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By the Way, do Dictionaries Deal with Online Communication? On the Use of Meta-Communicative Connectors in CMC Communication and their Representation in Lexicographic Resources for German

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Abstract

Nowadays, people write more than ever and online writing (CMC) is a driving force in this development. A large part of everyday writing is embedded in written dialogues. This leads to a series of specific writing conventions having developed in recent years. CMC communication becomes also relevant in literacy teaching and its didactics, in particular at school. Two relevant questions arise: How can teachers evaluate the quality of digital communication? Which language resources can teachers but also students rely on in case of doubts?

One of the main functions of lexicography is to record actual language use. In its evolution, lexicography is increasingly considering oral language next to written language use. In our paper, we investigate the question whether and how interaction-oriented online writing is represented in dictionaries for German. Our analysis focuses on two meta-communicative connectors.

Keywords: CMC Communication, Connectors, General Dictionaries, Specialized Dictionaries

1 Introduction and Research Question

Online writing (CMC) is steadily increasing¹. Some specific writing conventions are developing. CMC communication plays a growing role in educational contexts, too. It is even used in high-stakes tests, such as school leaving examinations². Therefore, the question arises which language resources teachers but also students can rely on in case of doubts.

Mapping actual language use is one of the main functions of lexicography. Lexicography is evolving and increasingly considers oral language next to written language use (cf. Davies, 2017). Traditionally, lexicography has always been oriented towards the written, formal standard. Today, oral standard variants are becoming more and more important for lexicographic codification (cf. Davies, 2017), but not only, also grammatical codification is affected by the same trend (Fiehler, 2015). This development can be seen in the enhanced usage oriented and corpus based approach in lexicography and grammaticography. In addition, the emergence of an everyday standard language, including also oral language, may equally play a role (cf. Eichinger, 2005). There is, however, no research particularly focusing in the representation of CMC communication in (German) lexicography (cf. Abel & Glaznieks, 2020a). In our paper, we investigate the question whether and how interaction-oriented online writing (Storrer, 2013) is represented in selected dictionaries.

2 Data and Method

The investigation started with a larger study³ on the use of German connectors in traditional vs. online writing (cf. Abel & Glaznieks, 2020b). In the study, selected connectors (relying on Breindl et al. 2014) where analyzed comparing different corpora. To ensure the comparability of our data we built subcorpora of about the same size (cf. table 1).

	corpus	tokens
corpora of interaction-oriented online writing	Wikipedia article discussions	376,478
	Wikipedia user discussions	377,373
	Facebook	373,383
corpora of text-oriented writing	newspaper texts	376,378
	student texts	376,184

Table 1: Corpus data overview

In this paper we will address the research question in form of a case study, focusing on two meta-communicative connectors, *übrigens (by the way)* and *das heißt (that is to say, i.e.)*, considering the Facebook corpus only. This corpus is

² see e.g. <u>https://www.srdp.at/</u> (03.07.2020)

³ Project "MIT.Qualität", see <u>https://mitqualitaet.com/</u> (03.07.2020)

¹ see <u>https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/475072/umfrage/taegliche-nutzungdauer-von-sozialen-medien/</u>(03.07.2020)

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the *DIDI*-corpus⁴⁵ that includes Facebook wall posts, comments on wall posts and private messages. The texts represent the communication of different persons in the year 2013 (cf. Frey, Glaznieks, & Stemle, 2016).

We checked the usages of the connectors and their descriptions in two online general German dictionaries: the *DUDEN Online* (Duden Online, n.d.) and the *DWDS* (Digital Dictionary of the German Language, DWDS, n.d.). In addition, we consulted the specialized dictionaries of German particles by Métrich et al. (2009) and Helbig (1994).⁶

3 Some Results

This section reports some results of the study. In the first subsection, we introduce the main functions of the selected connectors as described in Breindl et al. (2014), then we present the different usages found in our Facebook corpus *DiDi* (for a more detailed description of the usages see Abel & Glaznieks, 2020a). In the second subsection, we discuss the representations of the particular usages in the dictionaries mentioned before.

3.1 Usages of Connectors in a Facebook Corpus

In the following, we will first describe the connector *übrigens* and then the connector *das heißt*:

Example 1: *übrigens*

Übrigens is used for discourse organization. Usually it refers to side information, often given in form of a parenthesis. It is connected with an (even abrupt) change of subject. There are no restrictions with regard to the syntactic position (Breindl et al., 2014).

What is striking in the *DiDi* Facebook corpus is that *übrigens* is used relatively often – although altogether rarely – in pre-prefield position (for a definition see Pasch, Brauße, Breindl, & Waßner, 2003), especially in comparison with our newspaper and student texts⁷. In our *DiDi* corpus we detected particular usages, i.e. functions, in the pre-prefield position:

übrigens can signal a change of subject. The change of subject is less important than the distance between the connector and the action of reference. Thus, the action of reference can be located in a distant part of the interaction or even outside the specific interaction. A necessary prerequisite for mutual understanding is always the activation of shared previous knowledge. This is shown by example (1). In this case, it is hardly plausible that *übrigens* may introduce a side note and that the main topic be resumed later. Instead, *übrigens* suddenly introduces a completely new topic and implicitly includes the information that the writer is referring to shared knowledge acquired in another occasion.

(1) post (ID:56973_4864870953340):

PERSON_NAME_1, schicksch du des bitte dem PERSON_NAME_2? Er isch net mit mir befreundet ... Übrigens: hosch es Maskottchen für die Expo in STADT_NN schun gmocht?⁸

("PERSON_NAME_1, Could you please send it to PERSON_NAME_2? We are not friends ... By the way: have you already done the mascot for the Expo in CITY_NN?")

Übrigens can also signal an attempt to steer the topic of a communication back to a previous one. By doing so, the user tries to bridge a parenthesis, while the connector normally serves to insert a parenthesis in a discourse (see e.g. the definition in Breindl et al., 2014). Example (2) may illustrate this kind of usage. In this case, the dialogue concerns the particular topic of a ski lift project. Then, more people join the discussion and the topic is continued on a much more general level, focusing on questions of progress and economy. At a certain point, the initiator of the interaction remembers that the initial topic was another one and should be resumed. At the same time, the writer uses the chance to state his or her position concerning another (controversial) infrastructure project.

(2) comment (ID:54635_6766129):

Post (ID_54635):

ich bekomme sooo einen hals, wenn ich an das neue liftprojekt in ORT_1 denke. neue lifte als einzige antwort auf die tourismuskrise sind ausdruck armseliger kreativitätslosigkeit. arme natur, arme menschen.

Comments:

1 PERSON_E: KOMMENTAR_1 (wortloser Kommentar aus Iteration von Buchstaben und Interpunktionszeichen)

2 PERSON_E: KOMMENTAR_2 (Aufforderung zu einer Diskussion zum Thema)

3 ID 54635: können wir gerne liebe PERSON E 🙄

⁴ To be precise, it is a subcorpus of the *DiDi*-corpus, reduced to the size necessary for the project. For practical reasons we will call this subcorpus *DiDi*-corpus in this paper.

⁵ The *DiDi*-corpus can be accessed either by querying it through an ANNIS-interface (<u>https://commul.eurac.edu/annis/didi</u>) or by downloading it from the Eurac Research CLARIN-repository (<u>http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.12124/7</u>) (03.07.2020).

⁶ On the difficulties of classifying the part of speech (connector, particle, discourse marker, adverb) see e.g. Breindl et al. 2014

⁷ *übrigens* in pre-prefield position: newspaper corpus: 5 occurrences out of a total of 41, student corpus: 1 out of 3, Wikipedia AD corpus: 5 out of 118, Wikipedia UD corpus: 28 out of 121, Facebook corpus: 13 out of 55

⁸ Written in a dialectal variant of the German language.

4 PERSON E: KOMMENTAR 4 (Konkretisierungsvorschlag für Diskussion)

5 PERSON F: KOMMENTAR 5 (Kritik an Fortschrittsgläubigkeit und immerwährendem Wirtschaftswachstum allgemein)

6 ID 54635: viele haben noch nicht begriffen, dass die party zu ende ist, daher gilt es zumindest das zu schützen, was unsere einzige ressource für die zukunft ist.

KOMMENTAR 7 (Zurückweisung der verallgemeinernden negativen Szenarien) 7 PERSON G:

8 ID 54635: hallo PERSON G! schön von dir zu hören!! lass mich halt mal ein bisschen frust loswerden. vielleicht reagier ich so, weil es die landschaft meiner kindheit betrifft. und zum thema party: ich bin mir sicher, dass das was jetzt kommen wird, nennen wir es die zeit der kleineren brötchen, uns nicht unglücklicher machen wird. im gegenteil. und deshal schlaf ich jetzt mit einem lächeln ein :-)

9 ID 54635: Übrigens: ich bon FÜR den ORT_1 flughafen. nur, damit es nicht dogmatisch wird.

("it makes me sooo angry when I think of the new ski lift project in PLACE_1. new lifts as the only answer to the tourism crisis are a sign of lack of creativity. poor nature, poor humans.

Comments:

COMMENT_1 (a nonverbal comment consisting of an iteration of letters and punctuation marks) 1 PERSON E:

2 PERSON E: COMMENT_2 (invitation to discuss the issue)

3 ID 54635: we can do so, dear PERSON E 🙄

4 PERSON E:

COMMENT_4 (suggestion for concretizing the discussion) COMMENT_5 (criticism of the faith in progress and everlasting economic growth in general) 5 PERSON F:

6 ID 54635: many haven't understood yet that the party is over, thus, we have to protect at least what is our only resource for the future.

7 PERSON G: COMMENT 7 (rejection of the generalizing negative scenarios)

8 ID 54635: hi PERSON G! nice to hear from you!! let me just vent some frustration. maybe I react like this because it affects the landscape of my childhood. and regarding the issue of the party: I am sure that what is coming, let's call it the time of smaller things, won't make us less happy. quite the contrary. and that's the reason why I am now falling asleep with a smile :-)

9 ID 54635: By the way: I am IN FAVOUR of the PLACE 1 airport. only to avoid becoming dogmatic.")

Furthermore, *übrigens* also signals the start of a conversation in an initial post, as in oral conversations (for oral conversations cf. Duden, 2016). Example (3) shows a wall post beginning with *übrigens*, which indicates that an interaction can start without any kind of introduction.

(3) post (ID:54625 10201088400924653):

Übrigens: Die Übertragung des Urteils #Mediaset bzw. #Berlusconi wird in Italien dem Privatfernsehen überlassen #öffentlichrechtlich

("By the way: The transmission of the #Mediaset or rather #Berlusconi judgment in Italy is left to private TV #public")

Summing up, the following functions of *übrigens* are attested in our Facebook corpus:

- Signaling a change of subject with the action of reference being quite distant
- Signaling an attempt to return to a previous topic
- Signaling the start of a conversation.

Example 2: das heißt

The main function of das heißt is to provide a reformulation of the so called "external connect", i.e. of a linguistic expression that does not immediately follow the connector but is linked to it. In addition, it can be used to specify an expression (genauer gesagt - more precisely), to generalize an expression (allgemeiner gesagt - more generally) or to correct an expression (besser gesagt - or rather).

Again, we found particular functions in our Facebook corpus:

das heißt can be used to establish interactional coherence when an external reformulation is used to ensure understanding. In this case it is not the writer who reformulates his or her own expression but the interlocutor (in the sense of *i.e./so you* are telling me that ...) as in example (4). The connects of das heißt are not adjacent, i.e. SUUUPER, [...] is not the external connect as one may expect. Instead, the external connect is in the previous statement by the interlocutor (line 4). In line 5, the writer rephrases the statement. By doing so he or she tries to prove that he or she understood (cf. Deppermann & Schmidt, 2014, p. 13).

(4) message (ID:56150 1376649580660):

1 ID 56150: hoila, PERSON H!

2 ID 56150: jetzt seh i, du bist mitn handy online...macht nix, i schick dir a Einladung ;) nach Graz für Samstag, woasch eh, zum fuaßboll in Wimbldon LINK 1

3 ID 56150: jetz obo winsch i no a guate Nocht aich olle O:)

LINK 2 (Link auf einen Beitrag in einer Online-Zeitung, kommentarlos) 4 PERSON H:

SUUUPER, PERSON H.... des hoaßt, am Sonntag spilet PERSON NN sein 1. offizielles Spiel mit 5 ID 56150: DEG, mir werdn Daumen druckn :) glg \overline{ID} 56150⁹

⁹ Written in a dialectal variant of the German language.

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("1 ID_56150: hi, PERSON_H! 2 ID_56150: now I realize, you are online with your smartphone...it doesn't matter, I am sending you an invitation:) to Graz for Saturday, you know, for football in Wimbldon LINK 1

3 ID 56150: but now I wish you all a good night O:)

4 PERSON H: LINK 2 (Link to an article in an online-newspaper, without any comment)

5 ID_56150: SUUUPER, PERSON_H.... i.e./so you are telling me, on Sunday PERSON_NN will have his first official game with DEG, we will keep fingers crossed :) lol ID_56150")

Finally, we will report on another usage of *das heißt*, namely a self-initiated self-correction after a slip of the pen, that we know from conversational linguistics. In this case, however, the correction is referred to a slip of the tongue (cf. Pfeiffer, 2015). Again, we will illustrate the usage by means of an authentic example from our Facebook corpus (example 5). At first sight, *das heißt* seems to function as a correction of an expression according to Breindl/Volodina/Waßner (2014). However, the sense mentioned there (i.e. "or rather") does not match the context. Instead, in our example the writer corrects a slip of the pen.

(5) message (ID:57279 1388449371177):

1 ID_57279:Ich finde einige wie der PERSON_NN1 oder die neue PERSON_NN2 sind sehr gut und ich binindessen froh keinen Zeitdruck mehr zu haben. Es geht mir sehr gut' danke ! Ich Manns oft noch gar nicht fassen2 ID 57279:D.h Ich Manns nicht fassen

3 ID_57279: Schon wieder: och kann es nicht fassen.

("1 ID_57279: I think that some, such as PERSON_NN1 or the new PERSON_NN2, are very good, and, so, I am happy not to be under time pressure anymore. I am very well, thank you! I still man't believe it.

2 ID_57279: I.e. I man't believe it

3 ID_57279: Again: O can't believe it.")

Summarizing, we found the following particular functions of *das heißt*:

- Establishing interactional coherence when an external reformulation is used to ensure understanding
- Self-initiating a self-correction after a slip of the pen.

3.2 Representations of Online-Usages of Connectors in Dictionaries

In this part we will detail how *übrigens* and *das heißt* are described in the dictionaries selected for the study. We will keep the same order as in the previous subsection.

Example 1: übrigens

We start with the *Duden Online* dictionary. The lemma¹⁰ *übrigens* is introduced as an adverb. The meaning explanation addresses exclusively the meaning "on a side note"; no further meanings or functions are mentioned. Two lexicographic examples illustrate the usage of the lemma: *du könntest mir übrigens einen Gefallen tun* ("by the way, you could do me a favor"); *übrigens, hast du schon davon gehört*? ("by the way, have you already heard about it?"). These examples look as if they were extracts taken from oral interaction or if they would reflect oral interaction. However, the *Duden Online* shares no detailed information on the source materials used for its compilation. It is important to note that no hints on any particularities or differences neither at a diaphasic or diamesic level nor on a syntactic level are given. Furthermore, as the extracts are quite short, it is not fully clear whether *übrigens* can be paraphrased with "by the way" – i.e. whether the lemma serves to introduce some side information – or whether also other meanings, as they have been presented above, would be plausible.

The second dictionary examined is the *DWDS*¹¹. Again, the dictionary indicates "adverb" as part of speech. Also, the meaning explanation is restricted to the sense "on a side note". The lexicographic examples show the usages of the lemma in different syntactic positions, e. g. *übrigens könntest du mir einen Gefallen tun* ("by the way, you could do me a favor"); *ich habe übrigens ganz vergessen, dir zu danken* ("by the way, I quite forgot to thank you"); *habe ich dir übrigens schon gesagt, dass* ... ("by the way, have I already told you that ...?"). *übrigens (= apropos), habe ich dir schon gesagt, dass ...*? ("by the way (= *apropos*) have I already told you that ...?"). These examples seem to be taken from oral communication, too. In this case, the source of the meaning description and examples is indicated. It is the retrodigitized version of the "Wörterbuch der deutschen Gegenwartssprache" ("Dictionary of Contemporary German"), 1976 edition. It is actually not possible to state whether the information items of said lemma have undergone any (corpus based) re-elaboration since the 1970s. Just like the *Duden Online,* the *DWDS* does not provide any comments on particular usages.

Thus, we can state that the two large online dictionaries convey a central meaning of the lemma that is the focus also in Breindl et al. (ibid.). We do not get any hints as to particular functions for discourse organization. Those seeking for more detailed information have to refer to specialized dictionaries. For the German language, these are the dictionaries of German particles by Métrich et al. (2009) and Helbig (1994).

In Métrich et al. (2009) the article structure is quite complex: Next to the meaning or rather function description, the article for *übrigens* contains diatopic, diastratic and diaphasic information items as well as indications of the context of use, the syntactic position etc. A special feature in the article structure is the comparison with lemmas with similar meanings/functions. In the case of *übrigens*, this is a comparison with *im Übrigen*, elsewhere treated as synonymous: [...]

¹⁰ <u>https://www.duden.de/rechtschreibung/uebrigens</u> (03.07.2020)

¹¹ <u>https://www.dwds.de/wb/übrigens</u> (03.07.2020)

"Sag mir wenigstens, wie das Spiel ausgegangen ist.", "Welches Spiel?", "Becker gegen …", "Ach das … hab's nicht zu Ende gesehen. ~, ein Typ hat angerufen. 'n Name wie Baum. ("Tell me at least how the game finished." "Which game?" "Becker against …" "Ah … I didn't watch it to the end. ~, a guy called. Had a name like Baum") (ibid., p. 887). According to the dictionary, in this function, i.e. in the sense of "I just remembered that" or "something I wanted to add", *übrigens* cannot be replaced by *im Übrigen* (ibid.). Even though we found this usage also in our *DIDI*-corpus (see 3.1), the dictionary entry gives no indication on the possible role of the syntactic position or the distance of the action of reference.

In the *DIDI*-corpus, *übrigens* is also used to signal the start of a conversation. Interestingly, in the dictionary by Métrich et al. (2009) this use is – albeit not described explicitly – illustrated implicitly within the lexicographic examples used to illustrate the main sense of the lemma, i.e. adding some side information. In one of the examples *übrigens* is shown in pre-prefield position and seems to function as a starting signal: (*Aus einem Kindermärchen:*) Einen Tag später erzählte der Löwenbruder beim Mittagessen: "~, Herr Ulster war heute direkt menschlich. Er hat meine Hausaufgaben angesehen und mich gelobt. Und als mein Freund etwas nicht verstanden hat, hat er es ganz ausführlich noch mal erklärt". ("(from a fairy tale:) One day later, at lunch, the lion brother reported: '~, today, Mister Ulster was really human. He had a look at my homework and praised me. And when my friend didn't understand something, he explained it once again in detail.""). The dictionary, being elaborated on a corpus based approach (ibid., p. XXIII), lists both examples from written and oral language among its sources, with an explicit focus on "everyday prose" (ibid.) and oral language. However, a closer look at the bibliography reveals that the vast majority of source texts are written. Furthermore, interview data primarily stem from the 1980s and were originally produced as audio cassettes for foreign language teaching. Given the age of the data, we cannot expect that written dialogical communication was considered.

The specialized dictionary by Helbig (1994) similarly offers a detailed description of the possible functions of *übrigens* as well as a series of lexicographic examples; in this case the examples are constructed. They mainly illustrate oral language actions as the authors assume a higher frequency of particles in oral, particularly colloquial language (ibid.). This also applies to the article on *übrigens*. The fact that CMC communication does not play a role is not surprising, considering that the dictionary was written in the early 1990s. Despite the conscious decision to allow many examples to exceed the length of a single sentence and to include turn-takings (ibid.), this does not apply to *übrigens*. The example sentences reflect all the possible syntactic positions for *übrigens*. The pre-prefield position is mentioned in a specific comment which also includes examples. In this case as well, it is not perfectly clear in what way the context-free single sentence examples actually reflect those functions that are presented in the corresponding descriptions. Overall, however, it can be said that the descriptions are more detailed in comparison with the resources mentioned so far, as in the following comment: "Marks a mitigation and signals that, with regard to the main topic, the following is of minor importance, and, that the change of subject is to be understood as a digression (and justified as such), and, that a return to the previous topic or to the main topic is intended.¹²" (ibid.). Despite the comprehensive information, the range of all possible functions of *übrigens* we found in the *DiDi*-corpus is not covered.

Example 2: *das heißt*

In the *Duden Online* dictionary, *das heißt* is an independent lemma entry. There is no meaning description, only a list of synonyms (*also, beziehungsweise, nämlich, oder, respektive,* "well, or rather, namely, or, respectively"). The abbreviated form *d. h.*, a commonly used abbreviation in German, is also mentioned within the item class on orthography, next to examples illustrating the correct spelling. There is no further information. The abbreviated form *d. h.* is directly linked to the corresponding lemma entry, which contains even less information. Conversely, from the entry for *d. h.* there is no link to the lemma entry for the full form. None of the entries reference to the lemma *heißen*¹³ ("to mean"), even though the lemma for *heißen* contains information on *das heißt*. Within the sense "to correspond to an utterance or the like in another context, to a word in another language or the like; to mean, to say, to express the same"¹⁴ *das heißt* is listed among the example sentences and includes an explanatory remark: (*als Erläuterung oder Einschränkung von etwas vorher Gesagtem:*) *ich komme morgen, das heißt, nur wenn es nicht regnet; Abkürzung: d. h.* ("(as an explanation or limitation of something said before:) I will come tomorrow, i.e./to be more precise only if it is not raining"). From a user perspective a much more consistent description of *das heißt* would be desirable. Also, no indications on diasystematic particularities are mentioned anywhere.

The *DWDS* has not recorded *das heißt* as an own entry in any of its dictionary resources. There is, however, a so-called *Minimalartikel* ("minimal article") for *d. h.* as a multiword expression¹⁵. The meaning is explained simply by giving the full form *das heißt*. Again, *das heißt* is treated within the lemma *heißen* (taken over from the "Dictionary of Contemporary German" from 1969), more precisely within the sense "to have a particular sense, to mean something", graphically detached below the example sentences illustrating the sense. The particular function is presented as a grammar comment: *Grammatik: als Einleitung eines erläuternden Zusatzes oder einer Einschränkung des vorher Gesagten* ("Grammar: to introduce an explanatory addition or a limitation of what has been said before"). The following example illustrates the usage: *meine Bekannten wohnen in Berlin, das heißt in einem Vorort von Berlin* ("my acquaintances live in Berlin, i.e. in a suburb of Berlin"). The entry reports no particular usages nor the possibility of an abbreviated spelling.

Thus, both reference works do not record the occurrences and functions of das heißt we detected in our online data. As

¹² Own translation from the German original.

¹³ infinitive of *heißt*

¹⁴ Own translation from the German original.

¹⁵ <u>https://www.dwds.de/wb/d.%20h</u>. (03.07.2020).

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das heißt is not to be considered a particle, we cannot find it as a lemma neither in the dictionary on German particles by Métrich et al. (2009) nor in the one by Helbig (1994).

4 Conclusion and Outlook

To answer the research question, we can summarize the results as follows:

- Differences at a diaphasic and diamesic level are not consistently considered in the dictionaries selected for the study. None of the dictionaries mention online writing at all. Thus, particular functions of CMC communication as illustrated in this article are not represented in reference works. The DUDEN online and the DWDS exclusively present the well established functions (see Breindl et al., 2014). The two specialized dictionaries contain much more detailed descriptions (including e.g. references to oral vs. written language) and lexicographic examples. With regard to CMC communication we have to keep in mind that the two specialized dictionaries or rather, their sources originated in the 1980s and 1990s.
- Differences related to the syntactic position of the connectors are not considered in any of the dictionaries. Thus, there is no clue about e.g. the particular function that *übrigens* may have in the pre-prefield position (for an analysis of its role in the middle field of a sentence in oral conversations see Egbert, 2003).

In our study we detected particular uses of two connectors in a Facebook corpus that differ from the descriptions in well established reference works. On one hand, we can notice that standard reference works as well as specialist literature tend to consider mainly traditional monological (written) texts when presenting the functions of connectors. Such texts usually aim to answer an explicit or implicit *quaestio* (for an example see e. g. Breindl et al., 2014). This, however, seems to be less important in interaction-oriented dialogical online texts. In fact, in everyday communication often quick reactions, funny jokes and fast subject changes play a much more important role (cf. Abel & Glaznieks, 2020a; Storrer, 2013). On the other hand, discourse studies mainly focus on oral interactions and the functions of discourse markers¹⁶ (cf. Egbert, 2003; Imo, 2017), while the attempt to consider both interactional and monological written and oral language usages still seems to be rare (an exception is e.g. Imo, 2016). This should be taken into account more in future considering the changing contexts and habits in which (written) language is used. Practical lexicography could benefit from such a synergy.

Although the findings of our study have shown to be quite promising, we would need a larger data base to verify whether our findings represent individual or peculiar cases in our corpus or whether such usages have already become part of everyday language, and, thus, are worth being considered in dictionaries. More generally, large social media corpora for the German language covering different CMC genres and including relevant metadata as well as complete interactions (cf. Imo, 2017) would be a great asset not only for practical lexicography but also for research in applied linguistics.

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¹⁶ partly used synomyously with "connector" (see footnote above)

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