubiquity, dream stories are not told arbitrarily but are notably specific to their listeners, respectively addressees. In the study, the participants named trustfulness/intimacy, sympathy, and a good, personal and confidential relationship as the requirements for telling a dream:

Trotz ihrer Ubiquität erfolgen Traumerzählungen nicht in beliebigen Situationen, denn sie sind in besonderem Maße zuhörer- und respektive adressatenspezifisch: Wichtige Voraussetzungen sind 'Vertrauen' bzw. 'Vertrautheit' sowie 'Sympathie', ein 'gutes Verhältnis' und eine 'persönliche' oder 'vertrauensvolle' Beziehung [...]; der Adressatenkreis ist dabei nicht auf Intimpartner beschränkt. (Hanke 2001: 70)

Although Goetze, Hanke & Richter (1988: 159) argue that this trustful atmosphere can also be developed between strangers, I decided for the safe option of only asking friends for recordings. In one of the interview situations, two participants were unknown to me, but were friends with another person present, which to my estimation, in this case still provided a certain degree of familiarity.

In an earlier work, Hanke (1992: 229) states that, for obvious reasons, dream stories cannot be recorded in the intimate or private situations they mostly occur in. In order to handle the artificially created setting of the recording situations and to establish as relaxed an atmosphere as possible, I carried out the recordings in the environments where I met the participants informally and therefore in places of their choice, except for one interview which was especially arranged. Although the use of recording devices and microphones might have also influenced the situation and might have had

an impact on the naturalness of speech of some participants, technical equipment has become more and more part of everyday life (cf. Hanke 2001: 90-91) and is therefore probably no longer the distraction it used to be in the early studies of Discourse Analysis. Nevertheless, I am aware that the conversations I collected would not have taken place in the way they have without them being recorded and without me deliberately initiating them for this study.

These observations led to another well-known problem of data collection, namely, how „to observe how people speak when they are not being observed“ (Labov 1972: 113). William Labov coined the term of the *observer's paradox*, which means that no matter if with or without interaction, any researcher participating in the situation that he or she wants to observe, unintentionally influences the action therein. As Schu explains it, in both directions in which an observer might act, either being especially friendly and helpful or playing a passive role in the conversation, it can be assumed that any distortion of his or her demeanour will have an influence on the behaviour of the person(s) observed:

Denn ob sich ein Beobachter besonders freundlich oder hilfsbereit zeigt [...] oder ob er sich schweigend zurückhält [...] – so oder so kann angenommen werden, daß Verzerrungen im Verhalten der Beobachter auf das der Beobachteten abfärben. (Schu 2001: 1019)

In the case of my study, it was especially difficult to decide either for the postulate of an amicable atmosphere or against an unintentional interference with the data. I expected the dream stories to be mainly monologues – which does not, however, account for disregarding the observer's paradox, since following the ethnomethodological idea, also narrating is seen as an interactive construct in conversation – I still decided to prioritize the aspect of providing a trustful atmosphere for a possibly private topic.

Admittedly, the data shows that in some of the cases the microphone had a considerable impact on the behaviour and speech of the participants. S, for example, seemed to be rather irritated by the recording situation in the first session (D27 [S]), which he also verbalised:

[1]

(...)

831 S: uhm - hm - are you recording^ already
832 I: ja
833 S: oh - god. <<laughs>> !UH::! i gott=a (f/) freeze - in
834 front of a camera [<<laughs>> -- uhm
835 I: [<<laughs>>
(...)

In his second interview (D28 [S]), however, which S himself initiated after having remembered a dream, his narration was clearly less influenced by the fact of being recorded. His eagerness to tell the dream and his familiarity with the situation counteracted a possible unnaturalness. The knowledge of being a participant in a study, also clearly affected K's way of speaking, as can be seen in the following example (D35 [K]):

[2]

(...)

1135 K: - can=t remember the rest of it now. shit. - oh i just
1136 SWORE - (xx new) thing. am i allowed to - say shit' -
1137 I: why NOT? -
(...)

Similar problems of data collection are also to be found in the relevant literature. Hanke (1992), for example, admits that the ideal precondition of an unaffected discourse applies to none of three different constellations from which he draws his data. Neither the psychoanalytic interviews of acquainted participants, nor the narrations collected from a dream conversation group of principally unacquainted people – which in its course gives way to familiarity of the attendees – nor the dream story told by a member at a conference and its following discussion, fully meet the claim of uninfluenced *natural conversation*.

He acknowledges that the subject matter of dreams requires an open recording situation, since dream stories, as opposed to, for example, sales conversations, can out of technical and ethical reasons not be recorded without the cognition of the participants within their private and intimate conversational situations. Hanke (1992: 230) concludes that there is no alternative to open recordings with regard to dream stories:

Traumerzählungen lassen sich (im Gegensatz etwa zu Verkaufsgesprächen) ohne Wissen der Beteiligten in privaten und intimen Gesprächssituationen aus technischen und ethischen Gründen nicht aufzeichnen; [...] zur offenen (im Gegensatz zur verdeckten) Aufnahme von Traumerzählungen gibt es keine Alternative.“

Similarly, Goetze, Hanke & Richter (1988: 158) realise the possible ethical problem of the subject. In their opinion, the recording of private dream narrations is also not feasible due to ethical and technical reasons. They refer to situations such as reporting a nightmare to one's partner at night or casually telling a dream in a relaxed atmosphere at the breakfast table, which they consider resisting recording. Sharing their point of view, this discussion leaves me with the question whether a prearranged interview can provide the data needed.

Since Discourse Analysis demands conversation that is as naturally occurring as possible, the question arises where and when dream stories actually occur in everyday communication. Although in the questionnaire study mentioned earlier, Hanke & Schmitz (1988)⁵ find out that the larger number of the respondents communicate their dream experiences to others (cf. Hanke 2001: 71), they do not give information about the respective situations in which they do so. Neither is there a definite answer to the question to be found in any of the other studies dealing with dream narrations. It seems as if dream stories may occur at any point of

⁵ I am going to summarize further findings of this study in chapter 3 when dealing with dreams and their characteristics in general.

conversation. Consequently, the issue poses a problem as far as data collection is concerned. The interview situation most of the participants found themselves in does not represent naturally occurring conversation. It is, admittedly, very difficult to collect personal dream narrations which are in no way prearranged. The quantity of unplanned conversations to be recorded in order to provide enough dream stories for an analysis would clearly go beyond the scope of this study.

According to Deborah Tannen (1984: 100), however, ethnomethodologists have observed “that stories in conversation are often told in clusters or sequences”. With the term *story rounds*, she describes the phenomenon of “a particular kind of story cluster, in which speakers exchange stories of personal experiences that illustrate similar points” (ibid.). Not only the content of what has been said can lead into another similar narration⁶, also the form and structure of a story may function as a trigger for another one of the same kind. This can, for example, be observed with jokes⁷ and may in the same manner be true for dream stories, as well. Hanke (2001: 84) suggests that even if people do not normally come together to speak about previously agreed themes, like a dream group does, it may still also be the case in everyday situations that once a topic has been accepted it may be kept to until further notice. This assumption is also formulated as a suggestion for further data collection in one of the recorded interviews (D24 [J]):

[3]

(...)

713 J: -- (quite often if you) say to someone - oh i had this
 714 dream (like) then they=d say uh (yah xxxxxx) i had one like
 715 that or - no?
 716 I: yeah sometimes
 717 J: it=s quite a good trick eh?
 (...)

⁶ For thematic connection of dream stories in a dream conversation group, cf. Hanke 2001: 195-224.

⁷ In *Conversational Joking*, Norrick remarks that “not uncommonly, the talk after one joke tends to turn to other jokes” (Norrick 1993: 124), and also Harvey Sacks finds that “[t]he first thing that’s important about jokes is that to use one is something like buying a drink among a bunch of people: They come in rounds. And if some person tells a joke then every other person present has the right to tell a joke” (Sacks 1992: 100).

As a matter of fact, in a first attempt of two test recordings with non-native speakers of English, which I deleted afterwards, I tried to lead the interviewees to the topic of dreams by telling a dream story myself and expecting them to follow my example. This, however, did not bring about the expected results. In both cases, I only succeeded in gathering dream narrations by asking for them directly. I am aware that this interview procedure bears resemblance with a test situation and is therefore not the best method of data collection. With regard to William Labov (1972), I assume that the emotional involvement in a topic like dreams after all contributes to a more natural usage of speech than it would otherwise occur in an interview situation.⁸

The data is also exclusively meant to provide a basis for this very paper and does not meet the ethnomethodological claim of being utilizable for any other conversation analytical study, as Sacks (1984: 26) postulates. It is also only marginally embedded in everyday life. Thus, the narrations cannot be analysed according to their positioning in everyday conversation.

The collected recordings do not make the claim of being characteristic of all dream stories that may possibly occur. They are strictly limited in the ways discussed above. According to Hanke (2001: 72), qualitative text analyses in general normally resign the claim of universal representativity and can only provide information on the respective data. Moreover, the amount and accuracy of the collected conversations does, for the time being, suffice for the scope of this investigation.

⁸ Labov analysed Black English Vernacular of adolescents by asking them about life stories with high emotional involvement. He argues that the emotionality accounts for naturalness in speech due to keeping the interviewees' minds away from the recording situation: "Because [the narratives] occur in response to a specific stimulus in the interview situation, they are not free of the interactive effect of the outside observer. The form they take is in fact typical of discourse directed to someone outside of the immediate peer group of the speaker. But because the experience and emotions involved here form an important part of the speakers' biography, he seems to undergo a partial reliving of that experience, and he is no longer free to monitor his own speech as he normally does in face-to-face interviews" (Labov 1972: 355).

2.2.2. Recordings

The data was collected in ten recording sessions, five of which were single interviews with the only participants being the interviewer and the interviewee. Altogether, fourteen individuals were recorded, telling a total of 36 dream stories⁹. Two of the participants [D, S] were recorded twice, one of them [D] telling the same dream as in the first session (recording sessions 1 and 10). Three of the interviewees [W, H, T] were non-native speakers of English. Their narrations could not be used for a detailed analysis for the reason that the precondition for this study was to only record native speakers as explained above. However, they were still added to the overall number, because the interviews were used for the statements on dreams and for the analysis of the general structures of the stories¹⁰. Three of the stories were retellings of dreams by other people not present, and could therefore also only provide general statements on dreams as such.

Just before the interviews, all of the participants gave their consent to the recordings being used anonymously for scientific purposes. The speaker identification tags were chosen randomly. Moreover, all occurring names of people and places were changed in the transcripts. Table 1 shows a summary of the eleven recording situations – tagged E1 to E10, E standing for English, plus a random ordering –, the participants of each session, as well as the numbering of the individual dream stories.

Table1. Recordings in English 1-10 (Dreams 1-36)

<u>REC</u>	<u>PARTICIPANT/S</u> (+ I = Interviewer)	<u>SITUATION</u>	<u>DREAMS</u>
<u>E1</u>	D	friendship, public place, with prior notice.	D01, D02
<u>E2</u>	A + B	participants unknown to interviewer but friendship with other people present, public place, without prior notice.	D03, D04

⁹ The term stories is throughout most of the paper used to include both, narratives and reports.

¹⁰ For this reason, these transcripts are also included in the appendix.

<u>E3</u>	F + C + L + W	friendship, informal get-together, semi-public place, with prior notice to two participants, W = non-native.	D05 – D23
<u>E4</u>	J	friendship, private place, with prior notice, but unprepared in situation itself.	D24
<u>E5</u>	N	friendship, private place, with prior notice (meeting for recording only).	D25, D26
<u>E6</u>	S	friendship, public place, with prior notice.	D27
<u>E7</u>	S	friendship, public place, without prior notice by I; announcement of dream by S.	D28
<u>E8</u>	H + T	friendship, private place, without prior notice, casual situation with other people present. H = non-native, T = non-native.	D29 - D32
<u>E9</u>	U + K	friendship, public place, with prior notice.	D33 - D35
<u>E10</u>	D	friendship, public place, with prior notice, but unprepared in situation itself, casual situation with other people present.	D36 (same as D01)

Additionally, eight narratives told in German were included in the analysis as references. They originate from a seminar project in 2003, conducted to compare the spoken and written forms of dream stories. The participants of this earlier study were all students and were also of roughly the same age, education, and social surroundings. They were all native speakers of German. The interviews were held with each person individually in a closed room while the other students were waiting in another room. The participants did not know what they were going to be asked in advance, but due to being friends of mine and knowing my field of study – just as most of the English subjects did – were well aware of the focus on language. The German interviews were also recorded on video, which might have also have had an influence on the naturalness of speech. I do not want to go into more detail with these eight narrations since they were mainly used as backups for the analysis of the English data. A summary of the recording situation of the German study – G standing for German –, along with the participant tags and dream numbers, is presented in Table 2 below.

Table2. Recordings in German 1-8 (Dreams 37-44)

<u>REC</u>	<u>PARTICIPANT</u> (+ Interviewer)	<u>SITUATION</u>	<u>DREAMS</u>	
<u>G1</u>	P	friendship with interviewer. interviews in separate room while other participants were waiting in an adjacent room for their turns. the meeting was especially arranged for the recordings.	(2 spoken + 1 written, each) in the present study, only the first (spoken) narrations have been included.	D37
<u>G2</u>	M			D38
<u>G3</u>	Z			D39
<u>G4</u>	Y			D40
<u>G5</u>	E			D41
<u>G6</u>	O			D42
<u>G7</u>	R			D43
<u>G8</u>	G			D44

2.2.3. Transcription

The conversations were recorded with a mini disc recorder via an extended microphone and transferred to mp3 files for further processing. They were then transcribed at a relevant level of detail, roughly according to the rules of the GAT system as developed by Selting et al. (1998).¹¹ For the paper at hand, the GAT transcription modes were slightly adapted, following the conventions generally applied by researchers and students at the Department of Linguistics of the University of Vienna.¹² The lines were numbered and in some cases divided for better readability and easier reference. What must be kept in mind when dealing with transcripts is the fact that every written version is in itself already a subjective interpretation of a spoken discourse situation.

¹¹ The *Gesprächsanalytische Transkriptionssystem* was developed in an attempt to standardize the many different transcription systems found in publications of language studies. Since the beginnings of Discourse Analysis, many researchers have developed their own transcription conventions adjusted to their data respectively. Selting et al. (1998: 92) remark that this pluralism of techniques constrains work within and between different fields of study and also hampers an exchange of data. In order to further readability and uniformity, they undertook the task of developing a standardized transcription system that attempts to combine previous methods and to meet the demands of spoken data processing for many different fields of study.

¹² A list of the transcription symbols used can be found in Appendix 2.

3. Dreams

Even when focusing mostly upon structural aspects in a discourse study, the content of conversation should not be left unheeded. Especially in the case of this study, dealing with the subject of the conversations about to be analysed is essential. The present chapter is concerned with dreams in general and the ways they are dealt with in different fields of research. I am going to cover universal features of dreams and their main characteristics, backed up by examples and statements from the recorded conversations. The last part of the chapter is intended to give an overview of the theory of multiple realities by Alfred Schütz, which provides a basis for the understanding of dreams from a sociologist's point of view.

3.1. Dreams and dream stories in scientific literature

Since the beginning of the twentieth century, scientific treatment of the subject of dreams has mainly been undertaken in the realms of psychoanalysis. Especially Sigmund Freud's (1900 [1999]) influential publication *Die Traumdeutung* in 1900 provided the basis for numerous psychological and psychoanalytical works. The fundamental concept of Freud's theory is the idea of the revelation of the unconsciousness in an individual's dreams. Freud claims that every dream – including nightmares – disguises unconscious wishes and that, as Hobson (1995: 145-146) put it,

[d]uring sleep the ego (or self) relaxes its vigilance upon the id (or instinct), allowing forbidden wishes or drives to escape their safe confinement in the unconscious. Were these freed desires to invade consciousness, they would disrupt sleep.

Freud (1900 [1999]) distinguishes between latent and manifest dream contents. The former correspond to the underlying unconscious thoughts, which can be brought forward through dream analysis, while the latter is represented by the events of the dream as they are perceived and

recollected by the dreamer. In Freud's terms, the process of the transformation from latent into manifest dream content is called regression. As mentioned by Haas, Guiar-Amsterdamer & Strauch (1988: 239), scientists have for a long time mainly been dealing with the latent content, while the analysis of the manifest dream content has been largely neglected in psychoanalysis so far.

Apart from an ongoing interest in psychoanalysis, another area of dream research emerged in the 1950s. The discovery of *rapid eye movement* (REM) stages by Aserinsky & Kleitman¹³ stimulated systematic analyses of phenomenology and the origins of dreaming. New neuroscientific methods of sleep monitoring have added to the development of dream studies from a neurophysiologic aspect. Sleep laboratories, which were especially arranged for sleep research, e.g. for EEG recordings of different states of the mind during sleeping, have also increasingly been used for the data collection of dream stories.

Still, the main focus of dreams in scientific studies has been on therapeutic aspects, interpretation, symbolism, or on sleep phases and states of the mind rather than on anything to do with the narrations themselves. When Hobson complains that "[p]eople, including most scientists, have been too occupied with dream *content* to pay attention to its formal aspects" (Hobson 1995: 146, italics in original), he is referring to the formal aspects of mind states, i.e. "the mental processes [...] rather than the content of the processes" (ibid.). This consideration can also be assigned to the matter of dream stories. Especially with Schütz' theory of finite provinces of meaning in mind, it becomes apparent that dreams are only accessible through their accounts, which in most cases are linguistic. Although form and language of dream stories are

¹³ During a study on infants, Aserinsky & Kleitman discovered that calm phases of sleep were followed by periods of rapid eye movements and twitching body movements. Further experiments showed a high percentage of dream recollections from subjects in sleep laboratories when woken up during REM stages (cf. Egger 1993: 19; Haas et al. 1998: 237). These results probably led to the commonplace assumption that dreaming only occurs in REM phases (cf. Hanke 2001: 42 fn20).

gaining more and more interest among psychoanalysts (cf. Goetze 1988: 151), so far, there have been hardly any linguistic studies dealing with dream narrations.

In summary, according to Hanke (1992: 228), it is fair to say that, firstly, people dream, that, secondly, dreams are only accessible through their symbolic reproduction, which primarily is linguistic, and that, thirdly, dream stories constitute a common element in everyday communication. In psychoanalysis, dream stories are not analysed as common narrations, but rather retrospectively according to their content and predominantly in a therapeutic context. In empirical communication analysis, dreams have so far not been made objects of conversation analytical research.

In the introduction to *Der Traum – 100 Jahre nach Freuds Traumdeutung*, Brigitte Boothe, too, comments on the lack of interest in the form of dream narrations compared to the attention that is given to their content. She notes that Sigmund Freud mistakenly spoke of the dream story as being a *worthless shell* compared to the *core of the wishful thought*, which he regards so valuable in relation to psychoanalysis.¹⁴ Similar to Hanke's observation from 1992, Boothe (2000c: 27) argues that literary and linguistic theorists, sociologists and folklorists tend to not consider analyses of the language of dreams worthwhile.

The disregard of dream stories in science may, according to Hanke (2001: 49), be partly ascribed to the dubious overtone of the subject. Dreams may be considered unscientific especially due to their association with esotericism, but also because of their emotionality as opposed to scientific rationality. As Hanke (ibid.: 50) points out, in rational research, dreaming does not really suggest itself as a field of analysis.¹⁵

¹⁴ In German, Boothe calls it a "wertlose *Schale* im Vergleich zum *Kern* der für das psychoanalytische Verhältnis so wertvollen Wunschgedanken" (Boothe 2000c: 27. italics in original).

¹⁵ However, since irrationality can also be observed in conscious acting, Hanke (2001: 49) doubts that ratio should exclusively be attributed to the waking life.

Nevertheless, a few studies have been published which deal with language and dream stories. Especially worth mentioning are, in order of publication, Jürgen Goetze, Michael Hanke & Helmut Richter's questionnaire study (1988), the paper by Henriette Haas, Hayim Guir-Amsterdamer & Inge Strauch (1988) on bizarreness, and works by H. Walter Schmitz (1992, 1998), Michael Hanke (1992, 2001), Jörg R. Bergmann (2000), Brigitte Boothe (2000), and Barbara Meier (2000). Although different linguistic aspects are dealt with in the studies mentioned, again the focus often lies on content rather than form.

After all, the difficulty of data collection, as explained in chapter 2.3.1., may also add to the topic being disregarded by conversation analysts (cf. Hanke 2001: 50; Goetze et al. 1988). In psychoanalysis, most researchers based their studies on memorised retellings, often also of their own dreams, as Sigmund Freud did. In the course of the last decades, their focus has moved from introspection into their own dreams to studies of other people's dreams (cf. Strauch & Meier 1992: 16; 22). In both cases, the dream stories have sometimes been collected in forms of diaries. As opposed to collecting data in sleep laboratories, which also have the negative effects of controlled test situations on the participants, this method requires less effort and provides more authentic material gathered in a surrounding familiar to the test persons. In return, however, it yields only an uncontrolled and selective choice of dream stories, because the sleepers do not awake with every dream as opposed to a laboratory situation where they are woken (cf. *ibid.*: 24-25).

For neurophysiological studies, data collection in sleep laboratories is necessary. Dreamers are woken up systematically in order to record different physiological processes, which the dream reports can then be assigned to (cf. *ibid.*: 26). Such data from sleep laboratories has also been used for language studies, e.g. by Brigitte Boothe to find out about general linguistic features in dream stories. Boothe (2000b: 90) notes that for her analysis, the question of data does not pose a problem. She utilises dream records from

the non-linguistic study by Strauch & Meier (1992), collected from subjects in experimental research situations.

Michael Hanke (2001: 76-103) bases his linguistic analysis on transcripts from audio and video recordings of altogether 15 meetings of a dream group of seven participants, which he originated for his study. In these sessions, the members of the group met specifically in order to talk about their dreams. Hanke collected a total of 129 dream stories of different lengths over a period of 14 months. Similar to my data, the narrations in this group, which was additionally led by a moderator, were elicited by the controlled situation and the intention of the meetings, although not in the form of interviews. Neither data collection includes examples entirely embedded in everyday communication. Some of the dream narrations in Hanke's corpus were also not spontaneous as they ideally should be, but planned by the participants drawing upon written records and notes.

In conclusion, it can be said that apart from only the few publications mentioned above, not many researchers have attended to the linguistic form of dream stories so far. Before I am going to address the language dreams are actually expressed in in the outer world, I want to deal with the general characteristics of dreams and their topics. Knowledge of how dreams come about and of how people perceive them in our common world, shall serve as a tool to understand the way they are verbalised within their genre.

3.2. About dreaming

Dreams are a very popular theme – whether in science, popular science or everyday life – and everybody has their own relationship to the topic. However, perceptions of such a commonly observed phenomenon differ widely, and even in the scientific literature, there seems to be no general agreement on a theory of its explanation (cf. Hanke 2001: 43; Strauch & Meier 1992: 11-16; Haas et al.1988: 237). This may also be due to dreams

being a highly interdisciplinary topic. Still, I assume there to be general consent on the following characteristics of dreams.

From a neurological perspective, dreams are defined as visual, auditive, motoric and emotional hallucinations (cf. Roth 1994: 221). Moser & von Zeppelin distinguish between auto symbolic and narrative dreams, the first ones being mostly very short and consisting of virtually only one situation in which the dreamer visualizes bodily impulses. Narrative dreams comprise a number of situations and usually are also longer (cf. Moser & von Zeppelin 1996: 16-18). In contrast to a widely held belief, dreams do not only occur in *rapid eye movement* (REM) phases but in all states of sleep (cf. Lehmann & Koukkou 2000; Hanke 2001: 42, fn20).¹⁶ Dreams from REM sleep are, however, more often remembered (cf. Strauch & Meier 1992: 62).

Dreaming is undoubtedly part of every individual's *basic biological inventory* and everybody's *stock of experience* (cf. Hanke 2001: 42; Hanke 1992: 223)¹⁷, as it was also verified in the questionnaire study by Hanke & Schmitz (1988), in which 100 % of the respondents indicated to have dreams. These were not referred to as being exceptional but as being very familiar and fundamental (cf. Hanke 2001: 70-71; Schmitz 1992: 289). Just as Moser & von Zeppelin (1996: 12) consider every dream story to be a tripartite structure of a *dreamt*, a *remembered* and a *narrated dream*¹⁸, Hanke & Schmitz were also interested in the significance the participants in their study attributed to the remembering and telling. Out of altogether 92 % of the respondents remembering dreams at all, 70 % revealed that they only sometimes remember their dreams while 30 % claimed to remember them often (Hanke 2001: 71). Again, 70 % reported to also tell their recollection to others and more than 90 % considered communication about dreams as a constant – though moderate – part of their everyday interactions.

¹⁶ For an explanation of EEG analyses and the different states of the mind during sleep, cf. Lehmann & Koukkou 2000: 56-57.

¹⁷ My translations of "biologische Grundausstattung", "Erfahrungsbestand".

¹⁸ My translations of „geträumter Traum“, „erinnerter Traum“, „erzählter Traum“.

Even though one of the interviewees in my study in the beginning insisted on not dreaming at all (lines 847-848), within the next statement he admitted having dreams (line 848: "if i HAVE them"), but rather seemed not to feel comfortable when talking about them (D27 [S]):

[4]

(...)

843 S: [okay. - okay. - no that=s
 844 okay <8sec> uhm:: <12sec> i (xxx) can=t think of any good/
 845 any/ no/ - i don=t wann=a say any good dreams (xx) about me
 846 (as) being selective - a/ any - a/=any dream anyone i can
 847 remember - okay? - cause **i don=t tend to HAVE them. - i**
 848 **really don=t. - if i HAVE them** it means i=m sleeping badly.
 849 - and i been sleeping quite well recently. - NO. - except
 850 when i got woken up (by that) mouse.
 (...)

3.3. The characteristics of dreams

The main characteristics of dreams are the experience of intense emotions and sensory impressions,¹⁹ illogical and bizarre contents, the unpredictability of events, defiance of the laws of nature, uncritical acceptance, unaccountability, the absence of interaction, lack of memory and difficulty of description (cf. Boothe 2000b; Egger 1993: 6-7; Hanke 2001; Hobson 1995: 143-144; Lehmann & Koukkou 2000). There are, however, different notions as far as the illogicality and oddness of dreams are concerned. Lehmann & Koukkou (2000: 47) argue that bizarre contents are simply better remembered because they stand out against trivial dreams. In a study of systematic dream collections, Strauch & Meier (1992) have in fact even empirically proven that dreams are often rather realistic experiences which resemble the events of waking life. They are seen as mostly being remains of the previous day²⁰, but also as being based on recollections of earlier experiences. According to Roth (1994: 223), areas of the brain are

¹⁹ Most of them are visual (cf. Lehmann & Koukkou 2000: 50, 63).

²⁰ "Tagesreste"

haphazardly activated while dreaming and produce random contents of the mind, which in the waking state are usually brought to consciousness when stimulated by some kind of sensory perception. This randomness may therefore give rise to bizarre experiences.

Since, in the first place, remembering dreams is not guaranteed, it is mostly only the ones that are either very exciting, ones that are accompanied by strong emotions or particular anxiety states (cf. Roth 1994: 221)²¹ or specifically illogical dreams that stay in people's minds. Strauch & Meier (1992: 9) attribute the special attention that is paid to bizarre contents to their exceptionality and deviation from normality. In the words of sociologist Alfred Schütz, "[t]he dreamer is frequently astonished to see now as compatible what he remembers as having been incompatible in the world of his awake life, and vice versa." (Schütz 1962: 242-243).

Concretely, the bizarre character results from an *incongruity* of the dreams' content, the *discontinuity* of events and a *cognitive haziness* (cf. Roth 1994: 223-224).²² This may manifest itself in the appearance of people and objects the dreamer has never consciously encountered in real life or has not seen for a long time, in unknown places, unheard-of skills and actions which would alienate the person when he/she is awake (cf. Strauch & Meier 1992: 10). Also, time and place may become irrelevant to the dreamer's experience. Hanke explains that the surrealistic dream logic invalidates logical sequence altogether. It suspends chronological structure, disregards space discrepancies and identifies the non-identical:

Die surrealistische Traumlogik setzt allerdings die logische Ordnung im Ganzen außer Kraft: Die Ordnung der Zeit wird aufgehoben, Raumdifferenzen vernichtet, und das Nichtidentische identifiziert. (Hanke 2001: 160)

²¹ In Roth's words: "sehr erlebnisreich, von starken Emotionen und besonderen Angstzuständen begleitet".

²² My translations of "*Inkongruenz des Inhalts*", "*Diskontinuität des Geschehens*" and "*kognitive Unschärfe*".

Other possible manifestations are described by Roth in that things and experiences may not at all or hardly fit together in the following situations. The dreamer might know that the dream is about his sister but it is not her face he sees and not her voice he hears; he knows that he is in his flat, which, however, does not look like his flat. Abrupt changes of place or transformations occur; first he is at his place, then at the train station; a rope turns into a snake. He is not able to find out or understand something; everything seems to be blurred, a person is speaking to him in an language he does not know:

Dinge und Erlebnisse passen irgendwie nicht oder nicht richtig zusammen. Ich weiß, daß es sich um meine Schwester handelt, aber es ist nicht ihr Gesicht und ihre Stimme; ich weiß, ich bin in meiner Wohnung, aber die sieht gar nicht wie meine Wohnung aus. [...] Es passieren abrupte Ortswechsel oder Transformationen; zuerst bin ich bei mir zu Hause, dann ist mein Aufenthaltsort plötzlich der Bahnhof; ein Seil verwandelt sich in eine Schlange. [...] Ich kann etwas nicht richtig erkennen oder verstehen; alles ist wie durch einen Schleier, eine Person spricht in einer mir unbekannten Sprache. (Roth 1994: 223-224)

In their article, "Die Erfassung bizarrer Elemente im Traum", Haas, Guiar-Amsterdamer & Strauch (1988) have developed a scale of bizarreness in form and content of dreams. They assert that although even certain phases of the day feature bizarre elements, the differences between dreams while asleep and day phantasies show a statistical significance in almost all of the categories (cf. Haas et al. 1988: 245). Interestingly, also daydreams were found to be more bizarre than initially expected, but usually they are suppressed due to reality awareness or at least placed in a context of unordinary perception through censorship, as Haas et al. put it (cf. *ibid.*: 246).

Bizarre dreams and statements about them can also be found in my data. Dream experiences are referred to as "freaky", "weird", "bizarre", "strange" or "spooky". At one point, a participant laughs and refers to his

dreams as being “surrealist dreams” (D02 [D], line 52). Another one, N, claims that her dreams “NEver make sense” (D26 [N]):

[5]

(...)

787 N: <hh> - <<clicks her tongue>> i can=t remember. - my dreams
788 are **really silly**, they **NEver make sense** though DO they,
789 they=re always really -- uh:m - can people reMEMber them
790 quite well’
(...)

N’s dreams even seem to be too bizarre for her to find words for them, since she does not finish her utterance and changes the topic. In another of the conversations (D04 [B]), the interviewee does not consider a “pretty boring” (lines 139-140) dream worth narrating, obviously because it is not as “weird” (line 135) as the one to follow:

[6]

(...)

134 B: crazy but it=s true. <4sec> do you want me to describe a
135 specific one or is it **just too [weird**
136 I: [uh: - yeah’ - if you
137 (remember xxx) yeah’
138 B: - i just dreamed yesterday that -- uhm -- one of my
139 scientific experiments has gone wrong which is **pretty**
140 **boring** - and then before that i dreamed that uhm - everyone
141 in the whole world - had been taken over by a cult’ and
142 have gone evil’
(...)

Participant D, too, announces that his dream “didn=t really (me) seem to make sense” (D02, lines 67-68) and declares it as being “really fucking <<laughing> weird <h>>” (line 72). Because of it dating back such a long time²³, D comments on the reason for his recollection, which he ascribes to the weirdness of the content of the dream (D36):

²³ In D’s first narration of the same dream (D02) he remembers that “this is like fucking ages ago it=s like six years ago” (line 60).

[7]

(...)
1130 D: there was' -- there=s **there=s ONE that i always remember**
1131 **because it was so fucking weird?** - but i can=t remember if
1132 it was the same i told you LAST time -
1133 X: go on?
1134 D: about the everlasting trousers. <<laughs>>
(...)

Trousers of "infinite length" (line 1162) are an example of cultural deviations, according to the scale of bizarreness by Haas, Guiar-Amsterdamer & Strauch (1988). Together with deviations from the laws of nature, these constitute the category of bizarreness of content, which is opposed to formal bizarreness and the cancellation of all structure (cf. Haas et al. 1988: 240).²⁴ Other examples are W's dream of two university grades, fighting each other like creatures (D11 [W], line 341) and the appearances of Martians (D29 [H]) and witches (D35 [K]). Apart from figures and objects themselves, also events may deviate from cultural realities or the laws of nature. In dream D34 [U], the dreaming self, initially a person – "as myself" (line 1093) – suddenly turns into a seal. The "absolutely imperative" (line 85) order of killing somebody as it occurs in dream story D03 [A], would typically represent a violation of moral standards, which, according to Haas et al. (ibid.: 249) may occur in relation to sexuality in the broadest sense, aggression and magnificence.

Due to the widely held belief that dreams are necessarily illogical, to some people the normality of figures, places and events in their dreams may appear bizarre. In D22, L explains that her dream "wasn=t like WEIRD or spooky or anything" (line 650). During the course of the conversation, she repeatedly claims to have "really realistic" dreams (lines 266, 283-284, 459) and declares one of those (D09) as being "weird" (line 265),

²⁴ My translations of „Inhaltliche Bizarrheit“, „Formale Bizarrheit“ and „Auflösung aller Strukturen“.

despite the fact that, or perhaps even because, nothing strange was happening (lines 284-285):

[8]

```
(...)  
265 L: i dreamt? i do/? i had (xxxx) really like - weird dreams  
266      last night' which were really realistic^ - like they seem  
267      [like [real (xxx)  
268 C: [like [what?  
(...)  
283 L: yeah <<laughs>> (i mean) it was just like a really  
284      realistic dream(s)' - it wasn=t like the kind of WEIRD  
285      things (that happen) and then we (were) walking down by  
286      this caNAL^ -- i don=t know^ - just that i remember little  
287      fractures.  
(...)
```

L's dreams involve people known to her, elements, events and actions that may also occur in her waking life. In D05, she talks about a friend who in her dream is upset about the results of his final exams, and he splits up with his girlfriend because of somebody else. In D15, L's dream is about a bar and a bunch of flowers and in D12, she recollects falling asleep on the bus and also dreaming of being on the bus, reading a book. All of these are examples of realistic dreams as they occur frequently but are often not so well remembered.²⁵

Although bizarre contents may generally contribute to the remembering of a dream, they also add to the difficulty of its recollection (cf. Hanke 2001: 99-100). However, the fact of recollection being the only access to dreams reveals their double-sided character. As Hanke (ibid.: 168) puts it, dreams are only accessible through recollection, nonetheless is their remembering

²⁵ According to Lehmann & Koukkou, the various states of the mind during sleep also differ as far as remembrance is concerned. In this case, it is REM sleep that allows for the best recollection: „Die Schwererinnerbarkeit ist durch zustandsabhängige, asymmetrische Erinnerung bedingt: REM-Schlaf mit seinen vergleichsweise schnellen EEG-Wellen gibt im Ganzen als wachheitsnächster funktioneller Zustand die besten Voraussetzungen für Erinnerung in Wachheit“ (Lehmann & Koukkou 2000: 63).

complicated by the fact that the experiences therein are deprived of active participation:

[Z]um einen ist das Ereignis nur durch Erinnerung überhaupt zugänglich; gleichwohl wird diese Erinnerung erschwert durch den handlungsenthobenen Charakter der Erfahrung.

As early as 1900, Freud already broached the issue of remembering dreams. In his view, what we recall from a dream is mutilated by our memory being untrue in a way that it is not capable of retaining the dream. He observes that in situations when we pay attention to our dreams, we often complain about having dreamed much more but not being able to remember more than a fragment, which itself seems strangely doubtful:

Was wir vom Traum erinnern, [...] das ist [...] verstümmelt durch die Untreue unseres Gedächtnisses, welches in ganz besonders hohem Grade zur Bewahrung des Traumes unfähig scheint [...] Wir finden uns ja so oft, wenn wir unseren Träumen Aufmerksamkeit schenken wollen, zur Klage veranlasst, dass wir viel mehr geträumt haben und leider davon nichts mehr wissen als dies eine Bruchstück, dessen Erinnerung selbst uns eigenthümlich unsicher vorkommt. (Freud 1900 [1999]: 299-300)

Freud states that even despite some people's scrupulous effort of remembering, there is no doubt that dreams become increasingly difficult to remember after awakening (cf. *ibid.*: 303)²⁶. One reason for this is to some extent the absence of coherence caused by the frequently bizarre character of dreams, as already mentioned above. Often, a person's daily impressions also interfere with the recollection of dreams and therefore make it more difficult to keep them in mind. Moreover, non-recurring cognitions are more

²⁶ Other reasons why problems of recollection occur are, for example, somnambulism and the loss of babyhood memory. Lehmann & Koukkou mention these as examples apart from dreaming (Lehmann & Koukkou 2000: 54-55). To a certain extent, also visions, near-death experiences and auras, which will be dealt with in section 4.5.1 and 4.5.3, can be added to them.

easily forgotten than repeated events (cf. Szabo 1992: 8-9). Remembrance also depends on whether a dreamer wakes or sleeps on. As Hobson (1995: 166) puts it, “[i]f we do not awaken from a dream, recall is likely to be nil”.

The more attention is paid to dreaming as such, the more easily dreams are being kept in mind, as can, for example, be observed in dream stories D27 [S] and D28 [S]. First, S claims to not have any dreams at all, or at least does not seem to occupy himself with the topic. At the next encounter, he reports remembering a dream he had following the conversation of the first interview, which results in his initiating a second recording.

The recollection of dreams is a recurring topic within the conversations in my data. Most of the participants repeatedly use phrases such as “i really can=t remember much more than that” (D28 [S], line 973) or “it=s like i can=t really remember specifically what it is’” (D01 [D], line 19) or “i don=t know^ - just that i remember little fractures.” (D09 [L], lines 286-287). The following two extracts are examples of recollection difficulties put into words by D and L, from the dream stories D01 [D] and D09 [L]:

[9]

```
(...)
27 D: yeah [(it is) just a
28 I: [(xxx) happening xxx like) -
29 D: i [don=t - really have anything REALLY specific like=i can
30 I: [yeah
31 D: remEMber that i HAVE been dreaming about work a lot?
32 I: yeah
33 D: but i: -- sort of CANT REAlly (x) remember sort of
34 specifics' - it=s like -- i don=t know i don't know it=s
35 <3sec> yeah <<laughs>>
(...)
```

[10]

```
(...)
268 C: [like [what?
269 F: [(tell me' - go on.)
270 L: like where/ <hh> i don=t know i just - i ca/ <hh> oh god i
271 can=t remember (xxxxxxxxxx) and i can=t remember - what
```

272 <<laughing> happened> now^
 273 F: oh.
 274 L: - (i just xxx **oh god**) **i can=t remember**. - [there just
 (...)

As already mentioned, according to Roth (1994: 221), dreams are less likely to be forgotten if strong emotions or special states of fear are involved. When N (D26) talks about the nightmare she had about "this GUY at the bottom of our driveway" (line 771), she does claim to have forgotten certain details, but at the same time points out that she "always remember"s (line 780) the rest of the situation, which she recollects as being "really horrible" (line 785):

[11]

(...)
 777 N: - and he walked up' - walked up - the DRIVEway' and i kn/
 778 i KNEW he=d got a GUN' - and uhm - and **i just remember** him
 779 sort of getting (the ge/ i ca/) **i can=t rememeber** that he
 780 said something - **but i always remember** he go/ he sort of
 781 but i knew he=d GOT it before i saw it - and then - he -
 782 sort of - pulled out the gun' - and he was gonna shoot me
 783 and i i thought there=s no WAY i can DIVE behind the CAR, -
 (...)

Intense emotions, being another of the main characteristics of dreams, are part of many of the stories that were told in the interviews. Most of them are strong feelings of fear, experienced in nightmares, as, for example, in story D03, where A perceives the situation of having to kill someone in his dream as "HORRible" (line 90) and "really sort of TORTurous" (line 91) and remembers having felt "horrifically disturbed" (line 109) when he woke up. Others recollect being "DESperate" (D10 [W], line 348), "very worried" (D28 [S], lines 952), "extremely scared" (D30 [T], line 1019) or experiencing "this like moment of PANic" (D25 [N], line 751), which, while reconsidering it in her waking state, N laughingly finds "really stu:pihid" (line 752).

In the German recordings, one of the interviewees remembers a dream that she somehow found so nice ("irgendwie so schön"), although it actually was a nightmare ("eigentlich ein alptraum'") (D43 [R], lines 1392-1393, 1391). According to Hobson (1995: 161), "Elation is the second most common dream emotion. Anxiety is the first". In the German data, as well, emotions of fear and despair are reported quite often. O remembers waking up, drenched in sweat ("schweißgebadet") and being relatively desperate ("relativ verzweifelt") and totally shocked ("total schockiert") (D42 [O], lines 1382, 1328, 1339-1340). Z recalls being very afraid ("ich hab UR angst gehabt") (D39 [Z], lines 1256-1257). The other dreamers felt sad ("traurig") (D37 [P], line 1199), very angry ("ur wütend'") (D40 [Y], line 1273) or totally desperate ("GANZ verzweifelt") (D44 [G], line 1426), or experienced an incapability of moving as a sign of fear ("diese bewegungslosigkeit als zeichen von angst") (D38 [M], lines 1221-1222) or a "trauma" (D41 [E], line 1298).

Generally, nightmares clearly display the inability of a dreamer's taking action in his dream. Dreams typically come about uncontrolled and their content can usually not be actively interfered with:

The dreamer [...] has no freedom of discretion, no arbitrariness in mastering the chances, no possibility of filling in empty anticipations. The nightmare, for instance, shows clearly the inescapableness of the happening in the world of dream and the powerlessness of the dreamer to influence it. (Schütz 1962: 241)

In one of the conversations, D14 [W], the topics of consciousness and the dreamer's impact emerge. W claims to be able to actively influence the events in her dream (lines 456-458), whereas F can allegedly monitor her

state of sleeping, which W and C admit not being able to do (lines 440-449).²⁷

[12]

(...)
440 F: that is quite scary. - **I can always wake myself up when**
441 **i=m scared though** - [i can if i=m starting- i can Always
442 L: [I can (xxxxx)
443 F: (without [xxxx wake myself up)
444 W: [oh i can never do that.
445 C: I don=t GET to that point i think i wake up just as if
446 F: oh rea[lly
447 C: [you do either way.
448 F: **but I wake myself up - if i=m Bored as well^** - if my
449 <<laughing> dream [is quite BOring>
450 C: [<<laughs>>
451 W: but **if my dreams are boring** i can kind of - [(steal) into
452 L: [(xxxxxx) yeah
453 W: the [(xxxxxxxx) - [**and make something [(happen)**
454 L: [(i then) [(you you) you=re
455 F: [but i just know what
456 L: **OftEn quite conscious of what=s going on'** - you you=re
457 like - **i know this is a dream so - i can do whatever i**
458 **want^** - <<laughs>>
(...)

Usually, however, “[t]he dreaming self neither works nor acts” (Schütz 1976: 241). Dreams are deprived of conscious will, which means that a waking person’s ability to act is lost in the dream state, but not their ability to dream, their “Traumfähigkeit”, as Schütz & Luckmann call it. They explain that usually, dreaming just is not acting, dreaming is rather happening to the dreamer. Within the dream itself, however, you can ‘act’. From the memory of your dream you may know that you walked, ran, ate, communicated, were with someone else or pondered, but you just cannot plan any of these

²⁷ In some cases dreamers do manage to actively influence their dreams. Hobson states that, “[s]ince we can learn to be conscious of our dreams while they occur, we can also learn to influence them, that is, shape or change the plots at will. Some modern psychotherapists enable nightmare-ridden patients not only to control their fear of dreamed assailants and so to sleep more comfortably, but also to raise self-confidence and esteem dramatically by actively mastering dreamed threats.” (Hobson 1995: 169). For more information on lucid dreaming cf. Green (1994) and Holzinger (1991).

beforehand and put into practice in your dream. You will only remember afterwards that you could act (cf. Schütz & Luckmann 1994: 164).

The issue of the dreamer's own passivity whilst dreaming becomes manifest in the English phrase "it came to me in a dream" and also in the old German usage of "es träumte mir" (cf. Boothe 2000: 92) instead of "ich träumte". The dreams' character of passive experience²⁸ implicates the dreamer perceiving the events not as agent and not knowingly but so to speak as a witness (cf. *ibid.*)²⁹. Because a dream is unintended and due to the absence of any personal influence on the occurrence of the dream and its content, the dreamer is also unaccountable for his or her actions therein (cf. Hanke 2001: 45; Schmitz 1992: 293; Bergmann 2000: 45).

This, for example, becomes especially apparent in dream D13 [C], where C reports dreaming about killing her sister. In D03, A, too, tells a story about killing someone, mentioning that this happened "for a reason i didn=t really quite underSTAND" (line 83). Characteristically, a dreaming self often behaves without motive and does not question what it does itself³⁰, what others do, or any other circumstances and things appearing in the dream.

"The life of dreams is without purpose and project" (Schütz 1976: 242), or, as Boothe (2000: 100) puts it, the dreamer accepts without question. The unquestioning acceptance of an event immediately setting in, for any reason or cause, beyond a frame that prompts a motive ("motivgebende Klammer")³¹, creates a non-transparent area within apparent transparency. The impression of not being transparent is not given due to actions being strange but because events occur without any reason even if they are

²⁸ "Widerfahrnis"

²⁹ cf. also Boothe 2000: 91-97 for an analysis of Joseph's dream in the Bible.

³⁰ According to Lehmann & Koukkou, the lack of selfreflection, again, may be seen parallel to infancy experiences. (cf. Lehmann & Koukkou 2000: 63).

³¹ The concept of the frame prompting a motive (My translation of "motivgebende Klammer") by Brigitte Boothe will be explained in 5.3.11.

inconsiderable and normal. Ordinary actions of the dreaming self turn into curiosities just because nobody tells us why they happen:

Da ist er hingesezt, hingestellt, gleichsam von unbekannter Hand [...] Und der Träumer nimmt es fraglos hin [...]. Die fraglose Akzeptanz eines unmittelbar einsetzenden Geschehens, jenseits eines Warum und Wozu und Wieso, jenseits einer motivgebenden Klammer, schafft einen Raum der Intransparenz mitten im scheinbar Transparenten. Der Eindruck des Intransparenten entsteht nicht, weil die Handlungen seltsam wären, sondern weil dem Geschehen auch dann, wenn es unscheinbar und gewöhnlich ist, der Charakter des Grundlosen zukommt. Ein Traum-Ich wirft Lebensmittel in einen Einkaufskorb, und das wird zu einer Merkwürdigkeit, im wahrsten Wortsinn, weil uns niemand sagt, warum das geschieht.

A clear example of *unquestioning acceptance* can be observed in story D24 [J]. In the "torture type" dream situation, "people are getting shot or mined" (lines 693-694). Still, what the waking person later describes as having been "pretty horrible" (lines 697), is not experienced as something bad by the dreaming self:

[13]

(...)

692 J: where it goes on for a long time it was just <4sec> a kind
693 of torture type thing where people are getting shot or
694 mined and something like that - and <<laughing> <h> which
695 was <h> <h>> quite disturbing. - **but it didn=t see/ it**
696 didn=t seem that - that that bad by the time' - i mean it
697 was pretty horrible but i thought ah:: i think i=ll be
698 okay. <5sec>

(...)

In D29 [H], the existence of Martians, too, is accepted without being questioned, even though they are not seen in the dream:

[14]

(...)

995 H: [yeah but it wasn=t like - **i didn=t see the**
996 **martians.** - but it was like - i was in my n/ my o:ld -
997 where i grew up the area. and it wasn=t just ANY kind of
998 bread. it had to be the specific white loaf? - which didn=t
999 have any crusts' - that i had to go and buy - and that was
1000 the dream?
1001 T: but **who told you i mean you didn=t see them but uh: - you**
1002 **knew [they were (there)**
1003 H: [**i knew they were coming.** - yeah.
1004 T: **but you don=t know who told you.**
1005 H: no because **i KNEW? in my dream i knew.** - cause someone'
1006 when i went to buy the bread^ - the shopkeeper asked me why
1007 are you buying all the bread?=and i said cause the MARTians
1008 are coming [(due' - but uhm) - so that=s my dream?
(...)

Another important part of the experience of dreams is visual perception. Since there is no account of actually *hearing* anything in a dream in my data – although, for example, quotations in direct speech do occur in the narrations – the only knowingly perceived sensory impressions in the dreams told in the recording sessions are visual ones. In some of the stories, explicit colour descriptions occur, as, for example, K remembers that in the forest she found herself in, “everything was really GREEN’” (D35 [K], line 1121). L (D10) talks about a gold top, which “was not real gold, it=s just gold coloured” (lines 308-309). In D15 [L], the topic of the conversation itself turns to colour impressions which are followed by a report of L’s dream story about “a big bunch of FLOWers” (line 473) and their colours:

[15]

(...)

472 L: i had this one dream about - like - as in this kind of BAR
473 thing' - and there=s a bunch o/ like **a big bunch of FLOWers**
474 on the TABLE - and **i remember their colour** (xxxx) it=s like
475 **orange and PURple colours'** - and (xx) that' I REALLY
476 remembered that when i woke up^ - and someone knocked it
477 over and - there was a dad' and a son' - and the dad (gets)
478 really cross' -- anyway. - it=s !A!ges [ago like a YEAR ago
(...)

Evidence of how dreamers perceive visually can also be found in the following two examples, taken from D11 [W] and D32 [T]. By “over here”, W refers to the position of a fighting “two two” (line 337), whereas T describes a bridge by showing that “it was going like that” and recollects her own location in relation to it (lines 1072, 1074):

[16]

(...)
 336 W: was DREAMing about it was basically two competing (xx/)
 337 like a two two **over here** and a two one and i was worried i
 338 will get a two two' - and they started - they LITerally^
 339 started to fight^
 (...)

[17]

(...)
 1071 T: like him> - a:nd i was in australia. - on this uh: -
 1072 [<<laughs>> on this bridge and **it was going like that'**
 1073 H: [<.h> wow
 1074 T: <<makes noise> (puh)> - and **we where here'** there was lots
 1075 of traffic. - <<laughing> and in front of us> - there was a
 1076 huge truck
 (...)

In both her dream stories (D25 and D26), N explicitly describes the visual experiences she had, as having *seen* something. In one of the instances, her dreaming self “looked out and [...] saw this GUY at the bottom of our driveway” (D26 [N], lines 770-771). Recalling another dream, she also “VIVidly” (D25 [N], line 756) remembers the strong visual impression of the pages of her essay:

[18]

(...)
 754 N: NO?> -- [(xxxx) it=s all underlined <<laughs>> cause i just
 755 I: [<<laughs>>
 756 N: **i can VIVidly SEE it** on the PAGE' EVery single like HALF of
 757 all (x/) throughout my ESSay it was like these underlined
 758 <<laughing> bits'> - uhm. -
 (...)

Of all the characteristics of dreams mentioned so far, the absence of interaction during the state of dreaming is the main problem of communication difficulties.³² As stated by Schütz (1962: 244) , “dreaming – as distinguished from imagining – is essentially lonely. We cannot dream together”. Dreaming is an implicitly subjective, self-organising process without interaction with the sensually perceptible everyday world. There is no social moment in ways of mutually coordinated action, no possibility of communication with one’s environment (cf. Hanke 2001: 44; Bergmann 2000: 41). Thus, a dream is, as Freud (1905 [1987]) remarks, a completely unsocial emotional product.

Furthermore, the individual solely and in *privacy* perceives the experience of his or her dream and is the only eyewitness of the action therein (cf. Hanke 2001: 227):

Dreams are special in that only the dreamer can have any appreciation of what is going on while it is going on and any memory thereof – even though others can figure as protagonists in the dream, be fairly sure that dreaming is occurring, and be told of the dream after it is over (Goffman 1974: 112; quoted in Hanke 2001: 40-41)

In the introduction to his book on *Kommunikation und Erzählung*, Hanke (2001: 9) gives an account of a conversation between Walter Benjamin and Theodor Adorno. Benjamin told one of his dreams to Adorno, who continuously commented on the action of the story, which of course he could in no way have experienced himself. When the two of them later were joined by Siegfried Kracauer, Adorno described Benjamin’s dream to him in detail, adding more aspects to the narration than Benjamin initially had told him.

Hanke remarks that an account of an experience can only be given if the narrator took part in it himself or herself or if he or she was told about it

³² In chapters 5 and 6 I will examine communication difficulties of dream stories in more detail.

beforehand. In Adorno's case neither of the instances can be applied and therefore the narration appeared strange to the other interactants. Since Benjamin and Kracauer knew about the asocial character of dreaming, they did not take Adorno's version of the story seriously.

In contrast to dreams themselves, dream narrations and reports are interactive, which accounts for the paradoxical character of dream stories. Every linguistic action is geared towards sociality, and so is storytelling as opposed to dreaming:

Damit ist *Traumerzählung* ein paradoxes Produkt, denn aufgrund seines sprachlichen Handlungscharakters ist Erzählen im Gegensatz zum Traum auf Sozialität ausgelegt. (ibid.: 59 fn31, italics in original)

Although strictly dividing between dream and dream story is practically impossible, for analytic reasons, the two are in most instances separately dealt with in my study (cf. also ibid.: 41). After all, as Alfred Schütz puts it, "I am no longer dreaming or imagining" as soon as I talk or think about dreams. Schütz (1962: 343), whose ideas I am going to introduce in the next section, even asks, "[a]re we sure that the awakened person really can tell his dreams, he who no longer dreams"?

3.4. On multiple realities and provinces of meaning

Dreaming and being awake, including recollecting and telling dreams, are different experiences within different states of consciousness. They involve different conditions, different possibilities and different perceptions. Although language and therefore also dream stories may be part of an everyday world, dreams themselves seem not to be. This is an important observation as far as an analysis of dream stories is concerned, since it deals with the question how something that has been happening in an obviously different world accessible only for the dreamer, can be transferred to the common ground of

everyday life, of sociality, how it can be transferred in order to be understood by others by means of language.

The matter I am going to discuss in this section of the paper is the difference of these worlds and their characteristics, drawing upon the ideas of the Viennese sociologist Alfred Schütz. Schütz explores the world of daily life, different realities, and representations within and beyond them. His theory of multiple realities rests upon subjective perception from the perspective of the agent in everyday life.

Beside the *everyday world of working* as the paramount reality, the *world of daily life* is subdivided into multiple realities. These are *finite provinces of meaning*, which are “names for different tensions of one and the same consciousness, and it is the same life, the mundane life, unbroken from birth to death, which is attended to in different modifications” (Schütz 1962: 258; cf. Hanke 2001: 54-62). Examples for provinces of meaning are

the world of dreams, of imageries and phantasms, especially the world of art, the world of religious experience, the world of scientific contemplation, the play world of the child, and the world of the insane. (Schütz 1962: 232)

All these have particular *cognitive styles*, i.e. “specific tension[s] of consciousness” (ibid.), different from those of the world of working, which are only accessible within each province of meaning.

The provinces of meaning are called “finite”, since in terms of their cognitive styles, perceptions are consistent and compatible only within the borders of the worlds they occur in. Because of their finiteness, different realities cannot be experienced at the same time and one can only leap from one to another. This transition between the worlds is experienced in what Schütz terms a “shock”. As there are different provinces of meaning, also shocks can come about in countless ways, such as,

the shock of falling asleep as the leap into the world of dreams; the inner transformation we endure if the curtain in the theatre rises as the transition into the world of the stageplay; the radical change in our attitude if, before a painting, we permit our visual field to be limited by what is within the frame as the passage into the pictorial world; our quandary, relaxing into laughter, if, in listening to a joke, we are for a short time ready to accept the fictitious world of the jest as a reality in relation to which the world of our daily life takes on the character of foolishness; the child's turning toward his toy as the transition into the play-world; and so on. (ibid.: 231)

Shock experiences may occur many times a day or even often within one hour. They either lead directly into another province of meaning or into the paramount reality, which is the outer world we are always participating in and are always coming back to through shocks. This outer world is the world of working in everyday life and it is paramount because we always stay physically present there, even while experiencing another province of meaning. It is considered "the archetype of our experience of reality" (ibid.: 232), which also provides the basis for other worlds. All finite provinces of meaning are considered deviations from the world of daily life. Also, it is the world of bodily activeness and the only reality where our possibilities of action may be limited by outer objects (cf. ibid.).

The eminent character of the outer reality furthermore rests upon it being inter-subjective. Only in the world of working we do come across others and interact on the basis of common knowledge and experience. In other words, "it is a world common to all of us" (ibid.: 312), which is likewise perceived and interpreted by fellow human beings. Schütz' theory of *The Reciprocity of Perspectives* (cf. ibid.: 315) indicates that individuals act on the assumption that others are like themselves and that their conscious experience is similar to theirs. This ideally includes that if one person's "here" and another one's "there" are interchanged, the one person's substantial perception of "there" would be similar to the other one's from that position and vice versa.

At the same time, however, “circumstances are rarely the same and [...] other things are hardly ever equal” (Günthner & Luckmann 1995: 2). Because of people’s biographies differing from each other, their perspectives can never be completely identical. However, the supposition Schütz calls *The Idealization of the Congruency of the System of Relevances* implies that, still, interactants assume that they “interpret the actually or potentially common objects, facts, and events in an ‘empirically identical’ manner, i.e., sufficient for all practical purposes” (Schütz 1962: 316). As it will be shown later, this, for example, plays a role regarding genre and the way communication between speaker and listener rests upon common expectations. Common knowledge and these common expectations, especially in language, are essential as far as dreams are concerned because the conversational topic itself can in no way be part of a common experience.

Since interaction generally is exclusive to the world of working, also language exists only in this paramount reality. Communication is based on ‘signs’ which in Schütz’ terms are ‘appresentations’, i.e. references originating in the outer world. A sign always relates to the pair of an appresented and an appresenting part, the latter of which is the reference sign that solely belongs to and is positioned in the reality of everyday life. The appresented part, however, does not necessarily do so. Because of ‘The Reciprocity of Perspectives’, an individual assumes that he or she shares a mutual understanding of signs with their interpreter. It appears that interactants are most likely to agree on the meaning of signs if the appresented member also pertains to their common world.

If, however, experiences from other realities are to be expressed, the appresenting reference will still be based upon the paramount reality but refer to something transcending it. In this case, Schütz (1962: 331) calls the signs *symbols* and defines as follows:

A symbol can be defined in first approximation as an appresentational reference of a higher order in which the appresenting member of the pair is an object, fact, or event within the reality of our daily life, whereas the other

appresented member of the pair refers to an idea which transcends our experience of everyday life.

Therefore, the symbolic relationship belongs to two realities at the same time, namely that of the experience within a finite province of meaning which the symbol is referring to, and to the paramount reality from which the appresenting element is derived. Any area that is part of two spheres of reality at the same time, more precisely, a region belonging to one finite province of meaning enclosed by another, is called an *enclave* (cf. *ibid.*: 233). Thus, any interactive account of an experience from beyond the world of working, e.g. a dream story, represents such an enclave.

Through the use of symbols, we try “to apprehend these transcendent phenomena in a way analogous to our perceptible world” (*ibid.*: 329). While the appresenting member of the symbolic relation belongs to the paramount reality – *here* – the appresented element forms a part of another province of meaning – *not here* (cf. Hanke 2001: 53). The difficulty in this relation is to translate an often vague meaning into references with reasonably precise denotations (cf. Schütz 1962: 338), since the means we use to communicate are merely the symbolic functions of the signs of another reality. Communication therefore often also requires additional verbal or prosodic marking in order to clarify in which of the two possible functions referential signs are used (cf. Schmitz 1998: 19). Not only intentionally set markers but also unconsciously used features may benefit the listener’s³³ interpretation and expectation of – as far as this study is concerned – stories according to category recognition.

In addition, understanding appresentational references may also depend on the other interactant’s own experiences. It seems obvious why e.g. dreams are much more difficult to communicate than a story about what happened at the supermarket the day before, since that occurred in the common world.

³³ Respectively, in other cases of interaction, any other vis-à-vis.

Still, a listener's experiences play a major part also in accounts of other realities. Symbolic representations are more comprehensible for other interactants when they may access their own records of the respective province of meaning.

References to worlds like the ones of scientific communication, poetry, religion, etc. are usually not exclusively chosen by the speaker. A work of art, for example, is indeed perceived individually only within its finite province of meaning. Still, it may be observed by others, too. Therefore, in a conversation about it one can allude to a common experience and make use of intersubjectively constituted symbols (cf. Schmitz 1998: 19, 26; Schütz & Luckmann 1994: 195-200). Also in an instance of talking about any piece of art which the listener does not know, still the commonly established references serve as means of understanding.

What dreaming and looking at a work of art have in common is that we do it individually. Dreams are also experiences that are by no means accessible to anyone else outside of the dreamer him- or herself. Only in the state of being awake is it possible to consciously look back at the events of a dream, to recollect them and communicate them by using the symbols that are positioned in the everyday world of working. There are, however, no such established linguistic terms and categories for experiences in dreams as there are for other provinces of meaning in order to support interaction.³⁴

Verbalisation becomes especially difficult, since, typically, dreams with strange and bizarre characters which radically transcend any common experience are more often considered worth telling (cf. Schmitz 1998: 16). When dreams are translated into any medium of interaction, dream perceptions are automatically distorted. And in these attempts to put dream recollections into words, language with its binding orders of identity, space,

³⁴ Another example for the difficulty of formulating would be pain descriptions, for which there actually have emerged commonplace terms and phrases, as I will explain in the section on reconstructive genres.

time, figure, number and gender, often is on the verge of failing (cf. Schütz & Luckmann 1994: 164). Via common expectations, the actual memories are twisted in order to be put into established categories, where they, however, do not seem to fit. This may become manifest in dream instances like those in the following examples given by Schütz & Luckmann.

As a dreamer one may feel, that people one knows look differently or have new names or do what they never would do in 'reality'; cities are in wrong places; one is finding oneself in a 'wrong' time. Somebody may have said something extraordinarily funny, but the question arises, what actually was funny about what he said. A dreamer dreamed of a river scenery he knows and recognises in his dream because he has often been there – but only in his dreams, because looking back from his waking condition, he realises that the scenery does not exist in 'reality'. So he did not only dream of a scenery but of a dream scenery, and it was a familiar one:

Menschen, die ich kenne, sehen ‚anders‘ aus oder haben einen neuen Namen oder tun Dinge, die sie ‚in Wirklichkeit‘ nie tun würden; Städte stehen am falschen Ort; ich finde mich in einer ‚falschen‘ Zeit. Jemand hat etwas außerordentlich Lustiges gesagt – aber was war es nur, was an seinen Worten so lustig war? Ich habe von einer Flußlandschaft geträumt, die ich im Traum wiedererkannt habe. Ich war schon oft dort gewesen – aber ‚nur‘ im Traum, denn jetzt, alle meine wachen Erinnerungen durchkämmend, weiß ich, daß es diese Landschaft in ‚Wirklichkeit‘ nicht gibt: nicht nur habe ich von einer Landschaft geträumt, sondern von einer Traumlandschaft – und dazu von einer mir bekannten. (ibid.: 164-165)

From the perspective of the dreamer, a version of a dream appears clear, logical, maybe frightening, while viewing it from the outside world, the person may find it amusing or disconcerting when awake. The dreamer experiences his or her dream perceptions as real, whereas in the paramount world and the world of language, his or her reality is that of everyday life which is taken for granted (cf. Schmitz 1992: 297).

Moreover, the knowledge of the special characteristics of the world of dreams itself is assumed to be common. Therefore, a listener will without questioning accept or even expect vagueness, incoherence, gaps and contradictions in a dream narration, which are not considered failures of communication but rather are seen as typical features of this special province of meaning (cf. Schmitz 1998: 26-27). I am going to present and discuss examples of these characteristics in chapter 5.

These single features do not only play a role in dream communication. The stories themselves are narrations or reports that set themselves apart from other stories. In order to divide and define all these different stories, I am going to apply genre theory. As a very different topic than the ones so far, I am now going to introduce the concept of genre induced by the question whether dream stories with all their special characteristics do actually constitute an own genre. The following pages are dedicated to genre in general, introducing various concepts and ideas of genre, categorisation and order. I will gradually lead over to the notion that I believe represents best the idea of genres in everyday life, i.e. the approach that provides the basis when it comes to dealing with a genre of dream stories.

4. Approaches to genre

The term *genre* is universally known for referring to categories in music, film, literature, and other forms of art. Although not always expressly named, it is also a notion widely used in different scientific fields. Enunciating a rather extreme point of view, Hawkes even claims that, “a world without a theory of *genre* is unthinkable, and untrue to experience” (Hawkes 1977: 101, quoted in Swales 1990: 38, italics taken over from Swales).

Genre used to be particularly known for its use in art. When it comes to language, the roots of genre analysis mainly lie in literature studies where its concept has since antiquity been used to distinguish main types of literary texts. Genre categorization has also had a long tradition in rhetoric. Only fairly recently has it more and more become a topic of interest for sociologists and linguists.

In discussions of the concept of genre itself, Susanne Günthner & Hubert A. Knoblauch (1994), for example, concentrate on the linguistic-anthropological and the folkloristic as the two most important approaches in genre research within social science, and further name rhetoric, poetics, theology and literary studies as the main disciplines that engaged in communicative genres. Charles Bazerman (2003) groups anthropologists, folklorists and sociologists apart from researchers in linguistics and rhetoric, and refers to literary genre only very briefly. Swales (1990) lists the following fields of study as the main influences in genre theory separately: folklore, literature, linguistics and rhetoric, while Bhatia (1993: 16), dealing with a similar approach to Swales', points out that “[f]rom the point of view of the analysis of functional variation in language, one envisages at least three different kinds of orientation”, namely linguistics including work on rhetorical features, sociology and psychology. He further takes the prevalent status of genre in literary science, sociology and rhetoric for granted.

Bazerman (2003: 2) also mentions his approval of interdisciplinary study as far as genre theory is concerned. Especially incorporating social and cultural studies is, in his opinion, a “particularly fruitful move at the current moment”. Basically, he maintains that “in looking at how other fields have taken up the use of genre we may start seeing literary texts in new lights” (ibid.: 3). Since the

notion of genre is relevant in literary studies, the view on literary types is also of great importance for any other treatment of the subject. Although theories of written texts cannot be applied directly to spoken data, they also provide the basis for various ideas for further argumentation in order to arrive at the notion of a genre of dream stories.

4. 1. Cognitive psychology

People like to think in categories, they like to act in patterns. A scheme that is already known is more likely to be followed than one that is newly introduced. Just as in many other parts in an individual's life, this is true for language. Speakers unconsciously and also consciously keep to certain structures from a common knowledge shared with their listeners in order to make their linguistic intention more readily understood.³⁵

The categories and patterns deep-seated in one's mind are dealt with in cognitive psychology. In the words of Julia Hüttner (2005: 9),

[t]he basic tenet within cognitive psychology is that human beings are eager to impose conceptual order onto the world around them, and thus try to align any new information to familiar patterns of experience and belief, which form their cognitive constructs or configurations of knowledge.

The concept of cognitive structures is without doubt of major importance to all theories of classification and so it is to linguistic analyses. In order to make communication easier for all participating interactants, they jointly embed it in a common notion in the course of its production, which can to some extent be understood through a theory of genre. The evidence of this is the "tendency to interpret situations according to our expectations" (ibid.). In an experiment by Bartlett in 1932 (quoted in Swales 1990: 83; cf. also Hüttner 2005: 9), for

³⁵ As already mentioned in the section on Alfred Schütz, this common knowledge is also based on the assumption that the other person is experiencing the world in a similar way to oneself.

example, British university students were told Apache folk-tales and were then asked to retell them. The students produced their own versions of the stories which corresponded more to what their own schemata of folk-tales were, according to their background and their “prior knowledge structures, based on their European folk-tale experiences” (Swales 1990: 83).

What Swales refers to as prior knowledge, in his view, consists of mainly two components. For one part, it is composed of one’s previous experience of life. The second constituent is made up of prior texts, orally as well as written, which also contain procedures, facts and concepts, aside from information structures, rhetorical elements and styles. Especially in its idea of prior knowledge partly being based on linguistic experience, this theory can roughly be related to Schütz’ (1962: 313) understanding of the outer world and ‘the Other’: “Our knowledge of the other mind is itself based on appresentational references”, i.e. what we know about the world of others, we have learned through signs (and symbols) – many of them linguistic in nature.

Furthermore, “prior knowledge not only interprets facts and concepts but also calls up interactive procedures or routines” (Swales 1990: 84-85), composed of verbally and non-verbally experienced scripts, scenarios, frames, or routines, as they may be called in different conceptualisations. Our knowledge of these routines and of prior experiences generally may also be altered by new ones of the same kind. In Swales’ words this means that, “each experience we have of a class of events changes our perceptions of that class” (ibid.: 86). Therefore, categories and genres are not necessarily fixed concepts but develop in the course of their perception or use.

4.2. Genre in folklore and literary studies

In folklore studies, genre theory has had a central position, especially in Germany since the early 19th century, and the studies on and collections of myths, legends and folktales by the Brothers Grimm (cf. Swales 1990: 34,

Günthner & Knoblauch 1994: 5). In the 20th century, André Jolles' book *Einfache Formen*, published in 1974, is considered the basic work of genre discussion in folklore studies. Jolles speaks about literary forms, defining them as categories which are created by language itself. He has a set of "simple forms" in mind, where there is only a limited number of genres, defined by their content, purpose or language (cf. Jolles 1974: 22).

In literary studies, the term genre has mostly been used to refer to the main distinction of drama, prose and poetry and also to their many sub-categories, "on the basis of their content, form or technique" (Murfin & Supryia 2003: 189). Since the days of Aristotle, many different classifications have emerged in literary theory and literary history, which, however, could not always provide classes for all types of literary texts. Apart from suggestions of different genre distinctions, also the need for categorizations in general was questioned. In his discussion of different approaches to genre, Bazerman (2003: 1) addresses the difficulty of the topic when he claims that

despite all our interest in locating and transcending genre, we can never seem to get stable taxonomies (beyond 'common sense common knowledge') or a definition of any genre that will satisfy more than a few people for a short time.

In contrast to the traditional idea of a careful distinction of the major classical literary types, which was retained well into the 18th century (cf. Cuddon 1998: 342), the term genre, as well as the different literary categories themselves, has in more recent times become more and more blurred. Although in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, genre is defined as "a recognizable and established category of written work employing such common conventions as will prevent readers or audiences from mistaking it for another kind" (Baldick 1990: 91), also the haziness of the notion is admitted.

Moreover, genres typically change over time. In Bazerman's (2003: 1) words, this means that, "[g]enres are what people recognize as genres at any

moment of time". Especially when keeping in mind the emergence of new forms of media, it becomes apparent that new types of literary classes are developing while existing ones are being altered and adapted to new requirements. Apart from that, also different mentalities of different times have a significant impact on the way genres are composed and perceived.

The difference between the genre concept in folklore and literary studies – which, however, only applies to a modern view of literature – is, according to Swales, that the former is more concerned with representations of a certain form, while in the latter especially deviations from the ideal type play a major role as authors are trying to break out of traditional genre conventions (cf. Swales 1990: 36, Murfin & Supryia 2003: 190). Accordingly, Bazerman (2003: 1) points out the individuality of literary texts, which resist common genre classification.

In *The Bedford Glossary of Critical and Literary Terms*, Murfin and Supryia state that in contemporary literary studies, genres are not thought of in terms of groups, but rather considered family resemblances in the sense of Wittgenstein's theory (cf. Swales 1990: 49-52). This view accounts for a "convenient, though arguably loose and arbitrary, categorizing and descriptive device that provides a basic vantage point for examining most historical and many modern and contemporary works" (Murfin & Supryia 2003: 190).

4.3. Genre in linguistics and rhetoric – on speech genres and social action

It is needless to say that distinct semantic, stylistic and structural features are not only recognised in literary works but certainly also in many other kinds of text. It may thus of course be claimed that non-literary texts just as well constitute genre. In linguistic studies, the interest in the notion of *genre* has, however, become apparent only comparatively late. As far as the term itself is concerned, Swales (1990: 38) even argues that the reluctance of using it in

linguistics may on the one hand be “partly due to traditional tendencies to deal with aspects of language below the levels of texts” and on the other hand may have been avoided due to being “a ‘term of art’ [...] so closely associated with literary studies” (ibid.). Perhaps this origin also provides for the reason why the use of *genre* in linguistics was initially restricted to written texts.

Similarly to the development in contemporary literary studies, also in text-linguistics, traditional ways of categorisation have been reconsidered. In his paper “Wie soll man Texte typisieren?”, Wolfgang Raible (1996), for example, introduces his idea of a system of different changeable characteristics in seven constant dimensions, according to which texts can be defined. The dimensions worked out by Raible are communication situation, field of the subject matter, structure, relation between text and reality, medium, linguistic representation and, finally, relation to other texts. The measures within these dimensions, according to Raible, are criteria which common people go by when approaching a text.³⁶

Raible follows the first of the two possible research strategies pointed out by him and Elisabeth Gülich in 1972. By drawing up the criteria from people’s actual engagement in the subject, he opts for the method of starting his analysis from the data itself rather than from prefabricated categories, as this is also the main idea of ethnomethodological proceeding. In the original German text, aiming at the concept of “Textsorten”, the two strategies are described as follows.

Die eine besteht darin, daß, von bestimmten Textsorten ausgehend, ein gemeinsamer texttheoretischer Rahmen gesucht wird; die andere darin, daß die einzelnen Textsorten in einem bereits vorhandenen texttheoretischen Rahmen lokalisiert werden. (Gülich & Raible 1972: 1-2)

³⁶ Raible calls these “bewußtseinseigene Kriterien“ (Raible 1996: 7).

Raible attains a genre distinction according to categories found by means of analyzing text titles given by the authors. His way of looking at the topic has provided important ideas for this paper. Of these issues I want to highlight one in particular, which in its main idea is also raised in many other studies dealing with genre questions: In order to arrive at categories, Raible consults titles of different texts, exemplified through numerous works by Voltaire, which often contain a reference to genre. Clearly, this reference is important for a reader to adjust himself or herself to the specific type of text.

As I have already indicated in the discussion of Schütz' theory (cf. 3.4.), common expectations and the common knowledge of the writer and the reader of a text come into play in the comprehension of genres. The general idea, which repeatedly appears in various different approaches, is that for both, production and reception, the knowledge and recognition of features that regard form or content of a text provide support for mutual understanding (cf. e.g. Bakhtin 1986 [1999], Swales 1990: 86). From the point of view of rhetoric and literary studies but also in the face of the linguistic and sociological treatment of genre, Bazerman (2003: 1) expresses the issue as follows:

As readers, we use genre to locate the kind of world we are entering into in each text; to identify the kinds of symbolic, emotional, intellectual, critical, or other mental activity evoked; to recognize the kinds of games at play we need to attune to. As critics and historians, we explicitly attribute genre to categorize ranges of texts as similar and to map the changes in literary practice. We implicitly rely on genre in our invocation of interpretive and evaluative procedures we consider appropriate to each text according to its type. As pedagogues, we use genre to organize courses and teach students. As writers, we use our sense of genre to focus our efforts, to locate and display resources typical and appropriate to the genre, to recognize appropriate style and decorum, and to provide frames for blurring and other disruptions. As both readers and writers, we often feel the need to rebel against the apparent conservative constraints of genre on creativity, novelty, imagination, and socio-political realignment. [...] And as critics and teachers, we find it important to point to how texts accomplish more than the typicalities of genre might suggest.

As far as spoken language is concerned, it seems to be generally accepted that it was Mikhail Bakhtin who expanded the concept of genre to spoken interaction (cf. e.g. Kotthoff 2002: fn2). In his work *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*, Bakhtin (1986 [1999]: 121-122) establishes the idea that all literary genres (“from the proverb to the multivolume novel”), next to “the world of commentary” and “the diverse forms of scientific statements”, are only ‘secondary’. He asserts that they derive from the class of ‘primary speech genres’ which are

certain types of oral dialogue – of the salon, of one’s own circle, and other types as well, such as familiar, family – everyday, sociopolitical, philosophical, and so on. (ibid.: 123)

The concept as a whole is based upon Bakhtin’s observation that the specific conditions and goals of “areas of human activity” (ibid.: 121) are not only represented in the thematic content and linguistic style of the utterances in which language becomes manifest.³⁷ Moreover, they are also realised in their linguistic compositional structure. It needs to be mentioned, though, that Bakhtin considers the aspects of thematic content, linguistic style and compositional structure not independently but as “inseparably linked to the whole of the utterance and [...] equally determined by the specific nature of the particular sphere of communication” (ibid.). Although these utterances are described as individual in a way that they also reflect the individuality of their producer, they do nevertheless require certain forms, since “each sphere in which language is used develops its own *relatively stable types* of these utterances” (ibid., italics in original). These are what Bakhtin terms “speech genres”.

Different spheres allow for different degrees of a speaker’s or writer’s individual style. With literary-artistic texts, for instance, the writer (or speaker) is far less limited in his or her linguistic choices than he or she would be in

³⁷ Bakhtin uses the term utterance to refer to spoken as well as written language (cf. Bakhtin [1986] 1999: 121).

many other genres. Examples of cases where the generic specifications do not permit a lot of individuality would be cooking recipes, verbal signals in industry, military commands or many business documents. In most genres, the individual style therefore only serves as “an epiphenomenon of the utterance, one of its by-products” (ibid.: 123).

Following Bakhtin, speech genres are acquired by means of concrete language usage, the same way as, for example, lexical compositions and grammatical structures are. In fact, he claims that

[t]he forms of language and the typical forms of utterances, that is, speech genres, enter our experience and our consciousness together, and in close connection with one another. To learn to speak means to learn to construct utterances (because we speak in utterances and not in individual sentences, and, of course, not in individual words). Speech genres organize our speech in almost the same way as grammatical (syntactical) forms do. (ibid.: 127)

Compared to grammatical features, though, speech genres are described as being “much more flexible, plastic, and free” (ibid.: 127). Language users are more restricted in the use of the normative and stable forms of syntax and grammar while they may deal with speech genres much more freely, that is, to different degrees, though. Still, as stated by Bakhtin (ibid.: 126-127),

[e]ven in the most free, the most unconstrained conversation, we cast our speech in definite generic forms, sometimes rigid and trite ones, sometimes more flexible, plastic, and creative ones.

Speaking, thus, mainly consists of choosing a speech genre (cf. also Günthner & Knoblauch 1994: 4-5). Since, however, there are so many different forms according to Bakhtin’s theory, the concept of speech genres itself is affected by extreme heterogeneity. He admits that the “wealth and diversity of speech genres are boundless” (Bakhtin 1986 [1999]: 121) because of the indefinite possibilities of spheres of human activity and also

because both, spheres as well as speech genres, are able to change. Therefore, it appears that speech genres “do not have and cannot have a single common level at which they can be studied” (ibid.: 122). From the implication that their common features thus seem “excessively abstract and empty” (ibid.), Bakhtin draws that this might be the reason why the topic of genre was not treated in linguistic studies for so long.

Literary genres have been studied [sic] more than anything else. But from antiquity to the present, they have been studied in terms of their specific literary and artistic features, in terms of the differences that distinguish one from the other (within the realm of literature), and not as specific types of utterances distinct from other types, but sharing with them a common *verbal* (language) nature. The general linguistic problem of the utterance and its types has hardly been considered at all. (ibid.: 122, italics in original)

Admittedly, if every language situation or ‘sphere’ can be assigned to or divided into specific speech genres, the question of whether or not dream stories constitute genre at all becomes redundant. For the sake of completeness, it has to be said that, according to Bakhtin’s theory of speech genres, they certainly do. The approach is still of great significance because, on the one hand, it was the first to transfer the notion of genre to spoken interaction, and on the other hand it has influenced many other ideas on genre in the fields of empirical cultural studies, linguistics, anthropology, sociology and rhetoric (cf. Günthner & Knoblauch 1994: 4-5). Most importantly for this study, it has also inspired the idea of communicative genres by Berger & Luckmann, which I am going to introduce in the next section.

For Bakhtin, language and genres are closely linked to social reality, which is also the case in genre discussion in rhetoric. In her influential paper „Genre as Social Action“, Carolyn Miller takes the view that genres gain meaning from social contexts and the situations they occur in. Miller (1984 [1994]: 27) proposes a genre classification which primarily follows the ethnomethodological approach in that “it seeks to explicate the knowledge

that practice creates". She further draws attention to Alfred Schütz' notion of our common stock of knowledge (cf. Schütz 1971), which she explains to be useful not only as far as recurring forms in comparable situations are concerned but also regarding new situations, which we are able to manage with analogies:

[T]he new is made familiar through the recognition of relevant similarities; those similarities become constituted as a type. A new type is formed from typifications already on hand when they are not adequate to determine a new situation. If a new typification proves continually useful for mastering states of affairs, it enters the stock of knowledge and its application becomes routine. Although types evolve in this way, most of our stock of knowledge is quite stable (Miller 1984 [1994]: 29).

By referring to Karlyn Kohrs Campbell and Kathleen Hall Jamieson (1978: 19, quoted in Miller 1984 [1994]: 25), Miller further claims that genre is not only based on form but also on substance:

[A] genre becomes a complex of formal and substantive features that create a particular effect in a given situation. Genre, in this way, becomes more than a formal entity; it becomes pragmatic, fully rhetorical, a point of connection between intention and effect, an aspect of social action. (Miller 1984 [1994]: 25)

In order to understand genre as social action with regard to a genre of dream stories within the rhetoric approach, it is important to mention which different purposes are ascribed to them. Fritz Morgenthaller (1990: 46) stresses that dreams never are narrated unconcernedly, neither is it ever a random choice to whom they are told.³⁸ In that respect, Goetze elaborates on different intentions for narrating one's dreams. Possible reasons for telling a dream are,

³⁸ „Es ist niemals zufällig oder gleichgültig, *ob* ein Traum und *wem* ein Traum erzählt wird“ (italics in original).

- making the listener a present of showing oneself by revealing a piece of one's soul,³⁹
- trying to collectively find out what the dream contents may signify,
- socialising,
- implying the wish for a therapeutical analysis,
- expecting self-awareness based on a curiosity in oneself and an interest in consciously dealing with the unconscious. (cf. Goetze 1992a: 239-240)

Miller (1984 [1994]: 37) also implies that a genre connects individual with common purposes by being a “rhetorical means for mediating private intentions and social exigence; it motivates by connecting the private with the public, the singular with the recurrent”. Furthermore, it adds to the joint understanding of the respective conversation situation, of “the potential for failure and success of acting together” (ibid. 38-39).

The following definition, taken from Bazerman's book *Shaping Written Knowledge: The Genre and Activity of Experimental Articles in Science*, is based on Miller's approach and also addresses the ideas of sociality and of common knowledge and joint recognition of genres and their similarities:

[A] genre is a socially recognized, repeated strategy for achieving similar goals in situations socially perceived as being similar. A genre provides a writer with a way of formulating responses in certain circumstances and a reader with a way of recognizing the kind of message being transmitted. A genre is a social construct that regularizes communication, interaction and relations. Thus the formal features that are shared by the corpus of texts in a genre and by which we usually recognize a text's inclusion in a genre, are the linguistic/symbolic solution to a problem in social interaction. (Bazerman 1988: 62)

³⁹ In German, Goetze calls this “ein Stück Seelentätigkeit” (Goetze 1992a: 239). This idea of a present given to the listener also accounts for the assumption that the recipient of a dream narration is never chosen randomly. With this I want to relate back to the discussion on data collection and the postulate of familiarity between the interactants in the recording situations.

A slightly different angle of genre recognition can be found in linguistic anthropology, where, according to Bazerman, genre was introduced by John Gumperz. Gumperz gives attention to contextualization cues in spoken interaction by which we are able to “identify the kind, or genre, of speech event that is occurring” (Bazerman 2003: 3). With reference to Gumperz’ findings from his studies in cross-cultural communication, Bazerman, once more, points to the necessity of recognising genre:

If we we [sic] do not recognize each other’s cues and thus have divergent understandings of the event, we miss each other’s meanings and actions, even though we may be perfectly familiar with the precise connotative meaning of the utterance. These contextualization cues index us to the intangible social understandings of genres of speech events as much as words like now and later, here and there index us to the temporal and physical aspects of the speech situation. (ibid.)

The identification of genre in use is also an issue in conversational analysis. In the beginnings of conversation analysis, the field of interest mainly lay on discourse structure in the form of turn-taking and its negotiation. Although this is only concerned with the interactants’ expectations in their broader sense, still the idea of genre classification plays a role. Longer turn units may sometimes correspond to and be recognised as specific genres. When it comes to telling a joke, for example, the listener will know to wait with starting a new turn until the speaker has finished his or her joke with a punch line (cf. ibid.: 6). In the definition of *genre* in the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of Applied Linguistics*, it also reads that “[g]enre identification is essential for communication, yet despite detailed work on particular genres, and considerable interest, no satisfactory classification has yet emerged” (Johnson & Johnson 1998: 140).

As far as genre analysis in linguistics is concerned, and especially regarding the specific topic of dream stories, I have not come across an approach that would be completely applicable to my view of genre, either. However, inspired by the ideas of Alfred Schütz and others, I have found a sociological

approach to fully meet my understanding of genre. This approach, the communicative genre theory, has also already been used in other linguistic studies since the 1970s and 1980s (cf. Günthner & Knoblauch 1995: 4).

In linguistics, genre analysis is mainly associated with research in academic writing and the respective genres, done by John M. Swales and Vijay Bhatia (cf. Swales 1990, Bhatia 1993, Hüttner 2005). In 1993, Bhatia complains that even when working on similar topics, sociologists and linguists only rarely know about research in the other field of study. He observes that,

[a]t the time of writing, sociological studies of language use exist as a separate tradition of enquiry with hardly any overlap with the linguistic studies of similar genres. Research in scientific genres from these two traditions, for instance, has dealt with remarkably similar topics but rarely shows any awareness of studies done by various scholars in the two areas. (Bhatia 1993: 19)

As I have already hinted above, I do not completely agree with Bhatia's claim. A lack of overlap may often be the case in scientific research, and since especially the topic of genre embraces so many different areas, I adhere to Bazerman's (2003:2) call for interdisciplinary work. While intending to include various fields of research and the origins of the different theories that have influenced my study, however, I did come across many links between the different ideas and found there to be connections and references between the various scientific fields. Still, I agree, that interdisciplinary work should be furthered.

The genre theory on the basis of which I am going to explain the notion of a genre of dream stories, has been influenced by sociology, philosophy and linguistics, among others. Important ideas that have been incorporated into the theory are those of Alfred Schütz and Mikhail Bakhtin, as I am going to show in the following section.

4.4. Genre in sociology – Communicative genre theory

The main question of communicative genre theory, which is mostly associated with the names of Peter L. Berger, Thomas Luckmann, Werner Kallmeyer and Fritz Schütze, is how interactants negotiate, organise and typify reality within the everyday world (cf. Hanke 1992: 224). This approach is based on Bakhtin's assumption that speech genres are just as organised as syntactical structures are, but in contrast to Bakhtin's approach, in communicative genre theory, not every speech situation relates to a genre. Bergmann & Luckmann claim that speakers are free in their choices and compositions of communicative elements in many speech processes. The way an individual proceeds when speaking is that he

selects elements from the inventory of linguistic, and more generally, communicative codes in a more or less 'spontaneous' fashion. [...] H]e is guided by a mixture of habit and explicit intention, occasionally even by a communicative plan as part of an interactional project [...] – but he does not assemble the parts according to a preestablished overall communicative model. (Bergmann & Luckmann 1995: 290)

However, in other cases, which probably occur even more often, speakers consciously or unconsciously abide by certain rules or a certain pattern or order. As opposed to the rather "spontaneous" speech, in this approach, these communicative processes are considered genres:

[S]uch more or less 'spontaneous' acts are by no means the only ones to be found among the communicative processes in a society. Probably, they are not even the ones that occur most frequently. There are others in which the individual follows a recognizable overall model both for selecting elements from the various available communicative codes, especially language, and for joining them together into units larger than sentences and single messages. (ibid.)

Further influences on the communicative genre theory are, according to Günthner & Knoblauch, the concepts of the 'Ethnography of Communication'

(cf. Hymes 1974 [1993]), 'Interactive Sociolinguistics' and the 'Sociology of Knowledge', as well as 'Conversation Analysis'. As already mentioned, the notion of communicative genres has also found its way into linguistic analyses of discourse (cf. e.g. Gülich 1994, Gülich & Kotschi 1999, Günthner & Luckmann 1995, Kotthoff 2002). The method of the analyses is mostly ethnomethodological. Studies are conducted on the basis of audio and video recordings of natural communicative situations and their transcriptions.

Following Günthner & Knoblauch, communicative genres are defined according to their function and structure. The basic function that all communicative genres share is that they offer "solutions" to specific communicative problems in social life (cf. Luckmann 1985: 203, Günthner & Knoblauch 1995: 7, Bergmann & Luckmann 1995: 289-291). Different problems, of course, require different solutions and therefore different genres in their realisation.

Examples of the countless functions genres may have are brought forward by Günthner & Knoblauch (1994: 9) as follows: they may build symmetrical or asymmetrical social relationships between the interactants, establish knowledge differentials or confirm similarities of standards (e.g. when gossiping), create a connection to the social situation (e.g. in a joking circle where sociability is maintained by continuing joke series) or establish institutional context in situations such as lectures, business talks or sales talks.⁴⁰ As is explained below, communicative genres generally contribute to the social contexts they occur in.

Instead of taking the context as given, the analysis of communicative genres is based on a reflexive notion of

⁴⁰ „Kommunikative Gattungen können etwa eine soziale Beziehung zwischen den Interagierenden konstruieren, die symmetrisch oder asymmetrisch ist; sie können Wissensgefälle etablieren oder aber Gemeinsamkeit von Normen (beispielweise im Klatsch) bestätigen. Sie können aber auch einen Bezug zur sozialen Situation herstellen: Die Witzrunde hält ihre ‚Geselligkeit‘ durch die Fortsetzung der Witzserie aufrecht oder dadurch, daß sie zu geselligen Spielen übergeht. Ferner können kommunikative Gattungen den institutionellen Kontext herstellen, beispielsweise im Vortrag, im Arbeitsgespräch oder im Verkaufsgespräch.“

context as used in Interpretative Sociolinguistics. Communicative genres are not just determined by social contexts but also contribute to the very constitution of these contexts. (Günthner & Knoblauch 1995: 7)

The function of a communicative genre may, however, differ from an individual's goals. The different purposes must be compatible but need not be identical. This becomes especially clear in instances such as parody. Even though when a communicative genre may be identified as that of a political speech, a job interview, etc., its individual goals when parodied must be clearly distinguished from the function of the respective genre as such. Giving another example, one may, for instance, tell a joke in order to tease rather than entertain someone (cf. *ibid.*).

Typically, genres are generated as solutions to problems which often recur and have to be dealt with regularly because of their being socially relevant, i.e. the more prevalently communication problems occur the more likely they are to be solved on the basis of consolidations in the form of genres. The characteristic patterns which are built in these communicative processes are used as guidance by speakers and listeners. Instead of being the results of individual acting, the patterns are at the interactants' disposal, virtually as finished products (cf. *ibid.*: 3).

While offering solutions, genres therefore take away the burden of having to create communicative processes anew from the agents. They "guide[...] the interactants' expectations about the course of the communicative action" (Günthner & Knoblauch 1995: 6). Being relieved from this burden, the agents are better able to turn their attention to other problems. Both, producers and recipients, share genre as an aid of orientation and create special expectations from it.⁴¹ This means that not only the knowledge of certain communicative processes following a particular pre-established way in typical

⁴¹ Cf. previous sections of this paper and the respective discussions on expectations on behalf of speakers and listeners..

situations regulates communicative acting as such, but it also controls the interpretation of the action (cf. Günthner & Knoblauch 1994: 8).

Introductions such as “Do you know this one?...”, or “Stop me if you’ve heard this one...” or others like “Once upon a time...” trigger expectations in so far that the interactants will adjust their communication to the respective genre. Also in the case of dream stories, these pre-established patterns and features help speakers and listeners to communicate and understand dream affairs. The genre provides a helping frame for the difficult transfer of experiences from a different reality into language.

In spite of genres providing more or less ready-made processes, these are not to be understood as fixed or static structures. Communicative genres are also defined by the fact that, to varying degrees, they are interactively created in context. Moreover, they are subject to change according to social or regional factors and also over time, according to respective standards or demands. Bergmann & Luckmann (1995: 291) explain that because attributions of importance vary according to different societies or different epochs, “[i]t should [...] come as no surprise that different societies do not have the same repertoire of communicative genres”. To give an example, compliments or also insults may take very different forms in different cultures (cf. Günthner & Knoblauch 1995: 6).

Furthermore, the degree of obligation to a genre, i.e. the extent to which interactants commit to compliance with the respective communicative process, may vary depending on sociocultural, situative or subjective factors. There may be situations where agents need to submit to a specific genre to a certain extent and others where the use or choice of a genre or individual aspects of it are less binding (cf. Bergmann & Luckmann 1995: 290-291, Günthner 1995: 198, Luckmann 1988: 283). Consequently, the more obligatory a genre is, the more formal it seems and the more it involves expectations of the form of its proceedings. Examples for rather rigid genres are religious conversion stories, certain healing phrases and sayings.

Processes which are less obligatory approximate 'spontaneous' speech (cf. Günthner & Knoblauch 1994: 8,11).

Often, genre-related knowledge of the interactants plays a vital role in the sense that they do not have to face sanctions. This knowledge may be unequally distributed among members of a society according to criteria such as age, gender, social position, etc. (cf. Günthner & Knoblauch 1995: 6). It includes knowing elements that are essential to a particular genre, but also knowing "when to use or not to use what genre" (Günthner & Luckmann 1995: 7). Sanctions for disregarding genre standards may especially play a role in institutional settings.

As Luckmann (1986: 203; 1988: 282, fn2) explains, communicative genres are second order constructs, which build on concepts of the first order that is everyday knowledge. This does, however, not imply that interactants need to have a detailed genre theory at hand. They do not need to know or be consciously aware of whether or not, how and why they are adjusting their communication to a certain function or structure, in order to be able to tell or listen to a joke, an account of pain or a dream. But what they still do 'know' is when and where and how to tell or not tell a joke, how to structure it from the start to the point of the punch line, what special linguistic features to use and also how to recognise and what to expect from a joke and to react.

I pointed out in the beginning of the section that communicative genres are defined by both, function and structure, but as the examples of jokes above indicate, aspects of form and function cannot always be clearly separated.⁴² Certain compositions of the content as well as characteristics of linguistic form may contribute to the distinctness and identification of a joke as a member of its genre. Analytically, the two fields are to some extent still separated.

⁴² E.g. the introduction of a joke by the phrase "Do you know this one?" bears aspects of form and function alike.

A structural analysis of communicative genre basically starts out on a distinction of three different levels, on which the elements of the complex communicative pattern, i.e. the genre, are situated (cf. Günthner & Knoblauch 1995: 8). These are the level of external structure, the situative level and the level of internal structure. The division into the three levels also serves as a guideline for the empirical analysis in the next chapter. As Günthner & Knoblauch (1994: 10) point out, it is necessary to highlight structural characteristics in order to analyse genres empirically. I am therefore going to explain the individual aspects of the levels and of the elements they contain in chapter 5 on the basis of examples taken from the recorded dream stories.

Genres that are based on the same or very similar criteria can be grouped together as 'families of genres' (cf. Bergmann & Luckmann 1995: 292, Günthner 1995: 201). Before the detailed structural analysis of individual elements of dream stories, I want to go into more detail about the family that includes the genre of dream stories and closely related communicative genres, namely those that deal with narrating one's experiences. This family of genres is, according to Bergmann & Luckmann (1995: 292),

particularly important in the mediation of action-orienting knowledge, a process in which various kinds of past experiences, events, etc. are reconstructed.

4.5. Reconstructive genres

Reconstructive genres, a sub-category of communicative genres, is used as a term for communicatively reconstructed past events and experiences. Following Bergmann & Luckmann (ibid.: 293), it is evident that "an occurring event does not simply dissolve into nothing but becomes an event that has occurred, a past event". They consider all social events as essentially transient but events can also be "retained in memory, named, typified, thematized, and presented in conversation" (ibid.). Communicative events

that share the same functions of reconstructing the past are embraced in the concept of reconstructive genres, including, respectively excluding, the following examples.

In fact, there seems to be an entire group of communicative forms whose main purpose is reconstruction, such as conversion-accounts, [...] interviews, disaster reports, gossip, etc. Different as they are, they have certain features in common which they do not share with, e.g. didactical genres like preaching, teaching, etc. [...] and which they do not share with the minor genres such as sayings, parables, etc. (ibid.: 292-293, italics in original)⁴³

One of the solutions to the “problem of communicative presentation of past events” (ibid.: 294) are narratives. They are considered to be not the only possible method of reconstruction and also must not be mistaken for a literary conception of stories (cf. ibid.: 294-295). William Labov (1972: 359-360), who dealt with narratives extensively⁴⁴, defines them as

one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred.

The following subsections outline three examples of reconstructive genres, dealing with past experiences which in terms of Schütz’ notion of different provinces of meaning are especially difficult to put into words for the agents. The narrative reconstruction of an event of the everyday world seems a problem complex enough to solve. The following examples represent accounts of experiences of different worlds, transferred to the paramount reality as the only one that permits language. In this respect, they parallel

⁴³ Aside from their degree of consolidation, not all communicative patterns imply the same structural complexity and distinct sequence of events. Therefore, they can be divided into fully developed communicative genres and minor genres, such as sayings or salutations (cf. Günthner & Knoblauch 1994: 11).

⁴⁴ For Labov’s influential division of narratives into the stages of ‘abstract’, ‘orientation’, ‘complicating action’, ‘evaluation’, ‘result or resolution’ and ‘coda’, cf. Labov 1972: 363.

dream stories, with the difference that they have been dealt with more frequently in scientific studies based on linguistic aspects.

4.5.1. Epileptic auras

Elisabeth Gülich, who introduced me to empirical studies of the linguistic reconstruction of experiences from different realities, has mainly investigated epileptic auras, working in co-operation with an epilepsy clinic. The studies show that there can be found differences in patients' descriptions that can be associated with their clinical picture and therefore may support diagnostics.

Auras or epileptic presentiments are conditions an epilepsy patient experiences just before a seizure. Gülich recorded and analysed recounts of auras especially with regard to the difficulties the speakers undergo in describing their experiences, which she refers to as the phenomenon of 'indescribability' (cf. Gülich 2005: 222).

Patients experience having a strange taste in their mouths, hearing voices, suddenly seeing pictures in their surroundings, seeing people who are not there, having a warm wavelike sensation passing through their bodies, feeling a wall of fog approaching them, finding familiar things unfamiliar and vice versa, etc. (cf. *ibid.*: 224). In most of these cases, which may sound similar to dream contents, patients explain their experience as essentially being indescribable, but still they somehow try to put them into words.

Gülich points to the similarities between auras and experiences from further provinces of meaning. She suggests a subdivision of reconstructive genres, namely a genre family of ineffable reconstructions, which would include recounts of auras, dreams, religious conversions, visions, near-death experiences and other paranormal experiences (*ibid.*: 230). Apart from the difficulties in their description, they also have in common that they are experienced alone and that they occur unintentionally.

What distinguishes dream stories from epileptic auras is, that more often communication takes place between people who presumably have had experiences in a similar state, i.e. have also recollections of dreams themselves, whereas an epileptic cannot necessarily act on the assumption that the listener has had similar experiences. A communicative reconstruction of an aura may, in most cases, only take place in doctor-patient-situations.

4.5.2. Pain descriptions

An experience, which in contrast to epileptic auras, but similarly to dreams, many people will have in common, is the feeling of pain. The sensation itself may not be experienced in a reality different to the paramount reality and a description actually is not necessarily a reconstruction of the past and therefore an example of a reconstructive genre, but, still, accounts of pain (or fear, too) share many characteristics with dream stories and other versions mentioned in this paper. Apart from functional and structural aspects, they also share their occurrence in doctor-patient-situations with descriptions of auras and dreams.

Linguistically, mainly the choice of words in accounts of pain is interesting. Since feelings of pain often do not have equivalences in language that have been acquired just as other linguistics aspects, and people have obvious difficulties describing them, often metaphors seem to be the solution to the communicative problem (cf. Baumgartinger et al. 2002). As shown in the analysis, metaphors also play a part in dream descriptions.

The reason for including the subject of pain descriptions in this paper is, apart from their similarities to the topic, the call for putting more emphasis on linguistic analyses in medical diagnostics (cf. *ibid.*; Güllich & Schöndienst 1999; Güllich & Furchner 2002). This appeal applies to dream stories, too, but is more obviously apparent in the instances of epilepsy or pain descriptions. The way experiences, which, according to patients' accounts, actually are not possible to be verbalised, are eventually put into words may provide important information for medical treatment. As an example, I want to

mention an article by Baumgartinger, Sator, Binder & Pobaschnig (2002), in which the use of metaphors in the description of chest pain and a possible categorisation of clinical pictures according to the linguistic analysis are discussed.

4.5.3. Near-death experiences

Even closer to the genre of dream stories than pain descriptions are near-death experiences. The main reasons for my interest in them are, again, the language difficulties speakers go through when telling their stories because of the difference between the respective realities. Hubert Knoblauch (1999: 117), who researches into near-death experiences, writes that the persons concerned have the impression, that language cannot in any way do justice to their experiences at all.⁴⁵

According to Knoblauch & Schmied (1999: 202), the stories can generally be divided into three parts. Firstly, the time and place of the event are explicitly mentioned. By this reference, the narration is given credibility and objectivity.⁴⁶ Then, the speaker produces the actual account, which usually terminates in an abrupt ending. Subsequently, the third part of the reconstruction addresses the significance of the experience, often by means of an interpretation of the events. This can be compared to dream stories, where the interpretation of the dream plays an important role. Sometimes, the conclusion of the near-death narration is extended by a report of the consequences of the event.

The stories and, consequently, the interpretations, too, often reveal a strong religious focus. They are heavily influenced by religious and also by cultural

⁴⁵ “[A]lle mystischen Erfahrungen zeichnen sich durch ein Merkmal aus, das man „Unaussprechbarkeit“ nennen könnte: Die Betroffenen haben den Eindruck, daß die Sprache ihrer Erfahrung in keiner Weise gerecht wird.“

⁴⁶ Cf. also 5.3.11. for references to time and space in dream stories.

beliefs. As any genre, they also change over time. In earlier times, people used to be reluctant to sharing near-death experiences because of their unusualness, resulting in a fear of being laughed at or being called 'weirdos' (cf. Knoblauch 1999: 130). This reluctance, therefore, used to be part of the genre characteristic. With growing acceptance of paranormal experiences, also more people come to know about them and even may learn they have had one as well. Often, near-death experiences cannot be identified as such until knowing that they exist (cf. Knoblauch & Schmied 1999: 208-210). This, again, is an aspect which near-death accounts share with descriptions of epileptic auras.

Knoblauch (1999: 188) also assumes that the difference to dream experiences is that near-death events are remembered in a stronger and more detailed spiritedness and, generally, more memorable than dreams, which will be forgotten shortly after awakening or are only remembered vaguely if not instantly written down. I do not believe that this is necessarily so, since especially nightmares may contain a similarly strong intensity. In both cases, I would argue that the more often an experience is reconstructed, the better it is remembered, or rather is the linguistic form it was initially given.

5. Structural analysis of dream stories

Many of the aspects that have been dealt with so far and most of those that are about to follow are not features exclusive to dream stories. They may also occur in other genres, many of them, obviously, in reconstructive genres, and most of them can certainly be found in what has been described as ineffable reconstructions. But also in 'spontaneous' communication, many of these aspects occur in similar realisations as well. What therefore distinguishes the genre of dream stories from other communicative events is the combination of the singular features, to the discussion of which I now add the structural aspects.

As examples of communicative genres, dream stories can be regarded as consisting of three structural levels. These are the level of external structure, the situative level and the level of internal structure.⁴⁷ Each of these is constituted by further sub-concepts of which the realisations, together with the aspects of content (cf. sections 3.2. and 3.3.) and functions (cf. sections 4.4. and 4.5.), form the reconstructive genre of dream stories. Not all of the characteristics are equally relevant. Some may be more important than others in the constitution of the genre. Still, Luckmann assumes that there are aspects of each of the three levels to be found in every genre (cf. Günthner 1995: 207).

5.1. The external structure of communicative genres

The first part of the analysis consists of an examination of the level of the external structure of genre. This level can be deduced from the relationship between social structure and communicative actions. According to Günthner & Knoblauch (1994: 20-24; 1995: 16-20, Günthner 1995: 204-207), it includes domains such as communicative milieus, social categories of actors,

⁴⁷ Bergmann & Luckmann (1995: 292) also call them the inner structure and outer structure.

the institutional distribution of genres and the relationship between communicative genres and the social structure of a society.

5.1.1. Communicative milieu

A communicative milieu corresponds to a social unity which can be regionally defined. It consists of a group of people who share relatively firm social relationships, who get together habitually at the same places of communication and participate in recurrent events, and who share common time budgets and a common history. Families, women groups, study groups, associations, religious communities are examples of such social milieus (cf. Günthner & Knoblauch 1994: 20).

Not only can a genre be assigned to certain milieus, but it also may occur in some milieus in particular. In the case of dream stories, the genre is not exclusively associated with one singular communicative milieu, i.e. it may be found in many different ones. One can, however, assume that there are milieus of which dream stories are a characteristic part, such as specially created dream groups like the one Michael Hanke (2001: 76-103, cf. p. 23 in this paper) took his data from.

5.1.2. Social categories of actors

The social categories of the actors of a genre cover age, gender and social position. There are no special restrictions or responsibilities for the realisation of dream stories regarding social milieu or social categories, at least, as far as our culture is concerned. There may certainly be cultures where the telling of dream stories may, for example, only be permitted for special members, as is the case with many other genres where sociocultural differences in their realisation can be found (cf. eg. Günthner & Luckmann 1995).

5.1.3. Institutional distribution of genres

The domain of dream narrations is one of personal interaction. Dreams may often be told in private settings, but also, for example, in religious groups, or they may occur in medical or scientific domains for analytical reasons. On the one hand, the institutions dream stories can be found in are those of religious communities or diagnostic settings in doctor-patient-situations, but mostly they are found in non-institutional surroundings. On the other hand, there are also institutional situations where accounts of one's dreams would definitely be considered too personal and therefore out of place or would even cause sanctions.

5.1.4. Relationship between communicative genres and the social structure of a society

A person's social position, cultural belonging, social milieu, etc. are aspects which have a considerable impact on the repertoire of communicative genres of that single member of a society. The genre of dream stories, however, is probably not one for which genre knowledge is of great importance as far as social power structures are concerned. It is, without doubt, part of a society member's communicative competence and may play a particular role in religious context, but for the mostly non-institutional occurrences, as explained above, knowledge of the genre of dream stories is of minor impact.

5.2. The situative level of communicative genres

Although distinct aspects of the detailed linguistic realisation actually belong to the level of internal structure, a further level is introduced in order to account for characteristics of the interactive nature of communicative genres. Communicative action usually disperses to different agents, so the aspects of interactive organisation, participation and non-linguistic social arrangements are specially dealt with on this level.

In the data for this study, interaction is in many of the dream stories not directly available for analysis since most of the interviews were conducted with only the dream narrator and myself present and I did not interfere with the narration. The transcripts, therefore, show hardly any visible interaction apart from the few cases where more than two people took part in the recording.

However, the very process of transporting information via language to another person is already considered interactive. As explained by Bergmann (cf. 2000: 48), dreams are not dreamed in the linguistic form in which they are told. Dreams are induced hallucinations from another world which are modelled into the words and pattern in which they are presented. This process of converting experiences into a linguistic representation does not correspond to producing a copy of any interior action the same way as if producing photocopies as external images. To an extremely high degree, the constructions of experiences rather are defined by situative factors, by the social constellation of the interactants, by the chosen form of reconstruction, by the dynamics of the speech event, in short, by the manner of their communicative production.⁴⁸

Generally, in conversation analysis, a text, whether it is written or spoken, is considered to be interactive. Elisabeth Gülich (1994: 79) describes this perspective as follows:

[D]ie Formulierungsaktivitäten müssen als Interaktion gesehen werden, d.h. es wird besondere Aufmerksamkeit darauf gerichtet, daß die Produktion von Äußerungen in der Interaktion

⁴⁸ "Träume werden ja nicht in der sprachlichen Form geträumt, in der über sie berichtet wird. Träume sind induzierte Halluzinationen, die *in* eine sprachliche Form modelliert und in dieser Form zur Darstellung gebracht werden. Dieser Prozess der Umsetzung einer Erfahrung in eine sprachliche Repräsentation läuft nun nicht in der Weise ab, dass von einem inneren Vorgang eine Kopie erzeugt und dann wie bei einem Fotokopierer als äusseres [sic!] Abbild ausgeworfen wird. Die Darstellung einer Erfahrung ist vielmehr in höchstem Mass [sic!] bestimmt von den situativen Umständen, der sozialen Konstellation der Beteiligten, der gewählten Form der Rekonstruktion, der Dynamik des Gesprächsgeschehens, kurz: von der Art und Weise ihrer kommunikativen Herstellung." (Bergmann 2000: 48, italics in original)

und durch die Interaktion erfolgt. Der Text wird grundsätzlich als ein interaktives Produkt gesehen.

Some of the aspects of the situative level may therefore also “be found in supposedly monologic genres” (Günthner & Knoblauch 1995: 14) and, as already mentioned, there are, of course, cases in which reconstructive genres, although often monologic, show dialogical structures. The interactive aspect becomes even clearer when the listener(s) actively contribute to the reconstruction by means of asking questions or help with trying to find formulations (cf. *ibid.*: 82). It shows that even highly subjective content and experiences, even though they are not directly accessible for the interactant, may be put into language with the listener’s help (cf. Gülich 2006: 228).

5.2.1. *Interactive organisation of communication*

Instances of interactivity contributing to a genre can be certain patterns of turn-taking including, for example, question-and-answer sequences. The following two scenes represent different aspects of question-and-answer sequences as they may occur in dream stories.

On the one hand, a listener⁴⁹ may ask a question in order to clarify misleading formulations or content that he or she misunderstood, or, as in the case below (D05 [L]), the listener may have a question on the claim to reality. In the example, F is not sure whether L actually is talking about her dream or telling any other experience with the same persons and places involved, and therefore poses a question for clarification (line 194). It is instantly followed by an answer by L (line 195) and an acknowledgement of the answer by F (line 197). Only a little later, C is not clear about another part of the story

⁴⁹ The term listener, here, refers to the role of the person listening to the dream account and not to the actual speaking situation. A listener to a dream may therefore also be a speaker when speaking, but stays in the role of the listener regarding his position towards the dream story. I therefore use the word ‘listener’ even when indicating that the respective person is speaking.

being real or dreamed and also asks whether “that was just the dream” (line 201), which, first, the other listener, F (lines 202-203) and then the narrator, L, affirm (line 204):

[19]

(...)
192 L: i was talking to <NAME 1> i was in <NAME OF PUB> i was
193 talking to <NAME 1> about -
194 F: **in [your dream?**
195 L: [yeah. - **yeah** about getting the results and he got a
196 TWO TWO.
197 F: Okay'
198 L: and uh:m -- he was really upset' - and then - and he
199 split up with <NAME 2>' because <NAME 2> (had hung out)
200 with someone and it was all - that=s his - girlfriend.
201 C: are they still together, **that was just the [dream**
202 F: **[yeah that was**
203 **[just a dream.** [i TOLD <NAME 1> about that
204 L: [i i think so **yeah** unless i=m [(xxx)
(...)

On the other hand, questions may also be asked by the speaker in order to make sure whether his or her story is understood. The second example of a question-and-answer-sequence (D07 [F]) provides a question by speaker F, asking whether the character that she just introduced is actually known by the listeners in order for them to understand the story (lines 236-237). Since the other two listeners, C and L, say no, F includes information about the character of the TV series who appeared in her dream (lines 241-242), so that the other two are able to follow her account, and then switches to her dream again, indicated by the phrase “and in my dream” (line 243):

[20]

(...)
232 F: i had to pick them up by their TAIL? - and putting them
233 in a box. - and i had aNOTHer quite worrying dream
234 <<laughing> about gus from neighbours>
235 C: oh god. -
236 F: that he was in my attic. - cause you know? **did you see**
237 **[neighbours.**
238 L: **[i have (xxx) i don=t watch television.**
239 F: uh=okay.
240 C: **no me neither.**

241 F: there=s a scary guy in neighbours who has got a scary KEY
 242 into these peoples HOUSE and he got in. late at night. -
 243 **and in my dream'** he was in our attic. and i could hear him
 244 like walking a[ROUND' - in my dream [and i knew
 245 L: [<<laughs>> [were you in your flat
 246 on your own^
 (...)

Other examples where interactivity and the joint organisation of communication come into play in the genre of dream stories are reformulations and repetitions. As it will be discussed later, reformulating procedures are a clear evidence of the difficulty of verbalising one's dreams. Rephrasing and repeating unclear expressions and wordings, contribute to the jointly reconstructed dream. In this process, also the listener may reformulate parts of the account either in order to ask whether he or she has correctly understood the speaker or in order to make that clear, and by this the listener may also indicate that further explanations may be necessary.

In dream story D29 [H], participant T first poses a question on a detail of the dream story by asking what the Martians looked like (line 994). H, though, cannot tell because she did not see them in her dream (lines 995-996). T is not satisfied with this answer and further asks H who told her if she did not see them or whether she just knew (lines 1001-1002). This, H takes up and affirms by reformulating it (line 1003). After another rephrasing by T (line 1004) and yet another one by H (1005), they settle on the fact that H just knew about the Martians in her dream without anyone telling her. By reformulating the phrase "i knew" various times, T and H jointly reconstruct and clarify the situation.

[21]

(...)

987 H: yes! - I dreamt - martians were coming - to invade uh - so
 988 i had to go and buy ALL the bread.
 989 I: what?
 990 H: in the shops beCAUSE it was just the bread. -- they were
 991 coming for the bread' so i had to go buy all the bread^ -
 992 that was the dream i had^
 993 I: that was it?

994 T: **wha/=what [did they look like?**
 995 H: [yeah but it wasn=t like - **i didn=t see the**
 996 **martians.** - but it was like - i was in my n/ my o:ld -
 997 where i grew up the area. and it wasn=t just ANY kind of
 998 bread. it had to be the specific white loaf? - which didn=t
 999 have any crusts' - that i had to go and buy - and that was
 1000 the dream?
 1001 T: **but who told you i mean you didn=t see them but uh: - you**
 1002 **knew [they were (there)**
 1003 H: [i knew they were coming. - yeah.
 1004 T: **but you don=t know who told you.**
 1005 H: **no because i KNEW? in my dream i knew.** - cause someone'
 1006 when i went to buy the bread^ - the shopkeeper asked me why
 1007 are you buying all the bread?=and i said cause the MARTians
 1008 are coming [(due' - but uhm) - so that=s my dream?
 (...)

5.2.3. *Participation framework*

The participation framework of a genre refers to the interactivity regarding the relation a speaker has to the communicated content, respectively to the characters and figures he talks about, as well as to the person(s) he or she is speaking to and their utterances. With reference to Goffman (1983), Günthner & Knoblauch (1995: 14) suggest a division of the notion into the production format and the participation status.

As far as the production format of dream stories is concerned, I assume that most of the stories I am dealing with were dreamed by the persons who told them themselves. Still, it is fact that the speaker is not part of the experience of which he or she is giving an account himself. Since a dream does not take place in the reality of the speaker, the dreaming self differs from that of the person who is awake. In the actual dream experience, the dreaming self might take a more active part or that of an observer, but in no instance can it be equal to the person remembering and speaking about the dream.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ So far, I have mainly written about persons 'experiencing' their dreams and I am going to continue doing so in the rest of the paper for the sake of clearness. However, I want to stress, that, as explained, the dreaming self and the 'waking' self never are to be seen as the same person experiencing the same events.

There may, of course, also appear other persons in a dream, who are in different relations to the dreaming self in the story or to the person dreaming. What is more, speakers may also use direct speech in their accounts, by which they become the mouthpieces of either their own dreaming selves, respectively, other characters. It needs to be noticed that it is the own dream that is reproduced rather than anybody's actual speech in the everyday world.

The second part of the participation framework is constituted by the participation status. In an ideal case, the speaker and listener of a dream story know each other well enough to be able to talk about intimate topics, probably on an equal level. There are, of course, exceptions to this assumption, such as doctor-patient interactions, call-in shows on the radio, dream groups of people who do not know each other well and many more. Dream stories told in any of these settings will though still be classified as realisations of the same genre.

To a certain degree, a story itself needs to be listener-oriented, i.e. it must be formulated and complemented in a way for the listener to understand the specific intentions of the speaker with the help of his assumed previous knowledge (cf. Schmitz 1992: 305). According to Rainer Rath (1981: 266), the speaker, as the person who reconstructs his dream, is solely entitled to speak, despite any interactional activities on the part of the listener. Rath claims that a reconstruction or story thus constitutes a non-standard element in dialogue.

Quite contrarily to Rath, I do not believe that the right to speak lies exclusively with the dream narrator. I rather support the opinion stated by Ochs, Taylor, Rudolph & Smith (1992: 38, quoted in Hanke 2001: 31; cf. also Hanke 2001: 239-240), according to whom "storytelling is not normatively monologic, but rather an interactionally achieved discourse and sense-making activity". They also state that there is one principal narrator, the 'initial teller', but that the other interactants "contribute critically to the direction that the story takes and, in this sense, function as 'co-authors'" (ibid.).

I agree with Rath that a dream story, like any story or narration, constitutes a special element in conversation for it usually includes longer utterances by one speaker. In order to make his or her plan of taking the floor and telling a story clear, the speaker must signalise his or her intention and mark the coherence of the utterances correspondingly (cf. Rath 1981: 266). Often, the beginnings and ends of dream stories are indicated by special phrases (cf. section 5.3.6).

5.2.4. *Longer sketches of talk*

The telling of a dream story may also trigger other dream accounts in conversation. It is thus a genre where longer sketches of talk may be relevant. These can either be formed by a special seriality of different genres and spontaneous speech or by the recursivity of a certain genre (cf. Günthner & Knoblauch 1994: 19). The phenomenon of series of certain types of speech can also be observed in genres such as gossip and jokes.

5.2.5. *Non-linguistic social arrangements*

As it has been discussed extensively, especially in the chapter on data and data collection (cf. section 2.3.), there are many possible settings in which dream stories can occur – too many actually in the case of this study, considering the difficulties of defining a preferential recording situation in order to gain homogeneous data. The actual settings in which dream narrations occur seem not to determine genre as distinctively as this may be the case with other genres. They mostly are private situations, which cannot be clearly classified or grouped together. Since for this analysis I basically arranged the settings for the study beforehand, my data does not provide analysable information on how a social situation influences the realisation of the genre of dream stories.

5.3. The internal structure of communicative genres

The level of the internal structure of a communicative genre comprises text-internal verbal and non-verbal elements and can be subdivided according to various different topics, of which I am focussing on the ones that are especially important for dream stories. In Bergmann & Luckmann's words (1995: 292),

[t]he inner structure of communicative genres thus consists of rather diverse elements: words and phrases selected from different registers, formulae and entire formulaic blocks; rhetorical forms and tropes, stylistic devices, metric and melodic forms, rhymes, adjectival or nominal lists, oppositions, etc.

Some of the aspects treated in this chapter are described by Gülich (2005: 222-223) as evidence for what she calls the phenomenon of 'indescribability'.⁵¹ With reference to Alfred Schütz, she outlines her hypothesis that

indescribability often results from the fact that speakers/patients feel the need to talk about impressions and emotions which are contradictory, i.e. which belong to different areas of experience, each with their own logic (dreams or visions as opposed to ordinary living). These contradictions as well as the tensions between the different realities which exist simultaneously are conveyed by the patient as being difficult to communicate or difficult to put into words.

Although supposedly ineffable, the experiences are nevertheless being put into words and communicated. Not only do dreamers formulate their difficulties of expressing their dreams explicitly, as described in 5.3.9., this 'indescribability' also leaves less obvious traces in a speaker's utterances in the course of his or her process of verbalisation, which can be detected using

⁵¹ These she calls "Indizien' des Versprachlichungsprozesses" (Gülich 1994: 80).

conversation analysis.⁵² Traces can be found according to two different groups of the verbalisation effort. They can either belong to the traces of speech production, manifesting themselves as, for example, hesitations, pauses, self-interruptions or repetitions, or they can be part of processing through corrections, which Gülich refers to as reformulating activities (cf. Gülich 1994: 84).⁵³

5.3.1. *Prosodic features*

According to the divisions by Günthner (1995) and Günthner & Knoblauch (1994, 1995), prosodic features form one subtopic of the internal structure of communicative genres. Such instances of traces of speech production are pauses and hesitations, both of which might be expected to occur frequently in dream stories. In my data, they can be found in various instances, of which some occurrences may be assigned to the difficulties of formulating a dream. However, they do not appear as often as to be regarded remarkably different to other kinds of speech.

One of the examples of both, a pause and a hesitation, which can be considered evidence of the effort the speaker takes with verbalising his experience, is shown below. Although the pause and hesitation may also be caused by a difficulty of remembering the dream after such a long time (line 59), in this case, D (D02 [D]) clearly also seems to have problems with describing it accurately, which he also verbalises (line 58).

Just before this excerpt, D is asked to tell a recent dream but cannot remember any. He is thus invited to tell a “not so recent” (line 52) one, and, after pausing for 3 seconds (line 56), which may be assigned to the remembering, he indicates to have found one to tell by saying “okay.” (line

⁵² Of course, the analysis can only cover the traces in speech production whereas the actual cognitive process is not accessible (cf. Gülich 1994: 79-80).

⁵³ In the German article, Gülich (1994: 84) calls them “Reformulierungen”.

56). Still, he takes another pause of five seconds (line 58) before starting with his story by opening with the indication that he finds the dream “hard to describe” (line 58).

[22]

(...)
52 I: u:hm -- okay' anything not so recent. -
52 D: <<laughs>> surrealist dreams. <<laughs>>
53 I: yeah'
54 D: <<laughs>>
55 I: they ALways a:re.
56 D: yeah i know <<laughing> it=s> **<3sec>** okay. -
57 I: ANything.
58 D: -- **u:hm <5sec>** hard to describe. but anyway i was dreaming

59 basically this is - Ages ago so i was still at school. so
60 this is like fucking ages ago it=s like six years ago or
(...)

Although the first pause may not be relevant as far as distinct aspects of dream stories are concerned, since it may be caused by trying to remember something that happened long ago, the difficulty of recollection as such still remains an important feature of dreams. Longer pauses and hesitations that occur in reconstructions of recent dreams can therefore still be considered dream-related no matter whether they would be assigned rather to remembering or to formulating the experience.

In story D24, speaker J recounts a dream, which he had “the other night” (line 687), and he, also, takes pauses of as long as 4 seconds (lines 690, 692) and clearly hesitates (lines 691, 694-695) while grasping and verbalising the “pretty horrible” (lines 690, 697) experience his dream was.

[23]

(...)
686 J: [(i just have) a good one - mhm. - i just have
687 had a good one the other night? - i ate some very strong
688 cheese - and i was - i don=t know how it was but - there
689 was a lot of -- <<clears his thought>> there was someone
690 shooting at other people - it was pretty horrible **<4sec>**

691 (xx) it (wasn=t) **uhm** -- it was one of those vivid ones
 692 where it goes on for a long time it was just **<4sec>** a kind
 693 of torture type thing where people are getting shot or
 694 mined and something like that - and **<<laughing> <h> which**
 695 **was <h> <h>>** quite disturbing. - but it didn=t see/ it
 696 didn=t seem that - that that bad by the time' - i mean it
 697 was pretty horrible but i thought ah:: i think i=ll be
 698 okay. **<5sec>**
 (...)

5.3.2. *Non-verbal aspects*

Apart from pauses and hesitations, also other communicative elements which play a role in the constitution of genre need not necessarily be verbal. Certain expressive signs, facial expressions and gesticulation may contribute to or even be required in special genres. Most of these features can, however, not be analysed on the basis of audio recordings and are therefore omitted in this study. The only element which I am dealing with in this context is the aspect of laughter.

Laughter may occur in dream stories for various reasons. It may certainly express amusement on the part of the speaker as well as of the listener,⁵⁴ but it may also convey the difficulty of formulating, insecurity, a state of being uncomfortable or even embarrassment or fear of a possible interpretation of the dream by the listener. In the example given above (D24 [J]), I take the laughter (line 694) as evidence for the realisation of fear, possibly linked with embarrassment. J's explaining that he did not experience the situation in his dream as "that bad by the time" (line 697), although he retrospectively feels that it was "quite disturbing" (line 695) and "pretty horrible" (line 697), along with his laughing may show that he is actually only just realising his dream experience while formulating it.

Often, the bizarreness of the dream content may serve as a cause for laughter, as in the following two examples. D (D02), finds his dream so

⁵⁴ Laughter of or with the listener would, of course, fall in categories of the situative level.

“really fucking weird” (line 72) that he starts laughing, while U (D34) is amused but obviously also embarrassed by the strangeness of his dream content that he even wishes to not have told the dream (line 1103) when listener K starts laughing with him and complimenting him on the story (lines 1098, 1102, 1105-1106).

[24]

(...)
 72 D: it was really fucking <<laughing> weird <h>> - and that=s
 73 BAsically about the whole dream <<laughs>> -- so: uh:m -
 74 but yeah that=s - that=s a really kind of specific dream
 75 that i had but ---
 76 I: that was cool?
 (...)

[25]

(...)
 1093 U: i was swimming in the ocean. - as myself? - swimming
 1094 along and there were some fishermen - catching fish
 1095 with their nets' - and then suddenly i turned into like
 1096 a - <<clicks his tongue>> (xxx) a a SEAL' and i got
 1097 caught' in one of the fishermens <<laughing> nets'>
 1098 K: oh <<laughing> my god>
 1099 U: and it was quite traumatic because - now i was a seal'
 1100 i couldn=t explain' to him that i wasn=t actually a
 1101 seal' that i was a person --
 1102 K: **that=s a GREAT dream.**
 1103 U: <<laughs>> (xxx) i wish I hadn=t told you then [<<laughs>>
 1104 V: [<<laughs>>
 1105 K: i think that is the BEST dream !E!VER.=you TURned into a
 1106 SEA:L^ - how cool is that - i feel so BORing.
 (...)

5.3.3. Lexico-semantic elements

As far as a speaker's uncertainty of verbalisation is concerned, laughter is only one way of dealing with it. Others are reformulating procedures, self-interruptions or hedges. Although reformulations are definitely also concerned with lexicon and semantics, I am still going to deal with them, along with self-interruptions, in the next section on morpho-syntactic devices because of their syntactical structures.

The aspect of hedges stands for a concept which was introduced by George Lakoff in 1972. In his article “Hedges: A Study in Meaning Criteria and the Logic of Fuzzy Concepts“, Lakoff (1972: 195) coined the term for “words whose meaning implicitly involves fuzziness – words whose job is to make things fuzzier or less fuzzy”. Penelope Brown & Stephen C. Levinson (1987:145) employ the notion of hedges in their work on politeness, defining ‘hedge’ as

a particle, word or phrase that modifies the degree of membership of a predicate or a noun phrase in a set; it says of that membership that it is partial or true only in certain respects, or that it is more true and complete than perhaps might be expected.

Examples of hedges in English are the words *very, much, like, really, more or less, essentially, slightly, practically*, etc. According to Schmitz (1992: 302), they are especially relevant in dream stories when signifying uncertainty or vague, imprecise ideas. In his view, their appearance is due to the fuzziness of the dream memories on which dream stories are based. Hedges, therefore, play an important role in expressing the vagueness which is a characteristic feature of dreams.

K, for example, seems not to be able to clearly remember the events in her dream, since she recounts that she did not ‘fall right down’ but rather “possibly” (line 1122) did so in D35. A recollection of possibly falling down would not be tolerable for any other everyday story. Only because the listener is expecting dream stories to be vague, is such a description acceptable:

[26]

(...)

1121 K: everything was really GREEN’ and then i think i FELL – and
1122 i **possibly** fell right down – into a ravine or something –
(...)

Similarly, in story D26 [N], the speaker chooses indicators of fuzziness to express her uncertainty about the events in her dream. Although, N reconstructs that, in her dream, she already thought “that=s not good” (line 773), rather than explicitly telling it was “bad”, she gathers from it that it was “obviously something bad” (lines 773-774). She also seems not to have a clear memory of the events that happened just before she woke up, since she again uses the word “obviously” (line 784) in her account.

[27]

(...)

771 N: i saw this GUY at the bottom of our driveway - and he was
 772 **sort of like** in shadow - and then - of all of a sudden i
 773 was - i thought only that=s not good it was **obviously**
 774 **something** BAD, - a:nd - i came i went downstairs and went
 775 out onto our driveway - and uhm there was the CA:R' a CAR
 776 parked in our driveway - to to FACing down towards the road
 777 - and he walked up' - walked up - the DRIVEway' and i kn/
 778 i KNEW he=d got a GUN' - and uhm - and i just remember him
 779 sort of getting (the ge/ i ca/) i can=t rememeber that he
 780 said something - but i always remember he go/ he **sort of**
 781 but i knew he=d GOT it before i saw it - and then - he -
 782 **sort of** - pulled out the gun' - and he was gonna shoot me
 783 and i i thought there=s no WAY i can DIVE behind the CAR, -
 784 before he SHOOTs me and then i i think i **obviously** tried to
 785 but then i woke up. - it=s **really** horrible. <<laughs>>

(...)

In the nightmare I have already dealt with in the sections on pauses and laughter, also many hedges occur. In this case, however, they might be assigned not only to the difficulty of remembering but also to the attempt to weaken the terrible experience that the speaker is only just realising.

[28]

(...)

686 J: [(i just have) a good one - mhm. - i just have
 687 had a good one the other night? - i ate some **very** strong
 688 cheese - and i was - i don=t know how it was but - there
 689 was a lot of -- <<clears his thought>> there was **someone**
 690 shooting at other people - it was **pretty** horrible <4sec>
 691 (xx) it (wasn=t) uhm -- it was one of those vivid ones
 692 where it goes on for a long time it was **just** <4sec> **a kind**
 693 **of torture type thing** where people are getting shot or
 694 mined and **something like** that - and <<laughing> <h> which

695 was <h> <h>> **quite** disturbing. - but it didn=t see/ it
 696 didn=t seem that - that that bad by the time' - i mean it
 697 was **pretty** horrible but i thought ah:: i think i=ll be
 698 okay. <5sec>
 (...)

In the beginning of the story, J emphasises to have eaten "very" strong cheese (line 687) in order to justify the occurrence of his dream. He then weakens his strong emotions into "pretty horrible" (lines 690, 697), "quite disturbing" (line 695) and even does not dare to say a word as strong as torture without hedging it three times by "a kind of", "type" and "thing" (lines 692-693). Also, words like "someone" (line 689), "something" (line 694), etc. indicate fuzziness that can be caused by vagueness in the dream itself or by blurred memory or even by censorship by the speaker, who might not want to give away anything possibly revealing or anything causing unfavourable interpretations.

Although in another nightmare, D03, "horrible" is not weakened, it occurs once without any hedge (line 90) and once with the intensifier "very" (line 94), also A does not pronounce "TORTurous" without blurring it by "really" and "sort of" (line 91). Especially notable are also the descriptions of the actions A takes or rather is driven into, according to his account. He does not reconstruct the act of killing in a straight way but seems to be too afraid of put it into clear words. Instead, he formulates that he "kind of did it" (line 95). Even descriptions of states which actually cannot be graded are expressed in vague terms: A is "sort of wearing all my CLOthes" (lines 101-102).

[29]

(...)

88 A: everything but i had to do it - a:nd and he was he was
 89 **sort of** he was asleep in BE:D - and i had to go in there
 90 - with a KNIFE - and it was it was - HORRible it was
 91 **really sort of** TORTurous and - i had to stab him and he
 92 woke up' **like** the moment before i did it and he **just** - he
 93 looked at me and he just said - WHY:: in a really sort of
 94 plaintive **kind of way** and it was - it was **very** horrible

95 and i **kind of** did it and it - then i=d/ i **sort of** - i=d/
 96 i i was **kind of** going back through to=uh: - to to to my
 97 bedroom and - you know i had to **like** destroy all the
 98 Evidence' i was trying to get rid of all the BLOOD and
 99 everything like THAT' a:nd uhm - uhm - and and then i and
 100 i heard someone coming and i had to **kind of like** jump into
 101 my bed **really** quickly but i was still **sort of** wearing all
 102 my CLOthes so it was still **very** obvious that i=d DONE it'
 103 and there was someone (cam/) coming closer and closer and
 104 closer:' - a:nd **sort of** KNOCKing on my DOO:R and all that
 105 **kind of** stuff and then it was' it was one of the dreams
 106 where i literally - woke up **really** suddenly - at the point
 107 in which i would have been discovered and everyone would
 108 have KNOWN that - i=d killed GILES. - a:nd - i just woke
 109 up in bed being - **absolutely** -- horrifically disturbed ---
 110 uhm and then realised it wasn=t true. and it was okay.
 (...)

At this point, I want to stress that hedges, as most of the elements discussed in this chapter, do not only express the vagueness of dreams, they are also part of individual forms of speech, i.e. idiolects. Speakers naturally vary in the way and frequency they use certain words, structures, or devices. In this respect, it may also be the case that individuals use hedges or other elements very regularly in their everyday speech and would therefore also use them frequently in a dream account.

I observed this especially in one of the German dream stories, D41 [E], which I therefore want to present as an example. Since I know that speaker E often uses the filler word "irgendwie" ('somehow') in everyday speech, it does not come as a surprise that he also uses it in his dream story. Still, the actual frequency with which it can be found is noteworthy. There can be counted sixteen occurrences of the term, plus other instances of "bissl" ('a little') (line 1288), "recht" ('quite') (line 1289), "eigentlich" ('actually') (line 1291), "wahrscheinlich" ('probably') (line 1297) and "irgendwelche" ('any') (line 1301) in the short dream story. I thus interpret this density again as evidence of the difficulty of 'indescribability'.

[30]

(...)

1285 E: na gut also dann den kamikazetraum nochmal. - also das
1286 war' - am -- <h> am -- also ich war in wien' - ich war
1287 **irgendwie** ich kanns so/ vielleicht sogar jetzt noch a
1288 **bissl** präzisieren **irgendwie**' ich war - an orten - die ich
1289 **irgendwie** - von der gegend her **recht** gut gekannt hab
1290 **irgendwie**' - also sei=s innenstadt oder also es war
1291 **eigentlich** immer nur **so** innerhalb vom gürtel kann ich
1292 mich **irgendwie** d=ran erinnern warum weiß ich nicht keine
1293 ahnung <.hh> und vor allem **irgendwie so** u:m den ring
1294 herum **irgendwie**' <.h> u:nd der traum war **irgendwie** und
1295 das is wahrscheinlich - **eben** wie **eben** vorher auch grad
1296 schon erwähnt **irgendwie** durch den <.h> durch den elften
1297 september **wahrscheinlich irgendwie** entstanden oder
1298 einfach das - trauma dass dass - wien **irgendwie** sowas wie
1299 <<schnell> keine ahnung> - dass wien angegriffen wird
1300 **irgendwie**' <.h> und dass dass lauter kleine flugzeuge i:n
1301 in **irgendwelche** häuser reinkrachen **irgendwie**. - gezielt
1302 **irgendwie**. - u:nd -- weiß ich nicht. - und ich und - ich
1303 immer genau gewusst hab oder das leicht abzuschätzen war
1304 wo die flugzeuge hineinkrachen werden **irgendwie** und ich
1305 immer <.hh> zeit gehabt hab davon wegzulaufen **irgendwie**.
1306 -- ja. -- kurz am punkt gebracht (von vorher).

(...)

5.3.4. Morpho-syntactic devices

As I have already announced in the previous section, self-interruptions also count among the traces of speech production, which can be noticed when dealing with information that is difficult to be linguistically transported. For self-interruptions, too, the observation applies that their occurrence need not be explicitly dream-specific, for they also appear commonly and frequently in other kinds of speech. This can be observed in my data as well. In D08 [C], for example, even more self-interruptions, indicated by * below, can be traced in the part before the actual dream account (lines 251-252) as opposed to only two (lines 258-259) within it.

[31]

(...)

251 C: but did you have a/* betwe/* it=s weird how a/* like before
252 exams i had* exams i (hadn=t had uhm)* exams* - dreams that
253 had nothing to do with the exam' - but were obviously
254 TOtally related [to the exam - yeah. -

255 F: [because of the (xxx)
 256 C: i remember [dreaming about - primary school kids aTTACKing
 257 L: [<<to W> talking about your dreams>
 258 C: me in a house' and like - i wa/*=walked into a house (xxx)
 259 little tiny kids' came in and just like were* and it was the
 260 night before my first exam' and it was obviously TOtally
 261 [related but
 262 L: [ye:s (stressed really)
 263 C: mhm.
 264 F: (cause you=re still) stressed. -
 (...)

Self-interruptions may also be connected with reformulations, which, according to Gülich (1994: 84) belong to the processing of speech and are also an important means of clarification for the speaker and listener. They can occur in different possible versions depending on their initiator and performer. Reformulations can be self-initiated, i.e. by the speaker, or other-initiated, i.e. by the listener. Accordingly, they can also be realised by either speaker or listener.

An example of an other-initiated reformulation which is performed by both, the listener and the speaker, can be found in D29 [H]. Since it is not clear to T why H actually knew about the Martians in her dream, she initiates a string of reformulations of the phrase “I knew” (lines 994-1005, cf. section 5.2.1). I have already dealt with other-initiated reformulation in the section on the interactive organisation of communication. In the current section, though, I focus on self-initiated and self-performed rephrasing.

In the reformulating procedure, the speaker may edit a phrase or term by means of the ‘method’ of reformulation which can be divided into a three-part structure consisting of the reference element, a reformulation indicator and the reformulated expression (cf. Gülich 1994: 84-85). For the example of dream story D02 [D], this would mean that the classification below may be applied:

[32]

(...)
 65 D: because i was trying to put on my trousers. - **and they were**
 66 **too LONG'** - and **they were like** - everytime i pulled them
 67 up' **there was like MORE of them.** but it didn=t really (me)
 68 seem to make sense. - cause (i) would just sort of pull up
 69 (my) trousers and try to run to the stairs' - but i
 70 couldn=t pull up my trousers' cause **there was like - they**
 71 **just kept being LONGer and LONGer and LONGer.**
 (...)

[33]

<u>Reference element</u>	<u>Reformulation indicator</u>	<u>Reformulated expression</u>
and they were too LONG'		
	they were like	[everytime i pulled them up'] there was like MORE of them.
	there was like	they just kept being LONGer and LONGer and LONGer.

Since the simple explanation that the trousers "were too LONG'" (lines 65-66) at the beginning of the story seems not to satisfy the speaker's wish to explain the situation accurately enough for the listener to understand his experience, D provides two self-initiated reformulations, indicating them with "they were like" (line 66) and "there was like" (line 70). To stress the difficulty D has with the experience of his trousers being too long, he also reformulates his trying to put them on (lines 65, 66-67, 68-69, 69-70) in a more complex structure interweaved with the rephrasing of "too LONG' ". Due to the limited scope of this paper, I only want to show reformulations as evidences of the 'indescribability' of dreams among others and do not intend to go into further detail on their complex structures.

In D's second reconstruction of the same dream (D36), which was recorded at a later time and a different place, he uses rephrasing not in order to provide information on the dream situation or to clarify it, but rather to entertain the listeners by introducing a dialect expression, followed by laughter.

[34]

```
(...)  
1159 D: -- a:nd i was trying to get dressed' and i was putting on  
1160 my trousers? -- or my brakes <<laughs>> - a:nd - i just  
1161 couldn=t ever get them on? because they were inte/ -  
1162 infinite length? -- and that was about it?  
(...)
```

Similar to the structures presented for reformulations, an expression may also be extended by generalisations, specifications or exemplifications. An evidence (D10 [L]) for detailing can be found in the next example, where L talks about a "GOLD top" (line 307), but in the course of the story, goes back to specify by explaining that it actually "was not real gold" but "just gold coloured" (lines 308-309).

[35]

```
(...)  
306 L: i know: - i get i have a lot of -- and then i had a dream  
307 last night about this GOLD top - at work -- like it fell  
308 on the !FLOOR! OFF the !HANG!er' - cause it all' - it was  
309 not real gold, it=s just gold coloured.  
310 F: ALright.  
311 L: like  
312 F: cause (i=d xxxxx about that)  
313 L: yeah and it fell on the floor - and i had to pick it up. -  
314 and that was it.  
(...)
```

Staying with this example, I want to present a way of notation which Gülich introduces in her article on formulation procedures, following Claire Blanche-Benveniste (1990, referred to in Gülich 1994: 81-82). This way of notation helps to get a clear overview of reformulations or other speech editing procedures by ways of grouping the relevant phrases together. With an omission of a small bit of the utterance which is not part of the specification structure, dream story D10 may thus be reproduced as follows:

[36]

```
about this GOLD top - at work - like it fell on the !FLOOR! OFF the !HANG!er' [...]  
    it was not real gold,  
    it=s just gold coloured.  
        yeah and it fell on the floor
```

Specifications and also repetitions can also be found in the dream story about the man in the driveway (D26 [N]). For the sake of clarity, the dream is shown in the notation introduced above:

[37]

i thought only that=s not good
it was obviously something BAD,

- a:nd - i came
i went downstairs and went out onto our driveway -

and uhm there was the CA:R'
a CAR parked in our driveway - to to FACing down towards the road

- and he walked up' -
walked up - the DRIVEWay'

and i kn/
i KNEW he=d got a GUN' - and uhm - I just remember him sort of getting (the ge/
(i ca/)
i can=t remember that he said something -
but i always remember he go/
he sort of
but i knew he=d GOT it before i saw it - and then - he - sort of - pulled

The structure of the reformulations can clearly be seen with this notation.

Firstly, N rephrases “that=s not good” into “it was obviously something BAD”, by which she emphasises the impression of something to come as being bad. She also self-corrects her use of the definite article of “the CA:R’”, since she obviously did not know or recognise the car, by the indefinite “a” in combination with a specification of the car by adding that it was one which was “parked in our driveway”. A bit later in her story, N reconstructs that she can “just remember him sort of getting” [the gun], and puts more emphasis on the “just” remembering by adding what she actually cannot remember. She then also repeats and slightly reformulates her previous note, namely that she “knew he=d GOT it before [she] saw it”.

Other syntactic elements which may characteristically occur in dream stories apart from reformulations, repetitions and interruptions, are adversative structures. Hanke (2001: 157-158) writes about chimeras or simulacra, which, in fiction, unite incompatible and contradictive elements. Their

linguistic constructions are usually built around conjunctions such as ‘but’, ‘although’, ‘though’, ‘even though’, ‘whereas’, ‘while’, ‘however’, ‘yet’, ‘rather’, ‘only’, ‘just’ or ‘still’. Although relatively infrequent in my data, they are, according to Hanke, specific to dream logic.

One instance in the data, where an adversative structure occurs, although it does not concern actual opposites or incompatible elements, is in J’s nightmare (D24). J recounts that the situation he found himself in was “quite disturbing. - but it didn=t see/ it didn=t seem that - that that bad by the time’ ” (lines 695-696). In dream D28 [S], which I am going to analyse in detail in chapter 6, adversative structures can be found in ways similar to the occurrences in accounts of epileptic auras, described by Gülich (2005: 233-235). In this respect, the difference between dreams and auras can perhaps be explained in that epileptics may, unknowingly, feel present in two realities at the same time whereas dreamers usually do not. This may result in more frequent experiences of the merging of intrinsically incompatible elements.

In some instances, features of ‘ineffable’ experiences may also be expressed in negative structures. When a speaker cannot find the right words for what he or she experienced, he or she might therefore define an element by what it is not. In the excerpt below (D33), K first refers to the car she is talking about by that saying it was not hers (line 1084), even though she can actually define it, because this is instantly followed by the clear explanation that it was her “MOTHers car’ ” (line 1085).

[38]

(...)

1083 K: okay <<fast> so i=ll talk about a recent dream.> - right
1084 a recent dream would be i was in a CA:R^=it wasn=t MY car’
1085 it was my MOTHers car’ - a:nd uhm - i was going down a
1086 very STEEP hill - and uh: uh:m <3sec> i tried to put the
1087 brakes on and the brakes didn=t work -- and by then i
1088 don=t know what happened because i woke up <6sec> it=s not
1089 a very INteresting dream. -- is that enough? - do you want
1090 me to say some more?

(...)

5.3.5. *Stylistic and rhetoric figures*

The following stylistic features could also be treated as part of the syntactic level; still they are dealt with under this topic due to their special status. In order to make content which is difficult to comprehend better understandable for the listener, speakers often use different procedures of illustration.⁵⁵ These can occur in the forms of metaphors, similes, exemplifications or scenarios.

According to Heike Hülzer (1999: 189), metaphors, and this actually applies to all forms of illustration procedures, often result from a search for an accurate description or explanation of objects, experiences, events, etc. They especially occur in cases when interactants are looking for expressions of something new, previously unknown or actually indescribable. Metaphors are used in almost every kind of speech, often also without the conscious knowledge about phrases being metaphors.

Metaphors are expressions designed to represent something that is not literally said, and are, ideally, perceived and understood as such. Relying on common knowledge, listeners must realise which expressions are not meant literally. As it has been mentioned repeatedly in the previous chapters, dream experiences may contain bizarre and unusual elements. Anything actually can thus be expected to be really part of a dream, rather than being an analogy, if a speaker says so. Giving an example, the trousers which “just kept being LONGer and LONGer and LONGer” (D02 [D], line 71), are also described as being of “infinite length” (D36 [D], line 1162) in another reconstruction of the dream. It cannot be definitely said whether this is a matter of metaphor or not, since we do not know whether the dreamer really experienced them as infinite.

⁵⁵ In Gülich & Schöndienst (1999) and Gülich & Furchner (2002), these are called “Veranschaulichungsverfahren”.

The unusualness of dream content may also be highlighted in a way to make the listener understand that certain expressions are meant literally. In order to stress that she is not speaking metaphorically, as the listeners might expect from the strangeness of her story of being in a cell of a statistics programme, W (D12) accentuates and also repeats the word “IN” (lines 357, 364) and again highlights it by rephrasing it with “you know (xxxxxxxxxx) **inSIDE**” (lines 357-358). She even adds an explanation that in her dreams usually things are “biZARRE^” (line 361) and different from the way they normally are (lines 361-364):

[39]

(...)
 356 W: [i was doing my - my disserTation i was - and i
 357 dreamt about=uhm - i was **IN** one of the little CELLS - **you**
 358 **[know (xxxxxxxxxx) inSIDE** - but it=s really it=s quite
 359 F: [<<laughs>>
 360 C: [<<laughs>> oh:
 361 W: biZARRE^ - **because i - i/ usually i do dream about things**
 362 **that don=t - have a life, that don=t move, it=s it=s**
 363 **really quite - but then - in my dreams they DO have a life**
 364 **and it=s it=s like yeah i was IN one of those little cells**
 365 (xxx) really really (xxxx)
 (...)

This might explain why the most frequent forms I found in my data are similes rather than metaphors, because they signify more clearly when something is not meant literally. In another dream account, W (D14) mentions that her dream experience might be compared to a horror film, using a simile with the indicator ‘like’ (lines 432-433):

[40]

(...)
 430 W: it=s quite a freaky [(xxxx) something like (xxxx) - have
 431 L: [it=s not like
 432 W: i don=t know’ it=s - **like some sort of horror film or**
 433 **something** how/ -
 434 F: that is really (weird)
 435 W: someone k:ills other people just to make - a patchwork
 436 lady.
 (...)

The use of 'like' in contexts such as this cannot always be clearly assigned to indicating similes. Especially speakers C, L, N and W often use 'like' as a filler word in their dream accounts as well as during the rest of the recorded talk. Therefore, the word 'like' might or might not indicate similes.⁵⁶ In the following example (D15 [L]), it occurs many times but only once, I suggest, it is in the structure of a simile. It can be found in line 483, where L explains that she remembers the dream "like it was like something that happened to me:^".

[41]

(...)
 472 L: i had this one dream about - like - **as in this kind of BAR**
 473 **thing'** - and there=s a bunch o/ like a big bunch of FLOWers
 474 on the TABle - and i remember their colour (xxxx) it=s like
 475 orange and PURple colours' - and (xx) that' I REAlly
 476 remembered that when i woke up^ - and someone knocked it
 477 over and - there was a dad' and a son' - and the dad (gets)
 478 really cross' -- anyway. - it=s !A!ges [ago like a YEAR ago
 479 W: [<<laughs>>
 480 L: - (i=d li/) i remember that (yes [REAlly xx i see) colours
 481 W: [but do you still reMEMber
 482 that dream? from a year? Ago
 483 L: yeah^ - i remem/ - i remember it **like it was like something**
 484 **that happened to me:^** - that=s how [my dreams are
 485 W: [oh go:d -
 486 they are really quite strong
 487 L: yeah:
 (...)

An instance of a scenario as a procedure of illustration can be found in the next excerpt, which has already provided various examples of realisations of dream story characteristics so far. J (D24) illustrates the situation in his dream by the scenario of people "getting shot or mined or something like that" (lines 693-694):

⁵⁶ Once again, the scope of this paper is not as large as to permit going into any detail on different uses of 'like'.

[42]

(...)

686 J: (xx) it (wasn=t) uhm -- it was one of those vivid ones
692 where it goes on for a long time it was just <4sec> a kind
693 of torture type thing **where people are getting shot or**
694 **mined and something like that** - and <<laughing> <h> which
(...)

5.3.6. *Dispositional elements and superstructures*

Dreams may often consist of single situations rather than fully structured stories and may therefore also be reconstructed as such. Hanke (2001: 130) claims that what partly accounts for the strangeness of dreams is the sequence of relatively consistent but not logically compatible elements.

The speaker of a dream story adds and strings together elements, which are presented to him or her as picture details, as it were. This method can be compared to making collages, which involves the composition of an integrated impression, but at the same time shows the process of assembling several connected constituents and thus creates an alienation effect (cf. Boothe 2000b: 101-102).⁵⁷

Hanke (2001: 33) observes that the separate elements or pictures are often conjoined by the words 'and then' ("und dann"). This can also be found in the example below, where H (D31) describes her dream situation by stringing together the two images of the island Sentosa and of her dissolving gold and, in doing so, uses 'and then' (lines 1044-1045). The story is also extended by additional background information about places, food and tradition, which H obviously expects to be unknown to the listener:

⁵⁷ "Der Sprecher reiht Elemente, die er gleichsam als Bildausschnitte vorfindet, additiv aneinander. Dieses Vorgehen ist dem Collagieren vergleichbar, das zwar zur Komposition eines integrierten Bildeindrucks führt, zugleich aber den Prozess der Montage einzelner zusammengefügtter Elemente sichtbar lässt und so einen eindrucksvollen Verfremdungseffekt erzeugt."

[43]

(...)
1038 H: i d/ - i dreamt that I went to sentosa. - which is an
1039 Island in singapore - like a - fantasy fun: island people
1040 go there to swim' and all that kind of thing. - i went
1041 there with my sister^ and her friend' - to eat - roti
1042 prata' which is a great - [dish. - BUT' -- uhm - we were
1043 T: [<<laughs>>
1044 H: BY? the sea. - because obviously island sea is around - **and**
1045 **then** we tried to dissolve gold. - in the sea water. - and
1046 the gold? - beCAME -- uh when indian women get married they
1047 wear this - t/ thread around their neck? - and it=s called
1048 a thali? - so we were ACTually trying to disSOLVE a thali -
1049 of a dead woman. - i don=t know who the dead woman was? -
1050 but we were trying to dissolve the gold. -
1051 I: (to do) what?
1052 H: don=t know: - I was just a bit annoyed because it was -
1053 keeping me away from the food -- yeah but THAT was another
1054 dream. -
(...)

This observation of the principle of collage⁵⁸ may also come along with the dream characteristic of being unintended (cf. Gülich 2005: 231) and therefore not necessarily following a given logical sequence. This is often realised by breaks in the story structure and words indicating an abrupt change of events, images, or states, such as 'suddenly' or 'all of a sudden'. The following three excerpts of the dreams D26 [N], D34 [U] and D35 [K] exemplify these unforeseen changes of dream situations or leaps from one image to another and thereby emphasise the unintendedness of dream events:

[44]

(...)
775 N: i saw this GUY at the bottom of our driveway - and he was
776 sort of like in shadow - and then - of **all of a sudden** i
777 was - i thought only that=s not good it was obviously
778 something BAD, - a:nd - i came i went downstairs and went
779 out onto our driveway - and uhm there was the CA:R' a CAR
(...)

⁵⁸ In German, Boothe (2001b: 101) calls it "Collage-Prinzip".

[45]

(...)

1100 U: there were some fishermen - catching fish with their nets' -
1101 and then **suddenly** i turned into like a - <<clicks his
1102 tongue>> (xxx) a a SEAL' and i got caught' in one of the
1103 fishermens <<laughing> nets'>

(...)

[46]

(...)

1116 K: okay. - uh:m - <<fast> (let me)> think. right. it was in a
1117 FORest' - a:nd uhm - it=was very dark' - and uh - **suddenly**
1118 i realized there were LOTS of WITches CHASing me' - and

(...)

In order to be accurately reconstructed, most dreams would actually have to be told as loose sequences of separate descriptive sections without any conjunctions. Senseless and motiveless accounts like these are, however, not established in our everyday communication. Bergmann (2000: 54-55) states that the fragmented and incoherent structure of a dream is narratively evened and integrated when being transferred into a story. He assumes that the narrativity of a dream story is in many instances not provided by the dream itself but is imported by the form of the narrative:

Zu vermuten ist, dass die Narrativität einer Traumdarstellung in vielen Fällen durch die Form des Erzählens importiert wird und nicht bereits das Traumgeschehen selbst kennzeichnet. (Bergmann 2000: 55)

The procedure of transforming general discontinuity into narrative continuousness can be commonly found in storytelling, though it is especially characteristic and important for dream stories considering their incoherence (cf. Hanke 2001: 234-235). According to Hanke (ibid.), the presence of time and causality are fundamental features of narrations in general, because the actual arrangement of events is parallel to the narrated sequence of events by which it is also structured. The lack of time and causality in dream

experiences is thus compensated by the narrative sequencing and pattern of the story order. A dream story, therefore, only takes shape through its narration, in which the form lends coherence to the content.

With reference to the situative level of the communicative genre, the identification of the beginning and the end of a story is relevant for the conversational organisation as far as any narrative is concerned. Since the specific sequencing and logic of dream stories is different from that of other narratives, it is especially important for the speaker to clearly signalise when he or she starts and finishes with the reconstruction of a dream. A dream story is thus framed by the indicators of its beginning and its end, and through these is marked off of the reference reality, which is our everyday world (cf. Hanke 2001: 109).

The phrases which speakers use to introduce a dream story often also contain the noun or verb 'dream'. Even in the situation of the recordings of my data collection, where the topic of the conversation was predetermined, many narrators clearly indicated the start of the dream reconstructions, which emphasises the importance of the orientation for the genre of dream stories. Given below are examples of story beginnings from the recordings, with each of the speakers explicitly introducing their starting of the dream account and thus also their entering a different world of reference.

[47]

D02 [D]:

58 ...but anyway **i was dreaming**...

61 ...and **i was dreaming'** - or WAS i at school...

63 ...ages ago> **i was dreaming that** i was late'...

D03 [A]:

77 I: i wanna know a dream story any dream any...

81 ...right **one** i can remember quite

82 vividly is just from like last year. - uhm: -- was **one**...

D25 [N]:

727 ... (xxxxxx **dream**)=yeah' **i had a**

728 **dream'** - do you want me to tell you about it'...

731 ...YESTerday^ - **i dreamt** - uhm -- **i had a dream** about...

D26 [N]:

764 ...oh gosh -- i can ALways remember i - **the ONE dream** that

770 ...i was STANding in THERE:' **in the dream,** - and looked...

D27 [S]:

896 ...yeah well Okay this is **the ONLY dream i can think of...**

D31 [H]:

1038 ...i d/ - **i dreamt** that I went to sentosa...

D33 [K]:

1083 ...okay <<fast> so **i=ll talk about a recent dream.>** - right a

1084 **recent dream would be** i was in a CA:R^...

D34 [U]:

1091 ...can=t think of a recent dream. - so **i tell you a dream.** -

1092 that i can remember. - which was a while ago (xxxx) - i was...

D36 [D]:

1149 ...yeah basically i was - on my way to school? - (s) **in my**

1150 **dream' - obviously'** - uhm <<laughs>> cause i - **i dreamt** all

1151 the time on the way to school' - uh: a:nd uh:: -- i was...

What is also characteristic of the beginning of any account is the orientation the speaker provides for the listener. Usually, a story is based on an event which occurred at a certain time and place and these are presented along with an introduction of the characters in the beginning of its reconstruction. As it is discussed above, knowledge of time within a dream experience is often missing and, therefore, does not constitute a distinctive role in dream stories. Normally, it is not a time reference of the dream experience that is mentioned in its account but rather an indication of when the dream was dreamed (cf. Hanke 2001: 243).

The speakers in my recordings also provide information on the time of their dreaming. They recollect their dreams to be from the following dates in the past:

"just from like last year" (D03 [A], line 82),

"last night actually" (D05 [L], line 175),

"it was the night before my first exam'" (D08 [C], lines 259-260),
 "ONce" (D09 [L], line 276),
 "last night" (D10 [L], line 307),
 "the other day" (D11 [W], lines 332-333),
 "it=s !A!ges ago like a YEAR ago" (D15 [L], line 478),
 "ONCE" (D16 [L], line 493),
 "and then like a couple of nights later" (D21 [L], lines 637-638),
 "the other night?" (D24 [J], line 687),
 "it was YEstErday^" (D25 [N], lines 730-731),
 "quite a long TIME ago" (D26 [N], line 765),
 "this was before she actually died^" (D27 [S], lines 898-899),
 "last <<laughing> time> when i was in france'" ...
 "and then this last afternoon" (D32 [T], lines 1057, 1060-1061),
 "recent dream" (D33 [K], lines 1083, 1084),
 "a while ago" (D34 [U], line 1092).

Unlike the time, the location of the dreamer or sleeper is generally not of any importance to the story. The place of the dream events, however, is. The location of the dreamer's experience is characteristically mentioned in his or her account. Hanke (2001: 243) illustrates that regarding the division of the indications, time in a dream story is interlinked with the cosmic time in our everyday reality, while the appresented⁵⁹ part of the information about place is located in a closed province of meaning.

Indications of places of the speakers' dream experiences were given as follows:

"my bedroom" (D03 [A], lines 96-97),
 "in my attic" (D07 [F], line 236),
 "in a house'" (D08 [C], line 258),

⁵⁹ The appresented member of an appresentation is the part that the appresenting member, which belongs to the everyday world, refers to (cf. chapter 3.4.).

"at this PA:rtty" (D09 [L], line 277),
 "at work" (D10 [L], line 307),
 "IN one of the little CELLS" (D12 [W], lines 357-358),
 "as in this kind of BAR thing'" (D15 [L], lines 472-473),
 "on the bus" (D16 [L], line 495),
 "in my house' - at home" ...
 "at the bottom of our driveway" (D26 [N], lines 766, 771),
 "in my n/ my o:ld - where i grew up the area." (D29 [H], lines 996-997),
 "sentosa. - which is an Island in singapore" (D31 [H], lines 1038-1039),
 "in this huge truck" ...
 "in australia" (D32 [T], lines 1066, 1071),
 "in a CA:R^=it wasn=t MY car' it was my MOTHer's car'" ...
 "going down a very STEEP hill" (D33 [K], lines 1084-1086),
 "in a FORest'" (D35 [K], lines 1116-1117),
 "in the ocean" (D34 [U], line 1093),
 "on my way to school?" (D36 [D], line 1149).

By beginning a story, the speaker engages to follow the rules of narrative construction. According to Hanke (2001: 231), these are necessities to act and they, among other things, include a form closure constraint. A speaker is bound to end the story that he or she started. In the case of dream accounts, speakers are not expected to resolve the story, which means that the possibility of the ignorance of a logical ending is accepted by the interactants, because it either may be forgotten or missing altogether when the dreamer has woken up before a logical termination of the story (cf. *ibid.*: 242).

The dream design may therefore be incomplete with reference to its logic, instead it has to be ended formally in the narrative (cf. *ibid.*: 236). The end of the story needs to be marked and, accordingly, the everyday world re-established as the reference reality in which the reconstruction is embedded. Instances of dream story endings may thus be different realisations of explicit terminations including the use of the term 'dream', or version in which the

speaker mentions not remembering any more or him or her waking up.⁶⁰

Examples of different dream story endings are presented below.

[48]

D02 [D]:

72 ...it was really fucking <<laughing> weird <h>> - and **that=s**
73 **BA**sically about the whole dream <<laughs>> -- so: uh:m -
74 but yeah that=s - **that=s a really kind of specific dream**
75 **that i had...**

D03 [A]:

105 ...it was one of the dreams
106 where i literally - **woke up** really suddenly - at the point
107 in which i would have been discovered and everyone would
108 have KNOWN that - i=d killed GILES. - a:nd - i just woke
109 up in bed...

D25 [N]:

759 ...**that=s the end of that dream...**

D26 [N]:

785 ...**but then i woke up...**

D30 [T]:

1027 ...and **then i woke up** and i had this feeling...

D31 [H]:

1053 ...yeah **but THAT was another dream...**

D33 [K]:

1087 ...and by then i don=t know
1088 what happened because i woke up <6sec> it=s not a very
1089 INteresting dream...

D35 [K]:

1123 ...i was fairly scared **when i woke up'** -
1124 in the middle of the night? - feeling scared and **that was**
1125 **it.** - **can=t remember the rest of it now...**

⁶⁰ In Hanke's study (2001: 115-116), 22,5% of the dream stories were ended by the speaker's statement of waking up, 9,3% by stating the end of the dream, 6,2% by claiming to have forgotten the rest. 15,5% of the closures included the word "Traum" ('dream'). In 5,7% of the cases, a reference to the everyday reality was established, in 20,2% the stories were ended by a metastatement about the dream account itself. Only 5,4% of the reconstructions were completed logically and 3,1% of the dream accounts were instantly followed by another story or event.

5.3.7. *Framing*

The frame of a dream story is not only determined by the indications of its beginning and end. There is another feature which distinguishes dream accounts from other narratives as far as their framings are concerned.

Friedrich Waismann (1968: 117; quoted in Schmitz 1992: 305) compares dreaming to a game of chess and explains why the descriptions of the two events must differ from one another. In his view, a dream story can be considered similar to a poem or an aphorism: Although it is disjointed in its structure, a dream becomes a unity for it is lacking any events before and after it.

[W]hen I have narrated my dream, told everything that happened in it, my description is finished. But it comes to an end in a very different way from that in which, e.g., the description of a game of chess comes to an end where there is a natural beginning and a natural end. A dream is fragmentary, enigmatic, and a dream cannot be integrated into a larger whole: you cannot ask, 'What happened before the dream began, or after it was over?' Or, rather, when you ask such a question, you have already left the dream language and consider the sleeper from outside, from the point of view of a waking man. In this respect a dream has a unity and coherence which makes it nearly akin to a poem, or an aphorism. (ibid.)

As opposed to other experiences, a dream is not embedded in a sequence providing settings which could be logically arranged before and after it. Dreams can only be related to their natural frame of falling asleep and waking up and with this to the adjacent experiences in the everyday world (cf. Schmitz 1992: 305).

Compared to narratives, which are usually set up in a motivative frame, dream events also lack motivation since they come about unintendedly.⁶¹ Therefore, dream stories may begin without any specific reason for the

⁶¹ Boothe (2000b: 97-101) observes the absence of the motivative frame, which in the German article is called "motivierende Klammer".

occurrence of the events and may also terminate likewise unpredictable. A dream narrative may thus start out with the description of a situation or an event without an account of its motivation or, as in the case of D03 [A], even an explicit statement of the lack of understanding (line 83):

[49]

(...)

81 A: right okay the the -- right one i can remember quite
82 vividly is just from like last year. - uhm: -- was one -
83 where - **for a reason i didn=t really quite underSTAND** - i
84 HAD to kill - GILES from buffy the vampire slayer. - and
85 like it was it was absolutely imperative that i had to do
86 this. and i didn=t want' to. i really liked' him. - you
87 cause (xx) i thought he was a really great guy and
88 know everything but i had to do it

(...)

5.3.8. Sources of reference⁶²

Referring back to the theories of Alfred Schütz, as introduced in section 3.4, I want to stress again that dreaming takes place in a reality which is different from our everyday world. In order to make a listener follow the dream account, a speaker does not only act upon a common understanding of the genre the way it has been discussed so far, but also characteristically uses many everyday references by which listeners can orient themselves. By connecting the ineffable with established knowledge of a common world, the reconstruction of the dream experience assumes a form that is easier to comprehend.

Hanke (2001: 146-147) takes the view that, due to its purely informative nature, a dream story cannot be managed itself, because its information only obtains coherence by being classified and traced back to well known

⁶² Since two features which distinctly occur in dream stories do not match any of the categories dealt with so far, I suggest two further sub-topics, which are not part of the communicative genre theory. I include these in the analysis in order to treat the aspects of everyday reference and metalanguage.

concepts.⁶³ Schmitz (1992: 303) also explains that many dream events can only be reconstructed with references to their relation to the everyday world. They are presented as either similar to, or distinctly or vaguely different from the experiences of the everyday reality. Often these references may also take the form of biographic information of the speaker (cf. Hanke 2001: 211-216).

In D05 [L], the obvious connection between the dream and the everyday world are the characters occurring in it. The person L is talking about is someone known to the interactants, and also his relationship with his girlfriend is part of the common knowledge of speaker L and listener C. For the other interactants present, L explains the relation with “that=s his - girlfriend” (line 200). The information that the dream character split up with her confuses C, who has obviously missed the signification mark of leaving the everyday reality in favour of the dream reality as the world of reference, and she, therefore, requests clarification (line 201).

[50]

(...)

198 L: and uh:m -- he was really upset' - and then - and he
 199 split up with <NAME 2>' because <NAME 2> (had hung out)
 200 with someone and it was all - that=s his - girlfriend.
 201 C: are they still together, that was just the [dream
 202 F: [yeah that was
 203 [just a dream. [i TOLD <NAME 1> about that
 204 L: [i i think so yeah unless i=m [(xxx)
 205 F: dream but i didn=t tell him about - this [argument cause
 206 L: [(xxxxxxxxxxxxxx)
 207 F: <NAME 2> was there (and so) <<laughs>>
 (...)

In another dream account from the data (D07), the figure in the story is not known to the listeners and is therefore introduced as a chracter of a TV

⁶³ 61% of the recordings in Hanke's corpus (2001: 139-140) include sequences of everyday references in the forms of either commentaries or flashbacks. Hanke calls these “Erzählparenthesen” (‘narrative parentheses’).

series by speaker F. She further mentions what features are important to know about the figure in order to understand her account. After providing this additional information on the character of the story, she re-establishes the field of reference as that of the world of dreams by indicating that the events to follow were happening “in my dream’” (line 243):

[51]

(...)
 233 F: in a box. - and i had aNOTHer quite worrying dream
 234 <<laughing> **about gus from neighbours**>
 235 C: oh god. -
 236 F: that he was in my attic. - **cause you know? did you see**
 237 **[neighbours.**
 238 L: [i have (xxx) i don=t watch television.
 239 F: uh=okay.
 240 C: no me neither.
 241 F: **there=s a scary guy in neighbours who has got a scary KEY**
 242 **into these peoples HOUSE and he got in. late at night. -**
 243 and in my dream’ he was in our attic. and i could hear him
 244 like walking a[ROUND’ - in my dream [and i knew
 245 L: [<<laughs>> [were you in your flat
 246 on your own^
 (...)

In order to help comprehend her dream experiences, N (D25) also provides extra information introduced by a reference to the common knowledge of hers and the listener (“you know’” in line 733). In lines 733-741 she gives an account of what happened before her dream in the everyday reality, which serves as basis for understanding the course that her dream experience takes. She also indicates the end of the parenthesis by signifying that she is speaking of the dream reality again (line 742).

[52]

(...)
 730 N: <<laughs>> i - cause i remember it when was it’ - it was
 731 YESTerday^ - i dreamt - uhm -- i had a dream about my long
 732 ESSay^ for history’ - that i=ve just handed in - uh:m -
 733 basically -- i i dreamt that, **you know’ the bibliography at**
 734 **the end? [you have to put - ah: -- what are they called -**
 735 I: [yeah.
 736 N: **you have to either underline it or put it in ita[lics -**
 737 I: [yeah.

738 N: and uh like the heading - and - i: - uh=i underLINed mine
 739 cause that=s what it said in the coursebook and i had put
 740 it in italics before and i wasn=t SURE about that but
 741 anyway, i UNderl/ and i UNderlined it and handed it in <.h>
 742 but IN my DREAM' - i dreamt that i had a COpy^ of what i=d
 743 handed in? - and i was looking through it - and every
 744 single quote' that had uhm - i had WRITTen IN my essay it
 745 was underLINed^ <.h>
 (...)

Insertions in dream accounts referring to the everyday world may also be created in order to illustrate the period of time during which the dream occurred and thus to explain why it may have come about. S (D27) dreamed of his grandmother's funeral before her actual death and justifies the appearance of his dream with pointing out that on the one hand he somehow knew that his grandmother was about to die and on the other hand his mother must have told him (lines 899-902). He does not return to the dream situation as explicitly as F and N do in the two examples above. Still, since he started his dream account with talking about a ceilidh, the recurrence of the place where the story is set suffices for the listener to understand that S is not talking about an event in the everyday world but reffering to his dream again.

[53]

(...)
 895 S: [what i heard (when) waking hours [(xxxxxxxxxx)
 896 <13sec> yeah well Okay this is the ONLY dream i can think
 897 of it=s not much fun? - it was - we had a CEIlidh party to
 898 celebrate my NAN=s funeral. - **this was before she actually**
 899 **died^ -- i just KNEW - somehow, i knew, she was gonna die**
 900 and i had this (xx) dream - **i must <<fast> it must have**
 901 **been> my mum telling me she=s gonna die, very soon, - and -**
 902 it was a ceilidh -- i don=t know why it was a ceilidh'
 903 cause i don=t GO to ceilidhs. - and (HE) was there and -
 904 my other fams and my family were there but there were some
 905 strange people there as well. - there were some
 906 celebrities. - WHAT celebrities were there? <4sec> god i
 907 can=t remember. - there was definitely some funny people
 908 there <5sec> no i can=t remember. - oh sorry i=m being
 909 useless.
 (...)

Another characteristic of dream stories regarding their connection with the everyday reality is that speakers may also include their own interpretations of their dream experiences in their accounts. Schmitz (1992: 306) even claims that it is easier for dreamers to reveal their experiences to others when they believe that they are able to interpret them and when they are certain that an analysis by a listener would not give away anything they would not want to expose. Interpretations may also constitute an interactive part of a dream story with both sides, the speaker and 'listener', participating.

The excerpts of D04 [B] below contain interpretations on the part of the speaker. After recounting her dream, B refers back to the everyday reality and analyses that the nightmare she was experiencing "may also be a sign that i=ve been watching too much television" (lines 144-145). She also interprets the character traits and features of herself and A, which she holds responsible for her nightmares and A's guilt dreams (lines 163-166).

[54]

(...)

141 B: everyone in the whole world - had been taken over by a
 142 cult' and have gone evil' and they were all trying to
 143 kill each other' - uh:m - except me' and i was trying to
 144 (find out) - find out what was going on - **which may also**
 145 **be a sign that i=ve been watching too much television**
 146 <<laughs>> -- i can=t remember any others right now but
 147 hey=re all very BAD - EVerY dream i swear every dream
 148 i=ve EVer had in the past two years has been a complete
 149 nightmare.

(...)

163 B: (NAME A) is a guilty person. - so he has GUILT dreams. - i
 164 live in FEAR - well i used to be quite a HAPPy person i had
 165 HAPPy dreams but since i lived in fear - of getting SICK' -
 166 i have bad dreams every night. - now <<laughing> that
 167 sounds totally whacky so i=m not gonna say anymore but - i
 168 swear to god it=s true> - people cant don=t believe me when
 169 i say i=ve had nightmares <<laughing> every night for the
 170 past two years but it=s true. - i=m NOT saying any more.>
 (...)

5.3.9. *Metalinguistic expressions*

Dream stories operate and have constituents on various levels. Apart from the distinction of the level of the external structure, the situative level and the level of the internal structure of communicative genres, there can also be noticed different layers of language realisation within an internal analysis. One of these levels may be that of everyday references which have been dealt with in the previous section. Expressions which reflect linguistic aspects of a dream account also refer to the paramount reality but in fact belong to a different layer.

It is not only evident in the procedure of verbalisation through the traces of speech production but often also explicitly mentioned by the speaker that dream experiences are “hard to describe” (D02 [D]), often by using formulaic phrases (cf. Gülich 2005: 224). The difficulties may be due to recollection problems or due to troubles of putting one’s experiences into words (cf. Gülich 1994: 86-90).

They do, however, not coincide with the topos of ‘indescribability’ as it is explained by Gülich (2005: 224-226). Formulaic phrases such as “hard to describe” or being “out of words”⁶⁴ are expected reactions to situations when someone is forced to give a public statement on a catastrophe. A public figure must not actually be out of words when asked to speak but must express the indescribability of the situation. Gülich (2005: 225) refers to this as a rhetorical topos, a topos of public speech.

In dream stories, it is a different indescribability that is relevant. The data for this paper does, however, not provide many instances of these kinds of metalinguistic expressions. In one dream story, another case of a linguistic reflection occurs. In D26, N claims to have a better memory of a dream

⁶⁴ In the German article, Gülich (2005: 224) mentions the examples “wie soll ich sagen” und “wie soll ich das beschreiben”.

because she already once verbalised it and claims to have made it “more reality” having told it to someone else (lines 818-20).

[55]

(...)
808 I: =do you usually remember them or:
809 N: sometimes. - especially when it=s about people in my flat.
810 -
811 I: yeah [because you then -- yeah.
812 N: [and (we talk/) - yeah. - you wake up and you think
813 oh' yeah' - <<laughing> you were in the kitchen earlier but
814 you weren=t> - but yeah i can=t uhm -- i don=t know. -
815 it=s really hard to remember back to them - cause you
816 re[member them for a little while and then - and **the the**
817 I: [yeah.
818 N: **(xx) the only reason i remember THAT one** - the one - about
819 my essay **was because i told it to someone else** and so -
820 **[you make it into - like - make it more reality** don=t you.
(...)

The questions whether dreams are really better remembered when they have once been put into words and if so, in what ways, might be interesting ones to go into further detail in another study.

5.3.10. *Content features*

One important aspect of the level of the internal structure of communicative genres concerns distinct content features. With regard to specific characteristics of dreams, this topic has already been examined in chapter 3 of this paper. The most notable content features that dream stories accumulate as opposed to other stories are the expression of intensive emotions, the bizarreness, vagueness, unpredictability and paramount visuality of the dream experiences, the difficulty of their remembering and the irresponsibility for the occurring events.

5.3.11. *Media communication*

As far as the medium of communication is concerned, dream stories may be found in every possible way. In the case of this study, they were told in face to face interactions. They certainly can also be written down in different forms, be it a handwritten letter, an internet forum, a diary, an E-Mail correspondence etc. Other media where dream narrations may also be found are, for example, TV interviews or telephone conversations.

Because of the many different communicative requirements, it cannot be assumed that every feature that has been discussed in the course of the paper is equally significant in every of these cases. There might of course be slightly diverse distinct characteristics for dream narrations told on the radio than there are for those narrated in personal encounters, for example. Differences between spoken and written forms of dream stories would presumably turn out to be even greater.

6. Analysis of one full dream narration

The detailed discussion of the individual features of the different levels of communicative genres is now followed by the analysis of one single dream narration, D28, told by speaker S:

[56]

(...)

914 I: okay.
915 S: - okay. do you want me to tell you about my dream.
916 I: yeah.
917 S: - okay. - i had a dream. <<laughs>> right. - uh - so there
918 i was? - uhm - at what - i think i best (xxx) describe as -
919 <NAME OF UNIVERSITY>s: maths department except it wasn=t. -
920 that=s the funny thing right - so - it was it=s this long
921 great big HALL type shape a bit like yeah a a hall like
922 when you walk in the main door and you get a hallway? -
923 but it=s a HUGE sort of meeting place okay? - and (now) -
924 and then it=s got a set of stairs going up and there=s this
925 sort of a LECTure room - it=s a bit like <NAME OF
926 UNIVERSITY> (xxx) it=s NOT cause it=s complete - really -
927 DIFFerent. - it=s sort of - <NAME OF UNIVERSITY> is similar
928 in that it has a big MEETing place and then the - and then
929 the STAIRS going up? - but it was DIFFerent. it wasn=t (so)
930 laid down in the same way^ it was laid down DIFFerently. so
931 it was somehow the same but DIFFerent. - and there i was in
932 this - hallway and i must have been going to the le/ i
933 wasn=t REALLY going to the lecture i had this feeling that
934 i was a - uhm sort of - somebody else who shouldn=t have
935 really BEEN there. (xx) WAS there. - and then i suddenly
936 realized' - that i=d let my BAG - or jacket or something -
937 in the LECTure room. - oh my god' - left in there so i ran
938 up (xxx) i ran up the stairs - up to up to get in the
939 lecture room (xxx) into the back of the lecture hall. - and
940 uh i knocked on the door and it was LOCKED. - what=s going
941 on. - and then there was a kind of computer screen type of
942 thing right? - and uhm -- and the LECTurer came on the
943 other SIDE of the computer screen - and the/ and i started
944 to talk to the lecturer and i had to convince the lecturer
945 that (xxx) to let me in - uhm - i think maybe i needed a
946 PASSWORD there was some kind of system (it was) it was all'
947 - it wasn=t rea/' - i said computer screen' it wasn=t
948 really a computer screen' it was more like a sort of s:
949 sixties space ship. with lots of flashing lights and things
950 like this. - and uhm -- but i failed. -- yeah i don=t know
951 why i failed but he didn=t let me in. -- and i ran off and
952 i was in a big (mood) and uhm - i was very worried that i
953 didn=t find my jacket. - and then i went into some o/ some
954 other rooms=oh=and there were archaic games. that was -
955 there was OH yeah that was it - it was this it was an
956 archaic game where you -- where you uhm - you stood on it.

957 - it was like a big screen like uhm - like a (xxpad) - like
 958 a touch screen' but instead of being THAT way it was
 959 HUMONGous. - and you stood on it. - and you playd a
 960 football game. - where you stood on it. and kicked the
 961 football. - and there was some kid playing it. and i said -
 962 i was thinking ah: you=re rubbish i could do better than
 963 that - but i didn=t play it' - i ran off' - (some more) -
 964 uhm - what happened next oh <5sec> i think i woke up very
 965 soon afterwards. -- there must have been some MORE to it.
 966 there were a few more rooms (xxxx) a bit scary. - it was a
 967 bit of a NIGHTmare - at one point: -- uh:m <3sec> i can=t
 968 remember why was it a nightmare it was definitely a bit
 969 scary. - <<telephone rings>>

 970 <<telephone conversation>>

971 I: okay sorry.
 972 S: uhm: <4sec> i don=t know what else there is to add' i
 973 really can=t remember much more than that <10sec> yeah -
 974 i really can=t remember how it finished. -- i don=t think
 975 it DID finish i think i woke UP -- there was SOMEbody else
 976 there' - i was WITH somebody but i can=treally remember
 977 who it was' - it was probably something really - loosely
 978 connected - i think it was something loosely connected with
 979 <NAME OF UNIVERSITY> again i think it might have been one
 980 of my FRIENDS there. but i - i don=t really remember
 981 specifically who it was <4sec> yeah. - i think that=s about
 982 it. - i=m afraid. <5sec>
 983 <<background music stops>>
 984 I: uh now it=s quiet.
 (...)

The narrative contains many of the aspects treated in the paper. To start with the framing of the beginning and the end, it can be noticed that in both instances, the change of reference worlds is clearly marked. In the beginning, S uses the term 'dream' in the phrase "i had a dream." (line 917) and without an explanation of any motivation, starts his account with "so there i was?" (lines 917-918). Characteristically, the story is also not logically closed. After a short pause of trying to recollect more information, S finishes by "i think i woke up very soon afterwards" (lines 964-965) but he still adds more loose information. The final terminating of the narrative by saying "i think that=s about it. - i=m afraid." (lines 981-982)

could be counted among Hanke's (2001: 115-116) category of 'stating the end of the dream'.⁶⁵

What is missing in the beginning of the transcript, because the recording device was not yet turned on, is S' mentioning that he dreamed the dream the day before the meeting, which then resulted in the recording. As it can be observed in many dream narrations, the aspect of time is located in the everyday reality while the place that is mentioned is the one where the story in the dream world is set: In line 919, S for the first time refers to the maths department of his university followed by a detailed illustration of the place in his dream, which in fact "wasn=t" the initially mentioned maths department (lines 919-932).

The structure of the story clearly shows the principle of collage. The dream is fragmented; it consists of various different images, which are strung together in order to create a narrative. This becomes even clearer by the uses of the conjunction "and then" in the lines 941 and 953. Regarding the content, there are also instances where the unintendedness of the individual images is revealed. This is the case in line 932, where S states that he "must have been going" to the lecture without any real motivation. The term "suddenly" (line 935) also contributes to imagery of unintendedness and the impression of a collage.

As far as prosodic features are concerned, hesitations, on the one hand, seem not to be noticeably more frequent than they would probably be in any spontaneous talk. Pauses, on the other hand, occur more often, though only in the second part of the story (lines 964, 967, 972, 973, 981) where they can clearly be ascribed to the difficulty of recollection.

S regularly uses indicators of vagueness in his dream account. The terms that can be found are "type" (line 921), "shape" (line 921), "a bit" (lines

⁶⁵ "[K]onstatieren der Traumbeendigung".

921, 925), “sort of” (lines 925, 927, 934, 948), “kind of” (line 941), “type of thing” (line 942), “some kind of” (line 946), “some” (line 961) and “probably” (line 977). He also often reformulates expressions in the course of the dream story because he seems not to be comfortable with his first versions. As mentioned above, especially the place of the dream setting is rephrased various times in complex structures (lines 919-932).

Concerning rhetorical figures, similes can also be found in the dream account. In lines 920-922, S explains the place of the dream action by using the following simile:

```
(...)
925     sort of a LECTure room - it=s a bit like <NAME OF
926     UNIVERSITY> (xxx) it=s NOT cause it=s complete - really -
(...)
```

The image of the computer screen is also presented in the form of a simile:

```
(...)
948     really a computer screen' it was more like a sort of s:
949     sixties space ship. with lots of flashing lights and things
(...)
957     - it was like a big screen like uhm - like a (xxpad) - like
958     a touch screen' but instead of being THAT way it was
(...)
```

In order to help him transport his dream experiences via language, S also uses negative definitions. It seems as if he cannot find the right words to explain certain aspects of his dream and therefore defines them by what they are not. This phenomenon can be observed quite frequently in S' dream story (lines 916, 927, 929, 934, 948 and 958).

By the mentioning of the university known to both, speaker and listener, S refers to their common knowledge that is located in the everyday world. Moreover, references to the everyday reality on another level are given by metalinguistic expressions. In lines 947-948, S corrects his own formulation

by explicitly stating what he said and consequently negating it: "i said computer screen' it wasn=t really a computer screen' ". In another instance, S also refers to the procedure of formulating his dream experience accurately. After a short hesitation he indicates being conscious about the discrepancy of his dream experience and language by stating "at what - i think i best (xxx) describe as" (line 918).

Apart from the unintendedness, the narrative also provides other characteristic features of dream content. One of them is that S often remarks that he cannot remember details of his dream experience (lines 972-981) but also do details suddenly come to his mind (line 954: "oh=and there were", line 955: "there was OH yeah that was it"). The narrative also clearly shows bizarreness (e.g. line 955: "it was HUMONgous.") and intensive emotions involved in the dream story by S' remembering that he was "very worried" (lines 952-953) and that the dream situation was "a bit scary." (line 966) or actually rather "definitely a bit scary." (lines 968-969).

7. Conclusion

The starting point of this study was to show that dream stories provide certain characteristics which are distinct from other stories as far as their combination is concerned. The way dreams occur, the discrepancy between dream reality and language and the dream content itself, rather than only the procedure of narrating, all turned out to have a great impact on the way a dream is told.

Following Alfred Schütz, I consider dreams not to be part of the same reality as language. The dream content thus needs to be transferred to a common world and by doing so, the speaker must provide for his or her dream experience to be understood accurately enough by the listener.

As a means of analysing dream story characteristics, including the process a speaker and a listener go through to jointly reconstruct a dream experience, the sociological theory of communicative genre has proven to be a viable tool. In studies dealing with similar topics, also epileptic auras, near-death experiences and pain descriptions, among others have been analysed according to this theory.

In the analysis, many individual aspects have arisen, which together clearly distinguish dream stories from other stories and accounts and, therefore, justify the initial assumption of there being a distinct genre of dream stories.

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9. Appendices

9.1. Appendix 1 – List of dreams

ENGLISH DREAM STORIES \ told by:

No	dream	by	line numbers
D01	about work	D	1 - 50
D02	trousers	D	51 - 76
D03	killing giles	A	77 - 112
D04	nightmares	B	113 - 171
D05	results + girlfriend	L	172 - 216
D06	mice	F	217 - 231
D07	gus from neighbours	F	232 - 250
D08	primary schools kids	C	251 - 264
D09	party + canal	L	265 - 305
D10	gold top	L	306 - 314
D11	fighting marks	W	315 - 350
D12	SPSS	W	251 - 366
D13	sister	C	367 - 388
D14	patchwork lady	W	389 - 458
D15	flowers	L	459 - 487
D16	reading on the bus	L	488 - 496
D17	boyfriends	L,W	497 - 543
D18	(cooking)	W	544 - 565
D19	(grandma / clocks)	C	566 - 603
D20	naked in school	C	604 - 625
D21	girl from school	L	624 - 641
D22	former best friend	L	642 - 655
D23	(phone)	W	656 - 674
D24	shooting	J	675 - 725
D25	underlined phrases	N	726 - 760
D26	driveway	N	761 - 823
D27	funeral ceilidh	S	824 - 913
D28	university hallway	S	914 - 984
D29	martians	H	985 - 1011
D30	dead body	T	1012 - 1032
D31	dissolving gold	H	1033 - 1056
D32	truck	T	1057 - 1080
D33	car brakes	K	1081 - 1090
D34	seal	U	1091 - 1112
D35	witches	K	1113 - 1129
D36	trousers 2	D	1130 - 1173

GERMAN DREAM STORIES \ told by:

No	dream	by	line numbers
D37	schneehaufen	P	1174 - 1205
D38	fliegen	M	1206 - 1225
D39	taschenlampe	Z	1226 - 1260
D40	schulsausflug	Y	1261 - 1284
D41	kamikaze	E	1285 - 1306
D42	panzerknacker	O	1307 - 1387
D43	wikinger	R	1388 - 1420
D44	herberge	G	1421 - 1442

9.2. Appendix 2 – Transcription conventions

over[lap	overlap
[overlap	overlap
?	rising intonation
'	slightly rising intonation
.	falling intonation
,	intonation that stays the same
^	rising-falling intonation
-, --	pauses
<3sec>	estimated pause from 3 seconds on
=	ligature / contraction sign;
follow-up	
:, ::, :::	stretched sounds
/	glottal stop; break-off
emphaSIS, !EM!phasis	emphasis, strong emphasis
<<laughs>>	para- and non-verbal activity
<<laughing> >	speech accompaniment
<<astonished> >	interpretative commentary
(xxxxxxx)	unintelligible passage
(such), mou(th)	assumption of what has been said
<.h>, <.hh>	breathing in (noticably)
<h>, <hh>	breathing out (noticably)
<NAME B>, <NAME OF PUB>	name, placename

9.3. Appendix 3 – Transcripts of dream stories

9.3.1. Recordings in English

D01 [D]

(...)

- 1 I: is there ANY kind of dream that you remember that you
2 could tell: --
3 D: recent or not recent
4 I: uhm: -- RE:cent if possible
5 D: <5sec> uh:: yeah no i do - but <<laughing> random>
6 [<<laughs>>
7 I: [<<laughs>> yah well (it might it=s just)
8 D: no at the moment it=s just really crap cause it=s all like
9 work kind of stuff so <<laughs>>
10 I: yeah anything. - anything really anything. -
11 D: yeah it=s not - very specific but it=s just like -- i -
12 keep - dreaming about work at the moment <<lauging> so
13 like> --
14 I: like [what
15 D: [this is kind=a bad.=uhm' -- i don=t know' just like
16 -- i dont' KNOW? actually not even stuff not working or
17 whatever just - i (x) keep randomly dreaming about work
18 and -- <<laughing> it=s like> ah:: <<laughs>> so - i dont
19 know it=s like i can=t really remember specifically what
20 it is' but -
21 I: oh that that=s the problem with most people because - if i
22 - even if i - ask them directly. - (and i) - i was' i was
23 really trying to to lead them to something or - trying to
24 - tell a dream myself and then get them to tell a dream -
25 but that didn=t work' and so i ASked people and then they
26 just - THEY just couldn=t - remember anything and it
27 D: yeah [(it is) just a
28 I: [(xxx) happening xxx like) -
29 D: i [don=t - really have anything REAlly specific like=i can
30 I: [yeah
31 D: remEMber that i HAVE been dreaming about work a lot?
32 I: yeah
33 D: but i: -- sort of CANT REAlly (x) remember sort of
34 specifics' - it=s like -- i don=t know i don't know it=s
35 <3sec> yeah <<laughs>>
36 I: do you remember when - uh in glasgow when i talked about
37 chee:se like uhm strong chee:se making you [drea:m
38 D: [oh <<laughing>
39 yeah [yeah>
40 I: [that was because i recorded <NAME J>=some days
41 before that and he told me about that. - a:nd - and then'
42 - when - when we were in GLASgow i thought' oh shit i
43 haven=t got my recording things with me and perhaps HES
44 gonna tell a DREAM now:=shit i=d need my recording things'
45 but - you didn=t anyway.
46 D: yeah no i just talked about random dream stuff. - uh:m -
47 uh:: na i can remember occasionally dreams i=ve had from
48 ages ago but not - really - anything really specific

49 recently so' - i tend to sleep quite lightly anyway and
50 wake up a lot so' -
 (...)

D02 [D]

 (...)
51 I: u:hm -- okay' anything not so recent. -
52 D: <<laughs>> surrealist dreams. <<laughs>>
53 I: yeah'
54 D: <<laughs>>
55 I: they ALways a:re.
56 D: yeah i know <<laughing> it=s> <3sec> okay. -
57 I: ANything.
58 D: -- u:hm <5sec> hard to describe. but anyway i was dreaming
59 basically this is - Ages ago so i was still at school. so
60 this is like fucking ages ago it=s like six years ago or
61 <<fast> something> <<laughs>> and i was dreaming' - or WAS
62 i at school or <<fast> i dont know> - <<fast> anyway it=s
63 ages ago> i was dreaming that i was late' for SCHOOL --
64 and i was trying to like - get to school' but i couldn=t'
65 - because i was trying to put on my trousers. - and they
66 were too LONG' - and they were like - everytime i pulled
67 them up' there was like MORE of them. but it didn=t really
68 (me) seem to make sense. - cause (i) would just sort of
69 pull up (my) trousers and try to run to the stairs' - but
70 i couldn=t pull up my trousers' cause there was like -
71 they just kept being LONGer and LONGer and LONGer. - and
72 it was really fucking <<laughing> weird <h>> - and that=s
73 BASically about the whole dream <<laughs>> -- so: uh:m --
74 but yeah that=s - that=s a really kind of specific dream
75 that i had but ---
76 I: that was cool?
 (...)

D03 [A]

 (...)
77 I: okay <<laughs>> i wanna know a dream story any dream any -
78 like AS recent as possible
79 A: uh:[m
80 I: [if you remember any you can tell
81 A: right okay the the -- right one i can remember quite
82 vividly is just from like last year. - uhm: -- was one -
83 where - for a reason i didn=t really quite underSTAND - i
84 HAD to kill - GILES from buffy the vampire slayer. - and
85 like it was it was absolutely imperative that i had to do
86 this. and i didn=t want' to. i really liked' him. - you
87 know cause (xx) i thought he was a really great guy and
88 everything but i had to do it - a:nd and he was he was
89 sort of he was asleep in BE:D - and i had to go in there
90 - with a KNIFE - and it was it was - HORRible it was
91 really sort of TORTurous and - i had to stab him and he
92 woke up' like the moment before i did it and he just - he
93 looked at me and he just said - WHY:: in a really sort of

94 plaintive kind of way and it was - it was very horrible
95 and i kind of did it and it - then i=d/ i sort of - i=d/
96 i i was kind of going back through to=uh: - to to to my
97 bedroom and - you know i had to like destroy all the
98 Evidence' i was trying to get rid of all the BLOOD and
99 everything like THAT' a:nd uhm - uhm - and and then i and
100 i heard someone coming and i had to kind of like jump into
101 my bed really quickly but i was still sort of wearing all
102 my CLOthes so it was still very obvious that i=d DONE it'
103 and there was someone (cam/) coming closer and closer and
104 closer:' - a:nd sort of KNOCKing on my DOO:R and all that
105 kind of stuff and then it was' it was one of the dreams
106 where i literally - woke up really suddenly - at the point
107 in which i would have been discovered and everyone would
108 have KNOWN that - i=d killed GILES. - a:nd - i just woke
109 up in bed being - absolutely -- horrifically disturbed ---
110 uhm and then realised it wasn=t true. and it was okay.
111 I: --- THAT=s COOL' - thanks very much'
112 A: youre very welcome.
(...)

D04 [B]

(...)
113 B: this is gonna sound totally - weird but like --- for the -
114 past - two years i=ve had nothing but nightmares - like i
115 can remember maybe one or two dreams a week - and uhm -
116 they=re all nightmares i havent had any good dreams in two
117 years - i can remember having good dreams - before that -
118 but - i started getting stomach problems two YEARS ago and
119 - ever since they started every dream i had is very BAD
120 and about something AWFul happening and - it mostly doesnt
121 BOTHer me cause like i can only remember a couple of them
122 a week? - <<laughing> this sounds totally weird but i swear
123 it is true> - and mostly they=re just about BAD things to
124 do with everything else' not so with me being sick or
125 anything with (xxxxxxx) stomach problems but Every/
126 EVerything is BA:D like - like - my BOSS hates me:=and
127 wants - you know is telling me off? or i haven=t DONE
128 something or - uhm my boyfriend=s gone crazy or like - all
129 this stuff' and - that=s been like - twice a week -- for
130 two years - i can=t remember many of them but they
131 <<laughing> mo/> mostly to do with like everyone in the
132 world going ma:d -- and me having to - to - like - stop
133 them all from dying or something. -- i know that sounds
134 crazy but it=s true. <4sec> do you want me to describe a
135 specific one or is it just too [weird
136 I: [uh: - yeah' - if you
137 (remember xxx) yeah'
138 B: - i just dreamed yesterday that -- uhm -- one of my
139 scientific experiments has gone wrong which is pretty
140 boring - and then before that i dreamed that uhm -
141 everyone in the whole world - had been taken over by a
142 cult' and have gone evil' and they were all trying to
143 kill each other' - uh:m - except me' and i was trying to
144 (find out) - find out what was going on - which may also

145 be a sign that i=ve been watching too much television
 146 <<laughs>> -- i can=t remember any others right now but
 147 they=re all very BAD - EVery dream i swear every dream
 148 i=ve EVer had in the past two years has been a complete
 149 nightmare. i/ - so i think that maybe goes to show' i
 150 don=t know what youre studying but - your dreams
 151 DEFinately affect your state of mind like -- if you think
 152 things are gonna look BADly and i=m always -- thinking
 153 that my stomach=s gonna get worse i=m gonna be sick
 154 aGAIN and (may xx) - take [another day off work' - and you
 155 A: [(xxxxxxxx) affected by like -
 156 how you feel.
 157 B: yeah. if [you - if you
 158 A: [if you (xxxxxx) going bad for you (xxxxxx)
 159 B: no:. if youre in FEAR' - of things getting WORSE for you.
 160 - then you have bad dreams. -- cause your dreams are like
 161 - your FEAR - [you know YOU - you are a GUILty person. -
 162 A: [it=s it=s it=s like (xxxx) it=s like (xxxx)
 163 B: (NAME A) is a guilty person. - so he has GUILT dreams. - i
 164 live in FEAR - well i used to be quite a HAPPy person i had
 165 HAPPy dreams but since i lived in fear - of getting SICK' -
 166 i have bad dreams every night. - now <<laughing> that
 167 sounds totally whacky so i=m not gonna say anymore but - i
 168 swear to god it=s true> - people cant don=t believe me when
 169 i say i=ve had nightmares <<laughing> every night for the
 170 past two years but it=s true. - i=m NOT saying any more.>
 171 I: <5sec> hey. - wow. - thanks.
 (...)

D05 [L]

(...)

172 L: i had some really dist/ like really -
 173 F: i had [some REALLY WEIRD dreams i think i/ -- <<laughs>>
 174 C: [yeah
 175 L: i yeah i had (xxx) last night [actually
 176 C: [this week' with the results'
 177 has to be about [the worst i=ve had i dreamt i got
 178 F: [yeah i HAD one' i HAD one'
 179 C: a two two^ - [dreamt i failed^
 180 L: [oh really?
 181 F: are you - are you recording this now? okay okay let=s go
 182 on.
 183 L: <<laughs>>
 184 F: <<laughs>> (xxxx) go on then go on then tell us - [(about)
 185 C: [no but
 186 i had every possible combination of results (were) dreamt
 187 and uh=uh: given out in a different way. in last week.
 188 L: I had a dream about - the results but i can=t remember
 189 what happened
 190 F: oh yeah NO [tell us (xxxxxxxx) one with <NAME 1>
 191 C: (xxxxxxxx)
 192 L: i was talking to <NAME 1> i was in <NAME OF PUB> i was
 193 talking to <NAME 1> about -
 194 F: in [your dream?

195 L: [yeah. - yeah about getting the results and he got a
 196 TWO TWO.
 197 F: Okay'
 198 L: and uh:m -- he was really upset' - and then - and he
 199 split up with <NAME 2>' because <NAME 2> (had hung out)
 200 with someone and it was all - that=s his - girlfriend.
 201 C: are they still together, that was just the [dream
 202 F: [yeah that was
 203 [just a dream. [i TOLD <NAME 1> about that
 204 L: [i i think so yeah unless i=m [(xxx)
 205 F: dream but i didn=t tell him about - this [argument cause
 206 L: [(xxxxxxxxxxxxxx)
 207 F: <NAME 2> was there (and so) <<laughs>>
 208 L: oh. - [<<laughs>> - <<in low voice> (xxxxx) two two
 209 C: [<<laughs>> no.
 210 F: yeah.
 211 L: anyway.> - and he/ then he said i smelt. - <<laughs>>
 212 C: oh^
 213 L: which was very [(xxxxxxxxx) WORK all day yeah.
 214 F: [(xxxxxx) oh. - okay. -
 215 L: <<in low voice> but yeah (that=s quite xxxx) my dream. -
 216 did/ have YOU dreamt lately or (xxxxxx)>
 (...)

D06 [F]

(...)
 217 L: <<in low voice> but yeah (that=s quite xxxx) my dream. -
 218 did/ have YOU dreamt lately or (xxxxxx)>
 219 F: i didn=t dream <<laughing> about resuhults> - i dreamt
 220 about MICE - as i told you the other day - i had this
 221 really weird dream? that i had the/ well i Used to have
 222 pet mice when i (was) little but i had this really weird
 223 dream that i had these - pet mice but i think it=s just
 224 because i just saw the - the harry potter film. and you
 225 know they=ve got the RAT in it.
 226 L: oh: yeah
 227 F: and i think it=s cause i=d just seen the film and - and i
 228 had this dream about - picking up MICE (and) i had to pick
 229 them up by their TAIL? - and putting them in a box. - and i
 230 had aNOTHer quite worrying dream <<laughing> about gus
 231 from neighbours>
 (...)

D07 [F]

(...)
 232 F: i had to pick them up by their TAIL? - and putting them
 233 in a box. - and i had aNOTHer quite worrying dream
 234 <<laughing> about gus from neighbours>
 235 C: oh god. -
 236 F: that he was in my attic. - cause you know? did you see
 237 [neighbours.
 238 L: [i have (xxx) i don=t watch television.
 239 F: uh=okay.

240 C: no me neither.
 241 F: there=s a scary guy in neighbours who has got a scary KEY
 242 into these peoples HOUSE and he got in. late at night. -
 243 and in my dream' he was in our attic. and i could hear him
 244 like walking a[ROUND' - in my dream [and i knew
 245 L: [<<laughs>> [were you in your flat
 246 on your own^
 247 F: yeah [that=s what i think. - uhm: - but --
 248 L: [yeah. - yeah.
 249 <<W joins>>
 250 L: hello
 (...)

D08 [C]

(...)
 251 C: but did you have a/ betwe/ it=s weird how a/ like before
 252 exams i had exams i (hadn=t had uhm) exams - dreams that
 253 had nothing to do with the exam' - but were obviously
 254 Totaally related [to the exam - yeah. --
 255 F: [because of the (xxx)
 256 C: i remember [dreaming about - primary school kids aTTACKing
 257 L: [<<to W> talking about your dreams>
 258 C: me in a house' and like - i wa/=walked into a house (xxx)
 259 little tiny kids' came in and just like were and it was the
 260 night before my first exam' and it was obviously Totaally
 261 [related but
 262 L: [ye:s (stressed really)
 263 C: mhm.
 264 F: (cause you=re still) stressed. -
 (...)

D09 [L]

(...)
 265 L: i dreamt? i do/? i had (xxxx) really like - weird dreams
 266 last night' which were really realistic^ - like they seem
 267 [like [real (xxx)
 268 C: [like [what?
 269 F: [(tell me' - go on.)
 270 L: like where/ <hh> i don=t know i just - i ca/ <hh> oh god
 271 i can=t remember (xxxxxxxxxx) and i can=t remember - what
 272 <<laughing> happened> now^
 273 F: oh.
 274 L: - (i just xxx oh god) i can=t remember. - [there just
 275 F: [(xxx)
 276 L: like - there uh there was ONce like where it=s really
 277 realisti/ uh yeah we were at this PA:rty and i went to
 278 this party of my friend <NAME 3> and stuff <3sec> [OH. -
 279 C: [yes?
 280 L: [<<laughs>>
 281 F: [<<laughs>>
 282 C: [<<laughs>>
 283 L: yeah <<laughs>> (i mean) it was just like a really
 284 realistic dream(s)' - it wasn=t like the kind of WEIRD

285 things (that happen) and then we (were) walking down by
 286 this caNAL^ -- i don=t know^ - just that i remember little
 287 fractures. i [remember MORE when i go back to bed the
 288 F: [yeah.
 289 L: next - like the next night it all comes back to me' -
 290 F: yeah i quite [often - i quite often remember it really
 291 L: [(xxx)
 292 F: well when i wake up' [(xxxxx)
 293 C: [yeah.
 294 L: yeah. when i wake up' and then when i go to bed the next
 295 night^
 296 C: yeah [THAT=s true. - yeah.
 297 L: [it all comes back to me. - cause it is like you=re
 298 like you get back and you=re och yeah (xxxxxxx)
 299 C: and whe/ when i=m lying in bed' in the morning' it=s still
 300 REAL it=s still it=s not even [a DREAM' (i mean) -
 301 F: [yeah - yeah yeah
 302 C: somehow [it changes.
 303 W: [(you sort of think, [what?)
 304 L: [i know: - i get i have a lot
 305 of -- and then i had a dream last night
 (...)

D10 [L]

(...)
 306 L: i know: - i get i have a lot of -- and then i had a dream
 307 last night about this GOLD top - at work -- like it fell
 308 on the !FLOOR! OFF the !HANG!er' - cause it all' - it was
 309 not real gold, it=s just gold coloured.
 310 F: ALright.
 311 L: like
 312 F: cause (i=d xxxxx about that)
 313 L: yeah and it fell on the floor - and i had to pick it up. -
 314 and that was it.
 (...)

D11 [W]

(...)
 315 L: i=m trying to remember cause i always have (xxxxx) dreams
 316 W: and then you wake up in the morning and because then it=s
 317 just so Recent^ - [you remember E-VERY-thing.
 318 C: [but do you not find (it) - there=s a -
 319 da/ - that=s the dangerous(t) time to dream' cause that=s
 320 when i convince myself that i=ve NOT got to go to work or
 321 i=ve NOT got a lecture' [and i dream about - something
 322 L: [yeah in your DREAM yeah the dream
 323 C: [totally different. - yeah
 324 L: [that someone calls you in' and says oh you don=t have to
 325 come to work' [today [<<laughs>>
 326 C: [yeah.
 327 F: [(alright - that=s when i xxxxx)

328 W: [NO no no - NO - I actually - THAT=s
 329 when i dream things that are really quite close to --
 330 reality or close to my - my real life.
 331 F: well that you dream [that - you
 332 W: [so i was - r/ REALLY worried the
 333 other day i was just - desperate' (thing)' about marks' and
 334 - <.hh[hh> - degrees and what [i will get' and everything i
 335 C: [yeah [yeah
 336 W: was DREAMing about it was basically two competing (xx/)
 337 like a two two over here and a two one and i was worried i
 338 will get a two two' - and they started - they LITerally^
 339 started to fight^
 340 C: <<laughs>>
 341 W: and THEY were two like - creatures.
 342 C: [<<lau[ghs>>
 343 F: [<<lau[ghs>>
 344 L: [<<lau[ghs>>
 345 W: [and whoever WON^ - then this fight? - would then
 346 you know that would be my degree? [class and i was
 347 L: [(xxxxx)
 348 W: DESperate [(xxxxx)
 349 L: [(xxxxx) that when you had about uhm:: - you
 350 know SPSS
 (...)

D12 [W]

(...)
 351 W: DESperate [(xxxxx)
 352 L: [(xxxxx) that when you had about uhm:: - you know
 353 SPSS
 354 W: SPSS? yes i dreamt about
 355 F: <<laughs>> [SPSS
 356 W: [i was doing my - my disserTation i was - and i
 357 dreamt about=uhm - i was IN one of the little CELLS - you
 358 [know (xxxxxxxxxx) inSIDE - but it=s really it=s quite
 359 F: [<<laughs>>
 360 C: [<<laughs>> oh:
 361 W: biZARRE^ - because i - i/ usually i do dream about things
 362 that don=t - have a life, that don=t move, it=s it=s
 363 really quite - but then - in my dreams they DO have a life
 364 and it=s it=s like yeah i was IN one of those little cells
 365 (xxx) really really (xxxx)
 366 C: i d/ - i used to dream a lot and my sister
 (...)

D13 [C]

(...)
 367 C: i d/ - i used to dream a lot and my sister we BOTH did it
 368 and she did it too that she was a fly - and i was like
 369 squashing her [(xxxxxx) she was dreaming that like i was
 370 F: [<<laughs>>
 371 C: chasing her around the room' or: - [like

372 W: [you both - dreamt the
 373 same thing?
 374 F: [and she (xxxxxxxxx)
 375 C: [no not the same thing but she I used to dream that she
 376 was an animal and i was trying to - kill her or - do
 377 different things to [her and she used to dream that yeah -
 378 W: [ah:=<<laughs>>
 379 C: it was
 380 L: did she dream that she was trying to kill YOU' or that you
 381 were [trying to kill her^
 382 C: [both' - I dreamt that she=d been chasing me and
 383 yeah' - and she dreamt [that
 384 L: [is she -
 385 W: it was REAlly [freaky one night.
 386 L: [(a/) - is she odler or younger
 387 C: younger.
 388 L: yeah
 (...)

D14 [W]

(...)
 389 C: yeah' - and she dreamt [that
 390 L: [is she -
 391 W: it was REAlly [freaky one night.
 392 L: [(a/) - is she odler or younger
 393 C: younger.
 394 L: yeah
 395 W: one night was really freaky - <NAME 4> and i/ like my
 396 flatmate - uhm -- she/ I was in be:d - in the morning she
 397 came in' and she said - <.hh> - i=d have had this R:EAally
 398 really freaky dream last night. -- and i looked at her -
 399 and we LIterally AT the same time told each other - what
 400 we=ve dreamt and we dreamt the same thing' - and [it was
 401 F: [<.hhh>
 402 C: [<.hhh>
 403 W: SO freaky?
 404 L: what did you dream?
 405 W: uhm she was - she was a patchwork lady' - [like she was --
 406 C: [<<laughs>>
 407 W: but it was SKIN:. - she was made out of other peoples SKIN:
 408 F: <<disgusted> uahh>
 409 W: cause i looked at her and said' - oh have you had a boob?
 410 job. -
 411 C: <<lau[ghs>> [<<laughs>>
 412 F: <<lau[ghs>>
 413 W: [(xxxxxxx) like your [breast (xxxx) and she was like -
 414 no no no i=ve just - i=ve just got some like more skin'
 415 <3sec> and we dreamt the same/ and there was a [baby and
 416 C: [had you
 417 [been watching a movie or something
 418 W: [(xxxxxxx) we don=t have a tele^ -
 419 F: that=s [really weird.
 420 W: [there was nothing on the radio we had' - because
 421 (we=ll we=ve had xxxx) or maybe we=d - you know read some

422 article in the newspaper or something - we/ - NORMally get
 423 a newspaper but THAT day we hadn=t.
 424 F: yeah
 425 W: so we hadn=t read the same story. I=d been at uni all day
 426 there was it was just impossible it was SO weird. - and
 427 it=s quite a bizarre dream as well' to [have
 428 L: [it IS' yeah
 429 C: yeah:'
 430 W: it=s quite a freaky [(xxxx) something like (xxxx) - have
 431 L: [it=s not like
 432 W: i don=t know' it=s - like some sort of horror film or
 433 something how/ -
 434 F: that is really (weird)
 435 W: someone k:ills other people just to make - a patchwork
 436 lady.
 437 C: [wo:w
 438 L: [<<laughs>>
 439 W: (xxxxxx)
 440 F: that is quite scary. - I can always wake myself up when
 441 i=m scared though - [i can if i=m starting- i can Always
 442 L: [I can (xxxxx)
 443 F: (without [xxxx wake myself up)
 444 W: [oh i can never do that.
 445 C: I don=t GET to that point i think i wake up just as if
 446 F: oh rea[lly
 447 C: [you do either way.
 448 F: but I wake myself up - if i=m BOred as well^ - if my
 449 <<laughing> dream [is quite BORing>
 450 C: [<<laughs>>
 451 W: but if my dreams are boring i can kind of - [(steal) into
 452 L: [(xxxxxx) yeah
 453 W: the [(xxxxxxxx) - [and make something [(happen)
 454 L: [(i then) [(you you) you=re
 455 F: [but i just know what
 456 L: OFten quite conscious of what=s going on' - you you=re
 457 like - i know this is a dream so - i can do whatever i
 458 want^ - <<laughs>>
 (...)
 (...)

D15 [L]

(...)

459 L: I have quite realistic dreams
 460 C: do you dream in COlour^ i always - dream [in - full colour
 461 L: [i !AL!ways dream
 462 in colour - i DON=T get what that IS? like - yeah (xx
 463 people that [dream in colour)
 464 F: [i don=t [i don=t know^ (xxx) - how can you
 465 W: [i CAN=T reMEMber (xxx) a lot (xxxx)
 466 F: how can you [(xxx)
 467 L: [no i [(remember things xxx/)
 468 C: [can you SMELL things in your dream'
 469 (xxx you - can [you) - like you [(eat things xxxx) yeah
 470 L: [(oh:^ xxxxx)
 471 W: [(xx what like xx)

472 L: i had this one dream about - like - as in this kind of BAR
 473 thing' - and there=s a bunch o/ like a big bunch of FLOWers
 474 on the TABLE - and i remember their colour (xxxx) it=s like
 475 orange and PURple colours' - and (xx) that' I REAlly
 476 remembered that when i woke up^ - and someone knocked it
 477 over and - there was a dad' and a son' - and the dad (gets)
 478 really cross' -- anyway. - it=s !A!ges [ago like a YEAR ago
 479 W: [<<laughs>>
 480 L: - (i=d li/) i remember that (yes [REAlly xx i see) colours
 481 W: [but do you still reMEMber
 482 that dream? from a year? ago
 483 L: yeah^ - i remem/ - i remember it like it was like something
 484 that happened to me:^ - that=s how [my dreams are
 485 W: [oh go:d -
 486 they are really quite strong
 487 L: yeah:^
 (...)

D16 [L]

(...)
 488 L: yeah:^ - and uh and Also that i i have - obviously all the
 489 dreams like just when you just waking up or when you=re
 490 going to sleep - like you were saying about like - when you
 491 - when you dream like - that you=ve woken up late' - and
 492 then you wake up' and you=re NOT late - <<murmurs>
 493 (xxxxxxxx)> - [like once - ONCE i fell asleep on the bus
 494 C: [(xxxxxxxx)
 495 L: and i dreamt i was on the bus reading my book? -
 496 <<interruption by someone else in the room asking a question>>
 (...)

D17 [L,W]

(...)
 497 C: it=s HARD to talk about your dreams cause -- cause you
 498 can=t really [remember when you (xxxx them xxxx)
 499 L: [they certainly come back to you though. -
 500 sometimes when you wake up [you can remember LOADS
 501 W: [i think they affect you quite
 502 a lot' the next [day' cause like a really - (if it=s a)
 503 L: [oh TOTally
 504 W: [really happy dream [or whatever it kind of makes (xxxxxx)
 505 L: [it=s like [it=s like if you have those dreams --
 506 it=s like if you have those dreams like - i sometimes i
 507 dreamed about <NAME 5> like he he=ll dump me or something -
 508 and then the next day or he chea/ he=d have cheated on me
 509 or (xxx/) i=ll have done something to HIM and he=ll be
 510 really upset with me: - and then the next day (xxxx) weird'
 511 (xxxx) like yeah you: - ch:eated [on me <<laughs>>
 512 W: [i Used to be really -
 513 really NASTy sometimes to [(xxxxxxxx)
 514 L: [yeah.
 515 W: when i wake up in the morning and he was (xxx) like <<in
 516 high voice> hi'> - you know and just like really really

517 sweet and does like you know - give me a bit of a cuddling
 518 and like - DON=T you START'
 519 C: [<<lau[ghs loudly>>
 520 F: [<<lau[ghs>>
 521 L: [<<lau[ghs>>
 522 W: [because he had been nasty to me in a dream? - and i
 523 wouldn=t realize^ and he=s like- <<in low voice> oh - oh
 524 i=m sorry (xxxx) something i=ve done> - and then he=d be
 525 like - no' to be honest no' - i know i=ve got/ [i=ve i=ve
 526 L: [yeah.
 527 W: done nothing wrong - <<whispers> (and) we would have an
 528 ARgument>
 529 L: <<lau[ghs>>
 530 W: [(xxxx) NOTHING - it was just so riDICulous cause
 531 (it=s) like - (and) then realize i was like - look' uhm: -
 532 <<in low voice> sorry.> - [(xxxxxxxx) something you
 533 C: [<<laughs>>
 534 F: [<<laughs>>
 535 W: actually haven=t done. - and he was like' - alright -
 536 freaky woman - you [know (xxxxxxxx of) - i will never
 537 L: [<<laughing> yeah:>
 538 W: understand (women anyway)
 539 C: <<laughs>>
 540 F: ye:s
 541 W: (here we go)
 542 L: but i think women have stronger dreams than men
 543 W: DO they
 (...)

D18 [W]

(...)
 544 W: no the best thing that (wa/) was my friends: DAD - he had a
 545 really really vivid dream about cooking. - (xxxx) quite
 546 bizzare because (xxxx wasn=t) really cooking in (xxx)
 547 dreams - but he remembered everything (xxxxxx) and every
 548 ingredient so he decided that right' - cause he was (gonna
 549 dad what xxxxx for dinner') - and he was like - i have NO
 550 idea what it=s called but - i made it last night in my
 551 dream and i=m gonna MAKE it - and he did? [- and it was
 552 C: [<<laughs>>
 553 W: [lovely and it was a very very nice some sort of s/
 554 F: [and was it nice?
 555 W: chicken stew with loads of different ingredients - [and it
 556 C: [oh wow
 557 W: was REAlly nice^ -
 558 I: cool.
 559 W: but it=s nothing that (wasn=t right of a) - it=s quite
 560 biZARRE - [(xxx[xxx) things that went [into (it because
 561 L: [yeah
 562 F: [yeah: [it=s quite weird
 563 [to be able to remember that closely
 564 W: [there were really lots of it
 565 L: I remember a lot of details (of my dreams)
 (...)

D19 [C]

(...)
566 L: I remember a lot of details (of my dreams)
567 C: my grandma used to dream in total she used to dream in real
568 technicolour and used to spend hours telling us about her
569 dreams she used to get freaked out by her dreams and go
570 off and - drink a lot because of it but she was <<laughing>
571 a [bit of a [crazy> woman (xxx) - VERY perceptive and very
572 F: [<<laughs>>
573 W: [<<laughs>>
574 C: like always could believe in her dreams - and one thing
575 she=s dreamt about was (xxxxxxx) clocks and she used to
576 always say - uh in my dreams in this (xxx) in my dreams i
577 believe i have a clock like that when everywhere we went to
578 some (house xxxx) fancy clock or whatever - really into
579 clocks - and the:n' - the day she died' my mum was -
580 cleaning out her flat - two weeks later whatever - and she
581 she Also LOVed clocks it wasn=t just her dreams - but she
582 had a thing for clocks - and uh: loved the clock my mum had
583 bought her on the wall and she used to always tell us
584 <<changes voice> oh <NAME 6> that=s the best clock ever it
585 has never - never stopped' never had to change the battery'
586 - don=t have to wind it'> and all that stuff. - and anyway
587 the clock stopped dead the time she died like - [two weeks
588 L: [that=s
589 [(xxxxxxx[xxxx) - <<singing> and the clocks - stopped -
590 C: [later (xx[xxx)
591 W: [OH: MY: GOD'
592 L: never to GO again>
593 C: my mum just said (xxxx) oh my god - [get me out of this
594 L: [that is [really weird
595 W: [that=s
596 [(xxxxxxx) [(xxxxx)
597 C: [(xxx) now - (mum was [a bit xxxxxxxx)
598 L: that is (xxxx) yeah
599 C: she was a bit - into [dreams and stuff (xxx) -
600 W: [wow
601 L: i think yeah there=s DEFinately something (i don=t know) -
602 cause it=s DEFinately something going on when you (xxxxx)
603 there=s DEFinately (some meaning)
(...)

D20 [C]

(...)
604 F: i really can=t (xxxxxx)
605 C: but did you/ - like school i haven=t dreamt about it since
606 i was at school but at SCHOOL it was ALways that you went
607 to school naked. - ALways
608 L: i=ve never [dreamt that - never
609 C: [it was always that - na?
610 F: i=ve never dreamt that either but [loads of people did
611 F: [<<laughing> you=re a
612 freak> - [it=s just you - it=s what they ALways talk [about
613 C: [<<laughs>> - you (xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx)

614 F: [loads
 615 of (people would) drink tha/ - dream [that they - like gone
 616 L: [<<laughing> drihink>
 617 F: [to their - (water xxxxx drink xxxxx) - oh dear
 618 W: [<<laughs>>
 619 C: not when they=re naked
 620 F: not when they=re naked they dream that they - yeah like a
 621 sort of in a real - embarrassment [situation
 622 C: [yeah
 623 L: [yeah i=ve never dreamt
 624 that.
 625 F: i don=t know - (i can=t remember)
 (...)

D21 [L]

(...)
 626 F: i don=t know - (i can=t remember)
 627 L: but i - (xxxxxxx) like now you say schoo:l'
 628 C: like cantene' - school cantene i used to dream about all
 629 the time
 630 L: i - i dream a lot about people who i=ve not - even THOUGHT
 631 about or SEEN since school. - i just have a random dream
 632 about (it) - and i=ll be like - [(i dream abou/) and then
 633 C: [(maybe they xxxxx)
 634 L: - yeah and THAT=s the other thing (xx) there was this girl
 635 <NAME 7> at school <<fast> (who was kind of good friends)>
 636 that haven=t heard about for !A!ges - and then i was
 637 having this dream about her and i=m like / - and then like
 638 a couple of nights later i had another dream (abou/) - OH^
 639 i had a dream? <<laughing> about you> the other night^ -
 640 IN my DREA:M^ - in my SEcond dream' - and the other thing
 641 is a friend of mine
 (...)

D22 [L]

(...)
 642 L: my DREA:M^ - in my SEcond dream' - and the other thing is
 643 a friend of mine - she - (xxxx) friends (xxx) now she=d had
 644 a ba:by her MUM had died and stuff and i was like and we
 645 were like best friends? at school?=i hadn=t spoken to her
 646 for like - five yea::rs? - i kept having REAlly vivid
 647 dreams about her after that? - like REAlly like -
 648 C: (xxxxx)
 649 W: (xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx)
 650 L: yeah:. - but it wasn=t like WEIRD or spooky or anything but
 651 it=s just really like - EVery now and then' i still get
 652 them? - but it=s really vivid dreams that i heard her
 653 ba:by: - (xxxxxxx this guy) - and like that we=re living
 654 in this HOUse - and go to see them and stuff -
 655 W: well a friend of my (dad xxxx) <<clears her throat>>
 (...)

D23 [W]

(...)

656 W: well a friend of mine (xxxxx) <<clears her throat>>
657 something had happened to - one of his - best friends? back
658 home? - but he/ it=s not as if he=d find out - that
659 some[thing had happened' [he just felt - (xxx) - he WOKE up
660 F: [yeah
661 L: [yeah
662 W: he had that REAlly BAD dream - about her' - and thought
663 i=ve got to phone her? - i=ve no idea why? but i=ve - GOT
664 to. - and phoned and just - her life had just turned upside
665 down^ and like you know - the last twentyfour hours' and he
666 was going' - it=s quite freaky' - (xxxxx) but - i=m so
667 GLAD' - i felt i had to phone^ - because she obviously
668 NEEDS' me and - you know it=s just that kind of - you know
669 you need your friends? and you=re really (low)? or when
670 things are happening^ in or life that aren=t like really -
671 but it was just you know - [because he !REALL!y felt he had
672 C: [I read an art/
673 W: to phone her
674 C: I read an ARTicle on that su/ la/ last week - i/ (xxx)
(...)

D24 [J]

(...)

675 I: a:nd - actually i wanted to - try: -- without people
676 knowing
677 J: mhm?
678 I: to try to get them to tell me their dreams - but it
679 doesn=t work out. --- <<laughing> so i think i=d rather> -
680 ask you right away'
681 J: mhm? - would it/ does it work if you just/ just tell
682 someone else you=ve a dream' -- cause quite often if you
683 tell someone then=
684 I: =yeah i know -- but -- i dont know? - i just dont manage
685 to do it - [authentically.
686 J: [(i just have) a good one - mhm. - i just have
687 had a good one the other night? - i ate some very strong
688 cheese - and i was - i don=t know how it was but - there
689 was a lot of -- <<clears his throught>> there was someone
690 shooting at other people - it was pretty horrible <4sec>
691 (xx) it (wasn=t) uhm -- it was one of those vivid ones
692 where it goes on for a long time it was just <4sec> a kind
693 of torture type thing where people are getting shot or
694 mined and something like that - and <<laughing> <h> which
695 was <h> <h>> quite disturbing. - but it didn=t see/ it
696 didn=t seem that - that that bad by the time' - i mean it
697 was pretty horrible but i thought ah:: i think i=ll be
698 okay. <5sec>
699 I: what does that have to do with the cheese?
700 J: - cheese makes you dream allegedly.
701 I: really?
702 J: mh. - whether you believe that or not'
703 I: <<laughing> i don=t'>

704 J: who knows. <7sec> (yeah) it wasn=t a good story - (nice)
 705 dream - uhm. -- uh. <7sec> before that' - i haven=t dreamt
 706 for Ages' --
 707 I: yeah that=s usually the problem. - even if i - go and ask
 708 people -
 709 J: mh'=
 710 I: =do you know any dream can you tell me any dream' [and
 711 J: [mh.
 712 I: then (xx says - they) can=t really remember anything
 713 J: -- (quite often if you) say to someone - oh i had this
 714 dream (like) then they=d say uh (yah xxxxxx) i had one like
 715 that or - no?
 716 I: yeah sometimes
 717 J: it=s quite a good trick eh?
 718 I: yeah i tried it yeah
 719 J: mh. <3sec> (xxxx) work eh
 720 I: - it didn=t with the people that i - recorded -- so
 721 J: <<eats> <10sec>> mh' - quite a challenging one, ey?
 722 I: quite what?
 723 J: quite a challenging one.
 724 I: - yeah.
 725 J: yeah' --
 (...)
 (...)

D25 [N]

(...)

726 I: if if - recent dreams - then even better=
 727 N: [(xxxxx dream) =yeah' i had a
 728 dream' - do you want me to tell you about [it' -
 729 I: [yeah
 730 N: <<laughs>> i - cause i remember it when was it' - it was
 731 YESTerday^ - i dreamt - uhm -- i had a dream about my long
 732 ESSay^ for history' - that i=ve just handed in - uh:m --
 733 basically -- i i dreamt that, you know' the bibliography at
 734 the end? [you have to put - ah: -- what are they called -
 735 I: [yeah.
 736 N: you have to either underline it or put it in ita[lics -
 737 I: [yeah.
 738 N: and uh like the heading - and - i: - uh=i underLIned mine
 739 cause that=s what it said in the coursebook and i had put
 740 it in italics before and i wasn=t SURE about that but
 741 anyway, i UNderl/ and i UNderlined it and handed it in <.h>
 742 but IN my DREAM' - i dreamt that i had a COPy^ of what i=d
 743 handed in? - and i was looking through it - and every
 744 single quote' that had uhm - i had WRITTen IN my essay it
 745 was underLIned^ <.h> and i thought O NO^ - what/ you know
 746 <<laughs>> - (what was my xx) what can i DO? because i
 747 thought oh no i=ve handed it in' with all the quotes
 748 underLIned? - and i thought well ACTually maybe it won=t be
 749 that bad because they won=t MIND' - cause it just -
 750 highlights them. - and i=d perSUAded myself that it was
 751 OKAY' but i had this like moment of PANic - and <<laughs>>
 752 <<laughing> it=s really stu:pihid -- but i just thought
 753 that and then i woke up in the morning and then i thought o
 754 NO?> -- [(xxxx) it=s all underlined <<laughs>> cause i just

755 I: [<<laughs>>
 756 N: i can VIVidly SEE it on the PAGE' EVery single like HALF of
 757 all (x/) throughout my ESSay it was like these underlined
 758 <<laughing> bits'> - uhm. - that=s' i can't remember what
 759 other ones. that=s the end of that dream. <<laughs>> - uh:m
 760 I: MANY people dreamt about their eXAmS or anything lately
 (...)

D26 [N]

(...)
 761 I: MANY people dreamt about their eXAmS or anything lately
 762 [(yeah)
 763 N: [yea:h. - i i don=t think i dreamt about my eXA:MS, - uhm -
 764 oh gosh -- i can ALways remember i - the ONE dream that i
 765 (ve/) vividly remember that was quite a long TIME ago -
 766 uh:m was - when i was in my house' - at home, <<clicks her
 767 tongue>>=and - there=s -- th/ there=s like a little room
 768 that used to be a study, - in my house and it looks out
 769 over the road and now is - a bedroom but - uhm i i rem/ i
 770 was STANding in THERE:' in the dream, - and looked out and
 771 i saw this GUY at the bottom of our driveway - and he was
 772 sort of like in shadow - and then - of all of a sudden i
 773 was - i thought only that=s not good it was obviously
 774 something BAD, - a:nd - i came i went downstairs and went
 775 out onto our driveway - and uhm there was the CA:R' a CAR
 776 parked in our driveway - to to FACing down towards the road
 777 - and he walked up' - walked up - the DRIVEway' and i kn/
 778 i KNEW he=d got a GUN' - and uhm - and i just remember him
 779 sort of getting (the ge/ i ca/) i can=t rememeber that he
 780 said something - but i always remember he go/ he sort of
 781 but i knew he=d GOT it before i saw it - and then - he -
 782 sort of - pulled out the gun' - and he was gonna shoot me
 783 and i i thought there=s no WAY i can DIVE behind the CAR, -
 784 before he SHOOTs me and then i i think i obviously tried to
 785 but then i woke up. - it=s really horrible. <<laughs>>
 786 that=s what i remember, - uh:m - what other dream - <.hhh>
 787 <hh> - <<clicks her tongue>> i can=t remember. - my dreams
 788 are really silly, they NEVer make sense though DO they,
 789 they=re always really -- uh:m - can people reMEMber them
 790 quite well'
 791 I: uh:m some. - some [do:n=t. - one friend of mine - uh:m
 792 N: [mhm.
 793 I: just said he - doesn=t remember Any and he used to dream
 794 when - when he was a kid' but - [now he just - doesn=t
 795 N: [yeah.
 796 I: have' any dreams
 797 N: that=s so weird.
 798 I: and either he REAlly doesn=t DREAM anything or he just
 799 can=t [remember Anything^
 800 N: [doesn=t remember. -- yeah.
 801 I: but that=s really stra:nge^
 802 N: it=s funny cause like you dream about things and then
 803 through the day you think oh' yeah' ACTually [(xx) but you
 804 I: [yeah.
 805 N: forget about it [straight away and then - i can=t remember

806 I: [yeah. - yeah.
 807 N: what i dreamt last night. - no.=
 808 I: =do you usually remember them or:
 809 N: sometimes. - especially when it=s about people in my flat.
 810 -
 811 I: yeah [because you then -- yeah.
 812 N: [and (we talk/) - yeah. - you wake up and you think
 813 oh' yeah' - <<laughing> you were in the kitchen earlier but
 814 you weren=t> - but yeah i can=t uhm -- i don=t know. --
 815 it=s really hard to remember back to them - cause you
 816 re[member them for a little while and then - and the the
 817 I: [yeah.
 818 N: (xx) the only reason i remember THAT one - the one - about
 819 my essay was because i told it to someone else and so -
 820 [you make it into - like - make it more reality don=t you.
 821 I: [(oh cool) - yeah.
 822 N: - so: -- uh:m -- i can=t remember any others <<laughs>>
 823 I: (that=s very good.) that=s very cool. - thank you
 (...)

D27 [S]

(...)

824 S: do you need me to think about what my last dream was
 825 I: that would be really cool?
 826 S: okay i gott=a THINK - and try not make it a MORbid one. -
 827 <hhh> <3sec>
 828 I: it - doesn=t matter what it=s about' or anything <3sec> if
 829 it doesn=t make YOU feel WELL' - thinking about then <3sec>
 830 don=t
 831 S: uhm - hm - are you recording^ already
 832 I: ja
 833 S: oh - god. <<laughs>> !UH::! i gott=a (f/) freeze - in
 834 front of a camera [<<laughs>> -- uhm
 835 I: [<<laughs>> i could put it further
 836 away^ - [(if that=s) - i hope this is (w=)working
 837 S: [<<laughs>>
 838 I: (xxxxxx) wind --
 839 S: okay last - dream - i had <3sec> <hh> <5sec> [uh:::
 840 I: [i can tell
 841 you afterwards what exactly i=m gonna do with it. - i can=t
 842 tell you beforehand - [so:
 843 S: [okay. - okay. - no that=s
 844 okay <8sec> uhm:: <12sec> i (xxx) can=t think of any good/
 845 any/ no/ - i don=t wann=a say any good dreams (xx) about me
 846 (as) being selective - a/ any - a/=any dream anyone i can
 847 remember - okay? - cause i don=t tend to HAVE them. - i
 848 really don=t. - if i HAVE them it means i=m sleeping badly.
 849 - and i been sleeping quite well recently. - NO. - except
 850 when i got woken up (by that) mouse.
 851 I: <<laughs>>
 852 S: and -- last - in the last couple of nights i didn=t sleep
 853 well that=s because i had to/ drunk a bit and - didn=t
 854 sleep well when i drink but - [but
 855 I: [you should eat more cheese
 856 S: hah?
 857 I: you should eat more cheese'

858 S: eat cheese? - does that work?
 859 I: <<laughing> I don=t [know.]
 860 S: uh=okay.
 861 I: <NAME J> [told me.
 862 S: [doesn=t doesn=t that attract mice?
 863 I: - uh::
 864 S: <<lau[ghs]>>
 865 I: [perhaps^ as well, yeah?]
 866 S: <<laughing> i don=t want [that?>
 867 I: [(then it=s) - if you eat strong
 868 cheese' - before you go to sleep' - uhm it takes - the body
 869 so much more EFFort to diGEST' that you can=t sleep very -
 870 deeply?
 871 S: alright.
 872 I: so: - you tend to have more dreams if you eat strong
 873 cheese. - supposedly. i=m no/ - i don=t - quite believe it
 874 but -
 875 S: i=m not (xxxxx) of dreams. - i don=t know^ i don=t really
 876 want dreams. - i used to have lots of them as a kid' -- but
 877 i don=t have them anymore at all=i THINK it=s because - uh:
 878 my mind needs to REST when i=m doing MATHS - you do/ - if
 879 you do a hard days work of MATHS then you need you need a
 880 good night sleep <<fast> (and you just go to bed just)> go
 881 ZONK
 882 I: but isn=t that what dreams are about? (those) -
 883 S: huh?
 884 I: (xxxx) as well?
 885 S: yeah [tru/ [they don=t know what -
 886 I: [(xx) - yeah well no it=s [(xxxxxxxxxxxxx)
 887 S: the/ they don=t really know what dreams are about DO they.
 888 I: (working) -
 889 S: i heard [the - i heard the - the most important part was
 890 I: [I don=t know eather
 891 S: the DEEP sleep where you don=t dream. - that (was) the
 892 most important part of sleep. - that=s what [i - that=s
 893 I: [i think you
 894 [only - dream when it=s -- [yeah.
 895 S: [what i heard (when) waking hours [(xxxxxxxxx)
 896 <13sec> yeah well Okay this is the ONLY dream i can think
 897 of it=s not much fun? - it was - we had a CEilidh party to
 898 celebrate my NAN=s funeral. - this was before she actually
 899 died^ -- i just KNEW - somehow, i knew, she was gonna die
 900 and i had this (xx) dream - i must <<fast> it must have
 901 been> my mum telling me she=s gonna die, very soon, - and -
 902 it was a ceilidh -- i don=t know why it was a ceilidh'
 903 cause i don=t GO to ceilidhs. - and (HE) was there and -
 904 my other fams and my family were there but there were some
 905 strange people there as well. - there were some
 906 celebreties. - WHAT celebreties were there? <4sec> god i
 907 can=t remember. - there was definitely some funny people
 908 there <5sec> no i can=t remember. - oh sorry i=m being
 909 useless.
 910 I: NO^ <5sec> did anything happen^ or - just <5sec>
 911 S: uh:m <6sec> no: i don=t think so. - not a lot happened. -
 912 i r:eally can=t remember -- no i really can=t remember what
 913 happened.
 (...)

D28 [S]

(...)

914 I: okay.
915 S: - okay. do you want me to tell you about my dream.
916 I: yeah.
917 S: - okay. - i had a dream. <<laughs>> right. - uh - so there
918 i was? - uhm - at what - i think i best (xxx) describe as -
919 <NAME OF UNIVERSITY>s: maths department except it wasn=t. -
920 that=s the funny thing right - so - it was it=s this long
921 great big HALL type shape a bit like yeah a a hall like
922 when you walk in the main door and you get a hallway? -
923 but it=s a HUGE sort of meeting place okay? - and (now) -
924 and then it=s got a set of stairs going up and there=s this
925 sort of a LECTure room - it=s a bit like <NAME OF
926 UNIVERSITY> (xxx) it=s NOT cause it=s complete - really -
927 DIFFerent. - it=s sort of - <NAME OF UNIVERSITY> is similar
928 in that it has a big MEETing place and then the - and then
929 the STAIRS going up? - but it was DIFFerent. it wasn=t (so)
930 laid down in the same way^ it was laid down DIFFerently. so
931 it was somehow the same but DIFFerent. - and there i was in
932 this - hallway and i must have been going to the le/ i
933 wasn=t REALLY going to the lecture i had this feeling that
934 i was a - uhm sort of - somebody else who shouldn=t have
935 really BEEN there. (xx) WAS there. - and then i suddenly
936 realized' - that i=d let my BAG - or jacket or something -
937 in the LECTure room. - oh my god' - left in there so i ran
938 up (xxx) i ran up the stairs - up to up to get in the
939 lecture room (xxx) into the back of the lecture hall. - and
940 uh i knocked on the door and it was LOCKED. - what=s going
941 on. - and then there was a kind of computer screen type of
942 thing right? - and uhm -- and the LECTurer came on the
943 other SIDE of the computer screen - and the/ and i started
944 to talk to the lecturer and i had to convince the lecturer
945 that (xxx) to let me in - uhm - i think maybe i needed a
946 PASSWORD there was some kind of system (it was) it was all'
947 - it wasn=t rea/' - i said computer screen' it wasn=t
948 really a computer screen' it was more like a sort of s:
949 sixties space ship. with lots of flashing lights and things
950 like this. - and uhm -- but i failed. -- yeah i don=t know
951 why i failed but he didn=t let me in. -- and i ran off and
952 i was in a big (mood) and uhm - i was very worried that i
953 didn=t find my jacket. - and then i went into some o/ some
954 other rooms=oh=and there were archaic games. that was -
955 there was OH yeah that was it - it was this it was an
956 archaic game where you -- where you uhm - you stood on it.
957 - it was like a big screen like uhm - like a (xxpad) - like
958 a touch screen' but instead of being THAT way it was
959 HUMONGous. - and you stood on it. - and you played a
960 football game. - where you stood on it. and kicked the
961 football. - and there was some kid playing it. and i said -
962 i was thinking ah: you=re rubbish i could do better than
963 that - but i didn=t play it' - i ran off' - (some more) -
964 uhm - what happened next oh <5sec> i think i woke up very
965 soon afterwards. -- there must have been some MORE to it.
966 there were a few more rooms (xxxx) a bit scary. - it was a
967 bit of a NIGHTmare - at one point: -- uh:m <3sec> i can=t

968 remember why was it a nightmare it was definitely a bit
 969 scary. - <<telephone rings>>

 970 <<telephone conversation>>

 971 I: okay sorry.
 972 S: uhm: <4sec> i don=t know what else there is to add' i
 973 really can=t remember much more than that <10sec> yeah --
 974 i really can=t remember how it finished. -- i don=t think
 975 it DID finish i think i woke UP -- there was SOMEbody else
 976 there' - i was WITH somebody but i can=t really remember
 977 who it was' - it was probably something really - loosely
 978 connected - i think it was something loosely connected with
 979 <NAME OF UNIVERSITY> again i think it might have been one
 980 of my FRIENDS there. but i - i don=t really remember
 981 specifically who it was <4sec> yeah. - i think that=s about
 982 it. - i=m afraid. <5sec>
 983 <<background music stops>>
 984 I: uh now it=s quiet.
 (...)

D29 [H]

(...)

985 H: so wha/ what?
 986 I: - uh:m a dream'
 987 H: yes! - I dreamt - martians were coming - to invade uh - so
 988 i had to go and buy ALL the bread.
 989 I: what?
 990 H: in the shops beCAUSE it was just the bread. -- they were
 991 coming for the bread' so i had to go buy all the bread^ -
 992 that was the dream i had^
 993 I: that was it?
 994 T: wha/=what [did they look like?
 995 H: [yeah but it wasn=t like - i didn=t see the
 996 martians. - but it was like - i was in my n/ my o:ld -
 997 where i grew up the area. and it wasn=t just ANY kind of
 998 bread. it had to be the specific white loaf? - which didn=t
 999 have any crusts' - that i had to go and buy - and that was
 1000 the dream?
 1001 T: but who told you i mean you didn=t see them but uh: - you
 1002 knew [they were (there)
 1003 H: [i knew they were coming. - yeah.
 1004 T: but you don=t know who told you.
 1005 H: no because i KNEW? in my dream i knew. - cause someone'
 1006 when i went to buy the bread^ - the shopkeeper asked me why
 1007 are you buying all the bread?=and i said cause the MARTians
 1008 are coming [(due' - but uhm) - so that=s my dream?
 1009 T: [<<laughs>>
 1010 uhuh^
 1011 H: cool. - thanks.
 (...)

D30 [T]

(...)

1012 T: (uh t t t) i can tell you mine. -
1013 I: okay.
1014 T: okay [i=i=m not british but - last TIME was just -
1015 I: [plea:se.
1016 you don=t have to - [speak directly into the (xxxx)
1017 T: [was ve/ - was very weird it was uh: -
1018 there was my grandmother' she was very angry with me
1019 because i was extremely scared. - because i had to - we
1020 had this dead body? -- i don=t remember with what was (the
1021 matter) - and then we had to get rid of it and she said' -
1022 oh! - cut it <<laughing> intoho small small small pieces.>
1023 - and then i don=t want <<laughing> to doho it because i
1024 didn=t want to go to jail <.h>> [<<laughs> - a:hahand>
1025 H: [okay:::
1026 T: then - she was even - more and more uh -- angry with me. --
1027 and then i woke up and i had this feeling that i had this
1028 dream already that i had this problem that i/ - i: - i was
1029 in contact with a dead body and i had to get rid of it -
1030 but i don=t remember how i managed before.
1031 H: - oh go:d.
1032 T: that=s it?
(...)

D31 [H]

(...)

1033 H: i have so: weird ones. -
1034 T: ah me [(too)
1035 I: [if you remember any' - plea:se.
1036 H: uh:::
1037 T: uh: you have another one go go.
1038 H: i d/ - i dreamt that I went to sentosa. - which is an
1039 Island in singapore - like a - fantasy fun: island people
1040 go there to swim' and all that kind of thing. - i went
1041 there with my sister^ and her friend' - to eat - roti
1042 prata' which is a great - [dish. - BUT' -- uhm - we were
1043 T: [<<laughs>>
1044 H: BY? the sea. - because obviously island sea is around - and
1045 then we tried to dissolve gold. - in the sea water. -- and
1046 the gold? - beCAME -- uh when indian women get married they
1047 wear this - t/ thread around their neck? - and it=s called
1048 a thali? - so we were ACTually trying to disSOLVE a thali -
1049 of a dead woman. - i don=t know who the dead woman was? -
1050 but we were trying to dissolve the gold. -
1051 I: (to do) what?
1052 H: don=t know: - I was just a bit annoyed because it was -
1053 keeping me away from the food -- yeah but THAT was another
1054 dream. -
1055 I: cool.
1056 H: i have weird dreams'
(...)

D32 [T]

(...)

1057 T: and me' so last <<laughing> time> when i was in france'
1058 you know i was at this meeting and i didn=t sleep much so
1059 - (and) you know when i was going to bed uh - at four every
1060 night' and i had to wake up for nine' - and then this last
1061 afternoon i was so fucked up that i wen/ - i just - lie on
1062 the bed at two <<laughing> (xx and just) fall asleep - and>
1063 then twenty minutes after - there were these guys they went
1064 to wake us up. - with the=uh girl i was sharing the:
1065 bedroom with - and then i had this VERY weird dream i was
1066 is in this huge truck -- you know in this huge truck with
1067 two coaches' - and with the open (xxx) - like that with uh
1068 i don=t know with kind of cushions everywhere' - and there
1069 was this guy' i don=t like' - i=m: taking the: - spanish
1070 classes with (xxxx GP he) is very posh <<laughing> i don=t
1071 like him> - a:nd i was in australia. - on this uh: -
1072 [<<laughs>> on this bridge and it was going like that'
1073 H: [<.h> wow
1074 T: <<makes noise> (puh)> - and we where here' there was lots
1075 of traffic. - <<laughing> and in front of us> - there was
1076 a huge truck - with the: - the:: - the flag of the united
1077 states. -- and then'=i don=t know'=he was putting his
1078 (h)arm around me'=i didn=t like it'=and then i/ - i left
1079 and (he=d) like that' - and i woke up? --
1080 H: wo:w.
(...)

D33 [K]

(...)

1081 K: is it/ - are - are we - recording now?
1082 I: yeah:..
1083 K: okay <<fast> so i=ll talk about a recent dream.> - right a
1084 recent dream would be i was in a CA:R^=it wasn=t MY car'
1085 it was my MOTHer's car' - a:nd uhm - i was going down a very
1086 STEEP hill - and uh: uh:m <3sec> i tried to put the brakes
1087 on and the brakes didn=t work -- and by then i don=t know
1088 what happened because i woke up <6sec> it=s not a very
1089 INteresting dream. -- is that enough? - do you want me to
1090 say some more?
(...)

D34 [U]

(...)

1091 U: can=t think of a recent dream. - so i tell you a dream. -
1092 that i can remember. - which was a while ago (xxxx) - i was
1093 swimming in the ocean. - as myself? - swimming along and
1094 there were some fishermen - catching fish with their nets'
1095 - and then suddenly i turned into like a - <<clicks his
1096 tongue>> (xxx) a a SEAL' and i got caught' in one of the
1097 fishermens <<laughing> nets'>
1098 K: oh <<laughing> my god>

1099 U: and it was quite traumatic because - now i was a seal' i
 1100 couldn't explain' to him that i wasn't actually a seal'
 1101 that i was a person --
 1102 K: that=s a GREAT dream.
 1103 U: <<laughs>> (xxx) i wish I hadn't told you then [<<laughs>>
 1104 V: [<<laughs>>
 1105 K: i think that is the BEST dream !E!VER.=you TURned into a
 1106 SEA:L^ - how cool is that - i feel so BORing.
 1107 V: [<<laughs>>
 1108 I: [<<laughs>>
 1109 U: [<<laughs>>
 1110 K: i=d have some/ - i will start eating lots more CHEESE
 1111 U <<laughs>>
 1112 K: and then have a lot more dreams - go:d
 (...)

D35 [K]

(...)
 1113 K: oh yeah i=m remembering (xxxxxx)
 1114 I: okay'
 1115 <3sec>
 1116 K: okay. - uh:m - <<fast> (let me)> think. right. it was in a
 1117 FOREst' - a:nd uhm - it=was very dark' - and uh - suddenly
 1118 i realized there were LOTS of WITches CHASing me' - and
 1119 uh=i was trying to run away' from them and then they kept
 1120 CATching me and then i was running away again' - and
 1121 everything was really GREEN' and then i think i FELL - and
 1122 i possibly fell right down - into a ravine or something -
 1123 and it was quite and i was fairly scared when i woke up' -
 1124 in the middle of the night? - feeling scared and that was
 1125 it. - can't remember the rest of it now. shit. - oh i just
 1126 SWORE - (xx new) thing. am i allowed to - say shit' -
 1127 I: why NOT? --
 1128 K: wasn't a very interesting dream.
 1129 I: <<laughs>> thank you. <<laughs>>
 (...)

D36 [D]

(...)
 1130 D: there was' -- there=s there=s ONE that i always remember
 1131 because it was so fucking weird? - but i can't remember if
 1132 it was the same i told you LAST time --
 1133 X: go on?
 1134 D: about the everlasting trousers. <<laughs>>
 1135 V: <<laughs>>
 1136 X: it sounds good? to me.
 1137 V: <<laughs>>
 1138 D: <<twiddling with the microphone> uh i broke it> <<laughs>>
 1139 <4sec>
 1140 I: ah don't worry
 1141 X: it does certainly sound good'
 1142 <4sec>
 1143 I: wait' -

1144 V: <<laughs>>
 1145 D: is it recording now?
 1146 V: [yeah.
 1147 I: [yeah it is [(xxx)
 1148 D: [alright' (it is) the whole time' - uh:m -
 1149 yeah basically i was - on my way to school? - (s) in my
 1150 dream' - obviously' - uhm <<laughs>> cause i - i dreamt all
 1151 the time on the way to school' - uh: a:nd uh:: -- i was
 1152 trying to get DRESSED to go to school obviously' - <<fast>
 1153 cause that=s what you do when you get up?> - a::nd - uh::
 1154 <3sec> [(ri=i guess')=of course' <NAME X> (xx) - <<laughs>>
 1155 V: [<<laughs>> (xxxxxxx)
 1156 X: so: - what school was this.
 1157 D: and the:n -- my: schoo:l? - <NAME OF SCHOOL>'
 1158 X: oh <NAME OF SCHOOL>
 1159 D: -- a:nd i was trying to get dressed' and i was putting on
 1160 my troosers? -- or my brakes <<laughs>> - a:nd - i just
 1161 couldn=t ever get them on? because they were inte/ -
 1162 infinite length? -- and that was about it?
 1163 X: <<laughs>> <<laughing> (that's xxxx) crap man'> [<<laughs>>
 1164 we were expecting something more elaborate man?
 1165 I: [<<laughs>>
 1166 X: - come on? -- how is <NAME I> gonna work on that=eh?
 1167 D: [<<laughs loudly>>
 1168 I: [<<laughs>>
 1169 V: so go ON' -
 1170 X: you know'
 1171 I: no it=s perfect.
 1172 X: she=s gonna go to Uni and - you know' - the=ll be like --
 1173 SO? <<laughs>>
 (...)

9.3.2. Recordings in German

D37 [P]

(...)

1174 P: a:hm und zwa:r? -- also (xx) angefangen hat=s ich bin
1175 eingeschlafen? und dann - hat=s angefangen ich bin gegangen
1176 in die u drei' - hinunter' - geh in die station' und das
1177 ist nicht weiß wie immer sondern eher so bläulich so wie im
1178 apollo' - und auf einma/ und es is ein kino' - eh eher
1179 komisch' - und dort hab ich dann -- mir irgendeinen film
1180 angeschaut' ich glaub - keine ahnung irgendeinem meiner
1181 freunde nix bestimmter' -- und dann bin ich da rausgegangen
1182 aus der vorstellung' u:nd - dann hab ich mit so einer ur d
1183 - <<lacht>> ur dicken geschminkten <<lachend> frau> geredet
1184 die war ja so ur hässlich geschminkt und ein rotes
1185 abendkleid aber - wäh! - dann bin ich rausgegangen aus
1186 dieser <<lachend> u bahn> station' - komm auf die straße
1187 ist auf einmal winter' -- ja is blöd dann hab ich da die
1188 <NAME 8> getroffen' mit der war ich dann schlittenfahren'
1189 also ich hab sie auf den schlitten gesetzt' ich hab mir auf
1190 auf einmal ei/ eislaufschuhe angezogen' - und dann hab ich
1191 sie so angeschoben' - <<lacht>> und ich schieb sie so' -
1192 da: - wahrscheinlich war das dann eis es war auf einmal
1193 keine stadt mehr so wie vorher sondern es war dann so eine
1194 - winterlandschaft' - und - dann schieb ich sie' - mit
1195 meinen eislaufschuhen über=s eis und vor mir is auf einmal
1196 so ein riesiger schneeberg ich kann nicht mehr abbremsen'
1197 <<lachend> wir fahren voll rein in schneeberg und sie
1198 fliegt vom schlitten> <<lacht>> <<lachend> in diesen FETten
1199 schneeberg hinein'> und - ja das war dann traurig weil dann
1200 hab ich sie überhaupt nicht mehr gefunden. - <<lachend>
1201 dann hab ich gesucht wie ein verrückter' - hab sie nicht
1202 mehr gefunden'> <.h> und dann hat mich meine mutter
1203 aufgeweckt weil - ich weiß nicht es is eh a bissl wenig für
1204 eine so eine lange nacht' - aber ja. - oi oag. - der war
1205 letzte woche. - ja das war mein traum.

(...)

D38 [M]

(...)

1206 M: okay. also ein ein traum aus meiner kindheit.
1207 I: mhm.
1208 M: ein traum aus meiner kindheit war' - zu fliegen. - es war
1209 ein fliegend(er) traum und zwar war das so eine kulisse
1210 ungefähr wie bei - baywatch obwohl=s baywatch da sicher
1211 noch nicht gegeben hat' also es war ein strand' und es war
1212 irgendwie so ein ein turm' <.h> aus holz und ich bin auf
1213 diesem turm aus holz gestanden' und es war ein sandstrand'
1214 <.h> und ich flieg über das meer' - und ich merke wenn ich
1215 meinen körper irgendwie - anders beWEge und verLAGere
1216 gelingt es mir zu STEigen - oder zu SINKen aber ich glaub
1217 es war kein SCHÖner traum weil - ich hatte einen verfolgter
1218 hinter mir. - und das ende von dem traum war' - dass ich

1219 plötzlich mitten in der luft stecken bleibe. - das heißt
1220 ich kann mich plötzlich nicht mehr bewegen. das war ist oft
1221 bei mir bei bei träumen so früher gewesen diese
1222 bewegungslosigkeit als zeichen von angst. und das war halt
1223 mitten im fliegen. <.h> und ja' und dann bin ich aufgewacht
1224 also ich hab nicht mehr - erlebt' dass mich der feind' -
1225 wer immer es war erwischt.
(...)

D39 [Z]

(...)
1226 Z: ich erzähl dir jetzt meinen traum' - das war das war das
1227 ist der erste traum an den ich mich erinnern kann' - den
1228 hab ich geträumt wie ich vier jahre alt war' - und wegen
1229 dem traum hab ich - circa zehn jahre lang nur mit licht
1230 schlafen können obwohl=s eigentlich völlig unlogisch is.
1231 aber' - ich hab so angst g=habt nämlich bei dem traum. -
1232 okay. - also wir ham früher bei uns' ich weiß nicht also
1233 bei uns im wohnzimmer das (eck) kennst du eh da' - da ham
1234 wir da nur eine wand noch ghabt und da war ein zweites
1235 zimmer und in dem zimmer waren so so drei - sofas? oder so'
1236 so ganz alte' - u:nd - wir sind da immer so herumgesprungen
1237 also ich mit meinem bruder und meiner cousine und haben
1238 halt piraten gespielt und was weiß ich und da simma von
1239 einem sofa zum anderen gehupft. - und im traum ham wir das
1240 halt auch gemacht' sin wir so herumgesprungen' - und - mein
1241 bruder hat so einen plastiksäbel gehabt' zum kämpfen' und
1242 meine cousine hat irgendwas anderes gehabt und ich hab eine
1243 pistole äh - ich hab eine taschenlampe gehabt. - und wir
1244 sind also so herumgehupft und haben halt - ja rääh! ham
1245 piraten gespielt' - und dann -- genau. mein bruder hat grad
1246 mit meiner cousine gekämpft' und ich war auf irgendeinem
1247 sofa auf so einem kleinen fouteil weiter weg' <.h> und dann
1248 wollt ich halt meine meine taschenlampfe verwenden' - und
1249 hab sie aufgedreht' - und hab und das war so eine - das is
1250 so eine so eine - so eine silberne taschenlampe mit so
1251 einem roten kopf oben also die so so schmal is' und dann
1252 wird sie so breiter <.h> und ich hab rei/ also so aus
1253 metall und ich hab reingeschaut? - <<lauter, schneller> und
1254 wie ich sie aufgedreht hab> is ein tiger rausgekommen also
1255 ich hab nur so den kopf gesehen wie er so <<faucht>> auf
1256 mich zukommt. und dann bin ich aufgewacht. - und ich hab UR
1257 angst gehabt und ich weiß das is völlig unlogisch dass ich
1258 nachher dann das licht immer gebraucht hab aber ich hab -
1259 ich hab mich so <<lachend> angeschissen'> - ja. ist der
1260 tiger aus der taschenlampe gekommen.
(...)

D40 [Y]

(...)
1261 Y: okay. - a:hm ich war in der schU:le' - und wir ham mim
1262 <NAME 9> wirbelsäulengymnastik training gemacht' -
1263 <<lachend> und zwar am GANG'> - und - den kennst du eh den

1264 traum. <<räuspert sich>> wir ham am gang
 1265 wirbelsäulentraining gemacht' - u:nd sind dann - aja auf
 1266 eine exkursion nach schönbrunn gefahren - aber <<lachend>
 1267 weil meine wirbelsäule so scheiße war durfte ich nicht
 1268 mitfahren-> <.h> und deswegen bin ich in die straßenbahn
 1269 eingestiegen' und zwar weiß ich genau dass es der
 1270 achtundfünfziger war' - und bin mit=m achtundfünfziger
 1271 herumgefahren' - und bin - an schönbrunn vorbeigefahren ich
 1272 hab alle leute gesehen wie sie halt ur spaß haben und war
 1273 ur wütend' - und bin nach hause gefahren und der
 1274 achtundfünfziger ist <<lachend> an unserem haus>
 1275 vorbeigegangen' - und da war das fenster offen' - das ha/
 1276 hab ich dir hundertmal erzählt und dann hat - die <NAME 10>
 1277 rausgewunken' - also <NAME 10>' - die damalige beste
 1278 freundin von der <NAME 11>' - die <NAME 12>' - deine beste
 1279 freu/ nein die <NAME 13>/' ich weiß gar nicht obs die <NAME
 1280 12> oder die <NAME 13> war' - und der <NAME 14>. <<lacht>>
 1281 <<lachend> ich weiß nicht.> und dann <3sec> bin ich und
 1282 dann habt=s ihr irgendeine party für mich gemacht oder so
 1283 weil ich - so traurig war. -- weiter weiß ich nicht. - dann
 1284 wars aus.

(...)

D41 [E]

(...)

1285 E: na gut also dann den kamikazetraum nochamal. - also das
 1286 war' - am -- <h> am -- also ich war in wien' - ich war
 1287 irgendwie ich kanns so/ vielleicht sogar jetzt noch a bissl
 1288 präzisieren irgendwie' ich war - an orten - die ich
 1289 irgendwie - von der gegend her recht gut gekannt hab
 1290 irgendwie' - also sei=s innenstadt oder also es war
 1291 eigentlich immer nur so innerhalb vom gürtel kann ich mich
 1292 irgendwie d=ran erinnern warum weiß ich nicht keine ahnung
 1293 <.hh> und vor allem irgendwie so u:m den ring herum
 1294 irgendwie' <.h> u:nd der traum war irgendwie und das is
 1295 wahrscheinlich - eben wie eben vorher auch grad schon
 1296 erwähnt irgendwie durch den <.h> durch den elften september
 1297 wahrscheinlich irgendwie entstanden oder einfach das -
 1298 trauma dass dass - wien irgendwie sowas wie <<schnell>
 1299 keine ahnung> - dass wien angegriffen wird irgendwie' <.h>
 1300 und dass dass lauter kleine flugzeuge i:n in irgendwelche
 1301 häuser reinkrachen irgendwie. - gezielt irgendwie. - u:nd -
 1302 - weiß ich nicht. - und ich und - ich immer genau gewusst
 1303 hab oder das leicht abzuschätzen war wo die flugzeuge
 1304 hineinkrachen werden irgendwie und ich immer <.hh> zeit
 1305 gehabt hab davon wegzulaufen irgendwie. -- ja. -- kurz am
 1306 punkt gebracht (von vorher).

(...)

D42 [O]

(...)

1307 O: ja es wird der panzerknackertraum is ja wurscht. - den werd
 1308 ich [nie vergessen. <<lacht kurz>> - aber nicht' es
 1309 I: [<<lachend> ohokay>

1310 O: soll nicht lustig sein das is mein voller ernst.
 1311 I: okay ich bin -
 1312 O: also: am soll ich a so a bissl biographische hinweise geben
 1313 wann das war oder ist das wurscht?
 1314 I: das ist egal.
 1315 O: also gut wurscht. das wird man eh gleich <<lachend>
 1316 merken.> - also -- ich kann mich erinnern da da m:: -- ging
 1317 ich mit meiner mutter einkaufen auf die mariahilferstraße'
 1318 - u::n:d - ä:hm dann sind wir irgendwie in ein geschäft
 1319 reingegangen' - und ich wollt irgendwie noch was in der
 1320 a:uslage anschauen oder so' - und ich bin in=s geschäft
 1321 reingegangen und meine mutter war nicht da auf einmal -
 1322 a:hm ich hab sie überall im geschäft gesucht? und - ich war
 1323 halt relativ klein noch und allein wär ich nicht nach haus
 1324 gekommen und so' <.h> u:nd und ich hab mir dacht oh gott wo
 1325 is meine MUTter hin, ja? - u:nd a:h - na gut dann bin ich
 1326 irgendwie rausgelaufen aus dem gschäft' irgendwie die
 1327 mariahilferstraße ab' - und auf? irgendwie a paar mal' kann
 1328 mich nicht mehr genau erinnern war relativ verzweifelt? -
 1329 und schweißgebadet hab mir dacht na gut' - wir sin mim auto
 1330 gekommen? - also ich weiß wo das auto steht ich werd zum
 1331 auto gehn. - mal schaun ob sie dort is vielleicht. <.hh>
 1332 und ich glaub das war eh irgendwo in der gegend hier' <.h>
 1333 hab ich dann das auto gsucht habs gfunden? - und hab
 1334 gewartet, ja? - u:nd meine mutter is nicht daherkommen nicht
 1335 gekommen' und dann nach einiger zeit hab ich - ei:n BRIEF
 1336 in der windschutzscheibe gfunden? - den ich aber als erstes
 1337 irgendwie nicht gsehn hab? - u:nd da is irgendwie g=standen
 1338 so in ausgschnittenen buchstaben? <.h> a:h - ja wir haben
 1339 deine mutter? die panzerknacker. - und ich war total
 1340 schockiert. <<flüstert> das gibts ja nicht die
 1341 panzerknacker. verDAMMT diese> - und ich war total (pani//)
 1342 und ich soll' um eine gewisse uhrzeit irgendwo sein. - und
 1343 irgendwie ich weiß nicht mehr GANZ genau aber dann war ich
 1344 halt dort das war irgendwie so eine tiefgarage. - eine
 1345 tiefgarage' <.h> u:nd ah - da wars halt relativ dunkel und
 1346 es war NIEmand dort ah - und und und - ja jetzt kann man
 1347 sich das so wie roger rabbit vorstellen also da waren echt
 1348 die panzerknacker dann dort, ja? - sind so im kreis um
 1349 meine mutter herumgesessen haben karten gespielt' zigarren
 1350 geraucht' und hatten ganz schwere handfeuerwaffen in der
 1351 hand, ja? <.h> u:nd dann waren aber irgendwie noch andere
 1352 männer die ich irgendwie nicht mehr genau - in erinnerung
 1353 hab' aber das waren halt also keine cartoons' - in dem
 1354 sinne für mich warens ja auch die panzerknacker auch keine
 1355 cartoons damals' <.hh> u:nd ja und und das nächste was ich
 1356 weiß dass auf einmal total irgendwie hektisch war (überall
 1357 in der) tiefgarage und auf einmal sind die leut rumgelaufen
 1358 und auf einmal <.h> ham die panzerknacker irgendwie die
 1359 nerven verloren und haben auf einmal auf alle leut
 1360 geschossen ja? <.h> und das is und die leut sind so rund
 1361 herum mich um mich g=storben irgendwie umgefallen' und ich
 1362 hab mich irgendwie versucht da ich so klein war irgendwo zu
 1363 verstecken' <.hh> und hab nur geschaut wo meine mutter ist
 1364 auf einmal, ja? <<schluckt>> u:nd <.h> a:h und auf einmal
 1365 is irgendwie mein vater aufgetaucht? und der wollt sie dann
 1366 irgendwie retten oder so total kitschig auch? - u:nd naja

1367 lange rede kurzer sinn' irgendwie so nachdem dieses
1368 handgemenge vorbei war' und diese schüsse aufghört ham'
1369 <.h> war irgend/ war=s wieder ganz leer irgendwie' - alle
1370 waren weg auch keine leichen oder irgendwer war da
1371 auch die panzerknacker' <.h> nur' - mein meine meine mutter
1372 und mein vater sind irgendwie tot irgendwie rumlegen und
1373 und das war und - aber ich kann mich jetzt nicht so an
1374 details erinnern ich weiß nur das war - und ich war auf
1375 einmal weg wieder von denen? - also ich habs jetzt nicht so
1376 irgendwie mich hingsetzt oder so sondern war weg? - ich hab
1377 nur gwusst meine eltern (xx) die panzerknacker haben meine
1378 eltern daschossen. - u:nd da bin ich irgendwie so durch die
1379 straßen a bissl gelaufen und hab mir dacht was mach ich
1380 jetzt was - was soll ich=n JETZ bitte noch machen, ja? -
1381 u:nd - naja und dann bin ich dann irgendwann aufgewacht
1382 schweißgebadet und hab halt e:wig lang nicht gwusst ob=s
1383 wahr ist oder nicht, ja? - dann weil meine mutter war grad
1384 nicht da' und niemand war da' <.h> und ich bin rausgelaufen
1385 und es war niemand in der wohnung hab ma dacht naja' -
1386 <<schnalzt>> <<mit verstellter stimme> hab ich wohl recht
1387 gehabt ne?>
(...)

D43 [R]

(...)

1388 R: ich erzähl dir meinen liebblingstraum den ich als kleines
1389 kind immer ghabt hab.
1390 I: okay.
1391 R: da: - das is eigentlich ein albtraum' - aber es war
1392 trotzdem mein liebblingstraum weil - ich den irgendwie so
1393 schön gfunden hab' <.hh> da geht=s: -- also je/ das is kein
1394 langer traum oder so das is einfach nur so also es is so
1395 eine wei:te ebene? - im prinzip wie man das aus so westerns
1396 oder so kennt' - u:nd - also so:: ä:h ziemlich öde
1397 landschaft? - u:nd - im prinzip - wenn ma dann - vom bild
1398 her so einen weiten winkel sehen würde' - würde man sehen
1399 dass es eigentlich eine klippe is. also dass es so wie in
1400 so einem zeichentrickfilm da is so eine klippe' und dann
1401 gehts halt da so weiter diese diese - öde - landschaft ohne
1402 viel gestrüpp und ohne - ohne viel pflanzen. <.hh> u:nd der
1403 traum is einfach nur <<lachend> so=<h> dass ich als kleines
1404 maxerl'> <.h> a:hm so vor mich her renn' und von: - einer
1405 horde von wikingern verfolgt werde. - also die sitzen so
1406 auf ihren pferden' - und: - ä:h verfolgen mich alle' - und
1407 ich - ur narrisch renn halt vor ihnen her' - u:nd - bis wir
1408 halt zu dieser klippe kommen' und dann hupf ich diese
1409 klippe runter. - und ich weiß zum beispiel auch nicht genau
1410 ob unten wasser ist oder ob unten: - stein is oder was
1411 unten is das weiß ich nicht genau' <.h> ich weiß nur dass -
1412 ich da halt runterspring und immer kurz bevor ich
1413 aufgekommen bin bin ich aufgewacht und ich hab gwusst dass
1414 ich - am leben bin und dass es nur ein traum war und drum
1415 hab ich den traum so gern geträumt weil er halt ur schön
1416 war' - wei:l ich gwusst hab es is ur spannend' - und es is:
1417 - ja' ur die faszination irgendwie ich weiß - ich bin
1418 irgendwie so ein kleines maxerl das verfolgt wird aber ich

1419 gewinn am schluss weil ich aufwach und weil alle anderen
1420 nur - schein waren.
 (...)

D44 [G]

 (...)
1421 G: a:lso' - ich hab vor ich glaub - zwei jahren' unmittelbar
1422 nach unserem ausflug' - mit der <NAME> gruppe - wir waren
1423 zu siemt in tschechien und slovakei? - ahm geträumt' - dass
1424 wir - durch die schweiz fahren' - zu dritt oder zu viert
1425 mit dem auto und dann - stravanzen wir durch den wald' -
1426 und suchen eine herberge GANZ verzweifelt. - denn wir haben
1427 uns damals in tschechien und slovakei IMMER eine herberge
1428 suchen müssen jeden na/ - abend. - und wir sch/ gehen durch
1429 den wald und finden keine herberge und finden keine und
1430 <.h> es ist (sch/) furchtbar' - schließlich kommen wir dann
1431 zu einer hütte im wald' - da sind lauter stockbetten die
1432 man per stock zahlen muss. - und -- ich frag den <NAME 15>'
1433 - du wieviel kostet denn diese herberge? - und <NAME 15>
1434 sagt zu mir' - gar nichts <NAME G> gar nichts wir sind
1435 umsonst? hier. - ich mein sarkastisch zu ihm' - nein das -
1436 unmöglich das gibts nicht d:u verarscht mich das JEde
1437 herberge muss etwas kosten. -- und das witzige an dem traum
1438 war nachher dass mir <NAME 15> dann erZÄHLT hat dass ich
1439 mit IHM gesprochen hab während des schlafes <.h> ich hab
1440 ihn selbst gefragt' - als er bei der tür reingekommen ist'
1441 - <<verzweifelt> <NAME 15> du was kostet diese herberge
1442 jetzt schon wieder?>
 (...)

CURRICULUM VITAE _ CONSTANZE HAUSER

Persönliche Daten

Name: Constanze Hauser

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Ausbildung:

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09/2003 -06/2004: **Studienjahr, Anglistik und Sprachwissenschaft**
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seit 10/1999: **Studium der Anglistik und Sprachwissenschaft**
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1991-06/1999: Besuch der **AHS BG XIII Fichtnergasse**, 1130 Wien
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Berufliche Tätigkeiten:

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01/2008 – 04/2008: **ORF – Österreichischer Rundfunk**
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08/2004 – 03/2007: **Contra Dolorem**, Arbeitsgemeinschaft zur Schmerzbekämpfung
Assistenz bei Messeauftritten

03/2001 – 09/2006: *Projektassistenz u.a. für Projekte der ORF Enterprise*
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2001-2003: *Transkriptionsarbeiten u.a. für das Institut für Sprachwissenschaft Wien*
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1999-2002: *diverse Promotionstätigkeiten*

1998-2000: *Nachhilfe in Mathematik und Englisch*

European Youth Parliament, EYP:

10/1997, 07/1998: **Teilnahme** an den internationalen Sitzungen des EYP in
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