

The University of Sydney

Copyright in relation to this thesis*

Under the Copyright Act 1968 (several provisions of which are referred to below), this thesis must be used only under the normal conditions of scholarly fair dealing for the purposes of research, criticism or review. In particular no results or conclusions should be extracted from it, nor should it be copied or closely paraphrased in whole or in part without the written consent of the author. Proper written acknowledgement should be made for any assistance obtained from this thesis.

Under Section 35(2) of the Copyright Act 1968 the 'author of a literary, dramatic, musical or artistic work is the owner of any copyright subsisting in the work'. By virtue of Section 32(1) copyright 'subsists in an original literary, dramatic, musical or artistic work that is unpublished' and of which the author was an Australian citizen, an Australian protected person or a person resident in Australia.

The Act, by Section 36(1) provides: 'Subject to this Act, the copyright in a literary, dramatic, musical or artistic work is infringed by a person who, not being the owner of the copyright and without the licence of the owner of the copyright, does in Australia, or authorises the doing in Australia of, any act comprised in the copyright'.

Section 31(1)(a)(i) provides that copyright includes the exclusive right to 'reproduce the work in a material form'. Thus, copyright is infringed by a person who, not being the owner of the copyright and without the licence of the owner of the copyright, reproduces or authorises the reproduction of a work, or of more than a reasonable part of the work, in a material form, unless the reproduction is a 'fair dealing' with the work 'for the purpose of research or study' as further defined in Sections 40 and 41 of the Act.

Keith Jennings
Registrar

*'Thesis' includes 'treatise', 'dissertation' and other similar productions.

CAN I HELP YOU?

A Systemic-Functional Exploration
of Service Encounter Interaction

by

Eija Maritta Ventola

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of
the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

THE UNIVERSITY OF SYDNEY

June 1984

© Eija M. Ventola 1984

ABSTRACT

This exploratory study of the semiotic organization of service encounter interaction and its realization traces back the Malinowskian/Firthian contextual theory and follows its development into register theory. It captures the most recent developments of register theory which consider texts as organizations on three separate semiotic communication planes: genre, register and language. Specifically it focusses on how on the plane of genre the global patternings of texts, i.e. SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES, are represented and how they are realized by the planes of register and language which are seen to underlie genre. It studies and develops the notion of genre and its realization by using service encounter data.

It will be argued that post office, souvenir/gift shop and travel agency texts represent agnate genres of service encounters. The social process being realized in these service encounters is best described synoptically as well as dynamically. The synoptic perspective on service encounters involves the description of the potential SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements in terms of system networks. The dynamic perspective shows in the form of a flowchart how each SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element is actually being generated in the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES of the collected post office, shop and travel agency texts. Evidence of the dynamically generated SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES in the service encounter texts will be sought on the discourse stratum of the language plane.

The discourse stratum seems to be most appropriate for this purpose as it is the stratum where the analytical unit is that of a text (cf. a clause on the lexicogrammatical stratum and a tone group on the phonological stratum). The systems operating on the discourse stratum conglomerate into system networks of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, LEXICAL COHESION, REFERENCE and CONJUNCTION. Each system network and the structures that realize the choices from the networks will be looked at in turn and be related to the realization of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES in the texts on the genre plane. In the last section of the thesis the theoretical discussion and the analyses are brought together by illustrative analyses of three texts belonging to the 'postal',

'shopping' and 'travel' registers respectively. The analyses demonstrate how the discourse realizations of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES generated in the texts representing different register choices support the classification of these texts as texts belonging to one genre, that of service encounters.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I want to thank firstly, and most of all, my supervisor, Dr. Martin, and, secondly, Dr. Hasan and Professor Halliday, who all have played such an important role in introducing me to 'the world of systemics'. Writing this thesis has involved a lot of 'globetrotting', but Dr. Martin especially has encouraged me to discover new 'continents' in 'the world of systemics'. I would also like to thank Professor Sajavaara from the University of Jyväskylä, who has always been willing to support my leave-of-absence applications. The extended absences have made 'the globetrotting' possible. A special thanks is also given to Anne Thwaite, Chris Nesbitt and Joan Rothery who took time to comment on the manuscript form of the thesis. They and my other fellow students in The Department of Linguistics have provided a supportive, inspiring atmosphere which has eased the pressures of thesis writing. I am also grateful to my other friends in Sydney for providing me with a 'non-linguistic haven' which was needed as well to maintain the equilibrium. Finally, I would like to express my appreciation to my parents. Throughout the years they have always offered me encouragement, although they still wonder why writing a Ph.D. thesis involves so much globetrotting.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	1
PART I	
CHAPTER I: PAVING THE WAY TO THE SYSTEMIC-FUNCTIONAL VIEW OF LANGUAGE	9
1.1 Turning Back the Clock	9
1.2 Malinowski	9
1.2.1 Language Functions	10
1.2.2 Context of Situation	12
1.2.3 Context of Culture	14
1.3 Firth	17
1.3.1 The Situational Relations	17
1.3.2 The Interior Relations	19
1.3.3 Criticism Aimed at Firth	20
1.4 Beyond Firth: Establishing Scales and Categories	26
1.4.1 The Levels of Language and the Levels of Linguistics	27
1.4.2 Form	28
1.4.2.1 Grammar	29
1.4.2.2 Lexis	33
1.4.3 Phonology	37
1.4.4 Context	40
1.4.4.1 Context vs. Semantics	40
1.4.4.2 Register	46
1.5 The Metamorphosis in the Context of Linguistics	55
1.5.1 From Transformations to Pragmatics	55
1.5.2 The Ragbag of Pragmatics	57
1.5.3 Ethnography of Speaking and Ethnomethodology	59
1.5.4 Text and Discourse	62
1.6 Summary	64
CHAPTER II: SEMIOTIC VIEW ON TEXT IN SYSTEMICS	69
2.1 Halliday's Social Semiotic	70
2.1.1 Language as System - The Linguistic System	73
2.1.2 Language as Institution - The Semiotic System	82
2.2 The Generic Quality of Texts	87
2.3 Hasan's Structure Potential	89
2.3.1 The Functional Nature of Structure Potential	92
2.3.2 Sequencing of Elements of Structure Potential	95
2.4 Martin's Communication Planes: Language - Register - Genre	99
2.4.1 Discourse Systems and Structures	99
2.4.2 Semiotic Planes of Language, Register and Genre	103
2.5 Summary	108

CHAPTER III:	DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA AND THE DATA COLLECTION	111
3.1	Type of Data	111
3.2	Data Collection Method	116
3.3	Problems with the Data Collection	119
CHAPTER IV:	TOWARDS REPRESENTING SERVICE ENCOUNTER AS A PROCESS	124
4.1	An Early Contextual Aspiration towards Characterization of Service Encounters	124
4.2	Ethnographical/Ethnomethodological View on Service Encounters	127
4.3	The Structure Potential of Service Encounters: The Linear Representation and its Limitations	136
4.3.1	Is the Linear Representation the Best for Schematic Structures?	137
4.3.2	Are Obligatory Elements Genre Defining?	143
4.4	Text as a Product - A Synoptic System of Genre	148
4.4.1	Genre Agnation Network of Service Encounters	150
4.4.2	The Non-Linguistic Systems and the Semiotic Planes	155
4.5	Text as a Process - A Dynamic System of Genre	158
4.5.1	The Flowchart Representation	158
4.5.2	Uniformity and Diversity of Generic Structures	178
4.6	Summary	183

PART II

CHAPTER V:	CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE-EXCHANGES AND MOVES REFLECTING SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE IN THE SERVICE ENCOUNTER TEXTS	185
5.1	Speech Acts and Functions	185
5.1.1	How Many Speech Functions to Recognize?	187
5.1.2	How is Speech Function Related to Its Form?	193
5.2	CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE	199
5.2.1	Exchange: System and Structure	202
5.2.2	Rank: Exchange and Move	212
5.3	Problematic Issues in CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE	215
5.3.1	Intervening Exchanges - Dynamics of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE	216
5.3.2	What Fills the Structural Slot in an Exchange?	223
5.3.3	Responding	235
5.3.4	A Split Exchange	237
5.3.5	Linguistic Services	239
5.4	CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE and the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES of Service Encounter Texts	243
5.4.1	GREETING	244
5.4.2	ATTENDANCE-ALLOCATION	245
5.4.3	SERVICE-BID	245
5.4.4	SERVICE	246
5.4.5	RESOLUTION	252
5.4.6	PAY	253
5.4.7	GOODS HANDOVER	254

CHAPTER V (Cont.)

5.5	A Comparison of Analyses	255
5.6	Summary	263

CHAPTER VI: LEXICAL COHESION IN THE SERVICE ENCOUNTER TEXTS 267

6.1	Lexical Studies	267
6.1.1	Collocation	267
6.1.2	Collocation and Lexical Sets	271
6.2	Lexical Cohesion	275
6.2.1	Reiteration and Collocational Cohesion	276
6.2.2	LEXICAL COHESION: System	286
6.2.3	LEXICAL COHESION: Structure	285
6.3	LEXICAL COHESION and SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE	298
6.4	Summary	304

CHAPTER VII: REFERENCE IN THE SERVICE ENCOUNTERS 306

7.1	Reference - What Does It Do in Texts?	306
7.2	Participant Identification and Differences in MODE	310
7.3	Phoricity	314
7.3.1	REFERENCE: System	316
7.3.2	REFERENCE: Structure	318
7.4	REFERENCE and SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE in the Service Encounter Texts	327
7.5	Summary	337

CHAPTER VIII: CONJUNCTION AND BOUNDARY MARKING IN THE SERVICE ENCOUNTER TEXTS 340

8.1	Conjunction in Texts	340
8.2	CONJUNCTION: System	346
8.3	CONJUNCTION: Structure	353
8.4	Frames and BOUNDARY MARKING	357
8.4.1	INITIATING/ENDING Boundaries	361
8.4.2	INTRINSIC Boundaries	364
8.5	CONJUNCTION, BOUNDARY MARKING and SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE	373
8.6	Summary	388

CHAPTER IX: A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW OF DISCOURSE SYSTEMS AND THEIR REALIZATION 389

9.1	Text 4 - A Post Office Text	389
9.1.1	Text 4 and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE	390
9.1.2	Text 4 and LEXICAL COHESION	398
9.1.3	Text 4 and REFERENCE	398
9.1.4	Text 4, CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING	403
9.2	Text 5 - A Shop Text	403
9.2.1	Text 5 and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE	404
9.2.2	Text 5 and LEXICAL COHESION	411
9.2.3	Text 5 and REFERENCE	416
9.2.4	Text 5, CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING	420

CHAPTER IX (Cont.)

9.3	Text 11 - A Travel Agency Text	423
9.3.1	Text 11 and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE	424
9.3.2	Text 11 and LEXICAL COHESION	434
9.3.3	Text 11 and REFERENCE	441
9.3.4	Text 11, CONJUNCTION AND BOUNDARY MARKING	448
9.4	An Overview of the Analyses	453
CONCLUSION		463
BIBLIOGRAPHY		472
APPENDIX		487

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure

1	A hierarchical representation of the relationship between the levels and the data	24
2	A non-hierarchical representation of the indirect relationship between the levels and the data	24
3	A network representation of the relationship between the levels	25
4	Halliday's levels of language and levels of linguistics	28
5	Dialectal variation	48
6	Diatypic (or register) variation	48
7	A representation of Halliday's views on language and semiotics	71
8	Context of situation and text	84
9	Hasan's Structure Potential for buying-and-selling transactions	97
10	Hasan's illustrative text for buying-and-selling transactions	98
11	The determination of the Structure Potential of a genre by contextual configuration	98
12	Martin's communication planes	104
13	Martin's network for service encounters illustrating genre agnation	107
14	Typical sequencing of speech acts in service encounters as presented by Merritt	130
15	A simplified formalization of post office service encounter	134
16	Four different Structure Potentials as determined by differences in tenor and mode	147
17	Synoptic view vs. dynamic view: text as a product vs. text as a process	154
18	The non-linguistic systems and the semiotic planes	156
19	The flowchart representation of the service encounter genre	163

Figure

20	Object orientation in the FIELD 'travel'	174
21	Activity orientation in the FIELD 'travel'	175
22	SPEECH FUNCTION network on the discourse stratum	190
23	MOOD network on the lexicogrammatical stratum	196
24	EXCHANGE system network on the discourse stratum	210
25	A stratified analysis of a knowledge-oriented exchange: K2 + K1	214
26	A stratified analysis of an action-oriented exchange: A2 + A1:A + A1:R	214
27	Bowker's analysis of a travel agency-text	260
28	LEXICAL COHESION; the discourse stratum	282
29	LEXICAL COHESION: Structure for SERVICE I in Text 11	286
30	Text-specific choices of the FIELD 'travel' on the register plane	288
31	LEXICAL COHESION: structure in Text 1	290
32	LEXICAL COHESION: structure in Text 2	291
33	LEXICAL COHESION: structure in Text 3	293
34	LEXICAL COHESION: structure in Text 4	295
35	Object-orientation in the FIELD 'postal matters'	296
36	Complete RETRIEVAL network for phoric reference	309
37	The major REFERENCE systems; the discourse stratum	317
38	REFERENCE: structure in Text 9	323
39	CONJUNCTION and CONTINUITY and language strata	343
40	CONJUNCTION in English at primary delicacy	346
41	BOUNDARY MARKING systems at SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements on the genre plane	369
42	BOUNDARY MARKING in two SERVICE elements in Text 9	375
43	BOUNDARY MARKING in a SERVICE element in Text 10	380
44	A split Compliance in a SERVICE element in Text 10	387

Figure

45	Text 4 and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE	396
46	Correlation between SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE in Text 4	397
47	Text 4 and LEXICAL COHESION	399
48	Text 4 and REFERENCE	401
49	Text 5 and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE	405
50	Correlation between SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE in Text 5	411
51	Text 5 and LEXICAL COHESION	412
52	A partial network representing the infiltration of the FIELD 'sport' into the FIELD 'shopping'	415
53	Text 5 and REFERENCE	417
54	Text 5, CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING	421
55	Text 11 and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE	425
56	Correlation between SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE in Text 11	434
57	Text 11 and LEXICAL COHESION	435
58	Text 11 and REFERENCE	442
59	Text 11, CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING	449

LIST OF TABLES

Table

1	Hasan's notational system	96
2	Martin's realization statements for service encounter features	107
3	The data: genre - service encounter; registers - postal, shopping, travel	120
4	The shared SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements of agnate service encounters	161
5	Four basic speech functions	188
6	Responses to four basic speech functions	189
7	Initiating and responding SPEECH FUNCTIONS and their congruent MOOD realizations	189
8	Suspending moves	220
9	SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE and their typical exchange patterns	257
10	Bowker's Notational system	240
11	Realization statements for the BOUNDARY MARKING systems	370
12	A summary of the correlations of discourse structures and the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE realizations in the analyzed texts	455

LIST OF SYSTEMIC NOTATIONAL CONVENTIONS

1. $x \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} a \\ b \end{bmatrix}$ = if [x], then [a] or [b].
2. $x \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} a \\ b \end{bmatrix} \\ \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} c \\ d \end{bmatrix} \end{array} \right.$ = if [x], then [a] or [b] AND [c] or [d].
3. $\begin{bmatrix} x \\ y \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} a \\ b \end{bmatrix}$ = [x] or [y], then [a] or [b].
4. $\begin{bmatrix} x \\ y \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} a \\ b \end{bmatrix}$ = if [x] and [y], then [a] or [b].
5. $\rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} x^1 \\ y \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} a^T \\ b \end{bmatrix}$ = if [y], then [a] or [b]; if [x] then [a].
6. $x \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} a^T \\ b \end{bmatrix} \\ \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} c^1 \\ d \end{bmatrix} \end{array} \right.$ if [x], then [a] or [b] AND [c] or [d]; if [c], then [a].
7. $\swarrow$ marks the realization of a feature, which is itself underlined if appearing in network: $\swarrow$ (the).

sample network:

NAME OF SYSTEM $\rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} a \\ b \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} c \\ d \end{bmatrix}$ $\swarrow$ (realization)
point of origin... $\swarrow$ (realization) $\swarrow$ (realization)

INTRODUCTION

This thesis has grown out of my interest in text structures, the overall, global patternings that texts seem to have. It seeks answers to such questions as 'how are texts related to other texts?', 'how is it possible that interactants in specific situations create texts which must be considered unique, but which, nevertheless, can be characterized as texts belonging to a particular, socially acceptable text type?' and 'how exactly do we get to know what is acceptable linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour in social interactions in our societies?'.

Relatively little is so far known about how to capture the relationship of resemblance between two texts. This thesis sets out to formalize that relationship through the notion of schematic structuring in texts. Texts which have the same or similar schematic structures are seen to be related. An explanation of the relationship between a unique text - a text created in a particular situation - and its type will be presented in terms of the notions of genre, register and language and how they all constitute the social systems, the social semiotics, in our cultures. Further, text analyses necessarily have to be interested in how the 'rules' of social behaviour - the potential of social behaviour - are acquired; in other words, the ways in which we are socialized into the social systems prevailing in our cultures. It is this latter point, the socialization process, that will be discussed first.

Post official : yes love
Child : could I have...uhm...two different
first...the Australia ones
Mother : two first-day covers you wanna say...
Child : could I have two...first-day covers
Post official : yes
Mother : please
Child : please [whispering]

This extract was recorded in a post office. The child was about five to six years of age. The extract is an excellent example of the socialization process at work. The child is learning appropriate social behaviour in a particular situation type, a post office, and

he is learning a specific social activity, how to request for service. It is through learning such behavioural patterns in interactive situations that one becomes a member of one's own society - whereby "the biological is transformed into a specific cultural being", using Bernstein's (1970/72:162)¹ words. The mother in this conversation fulfils the role of a caretaker instructing her offspring in what to her seems appropriate behaviour on the basis of her own experiences as a member of the community. It is in this way that the culture and the language of the society are transmitted from generation to generation (note the contrast to the views which hold that children have language acquisition devices and innate grammars which they keep modifying from a comparison with the homogeneous input from their caretakers; for a more detailed discussion opposing such views, see Matthews 1979:58-59).

It is not just the caretakers that are responsible for moulding our behavioural patterns. Through interactional situations the whole society participates in the socialization process of an individual. What is this society that moulds us like? Without making finer sociological distinctions we can say that it is formed by people who reside in the same geographical area, who have common laws and interests, and who communicate with one another (one can of course understand the term 'society' in a broad or in a narrow sense - e.g. a nation vs. a township or even a family). All societies are structured. This means that particular relationships are sustained between members of the society. These relationships determine social roles. It is through the socialization process that we internalize these roles. We learn "the rules and practices of social groups" (Worsley 1970:153). Because so much of our behaviour is realized by language, it naturally plays a major role in the socialization process. Firth put it in the following way:

Throughout the period of growth we are progressively incorporated into our social organization, and the chief condition and means of that incorporation is learning to say what the other fellow expects us to say under the given circumstances (Firth 1935/57:28).

But even though we are members of the same society it does not mean that we are products of exactly an identical mould. We are also

individuals who experience the world around us differently, i.e. we get socialized into different social groups within our society. Therefore it is more justifiable to speak of the socialization process as a kind of 'definer' for the behaviour potential (Halliday 1973), or rather semiotic potential, of the member of the society - what it is possible for the member to do and still be considered a member. But different individuals actualize different 'parts' of this potential according to the environments and the situations in which they are required to participate in their everyday lives. Similarly, in relation to language behaviour, we may say that the members of the same speech community share the same discourse potential, i.e. the semiotics that is realized by language. In its most expanded sense we speak of people speaking the same language. But as we have commonly observed ourselves, we, as individual speakers, do not speak the same language in the same way at all. We speak different dialects and use different styles according to the specific demands that our co-interactants and the situations impose on us. We actualize our discourse potential according to our unique, individual needs.

Following this argument of individuality, it may seem that we may never succeed in defining what exactly this potential, into which the socialization process socializes us, is. But through a careful study of instances of the actual we can define the boundaries of the potential. It is this approach of building our theory by observing the facts and the instances in society that will be followed in this study. The theory that relates the actual to the potential in language behaviour (relating conversations to the possible conversations in our culture) is the theory of register and genre.

When we observe how members of a society interact during what may be described as the same or similar situation types we cannot help noticing that these conversations resemble one another. The similarities in the linguistic patternings of written or spoken texts created under comparable circumstances are an indication that those texts belong to the same register. Traditionally register has been defined as variation of language according to its uses in different situation types (see e.g. Halliday et al. 1964:87). In addition to geographical and temporal varieties, dialects, we have situational

varieties, registers, "constituted by a selection of choices from among the total linguistic options offered by that specific language" (Ure and Ellis 1977:198; see also Ellis and Ure 1969). Certain linguistic patterns have been seen to correlate with specific features of the situation type, the context of situation. This correlation, following Halliday (e.g. 1977:200-203),² is stateable in terms of field (the type of social action going on, including the subject matter), tenor (the role relationships between the participants) and mode (the channel or medium used).

The traditional view of register as foregrounded choices from the linguistic system which are probabilistically determined by the variables of the context of situation will be reformulated, following the views outlined by Martin (in press). Register itself will be seen as a semiotic plane consisting of semiotic relations which group themselves in field, mode and tenor system networks and which will be realized through the plane of language as structures on discourse, lexico-grammatical and phonological strata. Register will be seen as a semiotic system which will partly define the discourse potential that we as members of a society are socialized into. Our experiences in life limit our possibilities of 'assigning' values to the register variables field, mode and tenor and thus also demarcate our language use.

In addition to similarities in linguistic patternings which can be traced back to the same register (the same values for field, mode and tenor), texts may resemble one another yet in a different way. Texts may belong to the same genre or closely agnate subgenres. Genre is a higher semiotic organization of social activity, the social process, in texts. Generic similarity in texts can be restated as a common understanding by the members of a society about the ways of making language work for them - the social process that is achieved by language in its cultural context. The notion of genre is used to capture the similarities in the overall, global structuring of texts - similarities in the ways "things get done", using Martin's (in press) words. Examples of genres include narratives, expositions, poems, fables, lectures, seminars, recipes, sermons, appointment making, consultations (e.g. doctor-patient), service encounters, news broadcasts, sports commentaries, etc. The sensitivity to a genre

that an individual member of a society has acquired cultural knowledge (via the socialization process) of how to bring a text from the beginning to an end so that it qualifies as a 'valid' text in the situation and in the culture in which it has been created. The similarities in the ways it is possible to organize the social processes in texts define genres. Genre is thus seen as a potential, the realizations of which are the particular patternings of linguistic and non-linguistic activities, i.e. schematic structures, in texts (the term is Martin's, see e.g. Martin in press, in prep.; Martin and Rothery 1980, 1981).

Schematic structures represent the organization of the actualized social processes in texts belonging to a certain genre/genres. Although the activity in all genres is sequenced in one way or another, this does not mean to say that all texts of the same genre need to have all of the possible schematic structure elements in them. Hasan (in Hasan 1978, 1979, and in Halliday and Hasan 1980), for example, describes this phenomenon in terms of genres having obligatory and optional elements, the inclusion of the obligatory elements thus being genre-defining. The view taken in this study will be that in the realization of a social activity in a text, at least in interactive texts, the participants principally follow the designated social process by selecting the schematic structure elements that unmarkedly characterize the text as an instance of a particular genre. But they may not necessarily choose all, and only, the schematic structure elements of that genre. In other words, interactants may opt out or skip certain stages of the social process which commonly would be considered part of that social process. Further, interactants may by 'genre mixing' involve in a particular text schematic structure elements which are more characteristically parts of a different social process. These procedures mentioned above make texts unique. The creation of a text is largely dictated by interactants' individual needs in the situation and the on-going process itself, but always within the realm of genres that characterize our culture. This is largely what Firth must have meant when he wrote:

Conversation is much more of a roughly prescribed ritual than most people think. Once someone speaks to you, you are in a relatively determined context

After this initial discussion on social semiotics involving the notions of genre, register and schematic structure it is more than appropriate to think of these terms in relation to this piece of writing. This study is an instance of a genre which commonly is labelled 'thesis'. The social process involved in a 'thesis' genre is presenting and finding or suggesting solutions to a problem. But this piece of writing that the reader holds in his/her hands is a realization of another semiotic organization as well, that of register. The field of this text concerns linguistics, more specifically the schematic structures of genres and the difficulties in representing and finding evidence for their existence in the linguistic patternings in texts. The mode of the text can be described at the level of least delicacy, as non-interactive and distancing - language as reflection rather than as action (see Halliday and Hasan 1976:34; Martin and Rothery 1980). Finally the tenor of the text is 'tuned' to an existing non-solidary relationship (see Brown and Gilman 1960/72) between a Ph.D. student and the members of the examination board. These factors being known, if this text is to be taken as an instance of the genre mentioned above, it is expected to follow certain sequenced stages in which the social process will be enacted. This staging, which represents the text as an instance of the genre in question, is the schematic structure of the text and will be presented in detail below.

This thesis falls into two parts. PART I, Chapters I-IV present and develop the theoretical framework. PART II, Chapters V-IX describe and discuss the analysis of the collected service encounter data.

More specifically, Chapter I will present the theoretical history of this thesis. The views that will be presented in this section can be traced back to the ways of thinking of Malinowski, Firth and the scale-and-category grammarians, especially those interested in register theory. The writings of these predecessors of what is now known as the systemic-functional theory will be juxtaposed to other linguistic theories prevailing in the 1960's and in the early 1970's.

Chapter II will discuss the emergence of text as the central semantic unit within systemic-functional theory and the preliminary work carried out on text structures and how to define them. The

chapter will address itself specifically to how text structures have been presented linearly and as system networks of agnate genres.

The data which will be used to study schematic structures and their representations in texts will be introduced in Chapter III. The chosen genre is that of service encounters. The service encounter texts collected may, however, be described as belonging to three separate registers, classified as travel agency, post office and shop texts according to the location where the encounter took place.

Chapter IV will introduce the schematic structures of service encounters not only from the synoptic point of view as more delicate choices from the genre network but also from the dynamic point of view as a flow chart which enables us to appreciate the on-going process of creating a text.

From Chapter V onwards, the approach of looking at texts 'top down' - from genre down - will be reversed. Evidence will be sought from the discourse stratum of language to support the schematic structures. This chapter will look at the discourse system of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE and whether significant patternings of moves in exchanges also indicate the higher level schematic structuring of texts.

Further, in Chapter VI, LEXICAL COHESION analyses will be used to see if the organization of lexis in texts in any way reflects the schematic structures of service encounter texts.

Then, in Chapter VII, evidence of schematic structures will be sought by tracing how, through the phoric systems of English REFERENCE, the relevant participants in the texts are referred to on the discourse stratum.

Finally, in Chapter VIII, the discussion will concentrate on the ways in which the interactants exercise the discourse system of CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING thus denoting the schematic structures of texts.

The last chapter, Chapter IX, will present a more comprehensive view of how these discourse systems collectively function in texts and enable us to make judgements of the genre these texts belong to.

NOTES:

1. Throughout this thesis I shall follow the principle according to which in citations, both within the text and in the reference list at the end, the original publication date of the book, article, etc. is given first, and then, separated by a slash (/), the publication date of the later editions, reprintings, or revisions of the original will follow. The page numbers thus refer to the later editions, etc., which usually are also more accessible to the reader.
2. I am here following Halliday's most recent terms for the categorization of the contextual variables. However, during the years of register studies, slightly varying terminologies have been suggested, see Halliday et al. 1964; Gregory 1967; Ellis and Ure 1969; Ure and Ellis 1977; Gregory and Carroll 1978; Gregory 1982.

PART I

CHAPTER I: PAVING THE WAY TO THE SYSTEMIC-FUNCTIONAL VIEW OF LANGUAGE

As the present study will use as its framework systemic-functional theory it will be useful in this first chapter to give a cursory review of the background to the theory as well as to put it into perspective with the other linguistic theories of the past two decades. The present review cannot in this context be very extensive but more detailed accounts and surveys can be found for example in Mitchell (1975), Kress (1976), Monaghan (1979), Butler (1979), Kachru (1980) and Hasan (in press).

1.1 Turning Back the Clock

Within the systemic-functional approach language is seen as functional in situations. It has a 'job' to do in the context where it is used. Whenever we analyze any piece of language use, i.e. a text, we must consider it in its contextual environment, as the latter necessarily contributes to the meaning of the text.

The context of situation, the context in which the text unfolds is embodied in the text...in a way that symbolizes and expresses a systemic relation between the social environment as a semiotic construct on the one hand, and the semantic system and the functional organization of the language on the other (Halliday and Hasan 1980:12).

In order to arrive at the sources of the contextual and functional views of language, we must turn the clock back at least to the times of Malinowski and Firth.

1.2 Malinowski

Malinowski was primarily a social anthropologist and an ethnographer who at the beginning of this century carried out extensive field work among the primitive societies of the Melanesians and Trobriand Islanders in Eastern New Guinea. He had a "gift for languages" and thus he was able to collect most of his ethnographic material (texts on folk lore, magic, narratives and conversations) in

the native languages (Malinowski 1923:299). He became interested in linguistic analysis in the process of trying to translate his data into English. In the attempt Malinowski was soon forced to acknowledge that the lack of "adequate degree of unity of cultural contexts", as Robins (1963:15) put it in his introduction to Malinowski, made the word-to-word translation task practically impossible.

Word for word equivalences are relatively easy to come by in large sections of the vocabulary of many European languages, just because of this historically produced broad unity of culture in western European civilization (Robins 1963:15, cf. Whorf 1941a/56:138).¹

But Malinowski was analyzing languages in societies with no cultural or linguistic ties to Western Europe. Therefore he had to turn to new ways of thinking about language and its functioning in societies. Consequently, to give a meaningful translation of the 'primitive' texts, or for that matter any, more 'civilized' text (this expansion was emphasized in his later writings, e.g. Malinowski 1935/66), demanded, in his view, that the texts be considered from the following aspects: 1) what function does language carry in the texts, and how do 2) the situation and 3) the culture of the society influence the interpretation of the meanings in the text?

1.2.1 Language Functions

In his 'The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages' (1923) Malinowski brings up the notion that language also has other uses besides functioning as 'a reflection of thought'. In Malinowski's times most linguists concentrated on referential aspects of language, written language and de Saussure's concept of 'langue'. Malinowski, although familiar with de Saussure's work, disassociated himself from the view that langue was the main object of linguistic study (Firth 1957a/68). He was the first, or among the first, to concentrate primarily on the study of parole and to conclude his linguistic theories from it. Due to his unconventional, open attitudes to linguistic analysis and his views on the functions of language he

was able to come to terms with some linguistic usages hitherto rather neglected by linguists as somehow less complete or less worthy of attention than the formal discourse of philosophical and literary texts (Robins 1963:15).

Malinowski (1923) distinguishes the following speech functions in primitive societies: 1) language as a mode of producing action (e.g. handing over a utensil or instructing a person how to use a utensil), 2) language expressing social and emotive functions (e.g. narratives expressing the social togetherness of the society) and 3) language as a mode of phatic communion (e.g. members of a society creating 'ties of union' by small talk or exchange of greetings). Initially Malinowski (1923) saw the pragmatic character of language, language as a mode of behaviour, being typical only of primitive societies and of language development in a child. But later he extended his views to concern languages in general:

the main function of language is not to express thought...but rather to play an active pragmatic part in human behaviour (Malinowski 1935/66:7).

The emphasis that Malinowski puts on seeing language functioning as a mode of human behaviour is founded on observation of, firstly, how children learn to use language and, secondly, of how adults use language in different situations.

A child uses vocal expressions - sounds - functionally from early on. He uses a 'protolanguage'² (Halliday's term, Halliday 1975) as an instrument for acting out his desires in a particular situation. The caretakers of the infant are generally able to interpret these situationally related desires without ambiguity (Malinowski 1923:318) (if the infant has not eaten for a long time and he cries they give him food; if the child is wet the diapers will be changed etc.). From the moment the child learns his first words (the names of the caretakers, of toys, of food etc.) they, too, are used functionally in the situation:

these early words also come to be used under the stress of painful situations or strong emotions, when the child cries for its parent or rejoices in her sight, when it clamours for food or repeats with pleasure or excitement the name of some favourite . ,

Although largely ignored outside the functional language development studies (e.g. Halliday 1975; Wells 1981; Painter in press), these views of Malinowski in fact already disputed the nativist language acquisition approaches even before they were launched with full force. As Hasan (in press:23)⁴ notes, there is now enough evidence to the child language development literature to indicate that Malinowski's views on the child language development "were surprisingly near the mark" (see Hasan (in press) for a more detailed discussion).

Malinowski's point is that, whether we are talking about children or adults, meanings were acquired for words by using the words actively in relevant situations. By uttering a word we do not comment on it or describe its properties but use it as "a means of bringing things about" (Malinowski 1923:322). Thus, long before Austin (1962/75) and Searle (1969), Malinowski showed an interest in how speech acts come to mean what they mean. But, as Hasan points out, Malinowski's notions were far more advanced, as he never attempted to treat isolated, decontextualized sentences, but rather developed a theory that always takes the context into consideration in the interpretation of an utterance, as we shall see in the following section.

One of the most outstanding differences between Malinowski and the present day speech act theorists lies in Malinowski's idea that an isolated sentence is a fiction, since the natural unit of interaction is a text. This implies that sentences are neither comprehended nor produced apart from their context - where the word 'context' subsumes both verbal and extra-verbal environment. Such an orientation to sentences would have been useful to the speech act theorists, since the speech act status of utterances cannot be determined entirely by examining the sentence-internal properties...This much is quite obvious from the current discussions of the indirect directives...Although most descriptions of indirect speech acts must make a reference to the co-text, such reference remains a-theoretical and ad hoc (Hasan in press:39-40).

1.2.2 Context of Situation

Malinowski was probably the first linguist to draw our attention to the differences between written and spoken language. According to him (1923:306-307), the meaning of written language is self-contained

and self-explicatory, but the meaning of spoken language is always time- and situation-bound. A word has no meaning without the consideration of the surrounding text - the linguistic context. A list of lexical items in a dictionary or a sales catalogue does not constitute a text. Similarly a verbal utterance in isolation, i.e. without the consideration of its context of situation (participants, their actions, the events taking place and the surroundings) is meaningless.

Malinowski observed the natives' use of language in such practical pursuits as hinting, cultivating the land and fishing. He reports (1923:310-311) in great detail the natives' verbal and non-verbal behaviour during one of the fishing tours in a coral lagoon. The language used during the pursuit was full of technical expressions (fishing implements etc.), conventional cries, commands and instructions for action and short references to the environment. Malinowski points out that such expressions would be totally incomprehensible without the consideration of the context of situation, i.e. the participants, the objects used and the mode of action the participants were engaged in. The mode of behaviour the fishermen enact is 'inherited' through their previous experiences in similar fishing tours.

Langendoen (1968:15-26), Leech (1974:71-76) and Palmer (1976: 46-49) all question the value of Malinowski's context of situation. In their view it is impossible to enumerate and describe systematically all the different possible contexts of situation within a society. This general attitude of doubt toward contextual studies in the 1960's and even early 1970's is also reflected in the following statement by Lyons:

Linguistic theory...is not, and cannot, be concerned with the production and understanding of utterances in their actual situations of use...but, with the structure of sentences considered in abstraction from the situations in which actual utterances occur (Lyons 1968:98).

But since then a remarkable change in the attitudes of speech act theorists seems to have taken place, as reflected, for example, in the following quotation from Searle:

there is no such thing as the zero or null context for the interpretation of sentences, and as far as our semantic competence is concerned we understand the meaning of...sentences only against a set of background assumptions about the contexts in which the sentence could be appropriately uttered (Searle 1979:117; my emphasis).

The notion of context of situation will, however, remain a useless tool if it is treated as 'the actual, surrounding situational props' as, according to Hasan (in press:40), the speech act theorists seem to do and as Malinowski so often has been claimed to be doing. She goes on to point out that in this respect Malinowski has been grossly misrepresented and that indeed "for Malinowski situation was fundamentally a social entity" (see Hasan (in press) for more details).

It may be that much of the criticism directed at the concept of context of situation is in fact a repercussion of some critical remarks of Firth's. He, for example, said that Malinowski's theory of situation was rather "a sort of behaviour matrix" than "a schematic construct for application especially to typical 'repetitive events' in the social process" (Firth 1957b/68:176), after which Firth himself and later Halliday (e.g. 1973, 1978) were striving. But even if understood as a 'behaviour matrix' Malinowski's context of situation was not what Leech (1974:74) claims to be "contextualism in its crudest form...MEANING = OBSERVABLE CONTEXT". Malinowski's context of situation included

not only spoken words but facial expression, gesture, bodily activities, the whole group of people present during an exchange of utterances and the part of the environment in which these people are engaged (Malinowski 1935/66:22).

Thus, Malinowski's context of situation is to be more appropriately understood as a semiotic system, comparable to the semiotic plane of register discussed later in this thesis.

1.2.3 Context of Culture

In his ethnographic writings Malinowski coined another useful term for linguistic theory, namely context of culture. While translating his native texts he noticed that evi

relevant context was not always enough to make the meaning of utterances clear. This was especially the case when language was used in such contexts of situation as traditional ceremonies, dances or singing. Utterances in such cases need to be considered in their proper contexts of culture. The meanings cannot fully be explained only by looking at the linguistic system; reference to the tribal life and the traditions of the native speech community are also vital for the interpretation of the utterances or words.

The definition of a word consists partly in placing it within its cultural context, partly in illustrating its usage in the context of opposites and cognate expressions (Malinowski 1935/66:16).

Since Malinowski worked with societies so very different from Western ones, it is understandable that he found great use for the term 'context of culture'. But the term is by no means fit for the modern linguist's waste-paper basket either. It is amazing to discover how often Western linguists even today disregard the significance of the context of culture when constructing their linguistic theories and models for the analyses of language. Such articles as Basso's (1970) and Keenan's (1974) illustrate how important it is to take into consideration the context of culture when the linguistic behaviour of the members of a non-Western society is studied. Basso's article examines the behaviour of Western Apaches in such focussed encounters as meeting strangers, courting, children coming home from boarding schools, etc. In the Western Apache society, social distance between the participants influences the starting of the encounter, i.e. whether or not a state of talk will be established. Keenan, in her study, indicates how the conversational maxim 'be informative', postulated by Grice (1975), does not hold in a Malagasy society in Madagascar. In contrast to the Western tradition of making one's statements as informative as required by the fellow-interactant, the members of the Malagasy speech community do not necessarily satisfy the conversational partner's informational needs. New information is highly valued in the Malagasy society and thus keeping as much of the information to oneself as possible guarantees certain prestige.

It may be beyond our hopes to describe language behaviour

it would be

the same as trying to describe the whole semantic system of the language (Halliday 1978:109). Nevertheless, Malinowski's context of culture must necessarily be considered in the linguistic descriptions of texts. Malinowski (1923:309) says that "the whole world of things-to-be-expressed changes with the level of culture, with geographical, social and economic conditions". Therefore, it is hardly surprising that without considering the texts functioning in contexts of situation and contexts of culture we are unlikely to reach the meanings in texts.

It is true that Malinowski has been widely criticized for his inadequate linguistic analysis. Even Firth, who was closely associated with him and further developed his views, writes of him:

Malinowski contributed very little towards such a theory for the statement of linguistic facts in terms of phonetics, phonology, the various branches of grammar or stylistics (Firth 1957a/68:146).

But at the same time, however, he gives credit to Malinowski for encouraging linguists to set up "other levels of linguistic analysis which would take note of the situation, including the personalities, institutions and customs" (Firth 1957a/68:160).

In evaluating Malinowski's contributions to linguistics, one always has to keep in mind that Malinowski was in the first place an ethnographer. He was a practical linguist who in the course of describing the languages of primitive societies was forced to consider the meanings of words and their translations. The fact that he had to find the meanings of words and utterances in these languages first before their analysis was at all possible led to a different approach to the theory of meaning than the Bloomfieldian or the transformational-generative approaches came to adopt. All in all, Malinowski can be seen to be "ahead of his time" in his contributions

to the relevance of context of situation to the study of language...in predicting the importance of functional approaches to developmental linguistics...[and] treating text as central to interpretation of the linguistic units of all sizes (Hasan in press:29).

1.3 Firth

Malinowski's concept of context of situation was further developed by Firth, who attended Malinowski's seminars at the University of London. Context of culture was also a notion acknowledged by Firth, but received less attention in his theory.⁵ Firth was interested in making Malinowski's notion of context of situation into a more abstract theory of meaning - a theory which enables us to consider meaning as complexes of statements of meaning produced both at the contextual and at linguistic levels. The former Firth (1957b/68:173) calls the situational relations and the latter the interior relations.

1.3.1 The Situational Relations

In a Firthian sense the focus of attention in the study of meaning is a text seen as a language event, as part of our social behaviour in a social process. In his two articles, 'The Technique of Semantics' (1935/57) and 'Personality and Language in Society' (1950/57), Firth pursues for classifications of social behaviour - most of which is realized linguistically in our societies - through the fact that our everyday linguistic behaviour is very much more a routine than we readily care to admit. That is, as members of a speech community we have, in the socialization process, internalized the social constraints that govern our behaviour in situations.

We are born individuals. But to satisfy our needs we have to become social persons, and every social person is a bundle of roles or personae (Firth 1935/57:28).

We accumulate social roles. We act as doctors, teachers, bus drivers, wives, husbands, sons, friends, lovers, etc. We learn to expect certain types of behaviour from our co-interactants according to the roles prevailing in the situation. Whatever is being said by one speaker in a situation limits the possibilities of the second speaker:

most of the give-and-take of conversation in our everyday life is stereotyped and very narrowly conditioned by our particular type of culture. It is a sort of roughly prescribed social ritual, in which you generally say what the other fellow

expects you, one way or the other, to say. The moment a conversation is started, whatever is said is a determining condition for what, in any reasonable expectation, may follow. What you say raises the threshold against most of the language of your companion, and leaves only a limited opening for a certain likely range of responses (Firth 1935/57:31-32).

Only if we consider language events as wholes, as well as repetitive and integrated (Firth 1957b/68:175-76), do we begin to realize how it is possible to classify linguistic behaviour meaningfully in relation to contexts of situation. Each language event, i.e. a text, is related to a type of a context of situation through what Firth (1957b/68:175) calls a 'renewal of connection in experience'.⁶ We can recognize texts as types because in the course of our lives as members of the society we have had previous experiences in the same kind of situations. There is a kind of 'schematic construct', a set of situational relations, which are used to relate a text to an abstract context of situation. These relations, according to Firth (1950/57:182) are:

- A. The relevant features of participants: persons, personalities.
 - (i) The verbal action of the participants.
 - (ii) The non-verbal action of the participants.
- B. The relevant objects.
- C. The effect of the verbal action.

The unravelling of meanings in a text may be started from the situational relations, from there proceeding to the interior relations, or vice versa (Firth 1957b/68:175), but the analysis of both types of relations is necessary in order to understand the meaning of the linguistically realized social process.

The context of situation is a convenient abstraction at the social level of analysis and forms the basis of the hierarchy of techniques for the statement of meanings. The statement of meaning cannot be achieved by one analysis, at one level, at one fell swoop. Having made the first abstraction and having treated the social process of speaking by applying the above-mentioned set of categories grouped in the context of situation, descriptive linguistics then proceeds by a method rather like the dispersion of

1.3.2 The Interior Relations

In a study of a text, context of situation is seen as a separate level of analysis from the levels of language where the interior relations of a text function.⁷ Firth (1957b/68) distinguishes two kinds of interior relations: firstly, the syntagmatic relations which exist between the elements of structure at various levels of the linguistic description and, secondly, the paradigmatic relations which exist between terms or features which "commute within the systems set up to give values to the elements of structure", as Firth (1957b/68:173) puts it.⁸

In the syntagmatic relations we are looking at how meanings in a text are compositions of language forms functioning at different linguistic levels. Texts can be spoken of in terms of structures on the level of phonology, e.g. /bɔ:d/ vs. /bɪd/ (prosodic analyses), on the level of lexis, e.g. 'board' vs. 'bored' (collocational analyses), on the level of syntax, e.g. 'not on the board?' vs. 'not on the board!' (colligational analyses) and finally on the level of semantics, e.g. the meaning of /bɔ:d/? being determined in the discourse by the following response: 'no, it's not a board' vs. 'no, I'm not bored at all' (relating the functions of forms to context of situation via contextual analyses) (Firth 1935/57:25-27).⁹

In the paradigmatic relations we are interested in the systems which provide the values for the elements of structure in the syntagma. For example in English there is a system for personal pronouns with the terms or features of singular and plural. Both in the singular and in the plural a more delicate distinction is possible between the first, second and third person. Any realization of these features may occupy a place in a syntagmatic structure, e.g. 'I' as a subject of the clause.

Firth's analysis of the linguistic form in its interior relations is both horizontal and vertical. Here it is worthwhile to quote Firth at length:

The first principle of analysis is to distinguish between structure and system. Structure consists of elements in interior syntagmatic relation and these elements have their places in an order of
The place an

categories set up are recognized in structure and find application in renewal of connection with the sources of the abstractions. Systems of commutable terms or units are set up to state the paradigmatic values of the elements. The statement of structures and systems provides, so to speak, the anatomy and physiology of the texts. It is unnecessary, indeed perhaps inadvisable, to attempt a structural and systemic account of a language as a whole. Any given or selected restricted language, i.e. the language under description is, from the present point of view, multi-structural and poly-systemic (Firth 1957b/68:200).

1.3.3 Criticism Aimed at Firth

Firth's views on meaning differed greatly from the structuralists' and early transformationalists' (who largely ignored the study of meaning and who insisted on dualisms which Firth clearly rejected, namely dichotomies of form and function (or meaning), word and idea, language and thought, expression and content, competence and performance; see Robins 1963:18; Kachru 1980:85, 87, 90; Martin 1982: 108-109 for more details). Therefore, it is understandable that his theory has aroused a lot of criticism. For example in 1966, Lyons writes of Firth's theories:

The 'contextual theory of meaning'...has not been exemplified by any considerable body of practical analysis and, outside...Firth's declared adherents, seems to have been dismissed...as involving an idiosyncratic, unmotivated or even mischievous reinterpretation of the term 'meaning' (Lyons 1966:228).

Statements like this may largely be due to the fact that "the linguistic scene of the 1950's and 1960's in America [but, following the Americans' example, also elsewhere] was not conducive to such approach", as Kachru (1980:87) points out. But he continues: "part of the blame must go to Firth, too, for his 'obscure' style, for his lack of explanations and paucity of illustrations" (Kachru 1980:87). It is true that the meaning relationships in various contexts at the proposed analytical levels were not at all exemplified to the same degree of explicitness by Firth, whose work mainly concentrated on the prosodic and collocational analyses. The scarceness of descriptions

on the other levels is greatly a result of the fact that Firth was continuously put on the defensive. As Robins (1961), Monaghan (1979: 28) and Kachru (1980:87) point out, Firth spent a lot of his energies on reasserting and developing his views to confront the theoretical views held by his contemporaries and doing 'public relations work' on behalf of general linguistics in Britain.

Both Lyons (1966) and Langendoen (1968) have expressed criticism of the Firthian principles of analysis by saying that the contextual theory of meaning has not sufficiently been exemplified by practical analyses. This claim seems, however, unjustified as Firth's followers, often called 'the Neo-Firthians', have indeed carried out descriptions on the various levels suggested by Firth (the two most accessible volumes where studies following Firthian principles have been collected together are those of Bazell et al. (1966) and Mitchell (1975); see also Halliday (1959).¹⁰ Even the levels that are most frequently claimed to be least exemplified, namely syntax (colligational analysis) and contextual analysis have been illustrated excellently by the Neo-Firthians. Allen (1956) discussed the structures and systems in the Abaza verbal complex and Mitchell (1957/75) demonstrates the contextualization of language in buying and selling situations in Cyrenaica.

It is mainly Mitchell's article which is of specific interest to the subject matter of this thesis (it will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter IV, section 4.1) and offers a solid stepping stone for contextual analysis of service encounter interaction as will be presented later in this study. Both Lyons and Langendoen, however, do not seem to see the significance of Mitchell's article. Lyons, although admitting Mitchell's work as 'brilliant' demonstrating "the value of the notion of 'contextualization' of utterances in recurrent and indefinite situations, each culturally determined", says that the study "does not, however, lead us to expect...that the notion of 'context of situation' can be extended to the point that Firth's theory demands" (Lyons 1966:301; Footnote 12). Langendoen on the other hand, writes:

Only an article by T.F. Mitchell (1957) can be cited as an attempt to describe the meanings of words in terms of context of situation, but upon examination of this paper it will be seen that it properly belongs to the realm of ethnography and not of semantics (Langendoen 1963:65).

It seems contradictory that if a theory has been 'brilliantly' exemplified, as stated by Lyons, it can at the same time be dismissed as 'idiosyncratic', 'unmotivated' and 'mischievous' (see Lyons' quotation above, Lyons 1966:288). On the other hand, saying that Mitchell's study is ethnography rather than linguistics seems to indicate that Langendoen has not been able to grasp the exact nature of the linguistic theory and the study of language envisaged by Firth. As mentioned before, Lyons (1966:288) claims Firth's theory of meaning to be 'idiosyncratic, unmotivated and mischievous' and continues to say that it cannot carry all the weight that has been put on it. Lyons claims that Firth's theory only covers meaning in 'grammatical' and 'significant' utterances and that Firth completely ignores the meaning relationships which are inherent in words, such as synonymy, antonymy, inclusion, etc. It can, however, be argued that the concepts of collocation and context of situation can quite effectively be used to explain such relations, e.g. synonymous words would have same collocations and similar contexts of situation. Generally it seems that the idea of abstraction in Firth's context of situation has been lost to many of his critics (for a discussion see Kachru 1980). Firth's meaning is seen only in the light of acceptability and appropriateness in particular contexts (see e.g. Lyons 1966 and Sampson 1980). This has led e.g. Langendoen to see Firth's theory of meaning

as the classification of utterances of a language into the typical contexts of situation for which they might be appropriate (Langendoen 1968:46).

He continues further:

Whether or not we consider this to be a worthwhile task, or even a possible one in any significant sense, it should immediately be apparent that such 'semantics' has nothing whatever to do with the meaning of sentences in the ordinary sense of the

Langendoen presents the Firthian ideas on meaning in the same distorted light as Sampson does twelve years later, not recognizing Firth's rejection of the dualism between "what one says and how one says it" (Sampson 1980:227). Sampson, as indicated by Martin (1982:109), "accepts the idea that sentences and the like have meaning; for Firth, sentences mean but they do not have a meaning".

It is most unfortunate that even in some introductory books on linguistics one finds such statements as "'contextualism'...has shown itself to be a relative failure" (Leech 1974:71; this clause has been changed into "contextualism...has a superficial attractiveness for anyone who aspires to the ideal of scientific objectivity" in the second edition of Leech's book, see Leech 1974/81:61; see also Leech's justifications for including pragmatics in the consideration of meaning, Leech 1974/81:341), or that Firth's "use of the term meaning is so broad and at the same time so vague that it seems to serve little purpose" (Sampson 1980:225). Firth's theory of meaning is grossly misrepresented if it is seen to be capable of explaining only the most ritualistic uses of language or as a matter of simple acceptability or appropriateness in restricted verbal contexts (as Leech (1974) and Sampson (1980) make it sound). One can but fully agree with Martin (1982:109) when he says that such views have completely miscomprehended Firth's theory. They have failed to see meaning as a combination of functions contextualized simultaneously not only on the situational level but also on the linguistic levels. Each of these levels contributes to the statement of meaning in its own way but within the context of situation.

Meaning...we use for the whole complex of functions which a linguistic form may have. The principal components of this whole meaning are phonetic..., lexical, morphological, and syntactical...and the function of a complete locution in the context of situation, or typical context of situation, the province of semantics (Firth 1935/57:33).

This approach to meaning, which could be called 'a spectrum approach' due to Firth's metaphor (see p.18) naturally contrasts markedly with the linguistic theories where meaning is a function of one level only - the semantic level. In a Firthian view, the statement of meaning is,

in fact, 'a statement of meanings' which then are tested against the observable facts by the renewal of connection (see Note 6).

How exactly the Firthian levels of meaning are to be related to one another has been open to various interpretations. Firth himself speaks of 'descending' vs. 'ascending order' of the linguistic levels:

To make statements of meaning in terms of linguistics, we may accept the language event as a whole and then deal with it at various levels, sometimes in a descending order, beginning with social context and proceeding through syntax and vocabulary to phonology and even phonetics, and at other times in the opposite order (Firth 1957b/68:175).

This to some of his adherents seems to suggest that Firth favoured a hierarchical representation of the relationship between the levels in the way exhibited in Fig. 1 below:

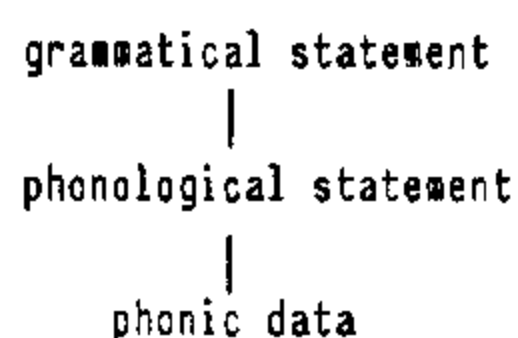


Fig. 1. A Hierarchical Representation of the Relationship between the Levels and the Data (Robins 1963:22).

Robins writes:

Firth himself spoke of a hierarchy of techniques as involved in linguistic statement, but it would seem that either interpretation [Fig. 1 and Fig. 2 below] of the relation between these two levels is consistent with his basic system of analysis by levels, and the choice between them may turn on practical and procedural problems relating to individual language studies (Robins 1963:23).

Thus, Robins seems to favour equally well the non-hierarchical representation of the relationship between levels, shown by Fig. 2 below.

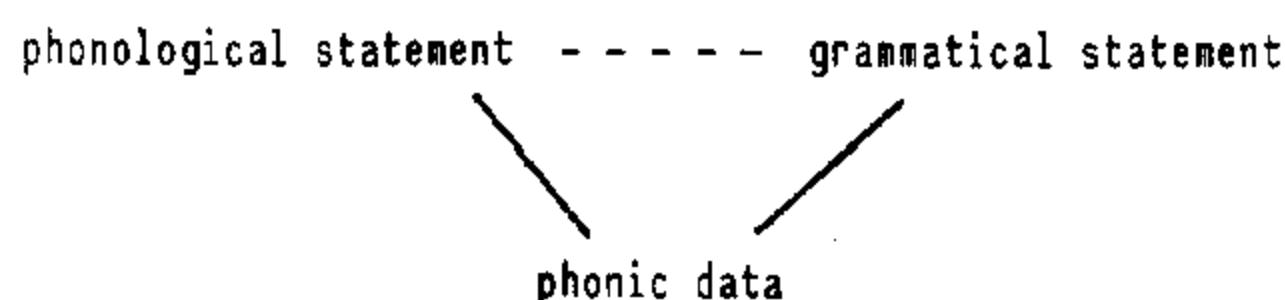


Fig. 2. A Non-Hierarchical Representation of the Indirect Relationship between the Levels and the Data (Allen 1956:145).

Allen quite specifically discharges the former view in favour of the latter. His view is that

the 'word' tends to be both a grammatical and a phonological abstraction, wherein the criteria of both analyses to some extent coincide...where the phonological analysis permits of alternatives, that alternative is to be chosen which is most congruent with the grammatical analysis...important correspondences may be observed between phonology and grammar...but the relation between them...is an indirect one via the phonic data (Allen 1956:145; his emphasis).

The difference between the two approaches is that the former uses phonology as an intermediate level for relating grammatical statements to the phonic data and thus puts emphasis on the phonology, whereas the latter presents the levels of the phonology and grammar as being strataally equal and being linked directly to the phonic data on their own accord - thus the relationship between the strata is indirect.

A third possible interpretation of the relations between the levels is given by Oyelaran (1967) in his discussion of how a text is related to context of situation. This view presents the inter-relationship between the levels in a 'network' fashion:

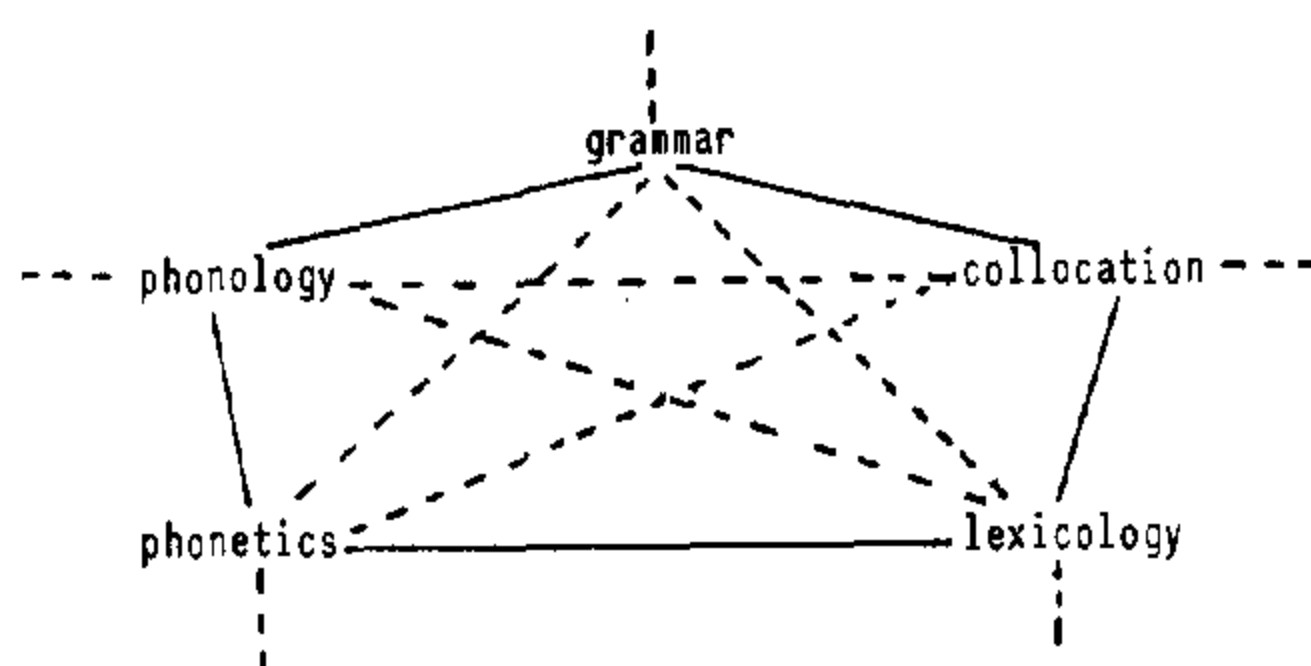


Fig. 3. A Network Representation of the Relationship between the Levels (Oyelaran 1967:439).¹¹

The...diagram shows Firth's conception of the network of relations within the context of situation. It should be noted that there is no question of hierarchy here, and that from any given level, there is contact with any describable situation, as Firth puts it, to ensure meaning [the renewal of connection represented by the lines reaching out

It remains obscure, however, which of these representations between levels Firth would have favoured or whether in fact any of them represent his views. Nevertheless, the discussion about the nature, the number and the relationship of levels continues,¹² this thesis being a prime example of an attempt to find answers to questions that have troubled and fascinated linguists for years. It seems that Allen's interpretation of Firth's ideas is closest to the stand that will be taken in this study on the relationship between the social semiotic planes and the language strata. The specific areas where Firth's ideas have, directly or indirectly, influenced the views that will be presented below are the stratified statements of meaning, especially the relations of discourse systems and structures on the plane of language (CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, LEXICAL COHESION, REFERENCE and CONJUNCTION) to the higher semiotic systems on the planes of register and genre and their structures in texts. But it is worthwhile to emphasize that the relationship is not to be seen as e.g. Kachru (1980:95) sees it, where "the structure and system of a text is to be related with the 'structure' and 'system' outside", (his emphasis). In other words, the linguistic levels and the contextual factors are not just seen to be standing in a correlational relationship vis-à-vis one another, but the relationship is rather a realizational relationship where the highest semiotic planes are seen to be realized by the language plane.

1.4 Beyond Firth: Establishing Scales and Categories

As mentioned previously, Firth was frequently criticized for not substantiating his theory with analyses of all the levels he was proposing. Firth concentrated primarily on phonological descriptions, but inspired his followers to work in the description of syntax (see e.g. Allen's work (1956) on the Abaza language and Halliday's work (1956/76, 1959) on Chinese). At the time of Firth's death syntactic theory and description was well under its way in the form of 'scale and category grammar' (Halliday 1964/81:21), largely developed by Halliday (see Halliday 1961). It seems retrospectively justifiable to say that the 1960's saw a shift of focus in the neo-Firthian theory. The grammatical level became the major source for both theoretical

and applied publications (for the theory see e.g. Halliday 1967/68; the articles in Kress 1976; and in Halliday and Martin 1981; for applied grammars see e.g. Sinclair 1972 and Muir 1972). But at the same time descriptions of the other levels were not forgotten, either. Phonological descriptions continued (see e.g. Halliday 1967, 1970) and the contextual aspects of linguistic descriptions became better known under the heading 'register'. Thus throughout, Firth's followers paid tribute to Firth's legacy - a unified theory of language use in social context continued taking its shape.

In this section the major features of this early systemic-functional theory of the 1960's will be discussed from the point of view of the levels of language, starting with the level of form, lexicogrammar, and relating it first to phonology and then to context and, finally, discussing what the role of register theory was during this decade.

1.4.1 The Levels of Language and the Levels of Linguistics

In the 1960's the basic Firthian principle that "linguistic events should be accounted for at a number of different levels" (Halliday 1961:243) also directed the work of the early systemicists. The procedure visualized for arriving at the various strata for analyzing language can, in short, be described as follows: the starting point for linguistic analysis is the observation of linguistic events - the raw material (sound and graphs), substance - in social environments where language is being used, situations. Our careful analyses of the observations show us that language is organized into meaningful patterns - it has form. We now need to set up theoretical categories which allow us to account systematically for the various patternings - the form - language takes. But form has to be related both to substance and to situation. Therefore, in addition to the primary levels of substance, form and situation, we have two interlevels: phonology, relating substance to form and context, relating form to situation.¹³ Also on these interlevels different theoretical categories are needed to account for the description of linguistic patternings (for more details see Halliday 1961; Halliday et al. 1964; Halliday 1966a and Berry 1975; Berry 1977).

The primary levels of substance, form and situation and the interlevels of phonology and context are all levels of language but only phonology, form and context are considered to be the levels of linguistic analyses. As levels, they are seen at the same time as independent and as interrelated. The following figure by Halliday presents the relationships between the levels and the study of the levels as they were seen in the 1960's:

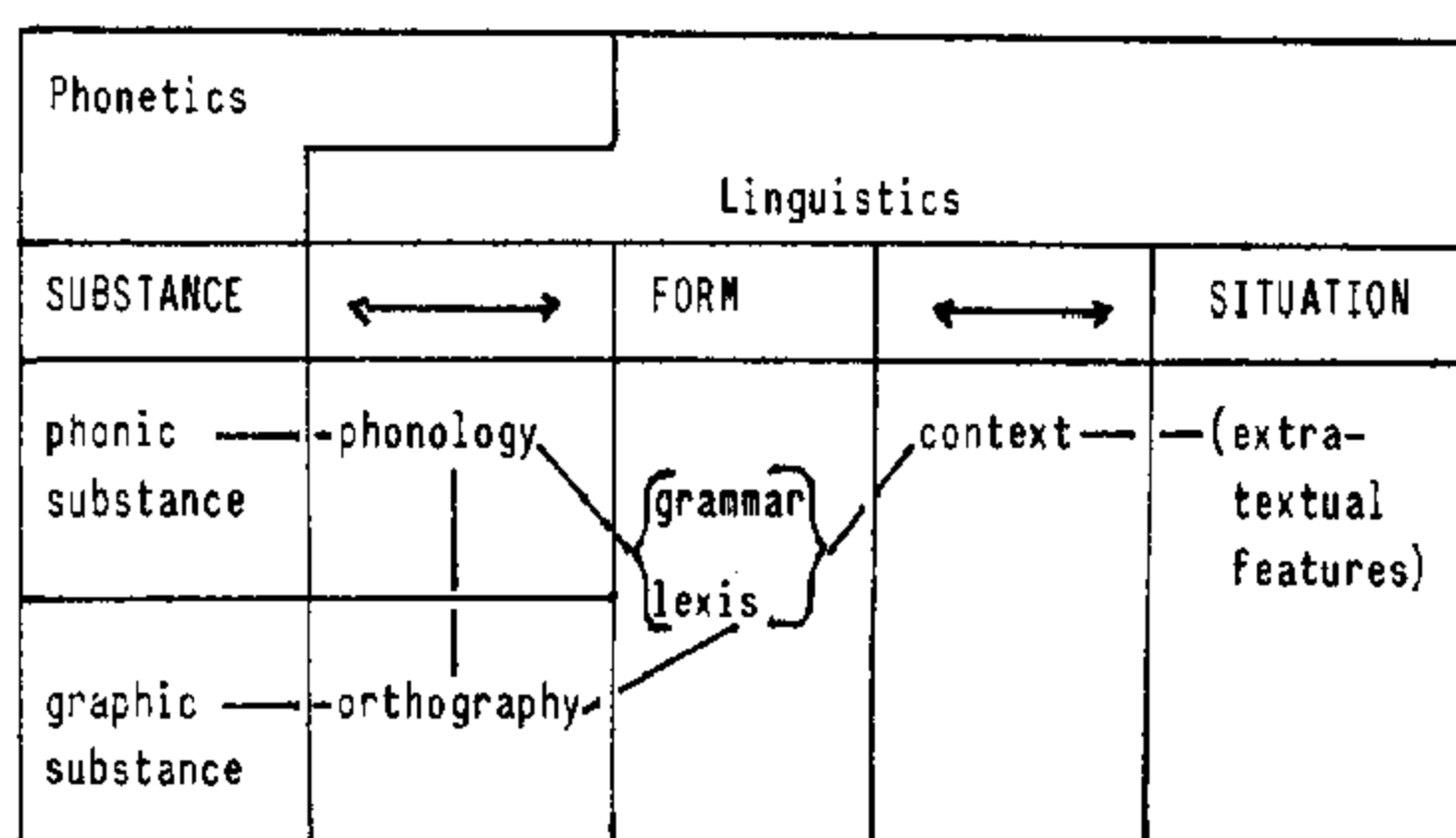


Fig. 4. Halliday's Levels of Language and Levels of Linguistics (Halliday 1961:244).

1.4.2 Form

On each linguistic stratum language is viewed as an organization on two axes: on the axis of chain as syntagmatic structures and on the axis of choice as paradigmatic systems (see Halliday 1963/76:84-87; Berry 1975:51-54). The choices from the paradigmatic systems 'fill in' the syntagmatic structural slots. On the level of form two aspects of choice can be distinguished: the paradigmatic systems can be either open or closed. The choices of closed type are arranged as systems of grammar and the choices of open type are arranged as sets of the lexicon. The difference between the closed systems and open sets is the following: in the closed systems the choices are 1) exhaustive (one can only choose among a limited number of features, e.g. between a, b and c), 2) exclusive (features cannot be identical, e.g. if a then not b and not c) and 3) non-creatable (if there are in the system features a, b and c one cannot add feature d without changing the meaning of the others) (Halliday 1961:247); in the open

sets the choices are not so readily stated in terms of choosing one or the other, but rather it is a question of choosing one item more probably than the other, and we can continuously add new items to the set. Therefore we have two 'sides of the coin' of form, namely grammar and lexis. The following quotation further clarifies the difference between the two:

grammar deals with closed system choices, which may be items (this/that; I/you/he/she/it we/they) or between categories (singular/plural; past/present/future); lexis with open set choices which are always between items (Halliday et al. 1964:23).

1.4.2.1 Grammar

For the analysis of grammatical patterning four theoretical categories are needed: unit, structure, class and system. These categories are related to each other in terms of the scales of rank, delicacy and realization.¹⁴ A distinction is made between the theoretical categories and the descriptive categories. The theoretical categories mentioned above are universal whereas the descriptive categories of these theoretical categories (e.g. clause/noun/verb) are language dependent¹⁵ (Halliday 1961; Halliday 1966a; Halliday et al. 1964).

The first category, unit, is set up to account for "the stretches that carry grammatical patterns" (Halliday 1961:251). For English five syntactic units are proposed: sentence, clause, group, word and morpheme (in Halliday in press a, sentence is replaced by clause complex). The units are related to one another by a scale called rank where they are arranged so that there exists 'a constituency relationship' (a clause consists of one or more groups, a group of one or more words etc.). This means that a formal item such as no is at the same time a clause, a group, a word and a morpheme (Halliday 1966a:8; Halliday et al. 1964:25). Units at a particular rank may also be 'rankshifted' downwards to function at the rank below. For example, the clause where I live functions as a unit of a clause complex in Where I live it always rains and as a rankshifted element within a nominal group in The house where I live is always very damp (Halliday et al. 1964:27). The units differ functionally, e.g. there

are in English declarative, interrogative and imperative clauses and nominal, verbal and adverbial groups. The unit types are defined both paradigmatically in terms of features in the system and syntagmatically in terms of sequences of the structural elements, as will be shown below.

Structure is "set up to account for likeness between events in successivity" (Halliday 1961:254). It refers to the part-whole relations in the linguistic unit. The unit can be viewed in terms of the parts of which it is made up and of how these parts relate to the total linguistic unit (Halliday 1965/81:29; Halliday 1969/81:124). Thus, for example, in John broke the window we can distinguish in grammatical terms three parts: John, broke and the window. These elements of structure in the grammatical unit of clause stand in a functional relationship to each other and to the clause as a whole. In the scale and category grammar the structural elements above would have been described as Subject, Predicator and Complement (realized by class items, nominal group, verbal group and nominal group; see below) respectively - in the systemic grammar broke would be seen as a conflation of the functions of Finite and Predicator (see Halliday in press a). But, as Martin points out, the system networks where these functions are specified included "a good deal more information about the English clause...than could be expressed through arrangements of the elements S, P, C and A [Subject, Predicator, Complement and Adjunct]" (Halliday and Martin 1981:57). This led to providing more delicate descriptions of these elements of structure by adding 'superscripts' to them, e.g. Subject^{actor} (see e.g. Huddleston 1966/81; Halliday and Martin 1981:100-102). Later in the systemic grammar the elements of structure are always seen to be multifunctional. For example, the elements in John broke the window are seen to carry not only the interpersonal functions (having to do with clause as exchange) that are listed above, but also the ideational functions (clause as representation) of Actor (John), Process (broke) and Goal (the window) and the textual functions (clause as message) of Theme (John) and Rheme (broke the window). This is an example of the structure of the grammatical unit of clause. The other units of which clauses are made up naturally display their own structures in terms of the

the country has a structure of Deictic, Epithet, Thing and Qualifier (see Halliday in press a for more details). The only unit that does not have structure is the morpheme - being the smallest unit it cannot be analyzed further in grammatical terms (Halliday 1961:256; Halliday et al. 1964:29).

Structure is made up of functional elements which are sequentially ordered. Changes in the ordering of the elements are always meaningful. For example, changing the elements Subject and Finite in The cat is out and Is the cat out?¹⁶ results in a change in the function of the clause. Thus the ordering of Subject and Finite realizes the grammatical functioning of the clause either as giving information (declarative) or as demanding it (interrogative) (see Halliday in press a:119).

Class is defined as

a grouping of the members of a given unit that have the same potentiality of occurrence...The class is the set of items which operate in the same way, playing the same role in the structures of the unit next above (Halliday 1966a:12).

Class items are typically associated with the element of structure in the unit above. Thus, for example, the class 'verbal group' realizes the Finite and Predicator functions in the unit of clause, or 'noun' typically realizes the function of Thing in the nominal group, which in turn realizes e.g. the function of Complement in the higher unit, 'clause'. The necessity for the double functioning for function and class is made especially clear in Halliday's later writing (see Halliday in press a). Thus, although an item belongs to one class, it may function at two places of structure, e.g. in Apples grow on trees, apples is a class item 'noun' functioning as a Subject in the clause structure, whereas the same item functions as Complement in People eat apples. Similarly in Black is beautiful and Sailing is fun the class items 'adjective' and 'verb' are used to realize the Subject function of the clause, although typically it is realized by a nominal group.

System accounts for "the occurrence of one rather than other from among a number of like events" (Halliday 1961:264). Systems are meaningful choices organized paradigmatically at particular places in

the syntagmatic structure of a unit. For example, at the structural place of the element Subject in the clause structure we have to decide whether we want to refer to one or more things, i.e. we have to choose either a feature [singular] or [plural] from the system of NUMBER operating at this slot. The scale of delicacy relates the systems to one another. We can make ever more delicate distinctions in the features of systems, e.g. when we are considering the mood of the clause the primary distinction is between [major] (realized by the presence of Subject and Finite) and [minor] (no Subject or Finite) clauses; we then increase the delicacy and see, for example, that in all major clauses there is a choice between [indicative] and [imperative] clauses (again having different structural realizations) and further, in indicative clauses we have a more delicate choice between [declarative] and [interrogative] and so on. The systems form interrelated networks of systems (see Halliday 1964/81). With every step of increasing delicacy we are at the same time decreasing the number of possible realizations for a particular option in question. When no more delicate grammatical distinctions can be made the scale of realization takes over and the most delicate choices within the network are realized by choices from the open set of options, from the lexis.

Originally the categories were set out to be of equal importance, but, as has been pointed out by others (Butler 1979:72; Kress 1976: xviii; Hudson 1974/81:190), the category of system soon became the most important category in the scale and category linguistics, thus also changing its name to systemic linguistics. By 1966 Halliday (1966/76:94) writes that the systemic description of grammatical patternings, i.e. the paradigmatic description, is to be considered as being not only complementary but, in fact, 'underlying' or 'more fundamental' to the structural or syntagmatic description. The systems are related to structures via realization. Halliday further points out how systems are, through the scale of delicacy, interdependent so that the more delicate choices presupposes the less delicate choices. The networks achieved through the scale of delicacy are also now considered to be interacting with one another, for example in the choice of MOOD the features [declarative] and [interrogative]

are interacting with the choice from another system, [unpredicated] or [predicated] THEME, thus giving us e.g. the following different realizations for the same ideational 'content': John has seen the play (ind:decl:unpred); It's John who has seen the play (ind:decl:pred); Is it John who has seen the play? (ind:interrog:pred) etc.

This interrelationship between the systems naturally suggests to us the way to the later development where system networks are grouped according to the metafunctions of language (ideational, interpersonal and textual) with interaction from all three types of networks on the grammatical level (see Halliday 1977, 1978, 1979, in press a, and Chapter II, section 2.1.1).

1.4.2.2 Lexis

As has been previously mentioned, in the scale and category model form subdivides into grammar and lexis. Lexis has to be seen as an independent area within the level of form for the reason that not all patternings can be explained by grammar only. As Halliday (1966b: 150) points out, we cannot explain in grammatical terms why powerful tea and a strong car are less likely patternings than strong tea and a powerful car. In grammatical terms the former seems just as well-formed a nominal group as the latter (cf. Chomsky's famous colourless green ideas sleep furiously).

For explaining lexical patternings paradigmatically and syntagmatically (as system and structure) the scale-and-category grammarians posited theoretical categories for lexis analogous to the ones of grammar. The categories naturally differ, as the phenomena they set out to describe are seen as different from (although related to) grammar. The lexical categories are not substantiated by the same amount of studies as the grammatical categories are, since, as Hudson (1974/81:211) remarks, "the ratio of certainty to uncertainty falls as we leave syntax" (see also Berry 1977:65). The difficulties that the early lexical studies faced have largely to do with the fact that textual studies were still at their early stages. The notion of text was being formulated. Methods of handling such large amounts of data as required for capturing the lexical potential of language, i.e. when

it is not related to a particular register or genre, were not developed (see Halliday 1966b; Sinclair 1966; Sinclair et al. 1970) and even today it seems that the most profitable approach to understanding the functioning of lexis is through the systems of social semiotics, as will be discussed in this study in Chapter VI. Thus, below only an overview of lexis as it was seen in the 1960's will be given.

Lexis differs from grammar in that there are no theoretical categories similar to the units organized in a rank scale and the classes of grammar. There are only lexical items, which cannot be organized hierarchically (i.e. there is no constituency relationship between them; even compounds function as lexical items in their own right rather than as composites of the parts, e.g. highbrow in He's quite a highbrow has nothing to do with the person having 'high brows', see Bauer 1983:29). Frequently lexical items correspond to the grammatical unit 'word', although, for example, in the case of idioms this is not so (sometimes idioms correspond to groups or clauses; sometimes they cannot be correlated with any grammatical unit, e.g. in the case of a lexical item burn the candle at both ends in a sentence He has been burning the candle at both ends for some time now and as a result has had a nervous breakdown; Berry's (1977:60) example, see also the discussions on idioms by Halliday 1966b; Sinclair 1966 and Mitchell 1971/75). It is, in fact, 'class' that functions as an intermediating factor between grammar and lexis. According to Halliday et al. (1964:32), when we come to the very delicate distinctions in grammar the choices made are no longer between abstract classes, such as [active] - [passive] but rather between lexical items which are features in the system, e.g. [this] - [that].

In lexis we are concerned with a very simple set of relations into which enter a large number of items, which must therefore be differentiated qua items, whereas in grammar we are concerned with very complex and variable relations in which the primary differentiation is among the relations themselves: it is only secondarily that we differentiate among the items, and we begin by 'abstracting out' this difference. In other words, there is a definable sense in which 'more abstraction' is involved in grammar than is possible in lexis (Halliday 1966b:153).

Thus, in lexis the item is related directly to categories of collocation and lexical set, to the structure and system, without intermediating class.

Collocation in lexis is set up as a theoretical category corresponding to structure in the grammar and its function is to account for the syntagmatic patternings found in texts, in other words, helping to recognize 'the company the words keep' (see Firth 1957b/68:179; Halliday 1961:276; Halliday 1966b:152). Lexical items are recognized by their collocational patternings. Berry (1977:61) illustrates this by the lexical items cat, dog, and cats and dogs. Cat collocates, for example, with such items as mew, purr, fur, milk etc. and dog collocates with wag, tail, bark, growl, but cats and dogs collocates with items like rain, umbrella, wet. Collocations are studied by taking each lexical item in the text in turn as a node and examining which items on each side collocate with the node. The span of studying collocates of a node can be enlarged by increasing the number of the items studied on both sides of the nodes (for more details see Sinclair 1966; Sinclair et al. 1970). Collocation is largely a matter of probability. Lexical items may theoretically occur with any other lexical item (note that this is not so in grammar), but it is more likely that a certain item will appear more frequently with some rather than other items (this, as will be discussed later in Chapter VI, is for the most part 'dictated' by the particular choices in the field networks of the register in question). In the 1960's the collocational studies were seen to play an important role in the study of literature (Halliday 1966b; for more specific discussions on the importance of lexical studies especially in relation to contextualized studies of literature and style, see e.g. Enkvist et al. 1964 and Crystal and Davy 1969).

By setting up a span for the collocations of a node we find the typical collocates of a lexical item. These collocates form a lexical cluster. By looking at the clusters of each node alternatively in a text we shall find that the items in a cluster of one node may occur also in the cluster of another node. In other words, the original node will naturally function as a collocate in the cluster which is formed when one of its own collocates is taken up as a node. The items

are overlapping in their collocational spread (Halliday 1961:276). They are inter-collocating (Sinclair 1966:426). On the basis of this inter-collocation we can conflate the items in the clusters to form a lexical set - the paradigmatic patterning of lexis corresponding to system in grammar.

Lexical sets are, thus, general groupings of lexical items based on the probability of their co-occurrence. They are the systems of lexis, but so far drawing system networks for lexical sets has proven hard. Hudson (1974/81:211), for example, states that one reason for this is that "it does not seem possible to define relations between lexical items sufficiently precisely to base system networks on them" and that "even when the relations seem to be clear they turn out not to be the kinds of relations that can be handled in terms of a system network" (i.e. the terms or features end up being distributional rather than generalized, e.g. 39 features will equal 39 lexical items). However, some suggestions on how to draw up system networks as choices of features of lexicon have been suggested by Berry (1977:61-67), e.g. cow has chosen from the system of GENDER the features [bovine: feminine:adult] (cf. componential analysis).¹⁷ Berry discusses the numerous difficulties that one faces in setting up systems of lexis in the way envisaged by her, not the least serious of which is the problem of telling whether the feature in the system belongs to one or more lexical items and whether, in fact, the features are carried by the lexical items themselves or the collocates in question. These issues will be examined further in Chapter VI where it will be suggested that it may be possible to draw field-constrained systems of lexis for particular registers, but that these system networks are to be seen as part of the semiotic systems rather than systems of the lexicogrammatical stratum (collocation will still be seen as juxtaposing lexical items, i.e. providing the lexical structure on the lexicogrammatical stratum).

In spite of separating form under the two labels 'grammar' and 'lexis' a very close relationship is seen between the two. A move from grammar to lexis is only a step in delicacy (Halliday 1961:267). This is also reflected in the fact that in later systemic theory 'lexicogrammar' is preferred to 'form'. Whether or not grammar and

lexis are hierarchical or parallel is an issue related to delicacy. Figure 4 on p.28 shows grammar and lexis parallel, but if one accepts lexical items as more delicate realizations of grammar, hierarchical representation may seem more appropriate. This is the view suggested by Berry (1977:68-75).

As this short recount has hopefully demonstrated, work on lexis in the early systemic framework set out to account for the formal meaning of lexis, trying to map out the lexical potential of language. In practical terms its achievements were limited, as reported by Sinclair et al. (1970). But it provides an excellent basis for future work (see Chapter VI). Lexis on the level of form was never meant to account for lexical patternings in certain types of texts. This was the task of the contextual interlevel and of register theory, discussed in section 1.4.4 below. However, first the interlevel of phonology will be viewed.

1.4.3 Phonology

If our purpose is to communicate with other members of our speech community we need to organize whatever we want to say into meaningful patterns. Above it was discussed how this patterning takes place on the level of form - how in grammar and in lexis patterns are organized to express meanings. But we also have to organize into meaningful patterns the graphic and phonic substance in which language is manifested. What I will write or say does not necessarily make sense unless somehow the form will be linked with the substance. We need "a bridge between form and substance" (Halliday 1976:9). This link is provided by the interlevels of phonology and graphology. Since the study of spoken language is the main interest in this study only the level of phonology will be addressed (for graphology see e.g. Berry 1977).

Why is the phonological interlevel needed? As Halliday et al. (1964:43) point out, the linking would be easy if there existed a one-to-one correspondence between formal patterns and patterns of substance. However, this is not the case, since the number of formal contrasts is so great. We necessarily have to allow substance to carry more than one formal meaning, e.g. [s] in English may carry the

meaning of plural as in cats or the meaning of present tense as in kicks in a clause He kicks the ball well. There is one important aspect that differentiates 'systemic phonology' from 'Bloomfieldian phonology'. From its early stages systemic theory has insisted that we cannot relate the units in grammar and lexis directly to sounds, to substance. A morpheme, for example, does not consist of sounds. Rather it is an abstract grammatical category which is realized by sounds which are organized into meaningful patterns on another abstract level - on the level of phonology (Halliday 1961:283). When we see the relationship between the levels of form and substance as a realization relationship rather than as a constituency relationship it is much easier to explain such differences in English verbal groups pairs as kick-kicked and shake-shook. Both kicked and shook have two morphemes (the base and the past tense) but they are realized by different sequences of phonemes.

Since phonology is a separate level of language it is natural that the categories used for its description are also different from those of the level of form. The phonological units in English are: tone group, foot, syllable and phoneme. Similarly to the grammatical units, the units of phonology are organized on a rank scale: a tone group consists of one or more feet etc. There is, however, no possibility of rankshift on the level of phonology (Halliday 1967:12). A tone group cannot function within the structure of, let us say, a foot.

Each unit carries a distinct phonological pattern in its structure. To use Berry's (1977:83) words: "tone-groups carry patterns of pitch; feet...patterns of stress; syllables...patterns of differently articulated sounds". The phonological units and their structures are presented elsewhere (Halliday, 1967, 1970); therefore, only a short review of the units (based on the references mentioned) will be presented below.

In the structure of a tone group we can distinguish three places for elements: the tonic, the pre-tonic and the post-tonic. The tonic element is the only obligatory element in the tone group. The tonic element of the tone group is in English the place where the speakers vary their pitch (falling, rising, level). All the changes

of pitch are meaningful for English speakers and these pitch movements can roughly be grouped into five primary tones, Tone 1: falling; Tone 2: high rising or falling-rising (pointed); Tone 3: low rising; Tone 4: falling-rising (rounded); Tone 5: rising-falling (rounded), and two compound tones (with two tonics); Tone 13: falling plus rising; Tone 53: rising-falling (rounded) plus low rising. Certain realizational correspondencies between the choice of tones and the grammatical units are typically made. Often, but by no means necessarily, the tone group realizes the grammatical unit clause and often a particular grammatical patterning in a clause tends to be realized by a specific choice of tone, e.g. polar-interrogatives are usually uttered with Tone 2 whereas declaratives and wh-interrogatives are uttered with Tone 1 (but just as well a clause which carries the grammatical patterning of a declarative may function as a question corresponding to a polar-interrogative, e.g. You're coming tonight (Tone 2) vs. Are you coming tonight? (Tone 2)). A tone group is made up of feet. A foot has a structure of two elements, the ictus and the remiss, the ictus being the element beginning the foot. The ictus may, however, also be silent. Feet are made up of syllables, which are either weak or salient (roughly meaning stressed). Every foot where the ictus is not silent includes one salient syllable and optionally one or more weak syllables. Syllables, in turn, are made up of phonemes, the smallest of the phonological units. Since it is the lowest unit of the rank scale it has no structure of its own (cf. morphemes in grammar).

What the position of the categories of class and system is on the phonological level is not very clearly presented in the early systemic theory. It is obvious that choices of tones can be systematically presented (see Halliday's networks of tone systems in Halliday 1967 and in Kress 1976:102-103). Halliday's position with respect to the systematization of the lower unit choices and to the category of class is not explicitly stated in his writings on phonology. Similarly, Berry (1977) totally excludes the category of class in phonology. Halliday et al. do, however, state that they consider the phonological distinctions to be closed systems and that classes are still recognized because

at any given place the set of possibilities may be treated as open: for example the class of strong syllables in English, defined as having a certain value in the foot (Halliday et al. 1964:46).

1.4.4 Context

During early systemic work the descriptions of the phonological and especially of the lexicogrammatical strata were so foregrounded that many came to consider scale and category grammar as another highly technical model in which only theoretical linguists were interested (grammars specifically written for teaching contexts did not appear until the early 1970's, see Sinclair 1972 and Muir 1972). But remaining faithful to the Firthian 'spectrum' view of meaning (see p.18), the 1960's also saw some development of Firth's context of situation in terms of theoretical considerations and, to a lesser degree, descriptions of the second interlevel, context, proposed by Halliday (see Fig. 4, p.28) and further in terms of the development of register theory, which was seen as a valuable notion for applied linguistics and literary studies. Below, what was envisaged by the interlevel of context will be discussed first and then an overview of the early register theory will be given.

1.4.4.1 Context vs. Semantics

Halliday provides an early definition of context, as it was viewed in the scale and category period:

The context is the relation of the form to non-linguistic features of the situations in which language operated, and to linguistic features other than those of the item under attention: these being together 'extratextual features' (Halliday 1961:243-244).

That language should be studied in relation to its context, its use in situations, was unanimously agreed upon by the early systemicists. But when one reads the books and articles published in the 1960's on contextual meaning one becomes perplexed. It is difficult to see what precisely is meant by contextual meaning, as no unified, systematized presentation of the contextual level exists (cf. the

descriptions of phonology, grammar and lexis).

Agreement seems to prevail that contextual meaning was more than 'referential or conceptual meaning', which in the structuralist view (see Bloomfield 1933) was seen as a function of the 'semantic' level of language, and of that level only, and which the transformational theory in its early stages wanted to dissociate completely from the study of form (see Chomsky 1957).¹⁸ Meaning for the early systemicists was formal as well as contextual and this is one reason why the term 'semantics' was initially rejected by systemic theory. The second reason is given by Halliday:

'semantics' is too closely tied to...the conceptual method. The latter, by attempting to link language form to unobservables, becomes circular, since concepts are only observable as (exponents of) [realizations of] the forms they set up to 'explain'. The linguistic statement of context attempts to relate language form to (abstraction from) other (i.e. extratextual) observables (Halliday 1961:245).

Context, as a linguistic level, cannot correspond to 'the real world'. As has already been discussed (sections 1.2.2 and 1.3.1) in relation to Malinowski's and Firth's work, context had undergone a stage of abstraction. It is perhaps beneficial at this stage to recapitulate Firth's views on context of situation, especially since he also uses the term 'semantics' (Firth 1935/57).

Firth's central unit for studying language is a text which, in order to understand its meaning, must be considered from two points of view: from the interior meaning relations within the text and from the situational meaning relations that the text has to the situation where it is produced as part of the on-going social process. The interior relations were handled by the phonological, grammatical, morphological and lexical functions that language has. The situational relations which included both verbal and non-verbal action of the participants, the relevant objects and events as well as the total effect that the text (however short) achieves in the whole social process were seen to be operating on the level of context of situation (see section 1.3.1). Firth stresses

the abstract nature of the context of situation as a group of categories, both verbal and non-verbal, which are considered as interrelated (Firth 1957b/68:175).

Context of situation to Firth seems to be a semiotic level where language plays a major role, but not the total role (in this respect, as will be shown later (see Chapter II) Firth's views may, in fact, have been very close to the view presented in this thesis concerning the status of register and genre as semiotic planes which are realized by a special tri-stratal semiotic plane of language). It is in the context of situation that language seems to Firth to have a semantic function:

The central concept of the whole of semantics... is the context of situation. In that context are the human participant or participants, what they say, and what is going on...it is for this situational and experiential study that I would reserve the term 'semantics' (Firth 1935/57:27).

And shortly following in the same article, "the function of a complete locution in the context of situation, or typical context of situation" is being nominated as "the province of semantics" (Firth 1935/57:33).

It seems to me then that Firth reserves the term 'semantics' to the study of text within the semiotic level of context. In that sense semantics interfaces the context of situation (the situational relations) with the linguistic contexts of phonology, grammar, morphology and lexis (the interior relations). And it is indeed to this notion of interlevel that e.g. Halliday in his views of context remained faithful:

context relates form to extratextual features and is (like phonology) an interlevel, the categories of context, like those of phonology, are not determined by (still less, of course, do they determine) the categories of form; but contextual statement is required to account for all (instances of the) reflection in form of extra-textual features (Halliday 1961:275).

As can be seen from Fig. 4, p.28, Halliday presents the levels of language as being substance-form-situation with the interlevels of

phonology and context. The levels that linguistics concerns itself with exclude the 'extratextual' situation. What, interestingly enough, seems to have occurred is the parting of Firth's context of situation into context and situation.

As Firth's writing on context of situation was highly tentative, one may only speculate as to whether the separation of semantics, or context as it was now called, from situation was a diversion of Firth's own intentions. The quotations from Firth above seem to suggest that semantics, as the study of text, was inseparable from the context of situation, i.e. the study of text was the study of semiotics in the sense that text realizes the semiotics. Firth's followers, on the other hand, seem to separate context into a linguistic level and situation into a non-linguistic level. Gregory, for example, writes:

Situation is an aspect of the description of language events, not a level of language or linguistics. Context is seen as a level of language, as its concern is with certain patterns and pattern correlations which are part of that abstraction from phenomena that leads us to say: 'this is language'; to identify, that is, certain forms of behaviour as linguistic behaviour (Gregory 1967:178).

Gregory (1967:185) establishes the following situational categories: purposive role, medium relationship, addressee relationship: (a) personal tenor and (b) functional. The respective contextual categories are: field of discourse, mode of discourse, tenor of discourse: (a) personal tenor and (b) functional tenor (in his later writing the situational categories are seen to be semiotic categories 'making up' the generic situation whereas the contextual categories are relabelled as semantic categories and now 'make up' the register; the generic situation and the register together represent a genre, see Gregory 1982).

It seems that Firth's followers, at this stage anyhow, were striving for a more general and abstract conceptualization than perhaps intended by Firth when separating context from situation (leading to a three stratal model of phonology-lexicogrammar-semantics,

semantics still, however, being the stratum the contents of which is not being agreed upon unanimously by the systemicists; for a discussion see Gregory 1982; Martin forthcoming; Chapter II below). The level of context was intended to relate form to some kind of 'generalized speaker-hearer situation', whereas the level of situation and register theory (as will be discussed shortly, see section 1.4.4.2) had the function of relating form to a specific situation or to a specific situation type. This is at least an impression one gets when reading, for example:

Since the aim of linguistics is to describe languages, to explain the operation of linguistic items and patterns, it is not surprising that the method which has proved most successful and useful is that which starts by describing linguistic form. We first state the patterns of internal relations, with the items that enter into them; and in doing so we use formal criteria as crucial in recognizing grammatical and lexical categories ...This does not mean that we do not then try go on to say something about the contextual meaning of these categories: what 'clause' and 'subject' and 'noun' reflect in the situation in which language is playing a part. It is important to know that the clause is, among other things, the vehicle for making the distinction between statements and questions, and that the nominal group is, among other things, a class of items referring to objects that can be distinguished according to whether there is one or more than one of them (Halliday et al. 1964:38-39).

Catford (1965) also gives an example of contextual meaning which seems to suggest that context is considered more autonomously as distinct from the social processes in situation types than perhaps suggested by Firth. To him, context is a level where "statements about the distinctive features of situation...which are relatable to particular grammatical/lexical forms" (Catford 1965:5) are made. He demonstrates how in English and in N.E. Scots dialect the contextual meaning of the reference system cannot be the same: in the former we have this/that (both [singular] but differentiated by contextual features [near the speaker] and [away from the speaker] and these/those (both [plural] but differentiated by the same contextual features as above); the latter lacks the number system (features [singular], [plural] do not

apply) with the items this/that/yon (items are differentiated by the features [near the speaker], [away from the speaker] and [away from the speaker and the addressee]). This shows the close correspondence the grammatical systems and the contextual systems are bound to have and this makes the border line between form and context extremely fuzzy (an issue that is even today debated):

as soon as one gives informative labels to a grammatical system and its terms [features]... one is already making observations, however, approximate, about contextual meanings (Halliday 1966a:28).

The fact that the features as labels carry meanings makes the systemic grammar a semantically rich grammar. The meanings that the features carry are, however, 'resolved' by realization. In other words, there must be a particular grammatical structure that realizes the meaning of a particular feature. For example, in distinguishing the grammatical features [declarative] and [interrogative:polar] in terms of what they mean one has to look at the structures that they are realized by. In other words, a feature [declarative] is realized by the sequence of the functional elements Subject and Finite as Subject-Finite, whereas the feature [interrogative:polar] is realized by the sequence Finite-Subject. The difference in the formal realization is a signal of the difference in the grammatical meaning (for details, see Halliday in press a).

The possibility of describing contextual meaning both interstratally (relating to situation) as well as intrastratally (on its own level) is further supported by Ellis's views. Ellis (1966) sees the contextual meaning both as potential and as instantial. The potential contextual meaning of a linguistic item is "the range of possible contextual meanings of that item considered in abstraction from any text" whereas the instantial contextual meaning is "the actual meaning in a given instance of occurrence in a given place in a given text with a given situation" (Ellis 1966:81; my emphasis).¹⁹ It seems that Ellis's potential contextual meaning corresponds largely to the kind of intrastratal semantics offered by those linguists who have been influenced by transformational and specifically post-

transformational views and by those speech act philosophers oriented to logic (see e.g. Lyons 1968, 1977; Kempson 1975; Gazdar 1979; Allwood et al. 1977). It is also worth pointing out that Halliday may possibly have been influenced by Ellis's 'potential contextual meaning' in his use of 'meaning potential' on the semantic level. The term 'meaning potential' had appeared in Halliday's writings by the late 1960's (Halliday 1969/81) but specifically in the 1970's (Halliday 1973, 1978). This will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter II. Ellis's term 'instantial contextual meaning', on the other hand, seems to be closer to the study of register in the sense in which it was outlined and practised in the 1960's (see section 1.4.4.2 below.)

On the basis of what has been presented above, one may but conclude that there prevailed no unanimous theory of what the level of context was and how it was to be described. Often it was brushed aside from linguistic discussions for the reasons of being "less systematized and more controversial" (Halliday 1966a:27).

The description of the formal relations of language was seen to be more important in the 1960's. "The development of the theory and the methods of contextual description is perhaps the most important task of general linguistics for the next decade", Halliday et al. (1964:40) wrote in 1964. But starting out with form rather than with context in the linguistic description was supported for several reasons:

First, formal theories had to be worked out in order for there to be any further progress in description at all. Second, the contextual level of language, though easy to describe in a speculative and imprecise way, is more difficult to describe rigorously and usefully than the formal levels. Third, there was a time when, in reaction against the use of contextual statements as defining criteria, which failed to produce good descriptions, some linguists refused to consider contextual meaning at all (Halliday et al. 1964:39).

1.4.4.2 Register

Whereas context largely remained at highly speculative stages, one area where description was more vigorous in early systemic theory

was the area which has become known as register theory. However, a certain obscurity remains even with the actual concept of register, what exactly it entails, and how it should be described.

Register theory seems to remain more faithful to Firth's context of situation where the semantics of texts is seen as part of the context of situation or, corresponding to the terminology used later in the study, as part of the semiotics of the on-going process. Register theory is essentially a language variation theory which is interested in discovering how the social processes in our cultures differ linguistically, i.e. how different situations 'restrict' or 'determine' our language behaviour in our culture. Certain types of linguistic behaviour are associated with certain situation types. It is to these different types of situationally correlated linguistic behaviours, or text-types, that the term register was first applied (it is perhaps appropriate in this context to draw attention to the fact that the notion of register will be used slightly differently from this traditional meaning in this thesis, see Chapter II). The term register was first used by Reid:

the linguistic behaviour of a given individual is by no means uniform; placed in what appear to be linguistically identical conditions, he will on different occasions speak (or write) differently according to what may be roughly described as different social situations: he will use a number of distinct "registers"...Among the most generally applicable registers are those of familiar intercourse, of administration...of religion or ceremonial, and of literature...As applied to literature they [registers] have of course always been recognized by grammarians under the name of 'styles' (Reid 1956:32-33).

It is important to keep in mind that register variation always cuts across other types of variation. When analyzing a text in order to decide on its particular register features it also has to be considered, for example, in its temporal context (Old-Middle-Modern-English), in its geographical context (American-British-Australian English) and in its social context (Upper-Middle-Working Class English).

Gregory (1967) has represented the dialectal and the register (or, using his term 'diatypic') variation with the figures that are reproduced below. Thus whenever a text is being analysed one must consider the factors represented in these two figures as being simultaneously present in the text (note that Gregory distinguishes both situational categories and contextual categories; this principle is not followed in all early literature on register).

Situational categories	Contextual categories	Examples of English varieties (descriptive contextual categories)	
USER'S {	individuality	idiolect	Mr. X's English, Miss Y's English
	temporal provenance	temporal dialect	Old English, Modern English
	geographical provenance	geographical dialect	British English, American English
	social provenance	social dialect	Upper Class English, Middle Class English
	range of intelligibility	standard/ non-standard dialect	Standard English, Non-Standard English
		DIALECTAL VARIETIES: the linguistic reflection of reasonably permanent characteristics of the USER in language situations	

Fig. 5. Dialectal Variation (Gregory 1976:181).

Situational categories	Contextual categories	Examples of English varieties (descriptive contextual categories)	
USER'S {	purposive role	field of discourse	Technical English, Non-Technical English
	medium (relationship)	mode of discourse	Spoken English, Written English
	addressee relationship	tenor of discourse	
	(a)personal	personal tenor	Formal/Informal English
	(b)functional	functional tenor	Didactic/Non-Didactic English
		DIATYPIC VARIETIES: the linguistic reflection of recurrent characteristics of user's USE of language in situations	

Fig. 6. Diatypic (or Register) Variation (Gregory 1967:185)

There seems to be agreement on two aspects of register among those linguists who first chose to address themselves to the study of situational variation. Firstly, the existence of registers was widely accepted in British linguistics (but cf. Chomsky's notions about homogeneous speech communities and ideal speaker-listener in the American context). Secondly, register was considered to be a linguistic category (contrary to the position that will be taken in this thesis, where register will be considered to be a semiotic category realized by language). The following quotation is a typical representation of the early definitions of register:

Register is a linguistic category, a property relating a given text, in terms of its formal, phonological or graphological, or substantial, features to similar texts in comparable situations, and thereby to features in the situation of utterance or composition (Ellis and Ure 1969:252).

But what was not always so unanimously agreed upon was the ways of approaching the categorization of registers. What were the categories that determined various registers and were they seen as situational or as linguistic?

Halliday et al. (1964:90-94) see the description of the situation types where various registers operate along the following lines:

There is enough evidence for us to be able to recognize the major situation types to which formally [primarily grammatically and lexically, and to a lesser degree phonologically differentiated] distinct registers correspond...It seems most useful to introduce a classification along three dimensions, each representing an aspect of the situations in which language operates and the part played by language in them. Registers, in this view, may be distinguished according to field of discourse, mode of discourse and style of discourse [later 'tenor' following Spencer and Gregory in Enkvist et al. (1964)] (Halliday et al. 1964:90).

Field in most of the early writing on register refers to social activity, to "what is going on" (Halliday et al. 1964:90) when language is used to encode social activity. There are activities such as writing essays or theses where language takes over the whole

activity. But there are also activities where language is not necessarily related to the activity the participants are involved in, e.g. talking politics while washing up (field thus being politics but cf. a text where someone is being instructed in the art of washing up dishes). Field as social activity is slightly confusing and therefore in this thesis the activity in a social process sense will be defined as genre (e.g. genres of lecturing, shopping, giving speeches, recipes, etc.). Field thus will in this study have more of an institutional focus. It is the semiotic organization of discourse according to the activity and participation orientation in various social institutions that make up the everyday lives of members of a culture. It will be represented by choices in a system network. Whenever 'field' is used in this sense it will be referred to as FIELD (capital letters being used for system networks at various strata).

Mode in early register theory refers to the medium, the way language manifests itself in situations (written vs. spoken; see Gregory (1967) for more delicate distinctions). Tenor, on the other hand, refers to the way language varies in situations depending on the speaker-addressee relationships. Mostly tenor relationships are stated as different social role relationships between the participants (e.g. doctor-patient, teacher-pupil and so on) and their influence on the language used by the interactants. For example, a doctor will explain his diagnosis to a patient in a different way from the way he will explain it to a colleague (see Rothery 1979:15-19 for an excellent example).

As with field, it is also necessary in connection with mode and tenor to point out in advance that in this study their interpretation will be extended beyond these early formulations. Mode will be seen in terms of a MODE network mapping MODE options on the scale of delicacy with respect to two major types of orientation: firstly, language-as-action vs. language-as-reflection and, secondly, face-to-face interaction vs. non-face-to-face interaction. Tenor will also be seen in terms of a TENOR network mapping such interpersonal options as 'power vs. solidarity' relationships between the participants, the frequency of 'contact' and the 'affect' the interactants feel towards

each other (for a detailed discussion on the meaning and use of these terms, see Poynton (forthcoming)). In the context of this study it will not be possible to elaborate the FIELD, MODE and TENOR networks extensively. Such networks will be presented in a more detailed form in a volume which is in preparation (Martin and Plum (in prep.)). However, some directions of the nature of FIELD networks have already appeared in Plum (1984) and some FIELD networks relevant to the context of the data of this study will be presented in Chapters IV, VI and IX below. A tentative TENOR network has been presented in Poynton (forthcoming).

In the early formulation of register theory, as was seen from the quotation given above, the categories for defining registers are situational in the sense of being representations of 'aspects of situations'. Thus, field, mode and tenor are not to be interpreted as being in the 'real world'. They are abstract categories which are strictly set up to describe those aspects of situations which are expected to correlate with people's use of language in situations. We are given examples of registers in Halliday et al. (1964). Just to list a few: sports commentary, church service, school lesson, advertisement, recipe, prescription, fashion reporting, popular songs, scientific registers, academic seminars, hairdresser's language, playing games, weather forecasts, etc. (some of these will later in this thesis be viewed as genres rather than as registers). Halliday et al. do not, however, provide analysis beyond exemplification of any of these registers. Neither do they explicitly discuss how register fits the views of language as levels of substance-form-situation with the interlevels of phonology and context (see Fig. 4, p.28). Are field, mode and tenor seen as part of context or part of situation or between the two? The fact that the three categories are the categories of 'discourse' seems to suggest they are part of contextual meaning, but the fact that they are seen as representations of 'aspects of situations' seems to imply that they, in fact, interface context and situation, the latter thus being the 'real world'. As will be discussed later (see Chapter II, 2.1.2), field, mode and tenor in Halliday's later writing become associated with the metafunctional components of language (ideational, interpersonal and textual; see

e.g. Halliday 1973, 1978, 1979) and they are seen as preselecting the choices from the networks on the semantic stratum.

Just to exemplify the variation in the early writings on register it is worthwhile to see how a few other scale and category grammarians viewed register in the 1960's. Catford, for example, in his A Linguistic Theory of Translation (1965) does not attempt to analyze the situation at all, although he claims that contextual meanings are, in fact, the relations between linguistic items and groupings of 'relevant situational features' (Catford 1965:36). Register for him is one of the categories defining the varieties of language (Catford 1965:83). He uses register in a very restricted sense. Register corresponds to speaker's social role in the moment of speaking (Catford 1965:89), i.e. tenor.

Ellis suggests a number of 'components of situation' which apply "as abstract categories to extra-linguistic situations" (Ellis 1966: 82). Some of the components listed by Ellis (1966:82-85) are situational and some are linguistic. This is rather confusing. It is logical to consider such components as immediate situation (what is relevant in the place and at the time of the speech event), wider situation (what is relevant in the culture), participants (features of the performer and the addressee), and thesis (event, process, action, state of affairs etc. to which the utterance refers) as situational components (these components have also been taken up by Berry (1975, 1977), but as she also conflates Halliday's metafunctions with them they will not be discussed here). But Ellis at the same time describes such a component as context of mention as situational. To him it is

the situational component determining (and recognizable by) the formal division of the sentence, or other part of the utterance, into given and new (also contrast, and underlying also the formal category of topic (Ellis 1966:84; his emphasis).

It seems that context of mention operates both on the level of form (sentence) and context (utterance) (cf. Halliday (1967-68, Part 2; Halliday in Kress 1976:174-188) who deals with the given-new

distinction in phonology). Context of mention would more appropriately be considered a feature of the text rather than of the situation. Also problematic is what exactly Ellis means by topic being a formal category. Topic is again more of a feature of a text rather than a feature of the formal level. Ellis' tone, e.g. patronizing, jocular, etc. is a linguistic category correlating with the attitudes of the participants. Register is discussed by Ellis together with the other components of situation. It is not, however, considered to be a situational category but a linguistic one; register is

distinguished by formal (and possibly substantial) features and correlated with types of situation of utterance (Ellis 1966:83).

Probably the most coherent presentation of register in the 1960's was that of Gregory (1967). Instead of using the term register for the situational variation of language he prefers to call this type of variation diatypic variation (mainly for the reasons that register had already been previously used differently in literature and phonetics, see Gregory 1967:195). Gregory defines situation and context as follows:

By SITUATION is meant the study of those extra-textual features, linguistic and non-linguistic, which have high potential relevance to statements of meaning about the texts of language events. By CONTEXT is understood the correlations of formally described linguistic features, groupings of such features within texts and abstracted from them, with those situational features themselves constantly recurrent and relevant to the understanding of language events (Gregory 1967:177-178).

The two levels necessarily interact and this interaction takes place between certain situational categories and certain contextual categories (see Fig. 6 on p.48 and Gregory 1967 for a detailed description). The situational categories of a language user's purposive role correlate with the contextual category of field of discourse. The result of this correlation is in linguistic terms that we can categorize our language use in descriptive contextual categories; for example, this chapter is an instance of 'technical

English'. I am using English to discuss a very limited field - linguistics. The text includes technical terms unfamiliar to a wider audience, whereas if I were describing my everyday life in Sydney no one sharing similar Western living circumstances would have any difficulty in understanding what I was on about. A situational category, user's medium, correlates with the contextual category mode of discourse. The result of this correlation is roughly describable as a dichotomy of 'spoken vs. written English'. Gregory (1967:188-192) goes into great detail in describing the finer distinctions made in the mode: texts can be spoken spontaneously/non-spontaneously; if spontaneous then either conversing or monologuing; if non-spontaneous then either reciting or speaking of what is written etc. The user's relationship with the addressee, a situational category, correlates with tenor of discourse, a contextual category, in two ways: firstly, in terms of the influence of personal relationships to tenor, i.e. personal tenor, resulting in various degrees of formality in language and secondly, in terms of functional relationships and functional tenor, leading to such distinctions in language as e.g. 'didactic/non-didactic'. This latter correlation between the functional addressee relationship and functional tenor is set up to account for:

the discernment and establishment of other related
contrastive points in human social relationships
...which have marked mutually determining
correlations with the language used in context of
these relationships (Gregory 1967:188).

As the discussion above has hopefully demonstrated, early systemicists agreed and disagreed in the 1960's on issues concerning the relationship between situation and language use. The best illustrations and applications of register theory are in the area of literary studies and stylistics (see e.g. Enkvist et al. 1964 and Crystal and Davy 1969). Largely, however, one can say that the theory was (and is even today) still in its making. The scale and category grammarians experimented with context and situation rather than provided a solid theory. Nevertheless, their propositions must retrospectively be considered courageous in the linguistic atmosphere

of the 1960's which to a large extent was so hostile to contextual studies, as will briefly be discussed in the next section.

1.5 The Metamorphosis in the Context of Linguistics

1.5.1 From Transformations to Pragmatics

The questions concerning meaning and extralinguistic situation had not greatly bothered the most prominent and the most widely spread linguistic theory of the 1960's - transformational generative grammar. Chomsky's view in the early TG-period was that "grammar is autonomous and independent of meaning" (Chomsky 1957:17). What linguists are interested in is competence - the speaker's knowledge of his native language - and not in performance - how the speaker puts his competence into use in situations.²⁰ The study of meaning was involved with the latter rather than the former (Chomsky 1965:4). Soon, however, some transformationalists began insisting on including a theory of meaning in the TG-model. A theory of semantics, the level of meaning in the TG-model, was seen to be necessary in solving problems of ambiguities, anomalies and paraphrases (Katz and Fodor 1963/64:484-486). But the theory of meaning incorporated into the TG-model was an abstract theory where meanings were considered by taking into account the possible semantic interpretations allowed by the rules projected by the grammar. The standard TG-theory and its views on semantics can be summarized by quoting Chomsky:

The syntactic component consists of a base and a transformational component. The base, in turn, consists of a categorial subcomponent and a lexicon. The base generates deep structures. A deep structure enters the semantic component and receives a semantic interpretation; it is mapped by the transformational rules into surface structure, which is then given a phonetic interpretation by the rules of the phonological component. Thus the grammar assigns semantic interpretations to signals, this association being mediated by the recursive rules of the syntactic component (Chomsky 1965:141).

Soon, however, the standard theory started developing in various directions of which two major ones will be mentioned here. Firstly, there were the generative semanticists (e.g. Ross, Lakoff, McCawley and also Fillmore, but later representing his own model, case grammar). Generative semantics is a more abstract theory of the deep structure; indeed, grossly simplifying, so abstract that deep structure became 'semanticized' (see McCawley 1974; Lakoff 1974; Lakoff and Ross 1976; Newmeyer 1980). Secondly, there were the interpretivists (or followers of an extended standard theory largely developed by Chomsky). The interpretivist view pushes the semantic interpretations to be generated not from the deep structures generated by the base, but from the surface or, now, 'shallow' structures (Chomsky 1977). The transformations lose much of their power to the degree that in Chomsky (1981) there is only one transformation left. Meanwhile many of Chomsky's followers have come to consider transformations completely unnecessary by setting as their starting point base-generated surface structures and simply expanding the interpretive rules (see Newmeyer 1980:239-241). As far as meaning is concerned, it has become increasingly harder to tell exactly where Chomsky draws the line between grammar and semantics (see e.g. Chomsky 1976 and 1977).

Both the generative semanticists and the interpretivists have been forced, especially in the 1970's, to take a stand towards the views of such language philosophers as Austin (1962/75), Searle (1969, 1979) and Grice (1975). Introducing such pragmatic considerations as speech acts, illocutionary force, indexicals etc. (see e.g. Lakoff 1974; McCawley 1974 for discussions of how the incorporations are seen to fit into the theory) to the already very abstract generative semantic theory ultimately led to the abandonment of the theory. It became so 'dynamic' that "it could no longer be taken seriously by anyone interested in the scientific study of human language" (Newmeyer 1980:167). Facing such ardent attacks as that of Searle (1974) even Chomsky, the defender of formalism, had to somehow acknowledge pragmatics in his theory, although he sees it as 'undoable'. Chomsky (1977:3) speaks of a 'pragmatic competence', which is characterized by the grammar and which interacts with the person's grammatical competence. The pragmatic and the grammatical

competence are two parts of the person's cognitive state - the 'steady' state achieved by adults. Language knowledge is only one kind of knowledge that humans have among the systems of belief and knowledge. How the pragmatic and the grammatical knowledge is put into use involves a different set of cognitive systems and it is not the task of a linguist to describe the performance models.

To sum up then, one can say that the more linguists became interested in how real people speak to one another in the real world the less appealing both the generative semantics and the extended transformational grammar became as usable models for description.

1.5.2 The Ragbag of Pragmatics

The term pragmatics is very controversial in today's linguistics. As Lyons (1977:119) points out, only few linguists use the term in its original sense (as an area of semiotics, see Morris 1946). The indeterminacy of its contents has led to its unfortunate reputation as a 'waste paper basket' of linguistics (see e.g. Chomsky 1968/72: 112; Leech 1974/81:319). Just to give an idea of the diversity of the linguistic phenomena enumerated under the heading 'pragmatics': for Brekle (1972) pragmatics involves deixis, modal sentence adverbials, and performative verbs; for Dillon (1977) it is deixis, old/new information, performative verbs, and indirect speech acts; for Kempson (1975) conversational implicatures and maxims (Grice 1975) are pragmatics; Gazdar (1979:2) defines pragmatics as "meaning minus truth condition"; van Dijk (1977, 1981) includes in pragmatics the pragmatic connectives and macrostructures of texts; de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) see pragmatics as the study of interactants' plans and goals, and so on (see also Morgan 1977:57-58). Pragmatics is omnivalent - it does what you tell it to do for you. What, however, unites the pragmatic theories is that they have brought the contextual considerations of meaning back into the forum (and in this respect they offer a contact point with the systemic-functional view of language). But the degrees in which context is incorporated and the ways it is treated in these theories vary widely.

As pragmatic considerations were first promoted to post-standard-

TG theories by philosophers and logicians (see p.56), it is appropriate to see how this philosophic-logical tradition continued and what its position to the relationship between language and situation was. Contrary to generative semantics, which wants to incorporate pragmatics into semantics (see discussions in e.g. Leech 1974/81; Morgan 1977; Gazdar 1979), 'true' pragmatics presents pragmatics as an independent level of analysis. This involves a theory (or theories) of pragmatic conditions such as speaker-hearer relationship, their beliefs about each other's behaviour and feelings, factual probabilities and assumptions etc. (see e.g. Dillon 1977), which are used to explain presuppositions, implicatures and so on.

The distinction between pragmatics and semantics is made on the following grounds: whenever for the explanation of a linguistic phenomenon one needs to refer to the language user or features of the situation where language is used one is within pragmatics (note that the situation is 'the real world', cf. Firth's situation), but if the phenomenon can be studied irrespective of how and when it is used (which in the view of systemics is not possible) then we are in semantics (Bouveresse 1974:379; Kamp 1978:266). Thus, for example truth conditions are considered to be semantic (Kempson 1975; Kamp 1978) similar to the logical entailments (Dillon 1977), whereas presuppositions, since they concern the speaker's beliefs, are pragmatic considerations just as are conversational implicatures (Kempson 1975), indexicals, old/new information (Dillon 1977), etc. But no truly "reliable test for distinguishing pragmatic from semantic properties have not yet been established", as Morgan (1977: 64) remarks.

It seems, reading the literature cited above, that the pragmatic view still relies very heavily on the transformational type of view of considering language as a system of rules that the speaker acquires. What is being analyzed by the pragmatists is language data which is idealized (no hesitations, mistakes, etc.), standardized (no account is given for example for dialectal or social variation) and decontextualized to a large degree (data usually made up or hypothetical or collected by questionnaires) (see Lyons 1977:586-589). Further, it

seems impossible that when people speak in social encounters they would go through such cumbersome steps to find out about each other's beliefs and intentions as so often are listed when an utterance is analyzed pragmatically (see e.g. Searle 1965/72:146-154; Kempson 1975:139) and analyzing longer texts, a novel for example, would turn out to be practically impossible. Moreover, the pragmatic pre-suppositions often present the social processes as if participants knew exactly how they were expected to go about reaching the right interpretation of the presupposition or the conversational implicature. There is no room for mistakes (as if, using a crude analogy, humans were robots preprogrammed to carry out certain processes following given sequences). This does injustice to the natural procedure of conversation which is an on-going, dynamic process of creating text jointly and where the participants continuously negotiate over the options open to them for directing the conversational activity.

1.5.3 Ethnography of Speaking and Ethnomethodology

Approximately at the same time as the more philosophical and logical pragmatics advanced, a different type of 'pragmatics' was promoted by the ethnographers and ethnomethodologists. The ethnography of speaking (anthropologically oriented) and ethnomethodology (sociologically oriented) are much closer to the previously presented Malinowskian-Firthian tradition as they both encourage the study of language as a means of social interaction and communication in heterogeneous speech communities. Practical analyses and applications of the ethnographic theory are even fewer than those of Firth's theory, but ethnomethodologists have produced a considerable amount of analyses of spoken, small group interaction data and their methods have served as examples to many discourse studies (see below).

The ethnography of speaking, Hymes being the main advocate, concerns itself with the study of forms and uses of speech as an activity in situations (Hymes 1963/74:91). In his early writings Hymes (1962/74, 1964/72) proposes a set of 'contextual frames' for defining speech events in various speech communities: sender and receiver, channel, code, message form, topic and setting (cf. Halliday's field, mode and tenor in Chapters I and II). To Hymes, 'meaning is

use in context': "the context eliminates from consideration the meanings possible to the form other than those that context can support" (Hymes 1962/74:194). In this respect Hymes's views resemble those of Firth's (cf. section 1.3 above). But where Hymes's views differ from Firth's and the systemicists' is in that his theory did not make explicit the relationship of meaning as 'actual' and as 'potential' (or as text and as system, see Chapters II and IV). This is not to say that Hymes was not striving for an understanding of the potential side of human interaction and its realizational aspect; he was, as is obvious from the following quotation:

A thoroughgoing linguistics must move...from what is potential in human nature, and in a grammar, to what is realizable and realized; and conceive of the social factors entering into realization as constitutive and rule-governed, too (Hymes 1971:55).

Under 'transformational pressures' Hymes incorporated into his ethnographic theory a notion of 'communicative competence'. This was largely done in criticism of Chomsky's dichotomy (see Hymes 1971), but it has unfortunately boomeranged back on him in that communicative competence has often been interpreted as 'idealized omnicompetence', although Hymes rather saw it as the capabilities, or 'scope', of a person when social and cultural factors are taken into consideration in communication (for further discussions see Hymes 1971:57-59, 1971/72:281-286).

Ethnomethodologists (e.g. Sacks, Schegloff, Garfinkel, Jefferson, Cicourel), on the other hand, concentrated on drawing the principles, or 'systematics', of communication from the actual data by unravelling the on-going communication process (see e.g. Sacks et al. 1974). Ethnomethodology disassociates itself from the theoretical study of context; rather it sees how interactants create or take note of the context (i.e. the 'real world') during the interaction. Sacks was probably the most influential of the ethnomethodologists and his work had remarkable contact points with Halliday's work in viewing language as construction of reality (see Halliday 1975, 1978). Sacks introduced a notion of 'language as social identity' and was working at the time

of his death on the methods of capturing how language is used for building self-image and self-identity and how interactants defend their identities during interaction (these notions are especially developed in an unpublished paper by Sacks, 'Everyone Has to Lie', which unfortunately was unobtainable for this research, but about which I learned from Professor Halliday, personal communication). Most widely recognized contribution of the ethnomethodologists to the study of conversational meaning is their work on turn-taking, adjacency pairing, turn structures, turn completion points and side sequences (for discussion see Sacks et al. 1974; Zimmermann and West 1975/78; Schegloff 1968/72; Schegloff and Sacks 1973/74; Schegloff 1972; Jefferson 1972).

The work by the ethnomethodologists was particularly significant because natural data rather than the abstraction of it was studied. But, in a way, the ethnomethodologists also fell for idealization: their turn-taking systematics was context-free. As will be discussed later in Chapters II and IV, it is only when one takes the contexts or rather different types of texts and the factors involved in producing them into consideration that the importance and the variance of turn-taking rules becomes evident. It is when such contextual frames or register variables as proposed by Hymes or by Halliday (see above) are combined with the ethnomethodological work that we learn how our speech communities function in everyday communication (see also Chapter V). One may also point out that as a branch of sociological investigation ethnomethodology is not especially explicit in relating turn-taking to the levels of language. The categories given for turn-taking description are often vague (e.g. a turn has potentially a three part structure but without a theory of ellipsis one cannot define what part is left out and when; in adjacency pairs there is a problem in defining what counts as an adjacency pair, see Goffman 1976; Merritt 1976, for details). Further, the status of non-verbal aspects of communication is left obscure (Coulthard 1977: 60). But, nevertheless, the influence of ethnomethodology on present day discourse studies is indisputable.

1.5.4 Text and Discourse

In two decades the general attitudes in linguistics have changed from excluding the contextual meaning, i.e. language used in situations, to making it in one way or the other a prerequisite for the study of language. Much of this change was influenced not only by the Firthian tradition and systemics (especially register theory) but also, as pointed out above, by the philosophic-logical linguistics and the anthropologically and sociologically oriented ethnography of speaking and ethnomethodology. At the closing of the 1970's the diversity of approaches is so great that it becomes harder to distinguish particular 'schools' or 'approaches', as interconnections between different theories become more complex. However, perhaps two such 'schools' can be distinguished in Europe, namely text linguistics and discourse analysis (TG, much of pragmatics, ethnography and ethnomethodology being at least initially American phenomena).

If, grossly simplifying, the TG-model and the pragmatic speech act theories can be distinguished with the formulae [-suprasentential] + [-use] = TG and [-suprasentential] + [+use] = pragmatic speech act theories, then text linguistics and discourse analysis, according to Edmondson (1981:4), can be described as [+suprasentential] + [-use] = text linguistics and [+suprasentential] + [+use] = discourse analysis. This characterization seems to summarize accurately the major differences between these four approaches. Text linguistics and discourse analysis are both set apart from the TG-theory and the pragmatic speech act theory by their interest in spoken and written texts rather than sentences or utterances. The former are then set apart in their attitudes to language used in situations. This difference in attitudes to [use] is, in my view, a reflection of the influences that pragmatics and ethnography/ethnomethodology respectively have exerted on the two. Text linguistics tends to view texts in hypothetical contexts whereas discourse analysis is more interested in texts collected in actual social contexts. Edmondson (1981:4) also gives a more detailed listing of the differences between these two approaches: text linguistics is model-centred, theoretical, type data, competence data, written language (as object of study) whereas discourse analysis is data-centred, descriptive, token data,

performance data, spoken language (as object of study). Originally text linguistics can be considered geographically to be a German phenomenon, Bielefeld, for example, being one of its centres, whereas discourse analysis was more of a British approach, Birmingham being the main centre. The Birmingham discourse analysts have applied the scale and category type of grammar quite successfully, up to a degree, to the analysis of discourse. But as will be seen, their work runs into problems for the major part for the reason that discourse structures are quite different from grammatical structures (the former mainly being dependency structures and the latter being constituency structures).

The above mentioned geographical divisions are no longer valid as influences from one area to the other and further from America have intermingled so tremendously. Some of the major advocates of text linguistics are, e.g. van Dijk (1972, 1977, 1980, 1981), Petöfi (1971; Petöfi and Rieser, 1974), Dressler (1972; de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981), and for discourse analysis Sinclair, Coulthard (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Coulthard 1977; Coulthard and Montgomery 1921), Brazil (1975; Brazil et al. 1980) and Burton (1980).

How then does the systemic approach fit into the linguistic panorama of the 1970's? If we take Edmondson's characterization features we could say that systemics is certainly closer to discourse analysis than to text linguistics in respect to the [+/-use]-distinction (of course one has to remember that context is a much more abstract term in systemics than simply 'language use in a particular situation'). But when looking at the more detailed description given to the two approaches by Edmondson systemics seems to be characterizable by many of the features of both groups. Certainly, in my opinion, systemics can be described as model-centred and theoretical as well as data-centred and descriptive, as data are what the systemic model and theory sets out to describe (see Firth's 'renewal of connection' p.18). Similarly, in system networks it deals with the description of types but instances are what are being studied and used for setting up the system networks. The competence/performance distinction is not being recognized in systemic linguistics (for discussions on this, see e.g. Halliday 1978:13, 37-38).²¹

Further, systemic linguistics sets out to describe both written and spoken texts without giving any priority to either. These points will be made clearer as the text of this study unfolds.

1.6 Summary

The first three sections of this chapter returned to the sources of the systemic-functional view of language, to the thinking of Malinowski and Firth and to their views on the relationship between language, situation and culture. Then the fourth section saw an emergence of an explicit theoretical model of language following the Malinowskian-Firthian tradition. The last section placed the early systemic theory in the context of the changing views and attitudes in the linguistic atmosphere during the past two decades. As meaning and context have come to be of general interest to linguists more generally, the systemic-functional view of language is no longer viewed as 'hocus pocus linguistics' against 'God's truth', as it was once regarded, according to Robins (1963:22), but can in the future expect a more sympathetic reviewing from its contemporary linguistic approaches.

This first chapter, although necessarily cursory, has hopefully functioned as a contextualization of the text that will follow. It may perhaps seem unnecessary to a person familiar with systemic theory and its background. Nevertheless, it was here seen essential in order to counteract in present day linguistic literature the vagueness and misinterpretations of such important concepts as 'meaning' and 'context' and, further, in the light of the fact that the chapters that will follow will give a slightly differing view to the theory of register, interpreting register as a semiotic rather than just a linguistic phenomenon.

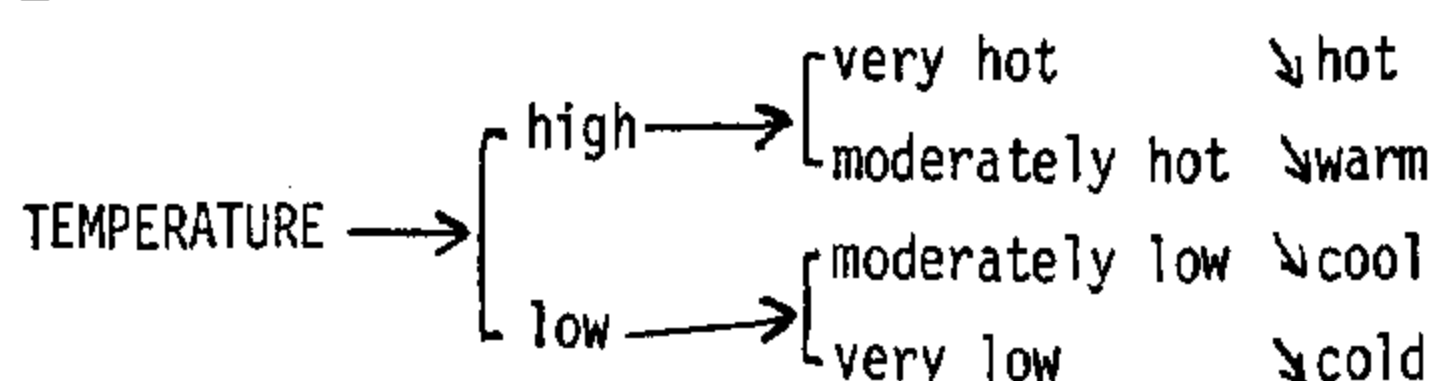
NOTES:

1. Whorf (1941a/56:138) points out the difference between the Hopi language and 'the Standard Average European' languages (English, German, French etc.) and the respective cultures. The comparison between Hopi and these SAE languages indicated that "even the grammar of Hopi bore a relation to Hopi culture, and the grammar of European tongues to our own 'Western' or 'European' culture".
2. Responding to Malinowski's call for studies investigating the meanings of the earliest articulated sounds, Halliday presents in 'Learning How to Mean' (1975) a systematic description of the proto-language of one child, Nigel (see also Halliday on Malinowski, Halliday 1973:23-24).
3. A more detailed classification of the child's speech functions is presented by Halliday 1978:19-20, see also Halliday 1975:
 1. Instrumental ('I want'): satisfying material needs
 2. Regulatory ('do as I tell you'): controlling the behaviour of others
 3. Interactional ('me and you'): getting along with other people
 4. Personal ('here I come'): identifying and expressing the self
 5. Heuristic ('tell me why'): exploring the world around and inside one
 6. Imaginative ('let's pretend'): creating a world of one's own
 7. Informative ('I've got something to tell you'): communicating new information.
4. Throughout the thesis page numbers in references (in press) or (in prep.) refer to the manuscript pages.
5. As noted earlier, section 1.2.3, context of culture involves a further level of abstraction and thus is even less accessible to systematic descriptions than context of situation. Nevertheless, context of culture was visualized also by Firth as a level involved in making statements of meanings in texts: "a theoretical analysis of meaning...can be described as a serial contextualization and of our facts, context within context, each one being a function, an organ of the bigger context and all contexts finding a place in what may be called the context of culture" (Firth 1935/57:32).
6. One of the best summaries of the theory envisaged by Firth is provided by Robins (1963:21), which I shall quote here at length to make 'the renewal of connection' clear: "At every level of analysis the elements and categories involved are set up as abstractions from the phenomena, language in its physical, social and cultural setting...At the intra-linguistic levels, the actual material of speech or writing does not itself enter into the paradigmatic or syntagmatic relations holding between the members

of systems and structures...Paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations hold between the terms of a particular level, and these terms are related to the phonic or graphic material by the quite different relation of exponency [i.e. realizational]. In spoken utterance, sounds and the attributes of sounds are the exponents of elements of structures. The converse relation to exponency is 'renewal of connection', by which analyses are tested and justified. When structures and systems have been set up for a language, or some definable part of a language, on the basis of a limited body of material with the assumption that this is a typical sample, the analysis is tested and used in application to further material of the same sort and from the same language, and if exponents can be found for the elements of the structure that has been posited, the analysis is said to renew connection with the language".

7. It is important to point out that Firth also saw the interior relations, as 'abstract tools' of a linguist. As Robins (1963:22) says, this put him "on the side of the 'hocus-pocus' linguists as against 'God's truth' linguists who regard structures and their elements as in some way present in the language independently of the linguist's analysis. In Firth's opinion it was meaningless to speak of elements pertaining to analysis at any level as being 'there', present in the language or the situation prior to or apart from the operations of the analyst. It was equally meaningless to him to assert that they were 'not there'; existence as asserted material objects and spatiotemporal events was not properly predicable of the component terms of an analytical system".
8. According to Robins (1963:20), Firth saw structures being primary to systems "as more directly abstracted from the actual material of utterance; systems are set up subsequently to account for the different paradigmatic possibilities at places in structures". In the present systemic-functional theory systems have acquired more and more importance (cf. Butler 1979), but it seems justifiable to say that neither Firth (see Firth 1957b/68) nor the systemic-functional theory at present (see a discussion in Martin in prep.) want to put one ahead of the other.
9. "Firth never fixed a precise number [for the linguistic levels], but essentially they involved the phonetic and phonological levels, the grammatical level, and the situational or semantic level, these all being variously subdivisible according to the nature of the material and the purposes of the analysis. Thus within the grammatical level one can separate the morphological and syntactic levels" (Robins 1963:18).
10. See specifically the section titled 'Contextualization', pp.13-24.
11. One may compare this figure with Halliday's (1978:69) figure of 'the schematic representation of language as social semiotic', which can be interpreted as a significant extension of the network presented in Fig. 3, see Chapter II, Note 3.

12. Oyelaran (1967:449) unjustifiably, at least in the light of the present-day systemic theory, claims that Firth's followers "would rather argue about how best to account for the data than about the nature of levels, or the number of the units, and layer of structuration".
13. Although Firth seemed to have used the term 'semantics' (Firth 1935/57) for the level where contextual meanings are organized, Halliday at first rejected this term, because it was so widely used for the 'referential' type of meaning (see e.g. Halliday 1961). Therefore, he adopted the use of 'context' for this interlevel. Later, however, Halliday commonly uses 'semantics' (in e.g. Halliday 1978) for what seems to be the same level as context, although it now is seen as the level of 'meaning potential' (see Halliday 1969/81:123). This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter II.
14. Here, for the sake of unity, a later systemic term 'realization' is used instead of the scale and category term 'exponence'.
15. This view contrasts with the transformational-generative view, which strives for universal grammars for all languages on the grounds such as presented, for example, by Clark and Clark (1977: 515): "If languages are molded in part by the ideas, processing capacities, and social factors all people have in common, they should have certain features in common - linguistic universals. Since people need to refer to objects, every language has nouns". The systemic view would be that many languages indeed use nouns to refer to objects, but this does not render the nouns a universal category. Systemics would thus take the Whorfian view. Whorf sees the tendency to regard such descriptive categories as noun/verb/etc. as universals to be the result of the conclusions the Western linguists have drawn on the basis of similarities in the Indo-European languages (Whorf 1941b/56: 241). Whorf presents a 'linguistic relativity principle', the theme of which is that languages structure reality differently. According to Whorf (1940/56:215), for example, the Nootka language of Vancouver Island has neither verbs nor nouns, but rather something corresponding to events: a house = a house occurs/it houses.
16. According to Halliday (in press a), the verbs be and have appear as Finite only and are not conflated with Predicator. Evidence of this is given by their negative forms, e.g. for is: isn't/wasn't instead of doesn't be/didn't be.
17. A further example of Berry's suggestions is a system network providing features for the lexical items hot, warm, cool and cold, as produced here from Berry (1977:63):



18. Chomsky argued that as the sentence Colorless green ideas sleep furiously is recognized by native speakers as completely grammatical, although meaningless, it would be futile to claim that the theory of syntax and that of semantics would have to go 'hand-in-hand'. Grammaticalness could not be explained in semantic terms (Chomsky 1957:15). Thus Chomsky (1957:17) concludes that "grammar is autonomous and independent of meaning" and this became the trademark of early transformational studies. But, as Halliday (1961:275) playfully notes "the view that the only formal linguistics is grammar might be described as a colourless green idea that sleeps furiously between the sheets of linguistic theory preventing the bed from being made".
19. The basic unit on the contextual level for Ellis (1966:82) is an utterance which is then directly relatable to the grammatical unit sentence. The fact that Ellis takes utterance as the basic unit of context leads to a fairly limited view of context, so typical of that period (transformationalists and pragmatists still largely maintain this limited view in their theories of semantics and speech acts, for examples see Lyons 1968; Lyons 1977). Setting an utterance as a major unit for context is not justifiable simply for the reason that we do not usually operate with just one such unit in situations, although, of course, there are some cases where a single utterance forms the whole speech event in a situation. Usually, however, the situational use of language involves a chain of utterances which are contextually tied as much to each other as to the situation. Therefore, taking text as a basic unit for context/semantics seems more accurate to the true nature of language use in situations, as suggested early by Firth and later more forcibly emphasized by Halliday and Hasan (1976).
20. cf. Gregory (1967:197): "competence-dominated linguistics faces the danger of sidling into psychology; performance-dominated linguistics of drifting into sociology. The one focuses on language as human behaviour, the other as social behaviour; but linguistics is perhaps most itself and preserves its integrity when it focuses on language as human social behaviour, when it has a balanced concern both with modelling linguistic competence and with what actually happens in situations, patterns discoverable in the records of language events".
21. Language to Halliday is a question of behaviour, not of knowledge and when studied it should be looked at from the point of view of what goes on between people rather than what goes on in their heads: as inter-organism rather than as intra-organism (Halliday 1974:81).

CHAPTER II: SEMIOTIC VIEW ON TEXT IN SYSTEMICS

If we were to describe the various linguistic theories of the past two decades with an analogy perhaps the best one would be that of a globe. We would find that most theories would be pulled to opposite poles by the magnetic force of 'contextualization', with values of plus or minus. Around one of the poles attention would be given to form and the various kinds of justifications for leaving contextual considerations out. Around the other pole full attention to contextual considerations would be given, but these considerations would not be systematically related to language form. The systemic-functional view would in this analogy be placed at the equator, paying attention both to form and context, as was seen in Chapter I.

It can perhaps be said that systemic theory has been in a more advantageous position than those other theories clustering at either pole for starting out the systematization of the relationships between the formal and contextual study of language. Continuing the ground-work laid by Malinowski, Firth and the Neo-Firthians, present systemic theory strives at representing systematically the relationships between the social structure of a society and the linguistic realizations of this social structure. Thus systemic linguistics differs markedly from the views of those linguists who have been forced to turn to contextual considerations to look for explanations for instances of human linguistic behaviour which their theories cannot otherwise explain. Situation and culture are used to give an interpretation to the linguistic form - a listing of all the possible contexts where it can be used. For systemic linguistics, on the other hand, contextualization is a starting point for the study of how language realizes the social system in the culture in question.

This chapter will discuss how the viewpoint of language as a social semiotic system was developed further (largely by Halliday, see e.g. Halliday 1973, 1978) and how it became clearer and more emphasized in the 1970's in systemic theory. This does not, however, mean that the systemicists had, or even today have, ready answers to all the questions concerning exactly how the relationship between the

semiotic systems and language is manifested or described. The views of precisely what lies beyond the stratum of lexicogrammar, or further of what semiotics consists, are diverse among systemicists (see e.g. Halliday 1973, 1978; Fawcett 1980; Berry 1975, 1977; Gregory 1982; Martin in press, in prep.). It can probably be rightly said that the theory of language as a semiotic system is still being formulated. As will be seen below, the notions of genre and register, the foci of this study, play a major role in this process.

2.1 Halliday's Social Semiotic

Today Halliday's views on linguistics are labelled 'socio-linguistics'. But as Halliday (1974:81) himself points out the term 'socio' in systemic linguistics is, and has always been, redundant, as the linguistic description in it has always taken into consideration social factors. But in many respects Halliday's views in the early 1970's became more sociologically oriented through his connection with Bernstein's sociological research in Britain at the time (see Bernstein 1971, 1970/72). Language is now viewed by Halliday (1973, 1978) as a 'meaning potential' for the speaker - a potential to behave linguistically. The options chosen from this potential are actualized, i.e. realized by the lexicogrammatical and phonological strata of language. What particular options are open to a speaker, i.e. what options constitute the speaker's meaning potential, depends on the society into which he has been socialized. The study of various types of socialization processes involves, as Bernstein (1971, 1970/72) and Turner (1973) for example have discussed in detail, the investigation of the types of social contexts and institutions that matter in an individual's life and the types of codes he acquires through them. Seeing language as a social semiotic involves, thus, necessarily two viewpoints - language as system and language as institution (see Halliday 1978). This is because

a social reality (or a 'culture') is itself an edifice of meanings - a semiotic construct. In this perspective, language is one of the semiotic systems that constitute a culture (Halliday 1978:2).

The discussion of these two viewpoints may not at first be easy to follow for the reason that Halliday's writing does not always give a very clear picture of the inter- and intra-relationships involved in these two aspects. Therefore a diagram which summarizes his views may serve as a useful introduction to the following sections.

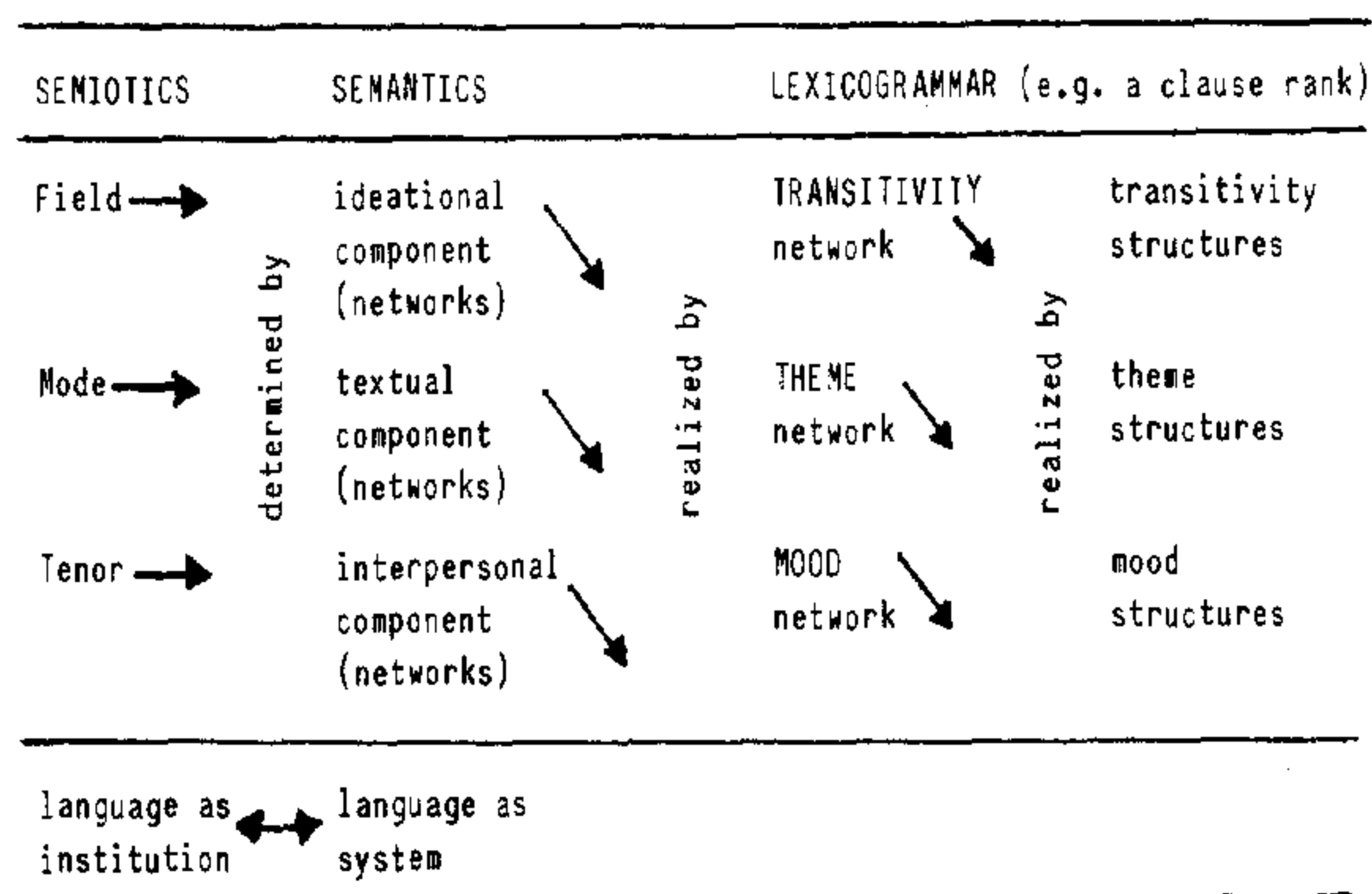


Fig. 7. A Representation of Halliday's Views on Language and Semiotics

Language as institution correlates systematically with language as system. That is, Halliday considers field, mode and tenor as determinants of meaning potential (i.e. semantics). The meaning potential is organized functionally into clusterings of ideational, textual and interpersonal meanings, which thus constitute the semantic network. The semantic components correlate systematically with the semiotic variables. Thus, the field values determine probabilistically the choices from the networks representing ideational meaning oppositions. In a similar fashion mode and tenor determine probabilistically the choices from the networks representing ideational meaning oppositions.

Each of the semantic networks is in turn realized by respective networks on the lexicogrammatical level. For example, at the clause rank of lexicogrammar the semantic options are realized by the system

networks mapping out TRANSITIVITY, THEME and MOOD choices. Selections made in these networks are realized as clause structures (see Halliday in press a). In a similar way the system networks at other ranks (verbal group, nominal group etc.) realize ideational, textual and interpersonal meanings and are themselves realized by structures at the lexicogrammatical level.

The description of these grammatical system networks and the structures they generate has been elaborated by Halliday in great detail in many of his articles and books (see e.g. Halliday 1967-68, the articles in Kress (especially Kress 1976:189-213); Halliday in press a). But understanding what Halliday envisages lying beyond lexicogrammar and how the lexicogrammatical level and the semantic level are interrelated is difficult mainly for two reasons.

Firstly, Halliday has primarily concentrated in his work on systematizing grammar and its description. His approach to grammar is, however, very semantically and semiotically oriented. Halliday, in fact, was forced to start with grammatical description, because semantic description is not possible without a good grammatical description. As he says (Halliday 1966a:18), a good understanding and a comprehensive description of language internal relations are necessary when one attempts to account for how the contextual relations are realized by the systems and structures of language. Halliday uses the levels of semiotics and semantics illustratively, i.e. to highlight how semiotic and semantic choices determine grammatical choices and their realizations. Therefore, his readers usually find only very small, usually context- and text-specific samples of semantic and semiotic networks at these levels (see e.g. Halliday 1973, 1975, in press b).

Secondly, at times Halliday's articles give the impression that Halliday might also be taking the position, which is, for example, seen in Fawcett (1980), where such clause system networks as TRANSITIVITY, THEME and MOOD are seen as part of the semantics rather than as part of lexicogrammar. According to Fawcett's view these networks are then realized as lexicogrammatical structures via realization statements (see Fawcett's Fig. 43 in Fawcett 1980:246).

Halliday, however, makes clear that the above mentioned system networks and their realization is a cycle on the lexicogrammatical level (personal communication). Underlying the grammatical systems and structures he sees system networks on the semantic level. These in a sense are formulations of semantic options which are a reflection of the lexicogrammatical choices. This resemblance between the grammatical and semantic networks is a result of the close relationship between semantics and grammar, grammar being the expression plane of the semantics. No semantic structures have been proposed by Halliday although theoretically he considers them possible. These issues will become clearer as the text unfolds in sections 2.1.1 and 2.1.2.

2.1.1 Language as System - The Linguistic System

There are two important aspects in considering language as system. These are that language is coded strataally and is functional in nature. Below, Halliday's views on the levels of language will be considered first. Then the discussion will proceed to the functional character of these levels and finally to the intermingling of stratal and functional views in Halliday's writing.

In some of his latest work (Halliday 1977, 1978, 1979) Halliday presents a model of language which involves three levels: phonology, lexicogrammar and semantics. This seems to correspond to the linguistic levels discussed in Chapter I with the difference that the level of form is now labelled as lexicogrammar and that Halliday has, after first rejecting it (see p.41), come to accept the term 'semantics' to refer to the level above lexicogrammar. As discussed in Chapter I, the level of context remained a fairly unsystematized level in the 1960's (see pp.40-46). In many respects in the 1970's the semantic level becomes the most central level in Halliday's theory of language as a social semiotic. But at the same time the contents of semantics and its description remain the topic of heated debates among systemicists for reasons that will become obvious during the discussion below.

The semantic level for Halliday (1973, 1978, 1979) represents meaning potential - the organizational level for sets of meaning options available to the speaker in various types of contexts. The

organization of meaning potential on the semantic level becomes the point of departure from where one looks upward to language functioning as a semiotic system in contexts of situation and contexts of culture (language as institution, see section 2.1.2 below) as well as downwards to the levels of lexicogrammar and phonology. The relationship between the semiotic level and the linguistic levels is that of a 'realizational cycle' "where the output of one coding process becomes the input to another" (Halliday 1979:57). In other words, semantics is realized by lexicogrammar which is realized by phonology - meaning is encoded in wording which is recorded in sound (or writing) (Halliday 1978, 1979). The semantic level is in turn seen to be realizing a higher level organization and this leads us to seeing language as a social semiotic. The realizational cycle is interstratal, but following the Firthian tradition linguists must be prepared to analyze language and the meanings that it encodes also intrastratally (Halliday 1969/81). This intrastratal organization of language at various levels is functional in nature.

A functional view of language is by no means new, revolutionary or unique to systemic theory. Whereas so many functional approaches see functions simply in terms of the purposeful uses of language in actual situations, systemic linguistics, on the other hand, offers a more abstract interpretation of language functions. From the uses of language in actual situations we can abstract more general functions of language according to the role language plays in the life of social man (Halliday, 1973, 1978; for the ontogenesis of these functions, see e.g. Halliday 1975). Our choices from the system network at various levels are always functional. On the lower levels these options may carry very specific functions, but on the level of semantics the choices are functionally more generalized.

What exactly the envisaged nature of the set of options of the meaning potential on the semantic level is, and how exactly the functions are viewed, and related to meaning potential, is sometimes confusing to Halliday's readers. Perhaps the best way to attempt to clarify Halliday's present position in these matters is to follow his thinking in his publications chronologically.

The best formulations of Halliday's early position are to be found in Halliday (1969/81) and (1973:72-102). All linguistic levels are theoretically held to be describable in terms of paradigmatic systems, with the difference that the systems on the semantic level, the organization of meaning potential, are always seen to be contextually bound and therefore partial. That is, it is difficult to draw semantic networks for the total meaning potential of a language. Therefore, a linguist approaches the task by drawing semantic networks which are context- and text-specific. Such networks can only partially represent the total meaning potential of a language.

the system is...a way of handling the notion of meaning potential at the semantic stratum; and we describe the use of a system network for the statement of the meaning potential associated with a particular situation type (Halliday 1969/81:123).

A semantic network has to fulfil the following requirements:

It has to account for the range of alternatives at the semantic stratum itself; and it has to relate these both 'upwards'...to categories of some general social theory or theory of behaviour, and 'downwards', to the categories of linguistic form at the stratum of grammar (Halliday 1973:76).

Examples of these 'sociosemantic networks' can be found in Halliday (1973, 1975, 1978) and in Turner (1973).

In setting up his theory for these context- and text-specific sociosemantic networks and in drawing up the options as contextually predetermined meaning choices Halliday was greatly influenced by Bernstein's work (see e.g. Bernstein 1970/72, 1971). Largely these networks came about through Halliday's attempts to describe the lexicogrammatical realization of Bernstein's codes. In addition to sociosemantic networks based on Bernstein's and Turner's work, some sociosemantic networks have also been drawn for child language development and can be found in Halliday (1975) and Painter (in press). It seems that the semantic networks in Halliday's latest work are now more general in aspect (see the SPEECH FUNCTION network in Halliday (in press b), where the semantic choices are explicitly related both

upward to the semiotics of social context and downward to the lexico-grammatical system of MOOD). This can be seen to result from Halliday conceptualizing the semantic level in terms of functional semantic components. But to follow this development requires first an understanding of the transition in Halliday's views on language functions.

In the early 1970's Halliday (1973) sees the sociosemantic systems to be directly realized on the lexicogrammatical level. Here in fact Halliday diverges from one of the major principles of systemic theory as outlined by Firth, namely, that on the various levels of age the system choices are realized in structures intrastratally Chapter I; Martin's editorial text in Halliday and Martin 1981: 02).¹ But the sociosemantic networks are not directly realized xicogrammatical structures. The semantic options are seen to elect' options in the lexicogrammatical systems; in other words, hoices in the semantic systems determine the choices made in the grammatical systems. It is only after this preselection that the semantic choices are turned into grammatical structures. But it seems that this preselection takes place through what Halliday calls the functional components of grammar: ideational (macrofunction expression of experience), interpersonal (macrofunction expression of the speaker's role in the speech situation) and textual macrofunction (the creation of text) (see Halliday 1973:99). By 'functional components' Halliday is referring to the clustering of grammatical choices into basically independent system networks, e.g. the clause rank system networks of TRANSITIVITY, MOOD and THEME. This organization of the lexico-grammatical options into functional components reflects the general functions language serves in society (Halliday 1978:187). Halliday himself summarizes his position as follows:

An amorphous and indeterminate set of 'uses of language' is partly reducible to generalized situation types, the social contexts and behavioural settings in which language functions. For any one of these situation types, we seek to identify a meaning potential, the range of alternatives open to the speaker in the context of that situation type; these are expressed at semantic networks within which meaning selections are made. The options in the semantic network

determine the choice of linguistic forms by 'pre-selection' of particular options within the functional components of grammar. These grammatical options are realized in integrated structures formed by mapping on to one another of configurations of elements derived from each of the 'macrofunctions' (Halliday 1973:101; my emphasis; see also Halliday's diagram in Halliday 1973:101).

When, however, one reads Halliday's articles published towards the latter part of the 1970's (see specifically Halliday 1977, 1979) one is perplexed about where the boundary between semantics and grammar lies and to which level the above mentioned functional components and such system networks as TRANSITIVITY, THEME and MOOD in fact belong.

The previous 'macrofunctions of grammar' become the 'meta-functional components of semantics'.

The semantic system of a natural language is organized into a small number of distinct components, different kinds of 'meaning potential' that relate to the most general functions that language has evolved to serve (Halliday 1979:59).

The meaning potential or semantics is seen in terms of the ideational, interpersonal and textual components. Halliday holds that each component is describable as a network of meaning choices, i.e. clusterings of different types of meaning options. Thus, one assumes that there are three major networks to be found on the semantic level, each corresponding to one of the metafunctional components (in Halliday (1973) such clusterings of meanings in sociosemantic networks were not assumed, as the above mentioned functions were clusterings of grammatical systems).

In his publications so far Halliday has not presented any of these networks of the semantic components, except for one partial network of interpersonal component capturing the SPEECH FUNCTION choices (Halliday in press b). The SPEECH FUNCTION network is however to be interpreted as an example of the more abstract direction in which the semantic networks can be developed. But according to Halliday, these more abstract networks of semantic options must be based on the generalizations drawn from context- and text-specific

semantic networks (such as those presented in Turner (1973); in Halliday (1973) and also by Halliday in his courses at the University of Sydney). Only through this continuous connection with the data (cf. Firth's 'renewal of connection', see Firth 1968:19) are our semantic descriptions going to be realistic. How such abstract semantic networks develop in language is best observed in child language development (for a further discussion, see Halliday 1975; Painter in press). The relationship between these semantic networks and lexicogrammar is necessarily very close as semantic categories must be codable in grammar (Halliday, personal communication). This largely explains the fuzziness of the boundary between semantics and lexicogrammar in Halliday's writings.

Often Halliday's position in regard to semantic networks and their nature is complicated by the fact that more than once Halliday's late 1970's publications give the impression that Halliday might be following Fawcett (1980) in placing the system networks of TRANSITIVITY, MOOD and THEME on the level of semantics. In the quotation below, these system networks are expressly stated to be 'part' of the ideational, interpersonal and textual components of semantics respectively.

each stratum [phonology, lexicogrammar and semantics], and each component, is described as a network of options, sets of interrelated choices ...The description is...a paradigmatic one...each component of the semantic system specifies its own structures, as the 'output' in the network (so each act of choice contributes to the formation of the structure). It is the function of the lexicogrammatical stratum to map the structures one onto another so as to form a single integrated structure that represents all components simultaneously...A clause, for example, has a structure formed out of elements such as agent, process, extent; this structure derives from the system of transitivity, which is part of the experiential component. Simultaneously it has a structure formed out of the elements modal and propositional: this derives from the system of mood, which is part of the interpersonal component. It also has a third structure composed of the elements theme and rheme, deriving from the theme system, which is part of the textual component (Halliday 1977:176-177; my emphasis).

Judging by the above quotation, it would seem that each semantic component has its own system network in which the options are directly realized by the grammatical structures which are mapped onto one another in a single grammatical unit. For example, options in the semantic network of TRANSITIVITY are directly realized at the clause rank by transitivity structures etc. (cf. Fawcett's position in Fawcett 1980). Earlier the sociosemantic system networks 'preselected' options from the lexicogrammatical systems which were then realized by lexicogrammatical structures (Halliday 1973). If one interprets the phrase is part of in the above quotation literally, one cannot but conclude that TRANSITIVITY, MOOD and THEME networks are held to be the networks of the semantic components and the choices in these networks are realized directly by lexicogrammatical structures. This position has some theoretical consequences, as will be discussed below.

If the abstract grammar, i.e. the grammatical paradigmatic networks, were shifted to the level of semantics this would mean a divergence from the theory in Firthian terms. Not only would the semantic stratum be without structure, but the grammatical stratum would be without paradigmatic systems. This is not however Halliday's position (personal communication).

Halliday's present views are very close to the views presented in Halliday (1973), except that semantics, not grammar, has functional components (but naturally the metafunctional organization of semantics has consequences for lexicogrammar). Halliday says that TRANSITIVITY, THEME and MOOD networks are grammatical systems at clause rank which generate grammatical clause structures (personal communication). But underlying the grammatical system networks there are semantic system networks which are 'the content' of the grammatical systems. Thus theoretically each linguistic level has its own realizational cycle, except, as noted earlier (see Note 1), there is as yet no conceptualization of semantic structures. Grammatical system options when realized as structures also 'indirectly' realize and represent the semantic choices.

As already mentioned at the beginning of this discussion, largely the bewilderment that Halliday's readers may sometimes experience is due to the fact that Halliday concentrates primarily on the

systematization of grammar and uses semantics to benefit grammatical description. He has always allowed the boundary between grammar and semantics to be fuzzy. For example, his answer to Parrett's question illustrates this attitude:

(Parrett): How can one define the dissimilarity of realization between the semantics and the grammar then? In other words, what is the definition of grammar?

(Halliday): Well, I am not very clear on the boundaries here, between lexicogrammar and semantics. I tend to operate with rather fluid boundaries. But it can be defined theoretically, in that the lexicogrammatical system is the level of internal organization of language, the network of relations of linguistic form. And it is related outside language only indirectly, through an interface. I would also want to define it functionally, in terms of metafunctions; we haven't come to that yet. Let us say that it is the purely internal level of organization, the core of the linguistic system (Halliday 1974:90).

The boundary between semantics and lexicogrammar is fluid even in his latest work An Introduction to Functional Grammar (Halliday in press a). This work concentrates on the description of the grammatical structures of English and does not include any networks (at any level) nor does it aim to formalize the relationship between the levels of lexicogrammar and semantics. The functional labels of the structural elements are seen to be semantic and derive their meanings from semantics, i.e. looking at a clause as representation, exchange and message, ideational, interpersonal and textual components of semantics respectively.

It seems obvious that in Halliday's writings some such process as 'the semanticization of grammar' or 'the grammaticalization of semantics' must be going on. Halliday's inexplicitness about the boundary between the levels of lexicogrammar and semantics has aroused criticism amongst his colleagues (see e.g. Fawcett 1980; Berry forthcoming; Gregory 1982; Martin forthcoming). Halliday's use of fluid boundaries can cause confusion. Therefore, more examples of the semantic networks underlying the lexicogrammatical networks are urgently needed.

The position that will be adopted in this thesis will be strictly Firthian in that each linguistic level will be described both paradigmatically and syntagmatically in terms of system and structure. Following Martin (in press, in prep.) the notion of a semantic level will be abandoned, however the tri-stratal model of language will be maintained. The stratum above lexicogrammar is the stratum of discourse. It is the stratum responsible for 'text creation'. That is to say, on this level there are paradigmatic systems which are specifically concerned with 'the making of text', and these options cluster into discourse system networks (at the present stage, the following discourse systems have been elaborated, REFERENCE, LEXICAL COHESION, CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE and CONJUNCTION, see Martin 1981a, 1981b, 1983a, 1983b, in prep.). Choices from these discourse system networks are realized in terms of dependency rather than constituency structures (except perhaps CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, as will be discussed in Chapter V). As the following chapters will unfold, it will become clear what exactly is intended by discourse systems and structures. Both systems and structures will be substantiated with illustrative analyses (see Chapter V onwards).

Positing a third stratum, composed of 'text creating' systems, may appear radical in comparison to the contextually motivated socio-semantic networks presented in Halliday (1973). However, there seems to be good reasons for introducing a discourse stratum. Firstly, the third stratum is set up to capture text meanings. A stratum of discourse systems seems to be justified by the fact that 'text', rather than clause or clause complex, seems to be the unit of our everyday interactions. The discourse system of REFERENCE (see Chapter VII), is held to capture the textual meanings of texts (cf. cohesion in Halliday and Hasan 1976). But this does not mean that there are no systems which code interpersonal and ideational meanings on the third stratum. CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE (see Chapter V) can be seen as a reflection of the interpersonal meanings of texts. Further, it seems that LEXICAL COHESION (see Chapter VI) bears the experiential meanings of texts (experiential function being part of the ideational function of language). CONJUNCTION (see Chapter VIII) seems to encode the logical meanings of texts (logical function being also part of the ideational function of language). All of these discourse systems

generate dependency structures in texts, thus 'creating' text. The elaboration of these discourse structures and systems is by no means complete or comprehensive. Especially the study of their realization in texts is still only in its initial stages. One has to keep in mind that the study of 'text' and specifically the study of texts of the same text type (the same genre and register) is a relatively recent phenomenon (more descriptions of the proposed discourse systems used for text analyses in this thesis will be found in Martin in prep. and in Martin and Plum in prep.).

A second reason why discourse systems are held to constitute a third stratum, rather than being explained on the lexicogrammatical stratum, is that without a third stratum it is difficult to explain incongruent realizations in CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE. In other words, why something that looks grammatically like a polar-interrogative MOOD realization in fact realizes a command in SPEECH FUNCTION, e.g. Could you open the window please vs. Open the window (a more detailed discussion of the issues involved will be presented in Chapter V).

Finally, a further argument for the stratification of the discourse stratum is what Martin (1983c) calls 'the dispersal of meaning'. Languages have developed more than one grammatical way of realizing a particular meaning/meanings. For example, 'modality' in English is realized by modal verbs, modal adverbs (perhaps, probably), tag questions, polar-interrogatives, various lexical items (doubt, sceptic, distrust, incredible) and so forth. These issues cannot, however, be discussed in any greater detail in this context.

2.1.2 Language as Institution - The Semiotic System

The section above has highlighted the fact that language can be viewed as a functional system per se. But the system in its internal organization reflects the generalized functions, that is, the uses to which language is put in social life. In other words, it symbolizes the organization of the society and it is in this respect that language must also be seen as institution (Halliday 1978:183-186). Thus, this section marks the beginning of the discussion of how language, manifested in various text types, simultaneously realizes

higher level social semiotics. When we are viewing language as realizing the social system it is important to keep in mind that language is considered to be only one of the semiotic systems reflecting the organization of the social system. All semiotic systems involve the expression of meaning in its most general sense (Halliday and Hasan 1980:4). For humans, however, language seems to be the most frequently and the most easily accessible mode for exchanging meanings. Our lives seem to revolve around language and it would be hard to imagine life without language as a means for expressing meanings. This is why language plays an important role in constructing social reality for us. We internalize the social system during the socialization through the language development process (see Introduction, Bernstein 1971, 1970/72; Halliday 1975). Every day we act out the existing social reality through language. This is what Halliday means by 'language as a social system'.

When Halliday sees language as a social semiotic he sees the language system having a systematic relationship to another semiotic organization, the generalized situation types or social contexts.² Situation types, as a semiotic construct, are describable in terms of variables field, mode and tenor. So far, it may seem that seeing language as a social semiotic corresponds exactly to the early systemic view, where field, mode and tenor - the linguistic aspects of situation - were seen to correlate with the lexicogrammatical systems so that various types of registers were recognized in a speech community. But whereas in the 1960's the nature of the relationship between the linguistic system and the situation remained largely implicit and unsystematized, as pointed out in Chapter I, Halliday increases the explanatory power of the theory when he proposes that the semiotic system can be related systematically to the linguistic system through what has become to be known in systemics as the meta-functional hook-up (it is rejected by most of the pragmatic theories because they do not consider it possible to relate pragmatics systematically to the formal level of language; for pragmatists the formal level is only syntagmatic and this makes the systematic correlation of the pragmatic and the grammatical levels difficult; therefore, pragmatics tends not to be related to other linguistic

levels).

The metafunctional hook-up can in short be expressed as a pre-selection principle where each situational variable relates to a specific semantic metafunctional component and thus has further repercussions for the lexicogrammatical structures in texts. In Halliday's own words:

the type of symbolic activity (field) tends to determine the range of meaning as content, language in the observer function (ideational); the role relationships (tenor) tend to determine the range of meaning as participation, language in the intruder function (interpersonal); and the rhetorical channel (mode) tends to determine the range of meaning as texture, language in its relevance to the environment (textual) (Halliday 1978:117; see also Halliday 1977:200-203).

The same has been presented elsewhere in the form of the following figure:

SITUATION: Feature of the context	(realized by)	TEXT: Functional component of semantic system
Field of discourse (what is going on)		Experiential meanings (transitivity, naming, etc.)
Tenor of discourse (who are taking part)		Interpersonal meanings (mood, modality, person, etc.)
Mode of discourse (role assigned to language)		Textual meanings (theme, information, cohesive relations)

Fig. 8. Context of Situation and Text (Halliday and Hasan 1980:40, Fig. 43).

It is through this notion of preselection or metafunctional hook-up that the notion of register is now seen. Registers are probabilistically definable linguistic reflections of the ways particular social situations are organized. When we give certain values to the context of situation variables, field, mode and tenor, they activate or preselect certain choices within the semantic components of the linguistic system (again in Fig. 8, as was discussed

in the previous section, Halliday allows misleadingly the interpretation of seeing semantic components in terms of networks of TRANSITIVITY, MOOD, etc., where in fact the systems in parenthesis should be the lexicogrammatical system networks to which semantic networks feed). In other words, in certain contexts certain specified meanings are predictably available to us.

If we drop in on a gathering, we are able to tune in very quickly, because we size up the field, tenor and mode of these situations and at once form an idea of what is likely to be being meant. In this way we know what semantic configurations - what register - will probably be required if we are to take part (Halliday 1978:189).

Thus, given the situational values X, Y and Z for field, mode and tenor, it is highly probable that also the meaning choices from the total meaning potential (the total semantic system of the language) will be made from the associated areas of x, y and z of the semantics. In specifying a text variety - a register - the following principle will be pursued:

each of these elements [field, mode and tenor] in the semiotic structure of the situation activates the corresponding component in the semantic system, creating in the process a semantic configuration, a grouping of favoured and foregrounded options from the total meaning potential, that is typically associated with the situation type in question. This semantic configuration is what we understand by the 'register': it defines the variety...that the particular text is an instance of (Halliday 1977:203).

Whereas earlier (cf. Chapter I; also Barnickel 1982) registers were defined in terms of looking at the linguistic form and then looking to situation types for contextual explanations of the variation, register is now defined looking downwards from the social semiotic to the linguistic system. Registers are defined probabilistically as ranges of meaning potential of the semantic level which are directly determined by the field, mode and tenor values of a particular situation type. Registers then have further repercussions for lexicogrammar, because the formal choices are in turn seen to be

preselected by the semantic choices. Only the relationship between the phonological and the lexicogrammatical level remains arbitrary.³

The hypothesis of the metafunctional hook-up has not been unanimously accepted amongst systemicists. There are, for example, different views on how many metafunctional components there are (e.g. Fawcett (1980) distinguishes eight components) and on whether three or more register variables are needed (e.g. Halliday has three; Hasan (1973) distinguishes five: subject matter, situation type, participant roles, mode and medium; Gregory and Carroll (1978) and Gregory (1982) have four variables: field, personal tenor, functional tenor and mode). Furthermore, there seem to be differing views on what field, mode and tenor represent. For example, Halliday (1978), as seen above, sees these variables reflecting the situational organization which, however, correlates with the linguistic system. Gregory (1982) sees the variables as the semantic organization. For Martin (in press) the variables represent the semiotic organization underlying the linguistic system. This organization is described as ever more delicate choices of features which conglomerate into system networks FIELD, MODE and TENOR (written with upper case as they are system networks and not just situational variables). Questions as to whether the metafunctions are sufficiently motivated and how they are motivated in the systemic theory have also been raised (see e.g. Martin, forthcoming). Moreover, as Martin (forthcoming) points out, further evidence and confirmation of the metafunctional hook-up beyond the illustrative examples provided by Halliday (see e.g. Halliday 1977, 1978; Halliday and Hasan 1980) will be needed and this could be obtained by designing research where the FIELD, MODE and TENOR choices would be deliberately controlled in turn and the effect of this regulation on the lexicogrammatical choices could then be analyzed.

All the discussions on the metafunctional hook-up indicate that the systematization of the relationship between language and semiotics is still in its initial stages even among systemicists (some theories following the transformational generative tradition do not even recognize the possibility of such a relationship). The importance of Halliday's theory of language as social semiotic, as it has been summarized above, is that it precedes many other text theories (see

Chapter 1) in presenting a theory which enables us to study not only how one text differs from another but also how texts are related to the whole semiotic system which makes up our everyday existence. Linking the situational variables with the systems of language through the metafunctional components enables relating text types - registers - systematically to certain situation types. It is through this correlation between the situational construct and the metafunctional components that Halliday's theory of language comes to describe language as realizing the social system. Although Halliday's views will not be followed in all respects in this study, the influence of his insights can be traced throughout and specifically in the notion of register as a category that reflects a certain type of semiotic organization in a society (naturally, not all societies share the same registers and not all members of the society have access to the same registers).

2.2 The Generic Quality of Texts

Following from the discussion in the previous section texts can be seen as belonging to the same text variety or register if their semantic and lexicogrammatical features are similar to each other and if they can be seen as projections of the same values of the situational variables field, mode and tenor. In theory the relationship between the situational semiotic organization and the linguistic system seems fairly straightforward and it is relatively simple to illustrate with a text or two, as Halliday has done, that such a correlation indeed exists. An analyst will, however, find it more difficult to demonstrate the correlation in a larger data base. Texts come in various 'shapes and sizes', so to speak. No two texts are exactly the same unless they are rehearsed texts like poems or plays. Since texts vary enormously in their realizations assigning them to this or that register becomes extremely difficult.

To a large extent, the way register has been presented so far here means that register is a linguistic category which can only be defined in terms of a 'more-or-less' distinction. For example, a set of texts carry semantic and lexicogrammatical features which are associated with the situational variables X, Y and Z. A second set

of texts on the other hand carries features which indicate its correlation with the situational variables A, B and C. On the basis of these differences in correlation with different situational variables the texts are assigned to Register XYZ and to Register ABC respectively. But soon the analyst would encounter texts which could just as well be assigned to Register XYZ and to Register ABC. In these indeterminate texts the values assigned to variables X and A seem to be so closely related that their semantic and lexicogrammatical realizations start to resemble one another. Assigning these texts to a particular register becomes more difficult. The texts seem in some respects of realization more like the ones of Register XYZ, but in other respects of realization they resemble more the texts of Register ABC. The question arises whether it is possible to distinguish registers from one another more rigorously or whether such fuzziness is to be accepted in linguistics. The view adopted in this study is that steps towards developing more exact analytical methods of assigning texts to registers may be taken.

Assigning texts to a particular register involves more than the preselectional principle discussed above. This fact is recognized by Halliday (1977, 1978). Texts belonging to the same register also tend to have in common the way they are organized semiotically. That is to say that in such texts the same patterning of social activity can be detected. This patterning is intuitively felt by speakers when they give an account of what happened during a discussion (cf. van Dijk's macrostructures, see van Dijk 1977, 1980, 1981), or when they are asked to describe the behavioural procedure of a certain social situation or when they say they were side-tracked, thus recognizing the difference between the main activity and the departures from it. In other words, they have a feeling of what activity belongs to the total social process in question and what does not. Halliday recognizes such a semiotic organization and refers to it as "'generic structure', the form that a text has as a property of its genre" (Halliday 1978:133). He says that in the genre of fable, for example, the generic structure

determines such things as its length, the types of participant (typically animals given human attributes, or at least human roles, and engaging

in dialogue), and the culmination in a moral (Halliday 1978:134).

This kind of generic organization lies

outside the linguistic system; it is language as the projection of a higher-level semiotic structure. It is not simply a feature of literary genres; there is a generic structure in all discourse, including the most informal spontaneous conversation (Halliday 1978:134).

Halliday believes that the notion of generic structure can be dealt with

within the general framework of the concept of register, the semantic patterning that is characteristically associated with the 'context of situation' of a text (Halliday 1978:134).

In this light genre to Halliday is 'an aspect of mode' (Halliday 1978:145; this viewpoint will not be adopted for this study, as will become apparent later).

Halliday's interest in genre lies in the fact that genres are part of the semiotic system of the society and in the fact that certain genres are more valued in some societies than in others (Halliday 1978:145). Thus, the study of genres may provide us with valuable information about how the social interaction is organized in a society. It has to be pointed out, however, that in spite of these valuable insights Halliday has never explicitly stated the methodology he envisages for capturing the nature of generic differences. This work has largely been left to his colleagues, Hasan and Martin, whose work as pathfinders within systemic linguistics into the generic structuring of texts will be discussed in more detail in sections 2.3 and 2.4 below.

2.3 Hasan's Structure Potential

The discussion on text structures in Neo-Firthian linguistics began with Mitchell's (1957/75) description of 'buying and selling' in Libyan markets and shops, as will be recounted in Chapter IV. Within

the systemic-functional model Hasan has followed Mitchell's insights in her own work on generic qualities of texts and in setting text structures for genres. Hasan introduces the notion of structure into the semantic level (cf. Halliday's view of the semantic level as networks conglomerating into three different metafunctional components) and in this respect Hasan is "a worthy drum-major", as Berry (1980:60) puts it. This does not mean, however, that Hasan alone has been working on text structure during the last decade. There are, within other theoretical frameworks studies which have looked at the text structure of narratives of personal experience. For example, Labov and Waletzky (1967) and Labov (1972) distinguish for it the following structure: ABSTRACT, ORIENTATION, COMPLICATING ACTION, EVALUATION, RESULT or RESOLUTION, CODA (see also Dittmar and Thieckle 1979 and Becker, Dittmar and Klein 1978 who, following Labov and Waletzky report on the structure of personal experience narratives told by migrant workers in Germany). Furthermore, the structures of different types of descriptions of the lay-outs of apartments (e.g. map- and tour-structures) have been discussed by Linde and Labov 1975 (for a systemic description of the same type of descriptions, see Eggins 1982). Moreover, van Dijk (1977, 1980, 1981) presents macrostructures which he sees operating on the pragmatic level. Although all these studies are relevant to the discussion of text structure and a comparison between these different approaches would most likely prove fruitful and interesting, it is felt that they represent on the whole a more pragmatic view and are more syntactic and descriptive in orientation. Thus, no comparison between these approaches and the systemic approach will be attempted.

To Hasan (1978, 1979; Halliday and Hasan 1980), the identity of a text as an instance of a particular register or genre comes to be defined through structural formula (1978) or structure potential - hence SP (1979; Halliday and Hasan 1980). Before launching into a discussion on SP, it is important to pay attention to the equation of the terms genre and register in Hasan's writings. The terms are used synonymously (see e.g. Hasan 1978:230; Halliday and Hasan 1980:82). It is therefore necessary to give an early warning that this usage will not be followed later in this study, as the terms genre and

register are seen to represent abstractions of a different kind, both functioning as semiotic systems, but genre underlying register.

We saw above how in Hallidayan theory text and context are related so that those texts which seem to correlate with the same values of field, mode and tenor carry the same register characteristics, e.g. they may choose similarly for transitivity options or their lexis seems to form the same collocational patternings and so on. Hasan extends this theory by suggesting that context also gives rise to a totally different kind of patterning, to an overall and more global patterning in texts. She argues that texts which are produced under the same contextual circumstances carry recognizable similarities in their global structuring. It is this overall structuring of texts of the same type to which SP refers. But what is the exact nature of the SP of a genre? It is best clarified by taking a step at a time. Let us start by looking at how the situational variables establish the context for a genre, and thus embody the semiotics of a genre (Hasan 1978:231).

By giving values to the variables field, mode and tenor - the contextual construct in Hasan's terminology (see Hasan 1978) - we obtain a contextual configuration (another term used by Hasan) - a semiotic description of the context of situation. This contextual configuration is associated with a particular type of a social event in the sense that it fully determines not only the functional nature of the social event, but also how the event unfolds as a process. As Hasan (1978:229) notes, most social processes involve language to the degree that their primary mode of unfolding or realization is linguistic. Thus, it follows that the contextual configuration also determines the verbal realizations of social events, which Hasan calls texts. In other words, texts are seen as 'products' of particular social contexts, as defined by the values of field, mode and tenor. When the contextual configuration is the same for a number of texts, i.e. they are produced in the same type of social context, it is obvious that the texts will resemble one another functionally and in the way they unfold as social process. It is due to their similarity that texts can be classified as belonging to the same text-type, to the same genre/register. How can one define this likeness? To answer

this question we need to consider, firstly, the functional nature of texts, and, secondly, the manner in which texts unfold.

2.3.1 The Functional Nature of Structure Potential

Hasan (1978:229) hypothesizes that the contextual configuration - the semiotics of a genre - determines the functional similarity of texts belonging to the same genre. This does not just mean that texts as a whole carry a function, for example a lecture carrying the function of teaching or presenting a theory. Rather it means that the total verbal social process is seen to be consisting of different stages to each of which a function can be assigned; for instance, asking for a menu in a restaurant is a functionally different stage of interaction than ordering what is listed on the menu in the 'eating-out'-genre (thus named for lack of a better label). These various stages are seen as elements of text structure and it is these elements that make up the SP of a genre. In other words, it is typical that all 'eating-out'-texts have the elements of ASKING FOR A MENU and ORDERING since they are realizing the SP of a genre associated with that particular type of a social context, as defined by the values of field, mode and tenor.

As social contexts determine the elements in SPs, it is of course natural that SPs vary across different genres to the same degree that the contextual configurations of social context vary. Each genre has its own SP which is a result of a particular field, mode and tenor combination. Thus, the texts where such activities as ordering meals in restaurants, buying groceries, giving lectures, posting letters etc. are taking place, are not to be considered to include the same functional elements in their SPs. This is because the values for the contextual variables that determine the social process and its verbal realizations are not the same. These texts must therefore be considered as belonging to different genres for the reason that the semiotics of the situation determines different, unrelated functions to the elements of their respective SPs, although, as Hasan points out, if the contextual configuration values are to some degree the same, "it is obvious that some elements will be shared across some genres" (Hasan (1978:241). In other words, SPs of genres include obligatory elements

which are genre specific in the sense that they distinguish one genre from another by their genre unique functional elements. They are "elements whose presence is essential to any complete text embedded in the contextual configurations under focus" (Halliday and Hasan 1980:21). Thus, it can be envisaged, for example, that a lecture, as a genre, would include the following obligatory elements in its SP ORIENTATION TO NEW AREA, PRESENTATION OF PROBLEM(S), SOLUTION(S) TO PROBLEM(S), COMPARISON OF SOLUTION(S) and the following optional elements REVISION OF PREVIOUS LECTURE, SUMMARY, INTRODUCTION TO THE NEXT AREA (see a discussion on optional elements below).

The same can be exemplified by using Hasan's own example (see Halliday and Hasan 1980). If the contextual configuration (i.e. context of situation) is the following:

field of discourse = economic transaction: purchase of
retail goods: perishable food...
tenor of discourse = agents of transaction: salesman-
customer; social distance: near
maximum...
mode of discourse = channel aural: + visual contact;
spoken medium...
(Halliday and Hasan 1980:18),

it follows that in "the genre of buying and selling perishable food in face to face interaction" (Halliday and Hasan 1980:83) the elements SALE REQUEST, SALE COMPLIANCE, SALE, PURCHASE and PURCHASE CLOSURE are genre defining and obligatory in the SP of the genre mentioned (see Hasan 1979; Halliday and Hasan 1980). The recognition of the obligatory elements in texts and the classification of text into genres is seen by Hasan in terms of 'typicality':

through the typification of the situation we have
a clear idea of some parts of those utterances
which can function as a realization of the
obligatory element (Halliday and Hasan 1980:25).

Obligatory elements are also used by Hasan to make a distinction between complete and incomplete texts (see the discussion in Halliday and Hasan 1980:83). Complete texts require an execution of the social process as characterized by the SP. What is being meant is the following procedure: the contextual configuration determines the

typical verbal realization of the social event in terms of a particular SP which includes genre defining obligatory elements. The presence or absence of these elements then becomes for Hasan a criterion for defining whether texts are complete or incomplete.

A text is perceived as complete if its messages are such that they can be reasonably taken as the manifestation of all the obligatory elements of some one particular SP. So, any text that has messages which could be seen as the realization of the elements Sale Request, Sale Compliance, Sale, Purchase and Purchase Closure...would be regarded as a complete text belonging to the genre of buying and selling perishable food in face to face interaction. We need to add the condition that the obligatory elements of the SP must be realized in one of the permissible sequences in order for the text to be taken as a well-formed instance of the genre [see section 2.3.2]. So what I am suggesting is that the identity and sequencing of the elements of structure form the most reliable basis for making judgements about the completeness and incompleteness of a text (Halliday and Hasan 1980:83).

The texts which do not meet these criteria are classified as incomplete texts or as non-texts:

A text will be perceived as incomplete if only a part of some recognizable actual structure is realized in it; and the generic provenance of the text will remain undetermined, if the part so realized is not even recognizable as belonging to some distinct actual structure (Hasan 1978:229).

In addition to the obligatory elements the SP of a genre may include optional elements. Optional elements are elements which are typically associated with the social process in question but are not seen as necessary in every instance of the realization of the social process, i.e. although they are listed as elements of the SP of a genre they need not be realized in every text of that genre. Hasan (Halliday and Hasan 1980:26) demonstrates optionality in buying and selling situations by pointing out that a text without an element like PURCHASE (i.e. payment of goods) would have to be seen as incomplete, whereas a text without the optional element FINIS (i.e. saying goodbye) would not be seen as incomplete:

there are certain kinds of things that are essential and must be done by way of performing the economic transaction of selling; others are optional. This does not mean they are insignificant when they happen; but only that if they do not happen this does not alter the character of the event (Halliday and Hasan 1980:26).

The optional elements in the genre of buying and selling perishable goods are: GREETING, SALE INITIATION, SALE ENQUIRY and FINIS (see Hasan 1979; Halliday and Hasan 1980). In SPs optional elements are represented by enclosing them in parentheses, e.g. (FINIS). Finally, it is worthwhile pointing out one further characteristic that Hasan attributes to optional elements. Optional elements can be seen as elements in more than just one genre. Thus, for instance GREETING may belong to the SPs of all genres, which include in the contextual configuration the value '+visual contact' of the MODE variable.

'Who's next' can be an initiating element in many other service encounters than just that type of service encounter which is concerned with buying and selling. We can, in fact, generalize more specifically by saying that such initiation can occur in any service encounter where participant turn-initiation is institutionally controlled (Halliday and Hasan 1980:27).

2.3.2 Sequencing of Elements of Structure Potential

As a text unfolds it is obvious that some kind of sequencing of the elements of the SP must be taking place for the reason that speech is linear in time. Hasan (1978:239) says that in this respect a text follows "the natural logic of the social event". An example of such logic is when in a restaurant we ask for a menu before ordering our meal and eat before paying the bill (provided that we are not regular customers and that it is not a self-service restaurant). Therefore SP has to also involve statements about the unfolding of texts belonging to the same genre. In the same way as the actions in social events must somehow be ordered, so too must be ordered the verbal realizations of these actions as elements of SP. The simplest ordering to be found in texts is that of the sequencing of a BEGINNING, followed by a MIDDLE, followed by an END. Hasan uses various notations to

characterize the ordering of elements in SP. To ease the effort of following the discussion, these notations are presented in tabular form below:

Notation	Meaning
G, SI, etc.	= capital letters; abbreviations of elements
^	= fixed order of elements
()	= optionality of elements
.	= mobility of elements
[]	= boundaries of mobility
< >	= inclusion of element into another
↪	= recursiveness
{ }	= boundaries for homogeneous recursion
+	= realized sequence of elements in a text

Table 1. Hasan's Notational System

The simplest order found in texts can now be represented by a linear schemata: $B^{\wedge}M^{\wedge}E$, where a circumflex (^) signals the fixed order of elements. Hasan has adopted this linear representation in all her work on SPs (see Hasan 1978, 1979; Halliday and Hasan 1980). Although 'fixed ordering' is frequently required by 'the logic of the social event' it is not necessarily always the case. The sequence of the elements may for instance be reversed. In SP such elements would be linked together by a dot (.), e.g. $X \cdot Y$, which would be realized either as $X+Y$ or as $Y+X$ in texts (the notion of a sign '+' is used for the realized sequences of elements in texts, see Ventola 1979; Halliday and Hasan 1980). Sometimes, elements may be disjointed, e.g. "'who's next? oh hello Mrs K., what can I get for you today?'" (Halliday and Hasan 1980:27). In this example the fact that GREETING (G) is embedded in SALE INITIATION (SI) can be indicated by angled brackets: $\langle G \cdot SI \rangle$ (note that the dot indicates that $G + SI$ and $SI + G$ are also possible). Also recursion may cause variation in the realization of SP in texts. The fact that an element may be realized more than once in a text is indicated by an arrow (↪) placed above this recursive element, e.g. $X^{\rightarrow}Y$ could thus be realized as $X+Y$, $X+X+Y$, $X+X+X+Y$, etc. Two kinds of recursion are distinguished

by Hasan (Halliday and Hasan 1980:28-29): simple and homogeneous. The former has already been illustrated above. The latter can be illustrated by $\{X^{\wedge}Y\}$ where the braces indicate the extent of homogeneous recursion (i.e. no element outside the braces is effected). This would give us such realizations as $X+Y+X+Y$, $X+Y+X+Y+X+Y$ etc. (if X appears again then Y must do so too).

The notions of sequencing and recursion in the SP of a genre allow various ordering possibilities in the process of realization. This results to an array of unique structures of texts. Each text however still represents an instance of the same genre because the structures of the texts comply to the SP of the genre (Hasan 1978:229).

The SP then is a powerful abstraction, from which can flow a large number of possible text structures, each of which may differ from the others in some respect but all of which conform to the requirements of the SP and are recognizable as possible structures for texts within the given variety (Halliday and Hasan 1980:29).

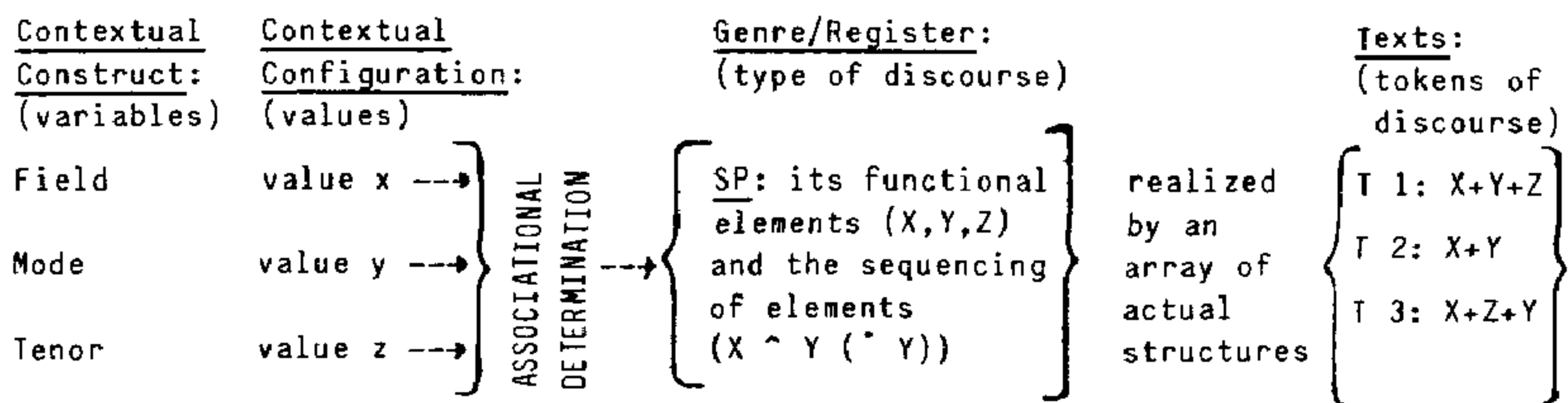
Hasan has mainly used two types of contexts of situation to illustrate her views and arguments on text structures for SPs of genres/registers, namely medical appointment and buying and selling-genre mentioned above (see Hasan 1978, 1979; Halliday and Hasan 1980). As buying and selling transactions, i.e. service encounters, are the focus of this study, and as frequent reference inevitably needs to be made later to Hasan's work in this genre, it seems justifiable to exemplify Hasan's SP by reproducing the SP for this genre at this stage (the context of situation with its variables and values was already presented on p.93). A text that Hasan sees as an instance of the realization of the SP of 'the genre of buying and selling perishable food in face to face interaction' will also be reproduced here for easy reference.

[(< GREETING > *) (SALE INITIATION) ^] [(SALE ENQUIRY *) {SALE REQUEST ^
SALE COMPLIANCE} ^] SALE ^ PURCHASE ^ PURCHASE CLOSURE (^ FINIS)

1	→ [who's next (1)	}	SI
	[I think I am (2)		
2	→ [I'll have ten oranges and a kilo of bananas please (3)	}	SR
3	→ [yes anything else (4)	}	SC
	[yes		
4	→ [I wanted some strawberries (5) but these don't look very ripe (6)	}	SE
	[O they're ripe all right (7) they're just that colour kind a'		
5	→ [greeny pink (8)		
	[Mm I see (9)	}	SE
6	→ [will they be ok for this evening (10)		
7	→ [O yeah they'll be fine (11) I had some yesterday (12) and		
	[they're good very sweet and fresh (13)	}	
8	→ [O all right then I'll take two (14)	}	SR
	[you'll like them (15) cos they're good (16)	}	SE
9	→ [will that be all (17)	}	SC
10	→ [yeah thank you (18)		
11	→ [that'll be two dollars sixtynine please (19)	}	S
12	→ [I can give you nine cents (20)	}	P
	[yeah ok thanks (21) eighty, a hundred, three dollars (22)	}	PC
13	→ [and two is five (23) thank you (24)		
	[come again (25)	}	F
14	→ [see ya' (26)		

Fig. 10. Hasan's Illustrative Text for Buying-and-Selling Genre (Halliday and Hasan 1980:18)

Throughout her work on SP Hasan seems to be suggesting that both the functional nature of the structural elements and the sequencing of the elements in SPs of various genres is collectively determined by the values of field, mode and tenor (see for example Hasan 1978: 239).⁴ The following figure is presented as a summary of Hasan's conceptualization of SP:



Hasan's work on the identification of genre in terms of SP represents a significant step forward in systematizing the representation of the relationship between texts and their contexts as well as in classifying texts into various categories on the basis of text structure similarities. Although later (Chapter IV) some arguments against her views will be presented, this study must largely be considered as a further development of the ideas and insights Hasan developed in her work on text structures.

2.4 Martin's Communication Planes: Language - Register - Genre

In the final section of this chapter a slightly different view of text and semiotics within the systemic-functional framework will be discussed. This viewpoint is currently being developed by Martin (in press, in prep.) and a research group led by Martin. Initially Martin's approach seems very similar to that presented by Halliday (and partly Hasan) and Martin readily acknowledges his debt to Halliday's and Hasan's work in this area. The similarities lie in the fact that all three see language as tri-stratal and see semiotics as an integral part of the social system which humans realize every day through language. But rather than seeing the third stratum in terms of metafunctional components, Martin sees it as a discourse stratum with distinct discourse systems and discourse structures. Moreover, language is seen as a semiotic plane which realizes two further underlying semiotic planes, namely those of register and genre. Both of these underlying planes of register and genre will be discussed in more detail below.

2.4.1 Discourse Systems and Structures

The discourse stratum that Martin (in prep.) puts forward is seen in terms of discourse systems which are responsible for the text creation process. His discourse systems are based on the work done by Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Gutwinsky (1976) on cohesion. Halliday and Hasan (1976) see cohesion together with THEME and INFORMATION STRUCTURE (Given - New) as a part of the textual function (see Halliday and Hasan 1976:26-30). The options from the THEME systems are realized structurally through the lexicogrammatical rank unit of clause. The

INFORMATION STRUCTURE systems are also realized structurally, but on a different stratum - i.e. phonologically by tone groups. Cohesion is realized non-structurally on the lexicogrammatical level by reference items, substitution items, ellipsis, conjunction and lexical cohesion (taxonomic and collocational relations between lexical items).

Cohesion, in Halliday and Hasan's (1976:26) words, is seen as "the set of meaning relations that is general to ALL CLASSES of text, that distinguishes text from 'non-text'". Thus, cohesion is considered the part of Halliday's meaning potential. Moreover,

cohesion, therefore, is part of the text-forming component in the linguistic system. It is the means whereby elements that are structurally unrelated to one another are linked together, through the dependence of one on the other for its interpretation (Halliday and Hasan 1976:27).

Martin develops this notion of cohesion as a 'text-forming' part of the linguistic system by presenting the options that are open for interactants in the text creation process as networks of discourse systems, systems which for the most part create dependency rather than constituency structures (the latter being typical of the lexicogrammatical structures).

What exactly does Martin see as the content of the third stratum? The third stratum is at present the stratum of discourse systems and structures, hence the label discourse stratum. This stratum is needed to explain those features of texts which cannot be explained in terms of constituency, units at higher ranks consisting of the elements of units of a lower rank. Discourse systems create relations which hold between units of the same kind in texts. In other words, there is no rank involved on the discourse level (the exception being CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, as will be discussed in Chapter V). Discourse systems generate dependency structures: the meaning of a unit of one kind is interpreted in a text through an antecedent unit of the same kind. In this regard, discourse structures are dynamically produced as a text unfolds as social process (see Chapter IV for the dynamic aspects of text as a process). What then are these discourse systems and structures?

Martin's discourse stratum involves a reinterpretation of Halliday and Hasan's (1976) cohesion. It is the systems of CONJUNCTION, CONTINUITY, CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, REFERENCE and LEXICAL COHESION that presently are seen as the 'content' of the discourse stratum.

cohesion will be approached from the point of view of discourse, not lexicogrammar. The meanings realized by cohesive items in text will be treated as a semiotic potential underlying, though realized through, lexicogrammar. And the discourse structures realizing this potential will be described as distinct from, though again realized through, lexicogrammatical ones (Martin, in prep:2).

Martin proposes a set of discourse units which function as entry conditions to these discourse systems:

message	: CONJUNCTION, CONTINUITY
speech act	: CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE
participant	: REFERENCE
thing/event/quality	: LEXICAL COHESION

To elaborate, a message is a conjunctively relatable unit; a speech act is a unit selecting independently for MOOD and functioning as a slot (move) in a conversational exchange; a participant, which may be a person, place or thing, is an entity whose identity can be retrieved through REFERENCE; and finally things, events and qualities are units which form collocational patterns in texts (Martin, in prep.:3). As these systems will be used in this study for analyzing the service encounter texts they will not be discussed in this section. However, below an illustrative example will be provided to explain what Martin means when he says

Discourse systems generate dependency structures, not constituency ones, and are realized directly through lexicogrammar, not through lower ranking units (Martin in prep.:3).

Let us consider as an example how choices in the discourse system network of REFERENCE are realized by dependency structures in the following, little, constructed narrative:

1. There was (a) a big dog in the park this morning.
2. (b) It looked friendly at first,
3. but then, as I ran past, (c) the beast started chasing me.

In this example the identity of the participant it (b) has to be interpreted through the referential meaning relationship between (a) and (b). The identity of (b) depends on recognizing the fact that (b)'s identity is exactly the same as that of (a). Similarly, the identity of (c) also depends on (a), but via (b). The process whereby the listener retrieves the identity of the participant is signalled by an arrow pointing back to the previous mention of that participant. In this example the choices from the system network of REFERENCE are realized by a discourse structure the elements of which are units of the same kind. The elements and their dependencies can be represented by a reticulum which tracks down the participant in question in a reference chain. For example, in the text above the reticulum will trace all those linguistic items which refer back to the participant 'dog' in the following way:

<u>Discourse:</u>	<u>Lexicogrammar:</u>
1. participant (a)	1. a big dog
↑	
2. participant (b)=(a)	2. it
↑	
3. participant (c)=(a)	3. the beast

Note that in lexicogrammar the formal items which realize the participant 'dog' in the text are not linked in any way, i.e. the items a big dog, it and the beast are identical only in the sense that they all realize the grammatical function of Thing (see Halliday in press a).

Above the same discourse unit, the participant 'dog', has functioned as a re-entry to the system network of REFERENCE. Because the identity (the meaning) of the later occurrences is only retrievable through the previous mention of the participant, the items realizing the participant function stand in a dependency relationship to one another creating a discourse structure. The discourse structure is thus in this particular case realized lexicogrammatically as a big dog;

it; the beast. It could have just as well been realized lexico-grammatically as a German shepherd; the hound; this big wolf-like animal. In longer texts the distance between the items which stand in a dependency relationship to each other in discourse may naturally be greater than in the example provided. But the lesser the distance the more cohesive texts are perceived to be (and this fact may be utilized for finding evidence for the schematic structures of texts, as will be discussed in later chapters).

As is evident from the preceding discussion, Martin seems to be a strict Firthian in the respect that he sees it necessary to describe each linguistic stratum both as system and as structure (paradigmatically and syntagmatically, see section 1.3.2). Martin has in his own work (Martin 1981a, 1981b, 1983a, 1983b, in prep.) elaborated the paradigmatic and syntagmatic description of the third stratum of the plane of language. But whether the other two communication planes, the semiotic planes of register and genre (which he sees underlying the plane of language) are also describable both paradigmatically and syntagmatically is still an unanswered question. Evidence to discover the organization of communication planes has to be accumulated through careful studies of various text types. This thesis will at least seek to provide part of the answer describing and discussing generic text structures.

2.4.2 Semiotic Planes of Language, Register and Genre

As was seen in section 2.3 above, Hasan treats genre/register as a linguistic category which is associated with the semiotics of situation through such variables as field, mode and tenor. Martin (in press, in prep.), on the other hand, argues that genre and register are abstractions of two different kinds and thus need to be described separately. Moreover, they are semiotic systems in their own right which are realized through language (and, in my view also by non-verbal systems, as will be discussed in Chapter IV). This realizational relationship is organized so that register is seen underlying language and genre is in turn seen underlying register. In other words,

register is the expression form of genre [or reversing, genre is the content form of register] just as language is the expression form of register [or again reversing, register is the content form of language]. Language differs in having its own expression form, phonology, which is a stratum, not a semiotic system (Martin in prep.:4).

Martin (in press) refers to language, register and genre as communication planes and represents the relationship between them as follows:

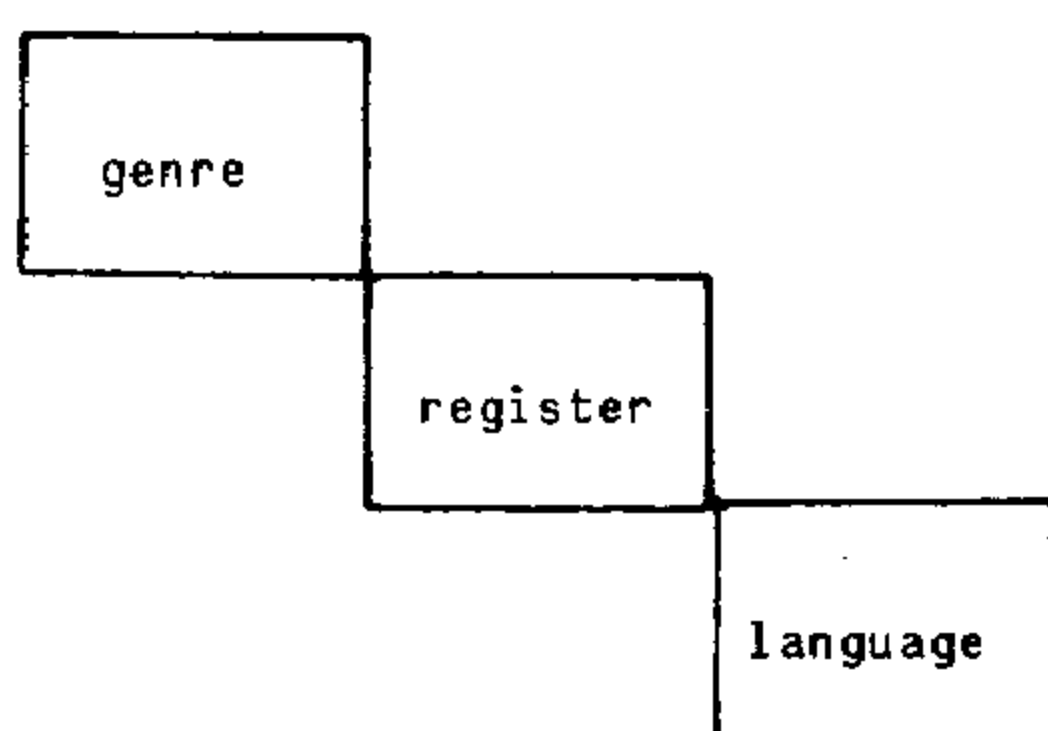


Fig. 12. Martin's Communication Planes (Martin in press, Fig. 2)

This view of register and genre as semiotic systems underlying the linguistic system necessitates certain reformulations of previously mentioned concepts.

Register is still seen in terms of field, mode and tenor, but these are now the networks of FIELD, MODE and TENOR. These networks which capture the semiotic organization on the register plane seem to have a wider scope than the situational variables of field, mode and tenor in Halliday's and Hasan's work. FIELD, for example, is seen in terms of activity and Object Orientation choices. This gives FIELD a more institutional focus (already anticipated in Benson and Greaves 1981; Plum 1984 provides an excellent description of the FIELD of dog breeding). Furthermore, MODE is seen in terms of two orientations, 'language as action/language as reflection' and 'language as face-to-face communication/language as non-face-to-face communication' (see Martin and Rothery 1980, 1981; Martin and Plum in prep.). Finally, TENOR is seen not only as participant role relationships, but also in terms of 'power and solidarity' (cf. Brown

and Gilman 1969/72) in role relationships, the frequency of 'contact' between the participants (cf. social distance in Hasan 1978; Ventola 1979) and the influence of 'affect' (attitudes) in interactional relationships (see Poynton, forthcoming). Although system networks for FIELD, MODE and TENOR have not yet appeared in published form, attempts to capture meaning choices of FIELD, MODE and TENOR in certain types of texts through networks have already been made.⁵ What exactly is the nature of the structures generated by the networks cannot be contemplated at this stage. Such consideration has to be based on data which has been collected according to a careful plan which allows for the regulation of register variables and thus permits a systematic examination of their respective effects on texts.

Genre, the semiotic plane underlying register, is seen as

how things get done, when language is used to accomplish them...the term genre is used...to embrace each of the linguistically realized activity types which comprise so much of our culture (Martin in press:3; my emphasis).

Genre represents "at an abstract level the verbal strategies used to accomplish social purposes of many kinds" (Martin in press:4; my emphasis). The achievement of social purposes proceeds through various stages and these stages are recognizable as the generated structural elements of particular genres (cf. Hasan's SP). This Schematic Structure (SS) thus represents "a way of getting from A to B in the way a given culture accomplishes whatever the genre in question is functioning to do in that culture" (Martin in press:5). The SS of a particular text is only one instance or manifestation of the whole realizational potential of a genre. Genres (literary or non-literary) which may be postulated to have distinct SSs are: poems, narratives, expositions, lectures, recipes, manuals, service encounters, casual encounters, appointment making, to mention just a few. Not many of these genres have yet been analyzed in terms of generic structure since work in this area is in its early stages. Setting up genre as a system underlying register means that genre regulates the register choices. Martin (in press) suggests that genre constrains what combinations of FIELD, MODE and TENOR are used in a society.

Furthermore, genre seems to control what activities combine with what objects in FIELD orientation. For example, in service encounters in our society the activity 'buying' no longer combines with the objects 'wife' or 'slave', in our FIELD orientation. However, the combination of 'buying' and 'woman' is still allowed in our society (see also Martin's examples in Martin in press). But Martin (in press:5) goes even further by suggesting that the elements of the schematic structure determine the choices from the FIELD, MODE and TENOR networks. Martin does not discuss very explicitly how exactly genre comes to determine the FIELD, MODE and TENOR options. But linguistic evidence that something like this must be going on is provided, for example, by Rothery (1979) who discusses how in a medical examination the choices of FIELD, MODE and TENOR vary as the social process moves from one medical examination phase to another. How genre and register may possibly interact in the light of service encounters will be taken up later (see Chapter IV).

As mentioned above, Martin reverses the hypothesis presented by Hasan according to which the generic text structures are determined by the values of field, mode and tenor. If this is no longer so, where do the generic text structures, i.e. the schematic structures of genres, then come from? According to Martin (in press), the SSs of texts are generated by networks which present genre agnation in the culture of a society. In other words, these networks indicate how various texts belonging to the same or agnate genres are related structurally to one another, that is in terms of resemblances in their SSs. Thus genres are describable as system networks of evermore delicate choices. This is opposed to the strategy of putting genres into categories according to which obligatory and optional elements they have in their linear representations (cf. Hasan's work above). Much is not yet known about the exact nature of such genre networks, due to the lack of data which include a range of related genres (i.e. subgenres). Martin does, however, venture to present a tentative suggestion of what such a network for service encounters might look like (the elements he recognizes are partly based on the elements I have presented elsewhere, see Ventola 1983a). As it will be necessary to refer to his network and its realization statements later in this

work, it will be reproduced here for easy reference as Fig. 13 and as Table 2:

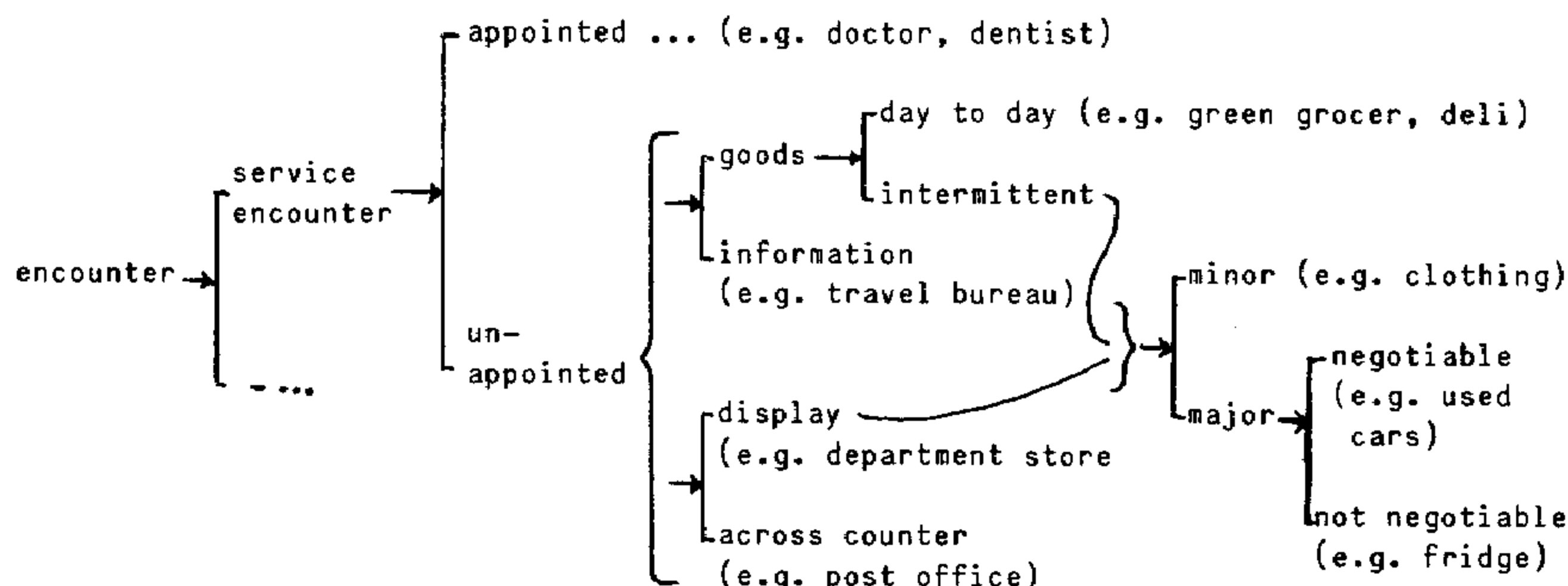


Fig. 13. Martin's Network for Service Encounters Illustrating Genre Agnation (Martin in press; Fig. 3)

[encounter]	+ GREETING; + GOODBYE
[service encounter]	+ SERVICE; + RESOLUTION; + CLOSING
[appointed]	+ WAIT (<u>won't you have a seat; the doctor will be with you shortly</u>)
[unappointed]	+ SERVICE BID
[goods]	+ PAY; + GOODS HANDOVER
[across counter]	+ TURN ALLOCATION
[intermittent]	+ SALES PITCH; + REASSURANCE (of the goodness of goods)
[major]	+ DELIVERY (arrangement of transportation or pick-up)
[negotiable]	+ BARGAIN (negotiation of price)

Table 2. Martin's Realization Statements for Service Encounter Features (Martin in press; Table 1)

This genre agnation network seems to be relatively flexible in helping to recognize texts as more or less related on the basis of the shared choices made from the network. Therefore, it may be claimed that it has more explanatory power than the linear representation of generic text structures (which allows the sharing of optional elements, but not of obligatory elements, see section 2.3.1). But, as will be discussed later in Chapter IV, a more dynamic view is also necessary when actual text structures are generated from the networks. Thus genre agnation will be discussed and evaluated in more detail in the context of the service encounter data for which such a dynamic representation has been developed (Ventola 1981, 1983a).

As the text of this study unfolds, a debt to Martin for his insightful perceptions on the semiotic systems of genre, register and

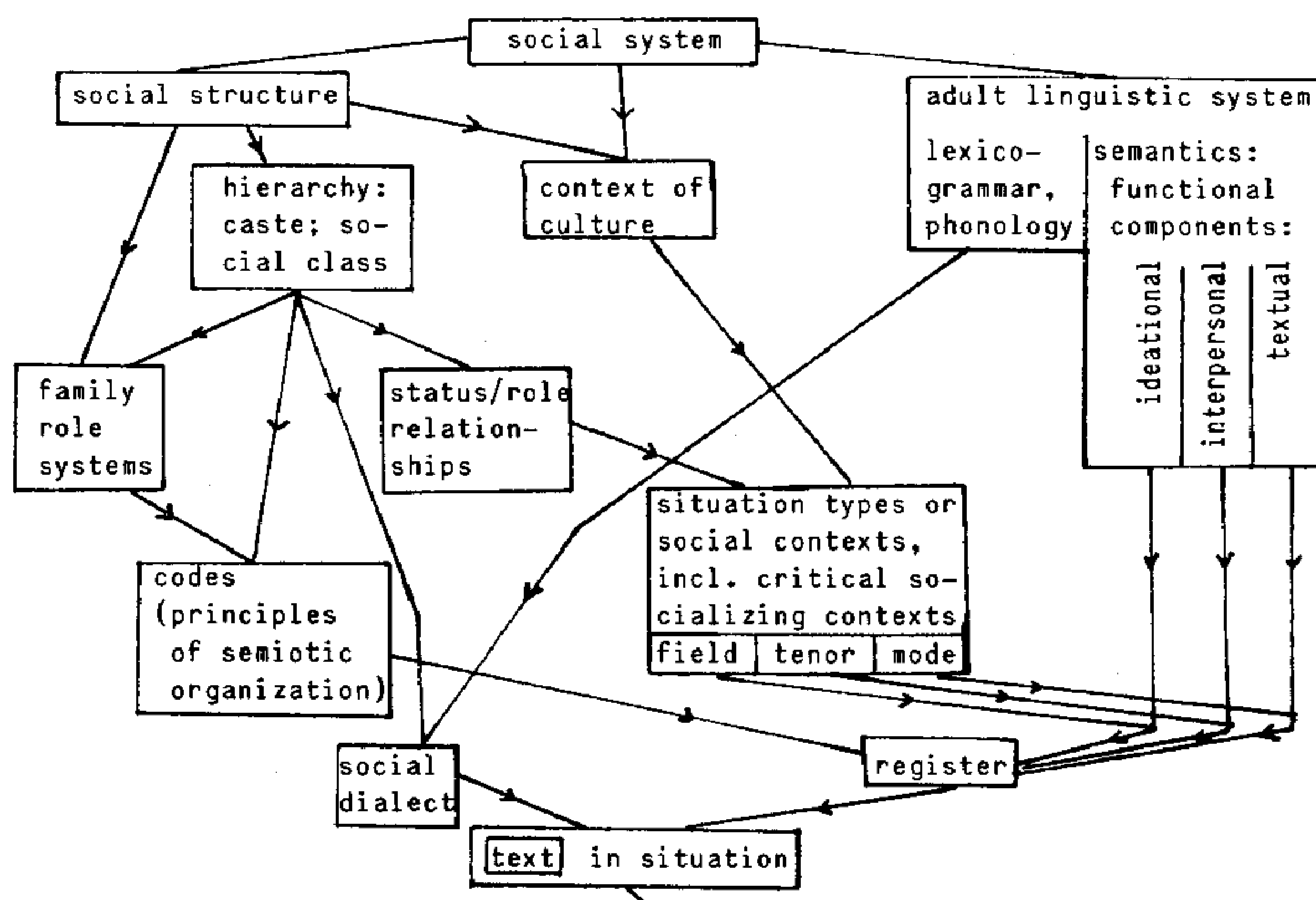
language and on the possible ways of describing genre relatedness will become evermore apparent. Martin's discourse systems and structures generated by them will be used when seeking linguistic evidence for schematic structures in service encounter texts. His views present a challenging way of looking at language, register and generic text structures. This study can appropriately be interpreted as a testing ground for the hypotheses concerning the semiotics of genre. By looking at service encounter data, evidence which points to the similarities in the generic organization of these texts will be gathered from the linguistic organization of the texts. A synthesis of how successful the study is in this attempt will be presented in the last chapter. But in order to systematize the various aspects of the relationship between language and its use in a society a number of similar studies are urgently needed.

2.5 Summary

This chapter has overviewed the most recent work on text semiotics by three systemicists, Halliday, Hasan and Martin. In different ways, their work has significantly influenced the development of ideas that will be presented in this study. Halliday's work is relevant for its presentation of the systematic relationship between language and its use in situations, whereby situational variables are seen to preselect particular 'meanings' on the semantic level and, further, particular 'wordings' on the lexicogrammatical level. Hasan's work has functioned as an inspiration in the examination of overall, global patternings in texts. Her work on the relationship between the situational variables field, mode and tenor and generic text structures represents the first attempt within systemic linguistics to build criteria according to which texts can be classified as belonging to the same or different genre/register. Finally, Martin's treatment of genre, register and language as separate semiotic systems, as communication planes, will be the framework adopted for this study on the schematic structures of service encounters. The discourse systems and structures worked out by him will function as an analytical basis for searching linguistic evidence on the discourse stratum for the schematic elements in the service encounter texts.

NOTES:

1. Halliday does, however, speculate on the possibility of establishing semantic structures, which may be totally different from the structures found on the lexicogrammatical and phonological levels. It is worthwhile here to quote him at length: "one might be able to handle more complex areas of behaviour by means of a concept of semantic structure. It may be, for instance, that the study of institutional communication networks, such as the chain of command or the patterns of consultation and negotiation in an industrial concern, might be extended to a linguistic analysis if the semantic options were first represented in semantic structures - since the options themselves could then be made more abstract. Various complex decision-making strategies in groups of different sizes might become accessible to linguistic observation in the same way. But for the moment this remains a matter of speculation. Sociological semantics is still at a rather elementary stage, and the contexts that have been investigated, which are some of those most likely to be significant in relation to socialization and social learning, are fairly closely circumscribed and seem to be describable by direct pre-selection between semantic and grammatical systems" (Halliday 1973:95-96). It is interesting to note how this quotation relates to the work that Hasan has done on text structures (see e.g. Hasan 1978, 1979; Halliday and Hasan 1980) and to Martin's work on establishing the discourse stratum with its systems and structures (see e.g. Martin 1981a, 1981b, in press, in prep.).
2. Language as a system can most fruitfully be related to the semiotics of situation, although in fact it must also be seen to be related to the whole cultural semiotic system of the society (situational semiotics being part of this), as Halliday (1978:109) points out: "The meaning potential, which is the paradigmatic range of semantic choice that is present in the system, and to which the members of a culture have access in their language, can be characterized in two ways...interpreted in the context of culture, it is the entire semantic system of the language. This is a fiction, something we cannot hope to describe. Interpreted in the context of situation, it is the particular semantic system, or set of subsystems, which are associated with a particular type of situation or social context. This too is a fiction; but it is something that may be more easily describable".
3. Halliday's view of language as social semiotic is well summarized by the figure that will be reproduced here (Halliday 1978:69):



In this figure, as I understand it, both social dialect and register are linguistic categories (see the arrows leading to them from the adult linguistic system) which are influenced by other semiotic systems lying outside the language system. It is both social dialect and register which Halliday refers to as 'language as institution', language manifesting the social organization of the society. In this study register is reinterpreted as a semiotic system, not as a linguistic system, although it is realized by language. The dialectal characteristics in linguistic realizations are considered to be (for the major part grammatical, lexical or phonological) realizations of partly TENOR choices of register and partly CODE choices (CODE in a further semiotic organization which underlies GENRE which in turn underlies REGISTER). This reinterpretation of register as a semiotic system does away with the traditional juxtaposing of register and dialect as parallel linguistic categories as they have been described for example by Gregory (1967). Nothing appears to be lost, though, as the dialect features in linguistic realizations can be just as well accounted for as choices of CODE and TENOR. Rather, it seems that accounting for register and dialect in the same model results in a more unified and integrated theory, which therefore is also more powerful.

4. Interestingly enough this represents a slight divergence from Halliday's views, where each contextual variable is seen to hook up with a particular semantic metafunctional component; for a more detailed discussion on the theoretical issues involved, see Berry 1980).
5. Preliminary networks for field, mode and tenor have been worked out by a research group led by Dr. Martin. The other members of this research group are: Suzanne Ec , Chris Nesbitt, Guenter

CHAPTER III: DESCRIPTION OF THE DATA AND THE DATA COLLECTION

This chapter will introduce the type of data that is used for the analyses in this study. Further, the methods used for the data collection will be discussed. Lastly, some of the problems and mistakes which occurred with the data collection will be pointed out, thus hopefully preventing their repetition in future discourse studies of the same kind.

3.1 Type of Data

The data, i.e. the service encounter texts, that are used for the analyses in this study were originally designed to form the first stage of a larger research project. Such a project would have aimed to carry out contrastive register analyses of Australian English and Finnish service encounters and further observe the Finnish interactants' communication in these encounters so that a fuller understanding of native and non-native interaction and mutual linguistic difficulties experienced (foreigner talk vs. broken language) could be mapped and later applied in foreign language teaching. Such a study was meant to be a comprehensive, systematic study of English and Finnish 'service talk', following some of the principles of contrastive register studies introduced by Ure (1971), Ure and Ellis (1977), and Ellis (forthcoming).

Unfortunately, although all the necessary data for this contrastive register study have been collected, the project in its original form has proved too extensive and large to realize, at this stage at least, for three reasons. Firstly, the resources available for the researcher and the scope provided by the form of the present study have proved too limited for such a large scale contrastive register study as planned. Secondly, it was soon found that before such a register study could be conducted so that it would most benefit applied linguistics theoretical methodology has to be developed to cope with linguistic variation on the level of register and genre more effectively than it has done in the studies conducted so far in that

area. Finally, contrastive register studies involve describing the data of both languages by using the same descriptive tools. But as systemic descriptions, systemic-functional theory being the chosen linguistic model, are not yet available for Finnish, developing such comparative descriptions would have been far too time-consuming for the purpose of the present study and must therefore be left to be conducted at a later stage. It is for these reasons that the original research plan was forsaken for the time being. Nevertheless, it is important that the descriptions and the analyses conducted in this study will be understood to function as a beginning, as a first step toward such contrastive register studies as were initially planned and which are considered of utmost importance from the point of view of applied linguistics. This study, then, involves mapping out the semiotics of service encounters in the Australian cultural context only (no claims beyond this society will be attempted). But at the same time it is seen to represent a beginning of further important contrastive studies on cultural semiotics and will, thus, hopefully benefit even in its present, more limited form not only theoretical linguistics but also applied linguistics.

Why service encounter data? The reasons are manifold. Firstly, having the larger scale investigation on service encounters in mind, it was felt that recordings of texts should take place in such social situations which represented an everyday activity in the life of the members of the society. Thus, it could be assumed that the native members of the society would from a very early age be socialized into these activities (as illustrated in the Introduction). Furthermore, for any non-member, information about the semiotic structuring of such everyday activities would prove most useful. Embarrassment and communication breakdowns experienced in these essential everyday activities slows down the non-natives' adjustment to the new living environment. The lack of knowing how to linguistically (and non-linguistically) conduct the 'basic social interactions' frequently causes rejection of newcomers to the society as well as rejection of the host society and may even spark the hostility of members of the host community toward non-native speakers. It was felt that service encounters include the most vital basic skills and would thus well

serve as a starting point to the study of the social semiotics of a language community.

Secondly, service encounters seemed to function as a convenient embarkation point because they were conceived to be fairly uniform in nature in spite of the variation in FIELD. In other words, it was intuitively felt that, although there was a possibility of a different FIELD being involved, the texts in such encounters were so closely related registers that they could be described with very similar Structure Potentials in the way Hasan (1978, 1979; Halliday and Hasan 1980) postulated. At this initial data collection stage the regular resemblances in such social interactions were considered to guarantee that the data were socially shared, routinized and typical of the society in question. The reason why such stereotyped data were preferred was that the deep-rooted, habitual character of such interactions were seen to prevent 'sprawling' and 'side-tracking' in texts, so characteristic for example of casual conversations (where almost anything under the sun can be drawn into the conversation and which thus makes the task of describing such texts more complicated; see the discussions on the difficulties experienced in describing the CENTERING element of casual conversations, in Ventola 1977, 1978, 1979). Such patterning of social activity in service encounters was assumed to function as a kind of a constraint on interactants' social behaviour and would thus offer, at least to some degree, a guarantee of the comparability of the texts. However, as will be shown later (see Chapter IV), the dynamism of service encounter texts as social processes was far greater than expected and this led to developing the theory of social semiotics further, towards accounting for texts from both the static, synoptic, as well as from the dynamic point of view (see Chapter IV).

Further, service encounters were also chosen as data because of their 'public' nature. It was considered that recording spontaneous speech in service encounters would be a relatively simple matter in the sense that they would not be considered as private intimate conversations. Anyone can, and frequently does, eavesdrop on what

others say for instance in a shop, whereas recordings of job interviews or discussions in, let us say, welfare offices would raise objections from the participants, if recorded. Naturally, of course, there are also service encounters which are considered more private than others. It is not considered appropriate, for example, to eavesdrop on banking interactions. If one is the next person in line one has to adjust one's distance away from the on-going service transaction to suit the rules of the society. Such rules are mostly unspoken and acquired as part of the socialization process. This is the case for example in banking encounters in Finland. But sometimes, the society organizes the situations so that the intimacy of the interaction is guarded. For example, in banks in Australia the waiting customers are kept away from the customers being attended to by a roped area. A sign to the effect 'please wait here!' functions as an additional reminder of the required distance. As the data collected was audiotaped rather than videotaped, no attempt to account for proxemics of service encounters will be made in this study, although this is felt to be an area of semiotics which generally deserves much more attention in both linguistics and applied linguistics.

Finally, some initial descriptions had already previously been provided on service encounters (see Mitchell 1957/75; Merritt 1974, 1976; Gregory and Carroll 1978; Hasan 1979; Halliday and Hasan 1980; Bachman and Cohen-Solal 1980). Although some of these discussions were based on observations or limited recordings (usually one text used as an example) or on fabricated texts (claimed to represent the typical in the society), these studies, together with the reasons listed above, functioned as an inspiring force for a desire to collect a body of data which would enable one to look at service encounters more systematically.

Next, it was necessary to limit the nature of service encounters included in the study further. In order to keep the interactants participating in recording as much at ease about the public form of the encounter as possible, the following types of service locations were chosen for the recording: (1) a post office, (2) a small shop selling souvenirs, jewellery or gifts and (3) a travel agency.

Initially the texts produced in these locations were considered to represent texts of related registers where the value for field varied. The genre aspect, i.e. the texts realizing the social process of service encounters, was considered as one of the register features. In register literature this is referred to by various labels. For example, Ure (1971) sees it as 'the social function', whereas Gregory (1967, 1982) and Gregory and Carroll (1978) refer to it as 'functional tenor'. Halliday (1978), on the other hand, does not seem to separate the genre aspect of texts into a variable on its own, but deals with it under MODE (rhetorical mode). Martin and Rothery (1980) (and Ventola 1983a following them) use Gregory's term 'functional tenor' to capture the genre features in a text. But the distinction between their approach and Gregory's is that 'functional tenor' is seen underlying the rest of the register variables (see also Gregory 1982 for a discussion).

In Martin's latest writings (in press, in prep.) the term 'functional tenor' has not only been changed into the term 'genre', but has also undergone a reorientation as a semiotic communication plane, as already discussed in Chapter II. This reorientation was substantiated partly by evidence from the service encounter data. As the analyses of the service encounter data proceeded, it became more and more apparent that one cannot characterize the collected service encounter texts under one and the same label, i.e. register. There was more to the sameness and the differences found in the data than the earlier concept of register could capture. Therefore, as will be argued in this thesis, it is more appropriate to consider the texts recorded in these service encounter situations as three different registers. Following some of the discussion presented so far dealing with the theoretical model (see especially Chapter II section 2.4) the three registers will be described as 'posting register', 'shopping register' and 'travel register', for lack of better labels. Each register will be accounted for by networks presenting the relevant oppositions of FIELD, MODE and TENOR variables. Thus, there will be three separate FIELD networks, each capturing the social activity and institutional orientation in the registers mentioned (it is possible to present only the beginning of such a network description for one

of the registers, the travel register, in this study, as the network descriptions for the register variables are still very much in their making; however, see Martin and Plum (in prep.) for such networks. The chosen FIELD features are most clearly detectable as particular indexical items realized in texts. TENOR networks for these registers (yet to be drawn) will show the oppositions in terms of participant relations as far as 'power', 'contact' and 'affect' are concerned (see Poynton, forthcoming). Finally, the MODE networks for these registers (also still to be drawn) set the three registers apart in terms of choices from the scale of communication medium (face-to-face vs. non-face-to-face) and from the scale of language-as-action vs. language-as-reflection (for example, enquiring about travel is carried out quite differently in face-to-face encounters than when phoning the travel agency). On the whole, in the texts chosen for the analyses the MODE and TENOR choices remain fairly constant. The texts are primarily set apart as separate registers by the FIELD choices.

Although the selected texts seem to vary in their register realization their generic qualities indicate that they all belong to the genre of service encounters. In other words, on the basis of their realized schematic structures the texts can be assigned to agnate genres as they share some elements of the 'super-genre' of service encounters, i.e. the least delicate level of genre description in the genre agnation network (see Chapters II and IV).

3.2 Data Collection Method

As the aim of the study was to investigate social semiotics of service encounters in an Australian context it was felt that the only suitable material for such a study was naturally occurring conversations in such situations as mentioned above, recorded as unobtrusively and inoffensively as possible in the actual locations. Therefore the researcher approached the persons-in-charge in post offices, shops and travel agencies asking for their permission to set up recording equipment for recording two (or sometimes more) native speakers of Australian English engaged in the social activity of service encounters.

The officials in three different post offices, shops and travel agencies in three different suburbs of an Australian city, when asked, agreed to the recording procedure. In the recordings one of the participants is a server and the other a customer, thus both parties acting their natural situational roles (sometimes both the customer and the server role are taken by more than one informant). Usually the person-in-charge approached his or her employees asking for their co-operation on behalf of the researcher, whereas the customer was informed about the recording by the researcher. Both interactants in the majority of cases had not met previously, the social distance thus being at its maximum (see Hasan 1978; Ventola 1979) or in Poynton's (forthcoming) terms, 'contact' being infrequent. Even when the informants had seen each other in the same location before, usually this previous contact was not perceived to influence the interaction. Usually the influence of frequent contact was perceived by the observer-analyst by such linguistic realizations as address terms, discussions about personal matters etc. When such realizations were noticed the observer also often asked the server about the frequency of contact between him/her and the customer. Some customers had naturally established closer, more friendlier relations with the servers due to the frequency of their interactions in the locations and this of course showed in the language used in the conversations. These conversations are excluded from the data used for this study (although they are well worth looking at from a different perspective in a later study).

The data was recorded by using a portable cassette recorder, Technics RS 686 DX, and two small sized, clip-on lapel microphones, Tandy elextrex microphones. The microphones were set on the counter or the table so that one of them was directed towards the server and the other towards the customer. There was no attempt to hide the microphones, although small microphones rather than big ones were deliberately chosen to reduce any anxiety the informants might have felt due to the recording. The servers were asked to carry on with their work as usual. The customers were informed about the recording either by asking for their permission for the recording before the actual encounter with the server started (usually at the door of the

location) or by a sign saying that all the interactions on a particular counter with that server were being recorded for research data for a Ph.D. thesis. This left the customers the option of either refusing their permission for the recording or choosing another counter and another server to serve them, if they did not wish to be recorded. The researcher always remained in the background and observed the interactions, taking notes on relevant non-verbal activities etc. and operated the recorder from a reasonable distance, so avoiding being an 'intruder' to the customer's and server's social space in the situations.

The data collected by using the method described are considered to be naturally occurring spontaneous data since neither the servers nor the customers were in any way coached in their performance either before or during the interactions. Furthermore, the spontaneity is also guaranteed by the fact that each customer when stepping into the location had in mind a task that he had already set for himself to be performed in that location. Thus it can justifiably be said that such data represent the tasks, the social activities, that the speakers typically perform in those situations.

As background information about customer-informants was unobtainable, no claims about linguistic variation among the different groups of the speech community will be made. The researcher-observer, however, noted down the sex of each informant, and made approximate judgements about the informants' age as well as their ethnic background. Recordings of informants other than native English speakers were excluded from the data chosen for the present study. This was usually done on the basis of, firstly, the analyst's judgement of customers' 'native appearance' and, secondly, of customers' phonological realizations (accent) on the tapes. Furthermore, the analyst often had the opportunity to ask the server about the customer's 'foreigner' status. Naturally the data may include foreigners who have acquired such a fluency that they are indistinguishable from native speakers. The server's native-speaker status was verified already before the recording situation was set up by eliciting casually information about her background.

It is obvious that recording conversations in three different types of service encounters for nine different days amounts to quite an extensive body of data. Some of the data were rejected due to recording problems (see section 3.3), some were rejected for other reasons (informants being non-native speakers of English, friends of a server etc.). But even these texts excluded, it was felt that the corpus was too large for the researcher to transcribe by herself and to carry out detailed linguistic analyses on all texts recorded, especially since no quantitative analyses were planned at this stage. Therefore, the final data for this thesis have been limited to include twelve service encounter texts, four for each register to be described. In building up views on genre and register all the collected material has, however, served as a basis and will here and there be used as further support for the hypotheses and theoretical considerations that will be presented later. For the major part though, supporting examples will be drawn from the twelve texts which have been appended for the purpose of easy reference (see the Appendix). The twelve texts were chosen fairly randomly, the criteria being, however, that they were recordings of the total service interaction, that at least one text from each recording location was chosen and that the data included some texts where not only service was provided but also the actual buying of goods was carried out. The texts were transcribed by the researcher and all of the transcriptions have been checked by a native speaker of Australian English. The following table (Table 3, p.120) introduces the data in more detail.

3.3 Problems with the Data Collection

Whenever a researcher sets out to collect spontaneous data in real life environments some problems arise which will lead to rejection of at least part of the data. Some of these problems are more predictable than others. First the predictable problems and how they were faced, and how successfully, will be discussed below.

The aim of recording spontaneous data in natural environments such as service encounters means that certain sacrifices have to be made concerning the quality of recordings. Such spontaneous data simply cannot be collected in sound-proof recording studios. One has

REGISTER	DURATION	S'S SEX	S'S AGE	C'S SEX	C'S AGE	BUYING COMPLETED
POST OFFICE (PO)	1. 1m.5s.	F	45-50	M	35-40	yes
	2. 50s.	F	40-45	M	30-35	yes
	3. 1m.20s.	F	30-35	F	20-25	yes
	4. 1m.1s.	F	45-50	F	20-25	yes
SHOP (SH)	5. 2m.8.s	F	45-55	F	15-20	yes
	6. 1m.47s.	F	45-55	F	25-30	yes
	7. 2m.53s.	F	20-25	F	55-65	no
	8. 1m.40s.	F	25-30	F	25-30	no
TRAVEL AGENCY (TA)	9. 1m.45s.	F	25-30	M	30-40	no
	10. 3m.45s.	F	30-35	F	30-35	no
	11. 4m.12s.	M	40-50	M	30-40	yes
	12. 4m.48s.	F	30-35	M	40-50	no

Table 3. The Data: Genre - Service Encounter; Registers - Postal, Shopping, Travel

to face the problem of noise in the recording environment. As this study was planned to concentrate mainly on discourse, register and genre analyses and not on phonological analyses, recordings were considered good enough when it was possible to do a 'wording' transcription of them. The phonological analyses will only be made on those occasions where the discourse systems are being realized directly by the phonological systems. Nevertheless, some precautions to reduce the noise level were taken with varying success. For example, the researcher sought out locations which were away from traffic routes whenever possible. However, the noise within the location caused more interference than originally predicted, especially in post offices. There is usually a lot of activity going on in post offices and more than one customer and server are present almost continuously. The servers stand fairly close to one another behind the counter, so the interaction going on next to that being recorded was frequently also picked up by the recorder. As customers we do not pay attention to how much noise surrounds us in such places (opening of squeaky doors, post officials stamping letters etc.). Also one factor not considered enough beforehand was that post offices tend to be locations which echo. In some recordings in

shops the soft background music that is played throughout a shopping complex can be heard on the tapes. Such noise goes unnoticed for the majority of people, indicating how much we choose just what exactly we want to hear. Such factors indicate that in future studies careful attention will have to be paid when considering the locations where recordings of such natural conversations are to take place in order to minimize data loss.

Although in most non-rehearsed, non-set up situations interactions probably more frequently are between members of a group of interactants rather than in interactive dyads or triads, for recording purposes interactive dyads or triads must be considered preferable. Interactive dyads or triads prevent the possibility of a conversation splitting up into two which happens frequently when there are four or more people present. Dyads, more than triads, reduce the amount of simultaneous speech in recordings, as the interactants do not have to make decisions on whose turn it is next (see Sacks et al. 1974). But the idealistic 'when A finishes, then B takes over' does not exist. As part of the socialization process we are told not to interrupt or talk at the same time as someone else, but we all seem to be very effectively and frequently breaking this 'rule'. Simultaneous speech is difficult to understand and transcribe and this causes loss of some parts of the conversations. This could be avoided by using a method where each interactant's voice is channelled to the recorder separately and recorded on a separate track. Such a method has been described in Hurme and Valo (1979). Conversations up to four participants can be recorded simultaneously, each voice being recorded on a separate track of an instrumentation tape recorder. This four-channel speech processor transforms the interactants' turns into on-off-signals onto which the speech is then transcribed by using traditional orthographical transcription. If the material has also been video-taped kinesic symbols for eye-movements, nods etc. can also be added to the transcriptions. This method has been used for analyses of group discussion recordings in studio surroundings (for further details see Saario 1980; Valokorpi 1980). Such recording method is especially useful for the study of overlapping speech. However, for the present study such recording equipment was not available. Further,

the method would have probably caused more anxiety in informants as the microphones would actually have had to be clipped onto participants.

In all of the locations chosen for this study interactions took place over a counter (or a desk or equivalent). This is typical of the chosen interaction types, which demarcate the roles of a customer and a server. But the counter was also serving another function, namely limiting the mobility of the informants during the interactions. As described earlier, the microphones were set on the counter rather than clipped onto the participants and it was hoped that the counter, being an essential part of the interaction as a working space, would prevent both the server and the customer moving too far away from the microphones. This method was successful in post offices. However, in shops and travel agencies the effect of the counter (or the desk) was not as successful. In spite of the fact that for all interactions small locations for recordings were preferred the servers and customers tended to shift their positions during the interaction in shops and travel agencies - they would move away from the counter or the table (and the microphones) to inspect an item on the other side of the shop or to look, for example, for brochures displayed on the wall. This tendency naturally caused loss of some data. A solution to this would naturally have been to clip the microphones onto the server and the customer, but, as mentioned earlier, it was thought to be too disruptive to the servers in their daily routines and too intimidating for the customers.

The most serious unpredictable problem was probably the role played by non-verbal activities in these situations. As will be later shown in the analyses, many of the non-verbal activities form a vital part of the whole social activity in the service encounter. Such activity has to be reconstructed by the analysts in the audiotapes (for example, rustling paper means wrapping a package, coins dropped onto the counter signals the sequence of paying, operating the cash register is an indication of payment and getting change etc.). In this respect videotaped material would have been ideal, as it would have documented such activities in detail for the analyst. However, the presence of videocameras, even small as they are nowadays, was

thought to be likely to intimidate informants much more than the simple audiorecording equipment. It was hoped that the presence of the researcher as an observer monitoring and taking notes in the situations would make the data partially equivalent to videotaped data. To a certain degree it did. But retrospectively considered note-taking can never be as detailed as the analyst would sometimes hope. It may, therefore, be time to start seriously considering the possibilities of videotaping in future studies such data as collected for this thesis, especially since semiotic aspects are becoming more and more important for linguistics. Videotaping has, of course, been used for quasi-laboratory interactions and studies of interactions produced by role playing, but such data is hardly useful for a serious study of the social semiotics of a speech community. But as the general public becomes more and more accustomed to being videotaped, for example by the surveillance systems in department stores and in family circles, videotaping social interactions in everyday situations becomes less of an affair to be shied away from.

Summarizing then, it can only be said that in spite of the various precautions taken in planning the data collection some unnoticed and unpredictable factors influenced the data collection, causing the rejection of some of the data at least for the present purposes of the study. Careful planning of the data collection is necessary and in order to do that a clear, theoretical model that will be used for the analyses should be already developed. Otherwise the researcher is involved in two processes at the same time, the analysis as well as the theory construction. The data collections should be well tested in order to eliminate as many as possible of the factors which might lead to the rejection of some of the data.

CHAPTER IV: TOWARDS REPRESENTING SERVICE ENCOUNTER AS A PROCESS

This chapter focusses specifically on service encounters and the synoptic (a text as a product) and dynamic (a text as a process) aspects in their representations (the distinction appears in Martin in press). The term service encounter is used in the sense Goffman (1963:88-89) has defined an encounter. It is a semiotic unit where two (or more) participants are involved in a social process of giving and receiving service. Thus, service encounter does not simply refer to the linguistic realization of the social process, although the major part of it may be realized linguistically.¹ If sometimes it is necessary to refer only to the linguistic realization of the social process in question, this then will be labelled as service talk or service encounter text.

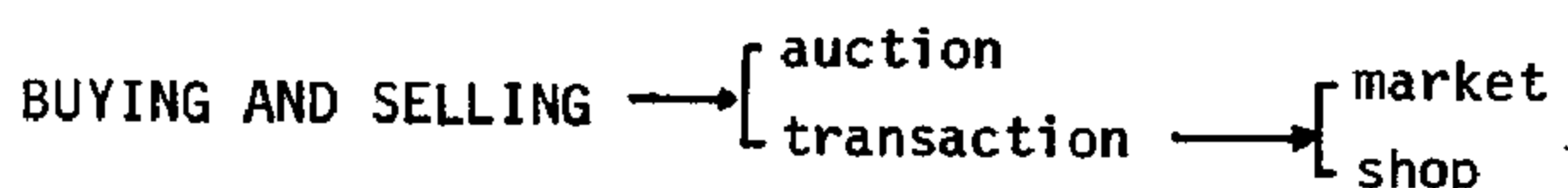
The chapter will start by presenting some earlier observations made of service encounters by others, especially in respect to their comments on generic structuring. Further, it will discuss in detail the linear representation of the schematic structure of this genre. Moreover, it argues that texts can be looked at not only as finished products, whose relationship to other similar type of texts can be stated as system choices in the genre agnation network, but also as processes, whose unique unfoldings as text structures manifest themselves through the tactic pattern of a flow chart for service encounters.

4.1 An Early Contextual Aspiration towards Characterization of Service Encounters

An early attempt to come to grips with how service encounters are related to one another in terms of what in this study is called schematic structure was made by Mitchell (1957/75). At first sight, his article seems to be only remotely related to the type of data presented in this study. After all it is distant not only linguistically and culturally, describing Arabic spoken in market situations in Libya, but also temporally, describing situations as they were thirty years ago before the discovery of oil. Nevertheless, his work is well worth looking into in more detail in the context of this study

as it represents a Malinowskian-Firthian attempt to discover the correlation, the systematic relationships, between text and context. Further, his influence upon later systemic work of Hasan's in the same area seems obvious. Both Mitchell and Hasan see the generic structuring of texts, i.e. schematic structures, as being determined by the values of context of situation (see Mitchell 1957/75:168 and for Hasan's views, see section 2.3 in Chapter II).

Mitchell (1957/75) is basically interested in the agnateness of the three following genres: market auction, market transactions and shop transactions. Furthermore, he is interested in the relatedness of these genres to one another in terms of differences in 'staging' (i.e. schematic structure) as well as in the different lexicogrammatical realizations of these stages. Mitchell's insights to the agnateness of these genres can be summarized as



Auctions and transactions are distinguished in terms of differences in stages, i.e. differences in the elements of the schematic structure (cf. Martin's realization statements, see Table 2). AUCTION has the following schematic structure: 1. The Auctioneer's Opening, 2. Investigation of The Object of Sale, 3. Bidding and 4. Conclusion (Mitchell 1957/75:176). TRANSACTIONS have the schematic structure of 1. Salutation, 2. Enquiry as to Object of Sale, 3. Investigation of The Object of Sale, 4. Bargaining and 5. Conclusion (Mitchell 1957/75:178). Such a structure is seen as the typical sequencing of the stages in the genres in question. But Mitchell (1957/75:188) makes a point to remind his readers that "numerical order does not necessarily correspond to a successive ordering in time", e.g. Investigation of Object of Sale and Bargaining may take place simultaneously as the former can be realized non-verbally (Mitchell 1957/75:175). MARKET and SHOP transactions are distinguished not on the basis of the elements of the schematic structure but also on the basis of the obligatoriness of the elements or their linguistic realizations. For example, in markets, Salutations are not necessarily exchanged (cf. Hasan's optional/obligatory elements

distinction, see section 2.3.1), and the linguistic realizations for the element Enquiry as to Object of Sale vary from market to shop. In shops, it is assumed that the shopkeeper is the owner of the goods and that the goods are for sale. The Enquiry in shops seeks information about whether certain types of goods are available or not (as the customer cannot see the whole stock whereas the server is expected to know what he holds in his store-house). In market situations in Libya at the end of the 1940's, however, the ownership of goods or their being on sale was not always clear and had to be first established, this fact indicating the more confused atmosphere in markets (see Mitchell 1957/75:179-180). On the basis of these different functions and their different linguistic realizations one could argue that Mitchell's Enquiry is, in fact, two separate elements and thus MARKET and SHOP transactions would have different elements in their schematic structuring. This would motivate setting them up as separate systems, as a more delicate distinction of transactions in the system network on the basis of the realization, as discussed by Martin (in press).

From the point of view of the present state of the research into the nature of service encounters it seems unfortunate that the worth of Mitchell's work has not been more widely recognized. In spite of the lack of systematic study of the differences, due to the lack of modern recording equipment, his observations and their analyses are very detailed and his interest in the question of how texts are inter-related is genuine. He offers a good description of the linguistic realizations of TENOR and MODE choices in terms of 'buyer/seller language' and 'technical/non-technical language'. He looks for and finds evidence for the different stages/elements of social processes in the linguistic realizations on the lexicogrammatical level in Arabic. Mitchell's view of a text is, however, very much 'text as a product' view. Texts are assigned to genres by recognizing different linguistic patterns in the staging or schematic structure of the product. Mitchell recognizes the problem of dealing with the unfolding of the text in time, but does not address himself to it at all. Hasan has been the person to carry on Mitchell's insights within the systemic-functional framework. Before launching into a

discussion on Hasan's views on service encounter structures and their representation, there are, however, a few ethnomethodologically oriented studies on service encounters worth mentioning for the reason that they shed some light onto the question of how service encounters might be agnate.

4.2 Ethnographical/Ethnomethodological View on Service Encounters

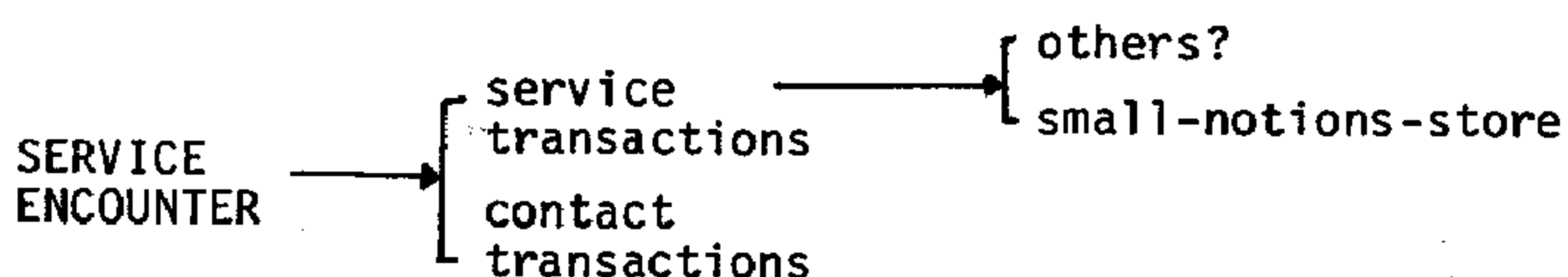
As mentioned earlier (see section 1.5.3), ethnography of speaking and ethnomethodology are in their views very close to the Malinowskian-Firthian tradition in that they are interested in social interaction. It is no surprise then that those few other studies that have been made on service encounters represent an ethnographical/methodological approach. The studies referred to are Merritt (1974, 1976), Churchill and Gray (1974) and Bachmann and Cohen-Solal (1980). These studies could be described as being microlevel rather than macrolevel studies (see Churchill and Gray 1974). But, in fact, the difference is rather that of a point of view; in other words, whether one prefers taking a 'bottom-up' (from language to genre) or a 'top-down' (from genre to language) approach as a starting point. The approaches are complementary.

Merritt in her work sets as her aim "to identify some range of recurring activity" (Merritt 1974:205) and to offer "a treatment of some patterns of talk that occur in service encounters" (Merritt 1976:315). Her approach is microanalytical or bottom-up. In that respect her work is more reminiscent of the latter part of this study (Chapters V-IX) where linguistic evidence for the schematic structure elements in service encounter genre is sought. Merritt concentrates on analyzing only one type of service encounter - a SMALL-NOTIONS-STORE where cigarettes, magazines, newspapers, school supplies, cosmetic items, small houseware, hardware items, etc. are sold (Merritt 1974:199). Even though Merritt's focus is limited in this way and she in no way addresses herself to the question of text relatedness (genre and agnation of subgenres), as it has been introduced earlier, it is possible to draw from her analyses and discussions some useful information which will enable one to pinpoint some of the differences

involved in setting this subgenre apart from the other agnate service encounters and thus to take one step closer to a more comprehensive view on service encounters. For example, when defining service encounters, Merritt (1976:321-322) recognizes that service encounters must necessarily include many subtypes (pointing to the need of scale of delicacy). Merritt (1974:206) sees service encounters as a continuum which includes even such 'contact' service transactions where no verbalization nor eye contact is necessary (e.g. self-service supermarkets). Further, service interactions are service encounters whether or not the activity of buying is completed.

What this means then is that Merritt, using the terminology introduced earlier, does not define texts belonging to service encounter genre in terms of them having the obligatory elements which realize the buying and selling. In this respect, her view will stand close to the dynamic view of service encounters where the unfolding of a text is seen as a dynamic process where interactants may in fact skip certain elements of the schematic structure, if such skipping is plausible (see below, section 4.5).

Merritt's views on genres can perhaps best be summarized with a 'partial' genre agnation network:



The first system sets apart contact transactions from service transactions in terms of -/+verbalization and -/+ eye contact. Small-notions-store is a more delicate choice of service transactions and stands apart, for example, from the data of this thesis (post office, small shop and travel agency texts) in that it is half service and half self-service situation. Thus, it is in genre agnation perhaps more closely related to department store encounters (where customers are given more of a chance to wander around initially). Merritt also gives a very informal description of the structure of social process in the small-notions-store:

Most of the merchandise is displayed openly and the store is basically self-service. In the main, customers bring their selections to the cash register, or serving post, to make their purchases, and this is when most of the interaction between server and customer takes place. However, customers often make inquiries about the availability of some item before making a selection...In the notions store there are a few items such as cigarettes and tobacco which are kept behind the server's counter and must be asked for just prior to purchase (Merritt 1974:199-200).

The flow of interaction in service encounters is seen by Merritt in terms of sequenced speech acts. Typically this sequencing takes the form represented by Fig. 14 below (p.130). Whether Fig. 14 is to Merritt a representation of the schematic structure of a genre, as it has been discussed in Chapter II, is not clear. If it is, then it means that speech acts, or rather speech functions (illocutionary forces) are the elements of the schematic structure. This will go against the view that will be adopted in this study according to which speech functions realize the abstract elements of the schematic structure on discourse stratum, i.e. the underlying semiotic organization is realized by linguistic systems and structures.

That in fact something more abstract and larger in composition is in question, when schematic structure elements are considered, can easily be illustrated by what Merritt has called 'formal offer for service'. It is presented in Fig. 14 as an element or as a speech act performed by the server (May I help you?). Merritt's representation does not take into account that, although for the major part speech acts are typically characterizable as 'server's' or as 'customer's' (in the sense that they are typically uttered by these respective participants, cf. Mitchell's buyer/seller-language, Mitchell 1957/75), this may not always be the case. It may just as well be that the customer requests verbally for the server's service, e.g. Excuse me, could you help me or I'd like some help, please. So it seems that 'offer of service' can quite justifiably be taken as a more abstract semiotic concept. It shall later in this study be called SERVICE BID and it is seen to represent more abstractly a part of the semiotic organization of service encounters on the level of

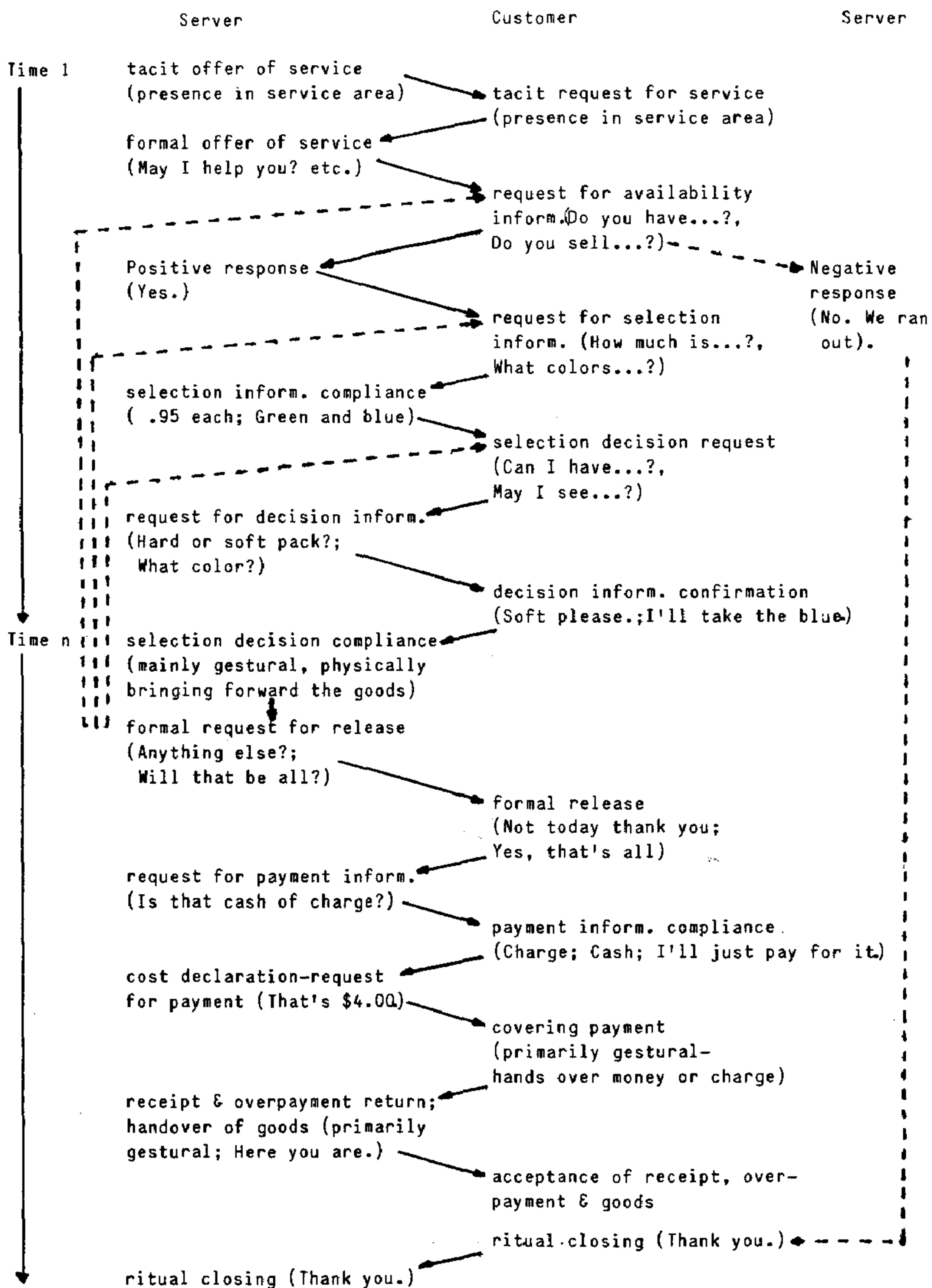


Fig. 14. Typical Sequencing of Speech Acts in Service Encounters as Presented by Merritt (1976:345)

genre. Moreover, linguistically it can be realized both by a server-initiated speech function of offering service (can I help you - yes) or by a customer-initiated request for service (I'd like some help please - yes sure).

Without going into any further detail in Merritt's model,² it seems that representing the structure of the service encounter genre in terms of speech acts and the adjacency pairs which they create will not be a sufficiently powerful representation. There exists such a number of various possibilities for combining speech acts in service talk in a completely natural way for which Merritt's representation will not be able to account because it lacks the concept of a more abstract, underlying organization which is then realized by speech acts (thus allowing for much greater variation in realization).

Another ethnographic description of service encounters mentioned above is the analysis of AUCTIONS by Churchill and Gray (1974). Similarly to Merritt, they concentrate on making a microanalysis of just a specific schematic structure element in the genre of auctions, namely the Bidding Solicitation. But they do informally present a schematic structure or "the typical sequence of activities" for the whole social process in auctions, although no linguistic analyses of the patternings in the elements forming the activities, besides Bidding, are presented. The elements are "(a) describing or identifying the item (or lot), (b) soliciting bids, (c) selling the item and (d) handling payment for the items" (Churchill and Gray 1974:213; my emphasis). This schematic structure has corresponding elements to those presented by Mitchell (1957/75) above, although there are some differences, too. When looking at the lexico-grammatical choices in the auction data, common realizations with the rest of buying/selling genres can be found. Thus, auctions must be considered as belonging to the genre of buying/selling. They are, however, least delicately related to the data of this thesis. Therefore a more detailed discussion is considered unnecessary in this context.

More directly related to this study in terms of FIELD is Bachmann

and Cohen-Solel's (1980) work on a Yemeni in a post office. In terms of throwing more light on genre agnation in service encounters this study has perhaps less to offer than the previously mentioned studies. It is a study which directs ethnographical/ethnomethodological considerations to applications in foreign language teaching, teaching social interaction to foreigners. It is here that its aims meet the more long-term aims of the present study. Genre agnation knowledge and awareness about schematic structures is vital in foreign language learning. It is largely the ways of transmitting such knowledge and its awareness which Bachmann and Cohen-Solel (1980) are trying to promote, although not in these terms. In their discussion the cultural differences in genres and their schematic structures are highlighted and they are trying to find ways of describing and handling the differences so that they would benefit the foreign language learner most. It is hoped that the description of service encounter genre in this thesis will prove a worthy supplement to the goals set by Bachmann and Cohen-Solel and to their way of approaching the issues.

By studying social interaction in natural situations Bachmann and Cohen-Solel hope to set some guidelines on how to teach students from the Middle East not only 'scientific and technical French' but also 'social skills French', so that they could manage their everyday lives better in a different cultural context from their own. A lot of the linguistic difficulties experienced in foreign cultural contexts have to do with knowledge about genres, their schematic structuring, registers and their linguistic realizations, as they are understood in this study. Bachmann and Cohen-Solel (1980:90) give an interesting example of such difficulties.

A young Yemeni ends up confronting the police, because he has taken a French stick in a bakery without paying for it. It turns out that in his village bread is an item one does not have to pay for (cf. sweets are occasionally offered to children gratis in our society). Using the framework introduced earlier in this study, we can say that the French and the Yemeni societies do not see the choices in FIELD in the genre of service encounters in the same way. In the French cultural context the selection of 'bread' as a choice from the

FIELD network necessarily involves in the service encounter genre the realization of the element PAY, whereas in the Yemeni culture it does not evoke an inclusion of such an element in the social process.

Bachmann and Cohen-Solel recognize the importance of these differences in orientation to social processes (or rather genres) in these two cultures, although they do not formulate the problem in exactly the same way. What consequently are needed in foreign language teaching, in order to overcome such cultural problems, are cross-cultural studies, which investigate the social behaviour of the members of the respective societies: for example, whether the service encounters in which Yemeni students are expected to participate in France correspond to those in their home country and to what degree, how offensive to the Yemenis is the French way of stating the price straightforwardly without bargaining, etc. (Bachmann and Cohen-Solel 1980:81). The traditional 'situational dialogues' in text books (such as 'in a café', 'in a post office', 'in a restaurant', etc.) do not help the foreign learner to discover the appropriate social process involved. This is because they mainly concentrate only on introducing FIELD via means of a few relevant lexical items and some structural means of presenting a few speech acts which sound typical in these situations, e.g. could I have a kilo of apples/I'd like a half a kilo of apples/I'd like a half a kilo of tomatoes, please, etc.

Dialogues artificiels tenus dans un pays
imaginaire, généralement idéalisé et aseptisé,
ils échouent, dit-on aujourd'hui, à munir
l'apprenant d'outils lui permettant une prise
suffisante sur l'univers social (Bachmann and
Cohen-Solel 1980:81).

Similar criticism has been presented in Ventola (in press).

How then do Bachmann and Cohen-Solel envisage that such cultural differences can be captured descriptively and be taught? Following the ethnomethodologists' work on adjacency pairs and Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) work on exchange structures they first proceed to present a kind of BEGINNING ^ MIDDLE ^ END, or in their terms, OPENING ^ TRANSACTIONAL EXCHANGES ^ CLOSURE, structure. Each such element consists at least of one exchange in the way presented by Fig. 15

given below (where (x) represents an initiating move and (x') a responding move).

	CUSTOMER	SERVER
OPENING	(a) Greeting (b) Service Request (could you...)	(a') Response Greeting (b') Appreciation (yes sure; optional)
TRANS- ACTIONAL EXCHANGES	(c) Demand (non-verbal handing of parcel) (d') Giving Information (e') Accomplishing Procedure (f') Giving Payment	(Acceptance) (d) Demanding Information (e) Indicating Posting Procedure (c') Acceptance (f) Demanding Payment
CLOSURE	(g) Satisfaction (thank you) (h) Goodbye	(g') Minimization (you're welcome; optional) (h) Response to Goodbye

Fig. 15. A Simplified Formalization of Post Office Service Encounter
(Bachmann and Cohen-Solel 1980:87)

But then Bachmann and Cohen-Solel point out that this structure will in fact give, if the actual speech acts in exchanges are written into artificial dialogues, a very similar text to those found in the traditional teaching dialogues mentioned above. Thus adopting this model as a pedagogical model could be dangerous (similarly to Merritt's model, the formalization above presents speech acts as role related, cf. Fig. 14).

Un tel exemple montre que les dialogues d'antan peuvent réapparaître, sous des formalisations cognitivistes ou - le phénomène serait le même - logicistes...De semblables "modèles" ont sans aucun doute une importance pédagogique; mais il importe d'en cerner les limites, quand on s'efforce de préciser ce que peut être une langue de communication...Une approche cognitiviste risque de donner d'une institution sociale comme la poste une représentation idyllique qui ne correspond évidemment à aucune réalité vécue (Bachmann and Cohen-Solel 1980:88).

The cognitive approach outlined and criticized by Bachmann and Cohen-Solel is, using a later term used in this thesis, too synoptic (see section 4.4 below). They have a few suggestions to make how such models could be improved to suit pedagogical purposes better.

Pedagogically useful descriptions of actual service situations should include such matters as difficulties due to indecisiveness (concerning procedural steps in interaction) and non-comprehension of the going-ons on customer's part, negotiations of alternative procedures (e.g. if some procedure is too expensive), eliciting additional information, interruptions, hesitations, simultaneous speech (how to get the floor and keep it) and so on. These skills discovered by studying natural social interactions will then be incorporated into language teaching programmes. Here Bachmann and Cohen-Solel are stepping closer to the interest of this chapter because what they are, in fact, commenting on are the dynamic aspects of social interaction.

Their procedure of discovering dynamics retrospectively from texts and then applying them to teaching methods by making students aware of them is one possible way of approaching teaching dynamics of social interaction. The view that will be adopted in this thesis is, however, that the dynamic aspects must somehow be made to function predictively in the classroom. What is needed is a model of social interaction which, by representing also the dynamic aspects as well as the social process as a whole, will enable students to make useful predictions about the kind of behaviour needed as the social process in which they are participating unfolds - a guide to 'text creation' (see also Ventola in press). The flow chart representation of service encounters that will be introduced later in this chapter can be seen to be used in applied teaching contexts for generating appropriate behaviour dynamically. Thus it may be what in fact Bachmann and Cohen-Solel have been wanting for foreign language teaching theory.

Although the studies described in the first two sections of this chapter have not specifically set out to describe relationships between various genres, except perhaps Mitchell and even he in a limited sense, it can be said that these preliminary studies on

service encounters have provided some indication of how service encounters are in fact related to one another. Mostly, however, these studies can truthfully be said to be descriptive. They are describing what is happening in the texts collected (in some cases only in one text) on speech act level. Descriptive work is naturally important and a prerequisite to answering such more interesting questions as, for example, how particular texts can be said to be more alike than others, how texts are categorized into various classes and how these classes represent part of our total cultural semiotic system. It is not really until Hasan's and Martin's work, discussed already in a less 'service encounter' oriented manner in Chapter II, that rigorous and more powerful explanations in this direction are being sought. Therefore, the attention will now be turned back to linear representations of structure potentials and to genre agnation networks, but this time looking at both of these concepts specifically from the point of view of service encounters and in the light of the data collected for this study.

4.3 The Structure Potential of Service Encounters: The Linear Representation and Its Limitations

As the main thrust of Hasan's views on text-relatedness in terms of genre/register has already been presented in Chapter II, only a reminder of her views as they are related to the genre/register of 'buying and selling transactions' will be necessary here. Hasan sees the values of context of situation as determinants of Structure Potential, which is a linearly represented scheme showing the sequence of the elements in the genre. For the genre/register of 'buying and selling perishable food in face-to-face interaction' the context of situation is as has been presented on p.93. This context of situation will give rise to a SP which has been presented in Fig. 9 on p.97, together with an exemplifying text. Obligatory elements in such a SP are genre defining. Thus the conclusions that can be made from Hasan's views are, firstly, that all texts belonging to the genre mentioned above will necessarily include the obligatory elements, SALE REQUEST, SALE COMPLIANCE, SALE, PURCHASE and PURCHASE CLOSURE in the sequence specified by the linear representation of Structure

Potential. The texts may further have all or some of the optional elements, GREETING, SALE INITIATION, SALE ENQUIRY and FINIS, which may be shared by texts belonging to other closely related genres which correlate with fairly similar, but not the same, contextual configurations. Secondly, all texts which are 'created' under the same contextual configuration (context of situation), but do not have the obligatory elements of the SP must consequently be considered as incomplete or as non-texts (see Hasan 1978:229,241; Halliday and Hasan 1980:83). It is these two issues that are of major interest in this section.

4.3.1 Is The Linear Representation The Best for Schematic Structures?

At the beginning of the analyses of the collected service encounter texts Hasan's buying/selling SP was taken as a starting point. It was assumed that post office, small shop and travel agency texts would have roughly corresponding, although not the same, schematic structures to that hypothesized by Hasan. This seemed reasonable as the values for context of situation variables mode and tenor seemed to remain approximately the same for Hasan's buying/selling-text as well as for the three types of texts collected. Even the value for the situational variable field in the service encounter texts collected seemed in its least delicate terms to be the same as the field value for buying-and-selling transactions at greengrocer's which Hasan describes as "economic transaction: purchase of retail goods: perishable food..." (Halliday and Hasan 1980:18). The three text types collected seemed to share the value 'economic transaction', although when described more delicately it was natural that the values in post office, shop and travel agency texts would vary.

It is natural to expect that when all the three variables, field, mode and tenor, have greatly different values the SPs of the genres in question would hardly have anything in common. This is the case for example in SPs of 'medical appointments' and 'shopping at green-grocer's' where the values of context of situation variables seem cumulatively to determine quite different SPs for these genres (Hasan 1978:239). But according to Hasan, even a slight change in

field is enough to alter the structure of SP of a genre/register and results to the classification of texts into different genres/registers.

those variations in the value(s) of a contextual configuration are register-defining which lead to a change in the inventory of obligatory elements of text structure. So, if I maintain that the change of the value of 'perishable food' to 'immovable property' correlates with a change in register, I imply that the obligatory elements of structure for a text created in the buying and selling of, say, a house are different in some respects from those required for the buying and selling of everyday items of food (Halliday and Hasan 1980:82).

Following this argumentation then, it seemed correct to hypothesize that post office, shop and travel agency texts belonged to different genres/registers as the more delicate differences in field values would ultimately give rise to different obligatory elements in texts. For example, 'postal matters' as a field value would require an element POSTING in the schematic structure or 'purchase of tickets for travel' as a field value would lead to an element of BOOKING etc. In each type of texts specific elements could then be found that the other text types would not have.

But at the same time it was also hypothesized that remarkable similarities could be predicted and expected between post office, shop and travel agency texts and Hasan's SP, because, as mentioned before, mode and tenor values, and even least delicately field values, were seen to be the same for all the three text types and Hasan's text. In other words, it was envisaged that in the three types of situations the participants would be making some sale enquiries and sale requests which then would be complied to. Moreover, when something was actually bought, an exchange of money and goods could be expected (cf. Hasan's SP, Fig. 9). Therefore, it was assumed that, allowing for some elements to be determined by certain specific field values, the schematic structures realized in the collected post office, shop and travel agency texts could be described with three linear representations not very much unlike that of Hasan's. In such linear SPs many of the elements in these genres/registers would have been

shared (due to the likeness in the values of contextual variables. But due to the more delicate values of field the SPs would also include genre/register specific elements, obligatory for that genre/register only. However, when trying to construct such a linear representation for the collected data, representing schematic structures as they were realized in the texts, problems soon rose. These eventually led into trying to represent genres and their schematic structures differently in terms of networks and flow charts (see Chapter II, section 2.4.2 and below section 4.5.1). It is worthwhile to pinpoint these problems one by one (some of these have been mentioned cursorily in Ventola 1983a, 1983b, forthcoming).

First of all, linearity seems to impose much stricter sequencing of elements than seems to be the case in natural data. For example, according to the given SP, all SALE REQUESTS and SALE COMPLIANCES must be realized before the exchange of money will take place. Frequently, however, the interactants initiate a second 'round' of SALE REQUESTS (SR) and SALE COMPLIANCES (SC) after having already completed SALE (S), PURCHASE (P) and PURCHASE CLOSURE (PC) (PAYMENT). The sequence is started all over again as the customer, for example, remembers an item which he has initially forgotten. Thus, Hasan's sequencing $SR \wedge SC \wedge S \wedge P \wedge PC$ needs to be relaxed.

Sometimes the customer even leaves the shop before realizing he has forgotten an item he was supposed to get. This causes a more ethical problem for the analyst: is a text to be considered to be the same text or a different text when the customer, after having forgotten to buy something he initially intended to buy, returns to the shop and starts the interaction anew, although FINIS has already taken place? Clearly, the customer when talking to the same server again does not face exactly the same options anew. It is, for example, unlikely that he will greet the server again.

Secondly, it seems that recursion in natural data is a more extended phenomenon than what is possible to present by the linear representation. Interactants are given possibilities to repeat practically every stage of social process over again, except perhaps GREETING and GOODBYE. If it is accepted that SALE REQUESTS and

COMPLIANCES can be recursive after SALE, PURCHASE and PURCHASE CLOSURE then these elements must also be considered recursive. Furthermore, even SALE INITIATION may be recursive. The customer may initially reject a service offer, but after having browsed around and found something that he may potentially buy he needs to approach the server again and initiate a text anew (if it is accepted that it is part of the same text). This is exemplified below with an extract from the data collected (but not included in the Appendix; PO, SH and TA are abbreviations used to indicate the postal, shop and travel 'field', in the additional data; the texts in the Appendix are simply given as T₁, T₂ etc.; S = server and C = customer).

Example 1. (additional data - SH):

S: can I help you at all
C: no I'm just looking at the moment thanks very much
S: okay
[2 min 47 secs - C looks around for various things while S arranges jewellery at the counter]
C: I'm looking for something for 21st to buy it's very hard
[6 secs - C continues looking; S continues arranging]
C: hm
[31 secs]
C: hm
[36 secs]
C: sorry can you help me with some watches

A third problem is brought about by the fact that Hasan bases some of the SP elements on interactive roles (server-customer) played by the participants, while others are not so motivated. It seems that researchers who have studied service encounters have paid quite a lot of attention to what can be said to be two sides of the same coin, namely to 'buyer-language' and 'seller-language', using Mitchell's (1957/75) terminology (see studies mentioned in sections 4.1 and 4.2 above). Speech acts realizing different functions in service talk are typically associated either with the customer or the server role.

When discussing Merritt's work earlier (see pp.127-131) it was pointed out that in this study a 'role-associated' speech act on its own will not be seen to represent a part of a social process, i.e. an element of the schematic structure. Rather, using ethno-methodological terminology, elements will be seen following the idea

of 'adjacency pairing'. That is, an element is seen as an activity consisting of the initiation of the element by one participant and its completion by another participant. The point is that elements of the schematic structure in such interactions as service encounters are more correctly seen as a joint effort of achieving or completing some stage of social activity in a situation. Both participants strive for making something happen in a situation, whether it is buying stamps or souvenirs or getting brochures. Therefore, it seems logical to assume that the representation of the schematic structures would somehow reflect consistently this principle of co-operativeness. In other words, the elements represent the joint effort of the interactants during a particular stage of the total social activity rather than just reflect the server-customer roles.

Hasan, however, does not see it necessary to represent elements of the SP consistently either interactively or co-operatively. It seems that for Hasan GREETING, SALE INITIATION, SALE ENQUIRY and FINIS are products of a joint effort, e.g. her SALE INITIATION (see Fig. 10) takes a co-operative form: who's next - I think I am. But SALE REQUEST I'll have ten oranges and a kilo of bananas please and SALE COMPLIANCE yes are represented interactively as two separate elements, customer's and server's respectively, although one would expect that the same idea of a joint effort for realizing the particular stage of social activity would also apply here (the anything else - yes sequence in Fig. 10 is in my opinion not really a part of SALE COMPLIANCE at all, but rather functions as a means of inviting a recursion, i.e. realizing SR and SC anew). Also SALE, PURCHASE and PURCHASE CLOSURE are seen interactively role-based in Hasan's SP. SALE that'll be two dollars sixty-nine please seems to be something that the server only does, whereas PURCHASE I can give you nine cents is an element solely the responsibility of the customer. When the realization that Hasan gives to PURCHASE CLOSURE yeah ok thanks eighty, a hundred, three dollars and two is five thank you is considered, it seems indeed odd that the acceptance of the customer's nine cents would be a different part of the social activity than the actual offer of the nine cents (PURCHASE) or the original request for payment (SALE). Therefore, in fact, SALE, PURCHASE and PURCHASE

CLOSURE are later in this study considered to be parts of one and the same element (PAY). This indeterminacy between co-operative principles and interactive principles in the representation of the functions of SP becomes unnecessary in the flow chart representation introduced later in this section, as both aspects are necessarily incorporated in it.

A further aspect thrown clearly into the limelight by the collected service encounter data is the need to somehow come to grips with including the non-verbal realizations of activities in texts. In her discussions on SPs, Hasan recognizes that text structure elements may have non-linguistic realizations but says that as linguists we should primarily concentrate on the linguistic realizations of elements:

if we do accept the possibility of substituting non-language for language as the realization of some elements of a text, then by implication we are giving recognition to the fact that there really is no natural division between verbal and nonverbal communication. If we make the division, because we are linguists and it suits our limited purposes to create such a division, then that is strictly speaking a separate matter from making the claim that language is inherently an autonomous and self-sufficient system (Halliday and Hasan 1980:26).

Hasan's words are directed more against Chomskyan views rather than suggesting the exclusion of non-verbal communication from our linguistic descriptions. In fact, elsewhere Hasan quite strongly emphasizes the non-verbal aspects of texts by suggesting that when text structures are considered also the non-verbal organization of social events needs to be looked at necessarily (Hasan 1978:229).

But in doing her analyses she chooses to take the linguist's stand, concentrating only on those parts of the social events which are linguistically realized. The primariness of the linguistic realizations is then projected onto her setting up the elements for SP. For example, handing over the goods to the customer is taken to be part of SALE COMPLIANCE and is not given an independent status as an element of SP, as it is only realized non-verbally (see Fig. 10).

But frequently the server hands the goods over to the customer only after the payment has been completed. This being the case it must be concluded that GOODS HANDOVER in service encounters is a separate, independent element, in spite of the fact that it frequently totally lacks linguistic realization. Since the goods may exchange hands without a word being spoken by either participant perhaps the primary realization for this element should be considered to be non-linguistic (whereas it would for some other elements be linguistic).

This example probably suffices to illustrate that somehow we have to, in setting up schematic structures, also try to come to terms with the non-linguistic aspects of communication, even though as linguists our primary interest is still to be seen as the question that is now raised: are structure potentials/schematic structures of genres essentially linguistic or can the non-linguistic systems be seen to play a part in the genre definition as well? Surely here linguists and social interactionalists interested in kinesics, proxemics etc. could consider joining forces in order to strive for a better model for studying both verbal and non-verbal systems of communication or meaning within various contexts of situations. Perhaps the views that will be presented later in this chapter will at least serve as an inspiration towards such a model where linguistic and non-linguistic systems are incorporated with one another.

In the section above some limitations to linear representations of schematic structures have been presented. Next, the attention will be turned to the question of defining genres in terms of obligatory elements.

4.3.2 Are Obligatory Elements Genre Defining?

To Hasan the presence/absence of the obligatory elements of SP in a text functions as a criterion for classifying texts into a particular genre. Thus texts belonging to the genre of 'shopping at the greengrocer's' will necessarily include SALES REQUEST, SALE COMPLIANCE, SALE, PURCHASE and PURCHASE CLOSURE. If a text does not include these obligatory elements it is either incomplete or its genre membership cannot be determined, i.e. it is non-text see (p.94). Considering the data collected for this thesis, the texts belonging

for example to 'travel agency genre' would then necessarily have an element BOOKING. As presented by Hasan (see the quotation on p.138), the change from field value 'perishable food' to 'travel' would change the inventory of text structure elements. The element BOOKING would function as an identifier of travel agency texts and would be an obligatory element. However, as the data included in the Appendix will show, not all travel agency texts necessarily include such an element.

What Hasan's formulation about the relationship between a SP and a text does not take into account is that almost at any stage of the social process, when it is being created, the interactants may opt out from realizing an element or they may skip an element, even though it is considered as an obligatory element of the SP of the genre in question. For example, one may enter a service situation in order to find out a piece of information, to get goods that are free (e.g. brochures and maps in tourist bureaux), or the customer simply decides not to buy anything, in which case SALE, PURCHASE and PURCHASE CLOSURE are all non-applicable as elements in the text. One may opt out also at a very early stage of interaction, at SALE INITIATION by responding to the service offer can I help you? no thanks I'm just looking. In this case all the suggested obligatory elements are unrealized in this short but still fully functional text. A decision to be made in all such cases is whether such a text where buying is not effected is equivalent or not to the text where buying is carried out. Could two such texts possibly belong to the same genre, although one lacks all the obligatory elements? Surely when one compares such texts as Text 9 and Text 11 in the Appendix, where in the former no buying of the ticket nor booking takes place and where in the latter such an activity is realized we can find similarities both in elements as well as in their lexicogrammatical realizations. This should convince us that they are texts of the same genre, in spite of the fact that Text 9 totally lacks the obligatory elements SALE, PURCHASE and PURCHASE CLOSURE. Both texts are, in my view, created under the same contextual circumstances, i.e. their contexts of situation are the same. Further, there is no reason to describe Text 9 as 'incomplete' or as 'non-text', because, as can be

seen, it completely fulfils a particular social function for the interactants involved. Somehow the representation of the generic structure has to take into consideration that the realized texts that such a SP represents may not in fact resemble in all instances the exact structure given by the linear representation of SP.

According to Hasan's view, post office, shop and travel agency texts would have to be categorized as different genres (thus ignoring the great similarities in their schematic structures) because each text type correlates with a slightly different contextual configuration which results to the fact that each contains some specific element that the other two do not have. In text types mentioned the change in field seems to be the major determiner of setting a separate SP for each of them. Maintaining the view that these field-specific obligatory elements in fact justify categorizing these three text types as separate genres seems questionable. Why it becomes doubtful can be demonstrated by drawing evidence from a study on casual conversations (Ventola 1977, 1979), where changes in the contextual configuration result in setting four different linear SPs for casual conversations, but where it remains unclear whether one is in fact dealing with four different genres.

The previous work done on casual conversation (Ventola 1977, 1979) seems to suggest that when casual conversations are considered as something that is being realized in such a situation as a casual encounter one can, in fact, come up with a schematic structure for it. Here the term casual encounter refers to such an encounter as, for example, meetings between strangers or friends in such settings as on the street, in cafés, on trains etc. (cf. Malcolm (in press) who criticizes the formulation in Ventola (1979) partly misinterpreting it.³ Malcolm finds it not very useful to describe her own casual conversation data with schematic structures. She, however, ignores the fact that the structures described in Ventola (1979) were never aimed to characterize casual conversations other than those bound with the casual encounter situation. Therefore they may not be suitable to the kind of data Malcolm sets out to describe where informants, unknown to each other, are told to get to know each other in a quasi-laboratory situation. The question arises whether the

latter is in fact casual conversation. At least it is not considered to be equivalent to that casual conversation which takes place in casual encounters).

The postulated elements for the schematic structure of casual conversations are: GREETING (GR), ADDRESS (Ad; realized usually by vocatives), DIRECT APPROACH (Ap-D; personal, e.g. talk about interactants' health, clothing, family, shared personal knowledge), INDIRECT APPROACH (Ap-I; contextual; e.g. talk about weather, immediate surroundings), CENTERING (C; talk about more involved topics, interactants' "world views"), LEAVETAKING (Lt; indicating the anticipated ending of the conversation) and GOODBYE (Gb). Following Hasan's argumentation the way these elements are sequenced in the linear SP is determined by the contextual configuration (the values for field, mode and tenor).

Field in Ventola (1979) is considered the same for all of the described casual conversations. It cannot in fact be described in great detail, because the options are so great. It is 'non-technical subject matter which forms common knowledge of the member of the society'; in other words, something that we all can associate with and can talk about without feeling threatened or embarrassed about.

Tenor in Ventola (1979) refers to the social roles of the interactants and the relevant roles in casual encounters ~~are~~ seen in terms of a cline of social distance (see Hasan 1978), with points being either friend to friend or stranger to stranger. This variation in tenor values is seen to result in differences in the unfolding of the casual conversation text. It was found that whereas friends start casual conversations by GR and then launch on either to a Ap-I or Ap-D, strangers are more cautious with each other and consequently start their casual conversations with a safe contextual Ap-I. Thus this change in the tenor values influences the SP representation in the following way: whereas Ap-I is optional for friends and mobile in sequence in its relation to Ap-D, it is obligatory for strangers and its sequence is fixed to precede Ap-D.

Also mode may have various values in casual encounters and again it is found that this variation will have structural consequences.

Mode can less specifically be described as 'face-to-face interaction: sociability', but more delicately it can also be seen in terms of a cline of social involvement with the end points 'contact' and 'greater social involvement' (minimal and non-minimal in Ventola 1979). Contact function of casual conversations is reflected in the fact that all of the elements except GR among friends and Ap-I among strangers can be optional. Greater social involvement function is realized by the obligatoriness of the element C in the SP. In Ventola (1979:273) CENTERING is seen to be realized by "cognitive and informative topics", which, responding to the criticism presented in Malcolm (in press), admittedly is not a sufficient definition. The presentation in Ventola (1979) lacks the linguistic analyses on the lexicogrammatical and discourse strata which provide justification for distinguishing the elements. Some such analyses have been performed but are unpublished. Functionally the absence/presence of CENTERING groups casual conversations into (a) conversations which simply function to open or keep open the communication channels by establishing/re-establishing contact and (b) conversations which offer interactants an opportunity to become more involved with each other's social personalities, world views, etc. (for details see Ventola 1979).

The slight changes in tenor values (friends-strangers) and in mode values (contact-social involvement) described above determine four different SPs for casual conversations:

STRANGERS:

minimal conv. $(G)^{\wedge} \{ [Ap-I (^{\wedge}Ad)^{\wedge}] [(Ap-D) (^{\wedge}Id)^{\wedge}] \} (Lt)^{\wedge} (Gb)$

non-minimal conv. $(G)^{\wedge} \{ [Ap-I (^{\wedge}Ad)^{\wedge}] [Ap-D (^{\wedge}C (^{\wedge}Id)^{\wedge})] [t] \} ^{\wedge} Gb$

FRIENDS:

minimal conv. $[G (^{\wedge}Ad)^{\wedge}] \{ [(Ap-D) (^{\wedge}Ap-I)^{\wedge}] \} (Lt)^{\wedge} (Gb)$

non-minimal conv. $[G (^{\wedge}Ad)^{\wedge}] \{ [(Ap-D) (^{\wedge}Ap-I)^{\wedge}] (^{\wedge}C)^{\wedge} [t] \} ^{\wedge} Gb$

Fig. 16. Four Different Structure Potentials of Casual Conversations as Determined by Differences in Tenor and Mode (Ventola 1979:283)

The question that now arises is: do texts which actually realize such four different SPs truly belong to four different genres? Following Hasan's formulation they must be considered belonging to four different, although perhaps related, genres as their contextual

configurations vary and result to changes in the inventory of obligatory elements. On the other hand, there is a possibility of looking at the realization of casual conversation also from a more dynamic point of view where sequencing of the two types of APPROACHES, for example, can easily be alternated according to the relevant social distance or where CENTERINGS may be skipped when the function of the encounter is simply to keep the communication channels open. This view involves presenting also the schematic structure of casual conversation in the form of a flowchart similar to the one of service encounters presented in Ventola (1983a) (the beginnings of such a flowchart were elaborated in the Macquarie University Discourse Workshop, Sydney, in 1983; the report on the workshop will be published as an Occasional Paper of Applied Linguistics Association of Australia). It also involves the consideration of genre as an underlying system to register, allowing register choices to combine differently in the individual schematic structure elements of a genre.

In short then, it seems that slight changes in contextual configuration will frequently lead to differences in the inventory of SP. Thus, if the view is adopted that the obligatory elements are genre defining, eventually it is necessary to recognize numerous SPs, all defining just slightly different genres, although the texts belonging to these genres are clearly related to each other in their linguistic realization. Thus, the generalization concerning the agnateness of texts is being lost. It is for this reason that representing genres with networks which show their agnateness in terms of more delicate choices seems a more preferable representation.

4.4 Text as A Product - A Synoptic System of Genre

As already briefly outlined in Chapter II, Martin's (in press) view on generic text structures or schematic structures is that they represent semiotic organization of texts on the plane of genre, which underlies the planes of register and language. Genre is thus seen as a semiotic system making its own meanings in terms of generic structures. These meanings are then realized by choices from the networks of FIELD, MODE and TENOR on register plane and by choices from the networks on the language plane. In other words, the plane of language is an

expression plane to register which is an expression plane to genre (see Martin in press, in prep.). Hasan's view is, as has been seen, that field, mode and tenor cumulatively determine the generic structure. Martin reverses this view by setting up a theoretical hypothesis of genre as an overriding factor in our cultures. Genres are recognizable organized social activities that make up our culture and are realized by language. Generic or Schematic Structure organization, as it is retrievable in the linguistically realized instances of genre, i.e. in texts, is generated by a genre system network (see Fig. 13). Such a system network represents the agnateness (relatedness) of genres (as found in texts). It shows the system feature choices realizing the most frequently shared, the most general elements as less delicate than the feature choices realizing those elements which most markedly set related genres apart from one another. The elements thus generated make up the syntagmatic schematic structure(s) of a text/texts. Such a generated structure is seen to be realized by the plane of register (the expression plane of genre), so that each schematic structure element is seen to have made its own selections from the choices of FIELD, MODE and TENOR on the plane of register. When realizing the schematic structure elements of a genre in a text FIELD, MODE and TENOR then turn to select appropriate choices from the system networks on the linguistic strata. There is a preselectional principle operating through the planes: genre limits "a culture's legitimate combination of field, mode and tenor variables" (Martin in press:6) and register limits the linguistic choices on the discourse, lexico-grammatical and phonological strata of language. Genre is an underlying 'power' manipulating the choices of FIELD, MOOD and TENOR of register. The traces that genre leaves, if one may put it so, are distributed throughout the text.

Martin's argument for genre as an underlying plane to register and language will be accepted here (for reasons presented in Martin in press). Some work by Rothery (1979) and Martin and Rothery (1980, 1981) illustrate the overriding effect of genres on written literary texts. Here in this study the first attempts to find evidence of such generic influence in service encounter texts will be made. The starting point for such a search is the acceptance of the theoretical

framework proposed by Martin (in press). Thus, service encounters are seen as a recognizable social activity with its own genre-specific way of unfolding. As this activity is being created from one schematic structure element to another choices from the FIELD, MODE and TENOR networks on the plane of register have to be reassessed following those choices made in the genre network which captures the similarities and the differences of subgenres of service encounters. This reassessment of register values is detected retrospectively by studying the linguistic realizations in service encounter texts. For example, the linguistic patternings of the element where requesting and receiving service (SERVICE, see p.161) is actualized, are likely to be very different from the elements where money is being exchanged for goods (PAY, see p.162). The choices of lexis, process types, transitivity roles, mood, exchange structures etc. are expected to vary from element to element. This variation on different planes as the social process unfolds is discussed in more detail in the last section of this chapter. However, before such a discussion is possible there are two points in Martin's presentation (in press) which need developing. These are, firstly, the genre agnation network and its realizational rules presented for service encounters (see Fig. 13 and Table 2) in the light of the data collected for this thesis and secondly, the relationship of non-linguistic systems to semiotic planes.

4.4.1 Genre Agnation Network of Service Encounters

The description of the plane of genre as system and as structure, as proposed by Martin (in press), indeed seems a preferable presentation to the linear representation.

First of all, it shows the agnateness of genres by allowing variation in the realization of the schematic structures of texts on the scale of delicacy. For example, such text elements as GREETING and GOODBYE may occur in any face-to-face encounter, whereas SERVICE as a text element is typical of service encounters only (for genre mixing, i.e. borrowing text elements from other genres, see section 4.5.2 below and Ventola forthcoming). Further, an element such as SERVICE BID is only assigned to texts which are characterized by a

more delicate feature choice [unappointed] in the network (see Fig. 13), i.e. no server has been appointed to serve the customer. Elements like POSTING and BOOKING are included only in texts which are realizations of very delicate choices indeed, in post office and travel agency-service encounters respectively. Genre networks seem to capture effectively what genres are culturally relevant and how different genres are related to each other on the scale of delicacy.

Secondly, theoretically even the shortest service encounter (such as can I help you - no thanks) would still be describable as a service encounter in the genre agnation network. It would just mean that our description of the text necessarily remains at the least delicate level of description in the genre network. It could not be specified what particular subgenre (a related genre) the text belongs to, because there would not be enough structural clues to make appropriate genre agnation. Following this discussion then, it could be said that the texts in the Appendix are all less delicately describable as service encounter texts according to the choices far most on the left in the genre network. As the level of delicacy of description is increased, they can be distinguished as separate subgenres, Texts I-IV as 'post office texts', Texts V-VIII as 'shop texts' and Texts IX-XII as 'travel agency texts'.

Genre agnation initially seems to be the solution to the problems of classifying texts into generic classes by accounting for differences and similarities in texts created under the same or fairly similar circumstances. But when natural service encounter data is being analyzed several problems occur with Martin's tentative genre agnation network, reproduced as Fig. 13. It is worthwhile pointing out at least the major areas of trouble. To start with, to describe the collected service encounter data the network would specify for texts elements GREETING and GOODBYE via the selection of the feature [encounter], SERVICE, RESOLUTION and CLOSING via the selection of the feature service encounter, SERVICE BID via the selection of [unappointed], then, for example in post office texts, ATTENDANCE ALLOCATION (TURN ALLOCATION in Ventola 1983a and in Martin in press) via the selection of [across counter] and PAY and GOODS HANDOVER via the selection of [goods]. This seems initially quite reasonable, but

if one looks at natural data one can immediately present texts where all these elements do not in fact take place although the selected genre features seem to apply to the texts. For example Text IV in the Appendix has no GREETING nor GOODBYE, yet [encounter] seems to apply. Furthermore, it has no RESOLUTION because there is no choice involved in buying the goods, but still [service encounter] seems appropriate. Moreover, there is no SERVICE BID, although the feature [unappointed] seems to have been selected from the network (see Fig. 13 and Table 2). It seems then that a much more flexible and dynamic view of text realization (text generation) is needed when natural texts are analyzed. Such a view has initially been proposed by Ventola (1983a, forthcoming) and is further elaborated in this study.

Secondly, in its present form the genre network does not specify sequence; that is, what the possible acceptable sequences of the social process in question are in a particular culture. When we participate in social activities (realize genres) in our own societies we are so socialized into the permissible sequences of genres that we simply take them for granted. It is only when we step out from our own society and enter foreign societies that we realize that social processes, genres, may be sequenced quite differently in other cultures. And if foreign language teaching is going to aim at diminishing the embarrassment felt when the two cultures meet it should seriously start paying attention to the unfolding of social processes or sequencing of schematic structure elements of genres.

It is almost certain that every visitor to any foreign society can recount anecdotally their experiences of these generic differences. For example, when I first entered a bank in Australia to do my first withdrawal from my bank account I took my pass book to the clerk behind the counter saying that I wanted to withdraw such and such a sum. I could not help feeling embarrassed when the bank clerk instructed me of the proper sequence of banking in Australia where one has to fill out a withdrawal slip first and then take that to the clerk, whereas I had expected the clerk to do all that for me as is typically the case in Finland (no doubt the clerk considered me to be slightly simple-minded - in these situations putting on a strong accent helps because at least then you are forgiven your 'stupidity' due to your

foreigner-status).

My first interaction in an Australian post office was as unsuccessful. I was accustomed to handing the letters back to the post official after having pasted the appropriate stamps onto them. The schematic structure element POSTING is typically part of the interaction in a Finnish post office service encounters. In the Australian post office I was instructed by the slightly annoyed post official that the post box was situated outside the post office and that I was to do the mailing myself. Only larger postal items are to be posted at the counter in Australia.

One could, on the basis of these examples, draw a hypothesis that the Australian society is less oriented to giving service to or doing services for the customers than the Finnish society is. Naturally to make such a claim seriously needs to be supported by extensive contrastive study of the service encounter genres in the two societies. Similarly, to draw a conclusion that the Soviet society is somehow more mistrusting towards the social behaviour of its members on the basis of the fact that in the USSR one has to pay for goods before the goods are actually handed over is dangerous. But such questions eventually are within the realm of linguistic description in what can be described as codes and ideologies (see Bernstein 1976/72, 1971; Kress and Hodge 1979; Fowler et al. 1979). The point here simply is that somehow newcomers to the foreign society (whether visitors or immigrants) must be instructed to recognize where the sequencing of structural elements in the equivalent genres in their own society and in the foreign society are the same, where such sequencing differs in the two societies and where variation in sequencing of social activity is allowed and to what degree. But how does one get to the sequencing of the schematic structure elements in texts? Again the strategy of adopting a more dynamic view on text creation may come to assistance at this point, as will be discussed in the next section.

Finally, the realization rules presented by Martin for the genre network (see Fig. 13) seem analogical to Hasan's obligatory elements. That is, the selection of a feature from the network is realized by a particular schematic structure element. But as already discussed above, not all elements need to appear in the actual text, although

the features seem to have been selected. It seems then that the genre network offers a more rigid, static, synoptic view to service encounter texts. The schematic structure elements are perceived as necessary/typical for the recognition of a genre although they by no means appear in every single text which intuitively can be classified belonging to that genre. Why? Mainly because we do not always go through the social process in exactly the same way or we may not even go through the whole social process but only some parts of it. But our view of the social process remains as if we always did. In other words, our view of the text is at the same time looking at it as a product and as a process and to capture this in our linguistic descriptions we need both a synoptic as well as a dynamic representation of the schematic structuring of genre. Martin (in press) spells out this distinction in terms of two dichotomies: static - active and potential - actual. A genre network is a synoptic system representing the static-potential aspect of genre. A text as a product is a realization of the synoptic system in terms of the actual-static aspects of genre. A genre flowchart (see Ventola 1983a and below) is a dynamic system representing the active-potential aspects of genre. A text as a process (the actual unfolding of a text, the text creation) is a realization of the dynamic system in terms of the actual-active aspects of genre. The following figure will summarize these dichotomies (the arrow = 'realized by'):

<u>Network:</u>	synoptic system = static-potential	↘	text as a product = actual-static
<u>Flowchart:</u>	dynamic system = active-potential	↘	text as a process = actual-active

Fig. 17. Synoptic View vs. Dynamic View: Text as a Product vs. Text as a Process

It has above been illustrated that the genre network that Martin presents cannot alone account for the variation in the service encounter data. It is extremely tentative, as Martin (in press) admits. Most likely it will have to be totally redrawn as more data on agnate genres are collected and analyzed. As illustrated above, it can easily be

shown not to account for the genres discussed in this study. Therefore it is simply here taken as an illustrative point concerning the genre agnation networks.

Drawing a more 'realistic' genre network shall not be attempted here, since the data collected for this study is considered too small (even though more varied than in some other service encounter studies) to make any such statements about the agnateness of service encounters. This has to be considered work to be carried out in the future. Thus, as far as the relatedness of post office, shop and travel agency texts as choices in the system network on the plane of genre is concerned, no claims will be made from the synoptic point of view. Rather, the viewpoint that they indeed belong to the same genre will be approached and argued from the dynamic point of view by showing how they can all be considered to be realizations of the same social process. This social process is created dynamically by selections from the tactic patterns in the flowchart representing the on-going development of the social process in service encounters. However, before starting a detailed discussion on service encounter dynamics one has to make more explicit the role that the non-verbal systems play in texts.

4.4.2 The Non-linguistic Systems and The Semiotic Planes

Both Martin and Hasan concentrate on linguistic realizations, i.e. verbally expressed social processes (or texts) when setting up structure potentials or schematic structures (see sections 2.3 and 2.4). When one however deals with such 'language-as-action' type of data as service encounters have proved to be it will become necessary to extend Hasan's and Martin's views by incorporating also the non-verbal semiotic systems (kinesics, gestures, proxemics etc.) at least in principle into the analytical model (but as the data was not videotaped the analyses of these systems will remain limited). This is necessary as in service encounter-genre such elements as GOODS HANDOVER and PAY are typically realized non-verbally. Therefore, genre, as it will from now on be seen in this thesis, refers to the various types of organization of social activities found within a society and that make up the culture of that society. It is realizable both by linguistic and non-linguistic systems, so that at various elements of the schematic structure at

times linguistic systems play a major 'realizational' role, whereas at other times non-linguistic systems do so. Mostly, however, both the linguistic and the non-linguistic systems are both 'at work' in the realization of an element. It is now necessary to revise the figure presented by Martin in Fig. 12 as Fig. 18:

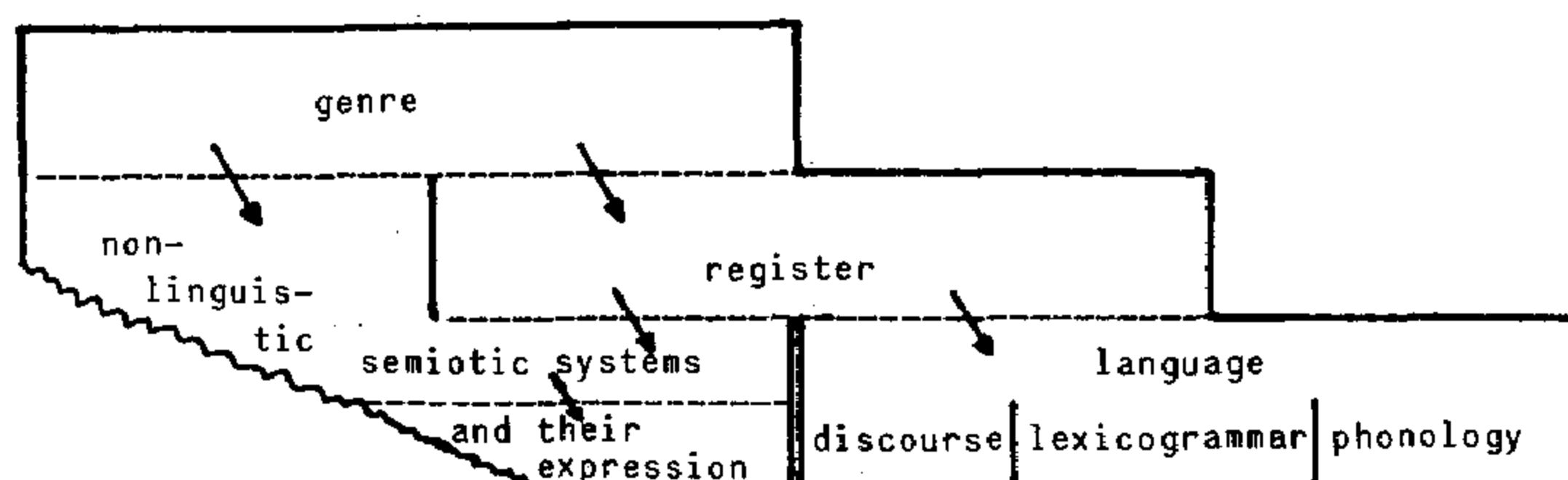


Fig. 18. The Non-Linguistic Systems and The Semiotic Planes

An instance where the realization of a genre is observed is a social process which is seen to be realized both verbally and non-verbally. Text here onwards will refer only to the verbal realization of the social process. The figure presented above then assumes that in the study of genre (as well as of register) both the linguistic and non-linguistic realizations are to be considered. Whether or not they need to be given equal attention is still very much an unexplored question. The study of non-verbal semiotics is even a newer field than linguistics. It will be argued later in this chapter that as the schematic structure of the service encounter-genre is realized it is most likely that in some of the elements the non-linguistic realizations play a more important part than in the others (PAY, GOODS HANDOVER at least), whereas in other elements language is the major way of realizing the element (see below).

How exactly one is expected to go about describing the realization of genre and register in terms of non-verbal semiotic systems is also a question which future studies will have to concentrate on making more explicit. Here the point simply is that as analysts we can no longer simply just be linguists, if we are to describe the social systems in a society as social processes or genres prevailing and

being valued in that society. Genre is more than text, although naturally it largely is realized as text. The study of our social behaviour as a whole involves both linguistic and non-linguistic systems. If we as analysts now fail to give appropriate credit also to the non-linguistic systems the future generations may 'accuse' us of making a mistake of the same degree as the linguists before the twentieth century made when written texts were considered worthier of study than spoken texts.

An example of the way that the members of the society play with these alternate/complementary realizations was reported by Newsweek (Dec. 6, 1982). At Isla Vista elementary school in California a teacher of a class of fifth and sixth graders with mixed linguistic backgrounds acted a beginning of a ghost story to his students. The students were then asked to complete the story. But those not competent enough in English finished the story by drawing pictures.

What clearly has happened here is that such a spoken genre as a story has been realized both by using linguistic as well as non-linguistic semiotic systems. First of all, the teacher uses kinesics to express the beginning of the story. He somehow must get across to the students what the genre in question is, that what he is on about is a story. Further, he also must have non-verbally managed to get across to the students something about at least one of the register variables, namely that the story is about ghosts. The English speaking students then realize the rest of the story completely by the linguistic systems, whereas the non-English speaking students use another semiotic system to express the genre and the register, namely pictures. Again it must be concluded that the genre and the register must have been expressed by both realizational systems. The written texts by students must have projected some kind of overall schematic structuring typical to stories and the FIELD 'ghosts' would have been expressed at least in the lexical cohesion in texts. Similarly in drawing pictures the students would in a cartoon-fashion sequence the events of the social process in question and the figures depicted in pictures would express FIELD just as appropriately and effectively as the lexical items.

Naturally, one cannot but agree that pictures are in the long run

much less economical and more limited for the purpose of telling a story than the linguistic means are. But the point highlighted by this example is that when there is no plane of language available to express genre and register they can still be expressed by other semiotic systems. The meanings are for the major part expressed linguistically in the life of a human being, but this does not justify not including the non-linguistic systems into our theoretical models of social behaviour.⁴

4.5 Text as a Process - A Dynamic System of Genre

As stated above, in section 4.4.1, it is possible to look at text-creation, or rather the creation of a social process, from the active-potential point of view. It has been suggested elsewhere (Ventola 1983a; Martin in press) that a flowchart may represent this aspect of generic structuring more efficiently than either the linear or the network representations. The latter always tend to take the analyst's view of looking at texts as finished products to be analyzed and described, whereas the flowchart takes the interactants' viewpoint of continuously having to make decisions about the development and the direction of the social process.

4.5.1 The Flowchart Representation

Presently the theory, as it has been outlined so far, assumes that both the synoptic and the dynamic view will be needed on the level of genre. The synoptic view will be represented by genre agnation networks and their realization rules. The dynamic view will be represented by a flowchart. Why are both needed?

It has been discussed above (see section 4.4.1) that Martin's genre agnation network and realization rules for service encounters do not seem to be generating schematic structures which correspond to the facts found in the data. For example, not all texts which deal with goods require the realization of the element PAY. The goods may be rejected or they may be free of charge. Our synoptic view of service encounters, however, is that customers go shopping and buy goods. The element PAY is perceived as a typical part of the social

process in question. The synoptic representation cannot capture the fact that at various points as the social process unfolds the interactants can opt out from the typical development of the social process. This representational limitation is largely due to the nature of networks and how they generate structures. One can use an analogue of an 'explosion' to describe the realization of choices from the system networks as structure. Such an 'explosion' can be exemplified by considering the realization of a clause on the lexicogrammatical stratum. The relevant choices from the system networks of TRANSITIVITY, MOOD and THEME are selected simultaneously. All these relevant selections 'explode' into one linear structure, a clause. In the same way the selections in the genre network are expected to explode into a linear schematic structure where one element follows another in a predictable sequence. But this view of SS is too rigid. It cannot, for example, account for the fact that some elements can reoccur in texts and that some elements may sometimes be skipped.

The explosion analogue does not seem appropriate to describe the generation of schematic structures on the genre plane. Rather, the unfolding of a social process in a text is negotiated by the interactants from element to element. Text creation is a dynamic process where the realization of every schematic structure element that the synoptic representation shows as typical to the genre of the text has to be agreed upon. It is this negotiation about the linear realization over time that the flowchart as a dynamic representation tries to capture. The flowchart shows how in the process of creating a text the interactants stop and negotiate which element should appropriately follow. Such decisions are made partly on the basis of the 'typical', i.e. the synoptic representation of elements of a genre. Partly, they are made according to information obtainable about the context of situation, i.e. the information about the register variables. For example, as recounted in section 4.2 of this chapter, the FIELD choice 'bread' in service encounters does not evoke the inclusion of the SS element PAY in the Yemeni culture, whereas in the French culture it does so.

The dynamic aspect is naturally not limited only to the genre plane. Although the dynamic aspects of the register plane have not

yet been described, it is assumed that changes in topics (FIELD), in role relationships (TENOR) and in communication channels (MODE) may be described in texts as reflections of the dynamics of register. On the discourse stratum the work on the dynamic systems of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE has been started (see Martin in press, in prep.; Chapter V). On the lexicogrammatical stratum ELLIPSIS at clause rank can also be seen as a dynamic system. A MOOD ellipsis like Read the paper today? where the Mood Element have you has been elided, may be considered a result of a dynamic process.

The description of both synoptic and dynamic systems is necessary at various planes. On the genre plane the synoptic system network gives a static view of the elements typically included in a text belonging to a particular genre. The dynamic flowchart, on the other hand, shows how in individual texts the synoptic view can be 'manipulated' to generate structurally unique texts which nevertheless belong to the same genre. Before presenting the flowchart which generates service encounter texts it is necessary to consider what the elements are that the synoptic genre network generates.

It is assumed that in the genre network (yet to be rewritten in a more realistic form than the one Martin presented in Fig. 13) post office, shop and travel agency texts share on the least delicate scale some features which will mark them as belonging to the same genre of service encounters. The elements generated by the selection of these shared options in the network will be presented below in a tabular form (Table 4, p.161).

Typically interactants in a service encounter are perceived to exchange salutations. The variation in the linguistic realizations of the element GREETING (GR), e.g. good morning - morning is dependent on the frequency of interaction and the social distance between the participants. Thus, before GR is actually realized in a text on the plane below, register and more specifically tenor, has to be 'negotiated with' (how this negotiation between genre and register takes place needs to be formulated in the future work both for the synoptic and dynamic systems of genre). To give a concrete example, it is very unlikely that a post official will greet a distinguished-looking, middle-aged gentleman with 'yes, luv' (tone 2), which he can do when

Element	Abbreviation	Function	A simple example of realization
GREETING	GR	-phatic	hello - hi
ATTENDANCE- ALLOCATION	AA	-organization of proximity	who's next - I am
SERVICE BID	SB	-offer of service	can I help you - yes
SERVICE	S	-needs & their provision	could I have...? - yes sure
RESOLUTION	R	-decision to buy/ not to buy	I'll take these - okay
GOODS HANDOVER	GH	-exchange of goods	here you are - thanks
PAY	P	-exchange of money	it's 3,50 - right
CLOSING	CL	-appreciation of service	thanks very much- thank you
GOODBYE	GB	-phatic	bye - goodbye

Table 4. The Shared Schematic Structure Elements of Agnate Service Encounters

the addressee is a less distinguished, possibly foreign-looking woman. If the interactants have not been facing each other as the encounter started and there is possibly more than one customer present there is a need for ATTENDANCE ALLOCATION (AA), e.g. who's next - I am ('turn-allocation' in Ventola 1983a and in Martin in press). This element involves calling the other participant to approach so that the service interaction can start. Thus it signals that attendance has been allocated to the addressee. SERVICE BID (SB), e.g. can I help you? - yes is an indication of readiness from the server's part to serve and the customer's acceptance of the service offer. Sometimes the customer needs to prompt the server by first drawing the server's attention to himself by AA (e.g. excuse me or paralinguistically by coughing). SERVICE (S), e.g. could you help me with/show me/tell me/give me 'x' - yes sure involves requesting and giving goods/service. The customer has a Need and the server is expected to provide Compliance to this Need, to fulfil the Need. If the Need has not been particularized enough, a Specification of the Need may be necessary. Furthermore, if the Compliance has not been sufficient or completely satisfactory to the customer an Addition to the Compliance may be needed. If S had to do with material goods RESOLUTION (R) may occur, e.g. I'll take these - okay. It is a decision about whether the customer takes the

goods or not. Moreover, when material goods are being dealt with, the exchange of money, PAY (P), e.g. it's three fifty - right and the exchange of goods, GOODS HANDOVER (GH), e.g. here you are - thanks, need to be realized. At the end of an encounter people often express their appreciation of the encounter, typically with a routine exchange of thanks. This element is CLOSING (CL), e.g. thanks very much - thank you. Lastly, the interactants salute each other by GOODBYE (GB), e.g. goodbye - bye bye (although exemplified by verbal adjacency pairs, the realization of the elements may involve more exchanges (see Chapter V) or they may totally or partly be realized non-verbally, as discussed in section 4.4.2.

The listing of the elements has been given as a synoptic inventory of the shared elements found in the data of service encounters in this study in a kind of a sequence that most people perceive the elements to be forming an activity sequence. However, in individual texts all these elements need not be realized simultaneously, and still such a text will be seen to be belonging to the same genre (this is justified by the analyses of similarities of their linguistic realizations). Therefore, it is necessary to represent the generation of these elements in actualized social processes more dynamically, thus allowing not only for the skipping of elements during the unfolding of the social process, but also allowing for more variation in the sequential organization of the social process. This is done by representing these 'synoptically-shared' elements of the service encounter as a flowchart. Such a flowchart has already appeared elsewhere (Ventola 1983a, Appendix I; note that in that article 'functional tenor' equals genre; the former term was used in the early development of the theory of genre as a communication plane, see e.g. Martin and Rothery 1980; Gregory 1982). For the sake of easy reference it will be reproduced here as Fig. 19 on pp.163-169.

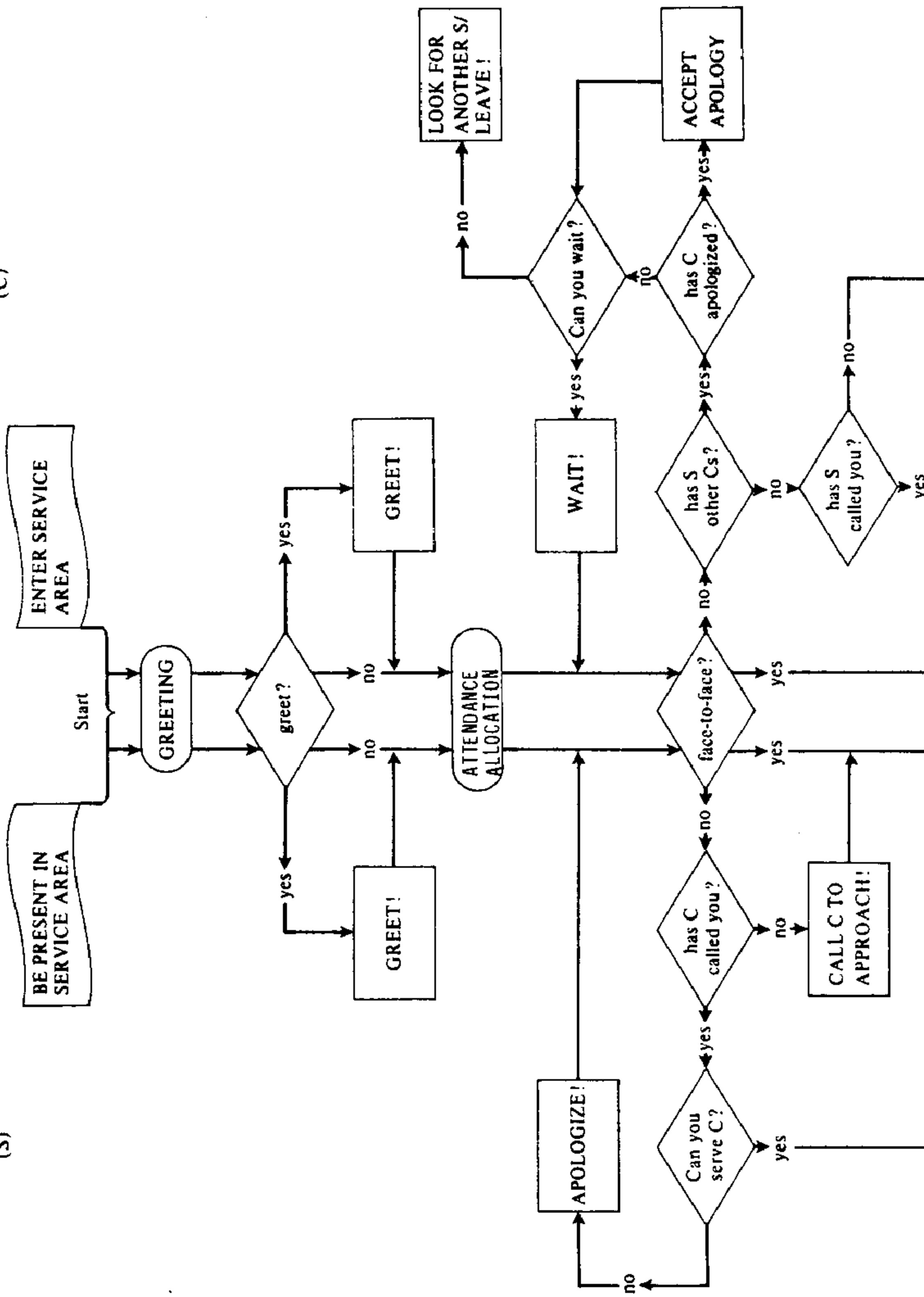
It is probably necessary to go through the reading instructions or tactics of the flowchart representation cursorily. In service encounters the social process is created co-operatively by both participants. This social process is represented in the flowchart by the two centre lines leading downwards. The elements are symbolized by oblong circles which are labelled accordingly. In the creation of

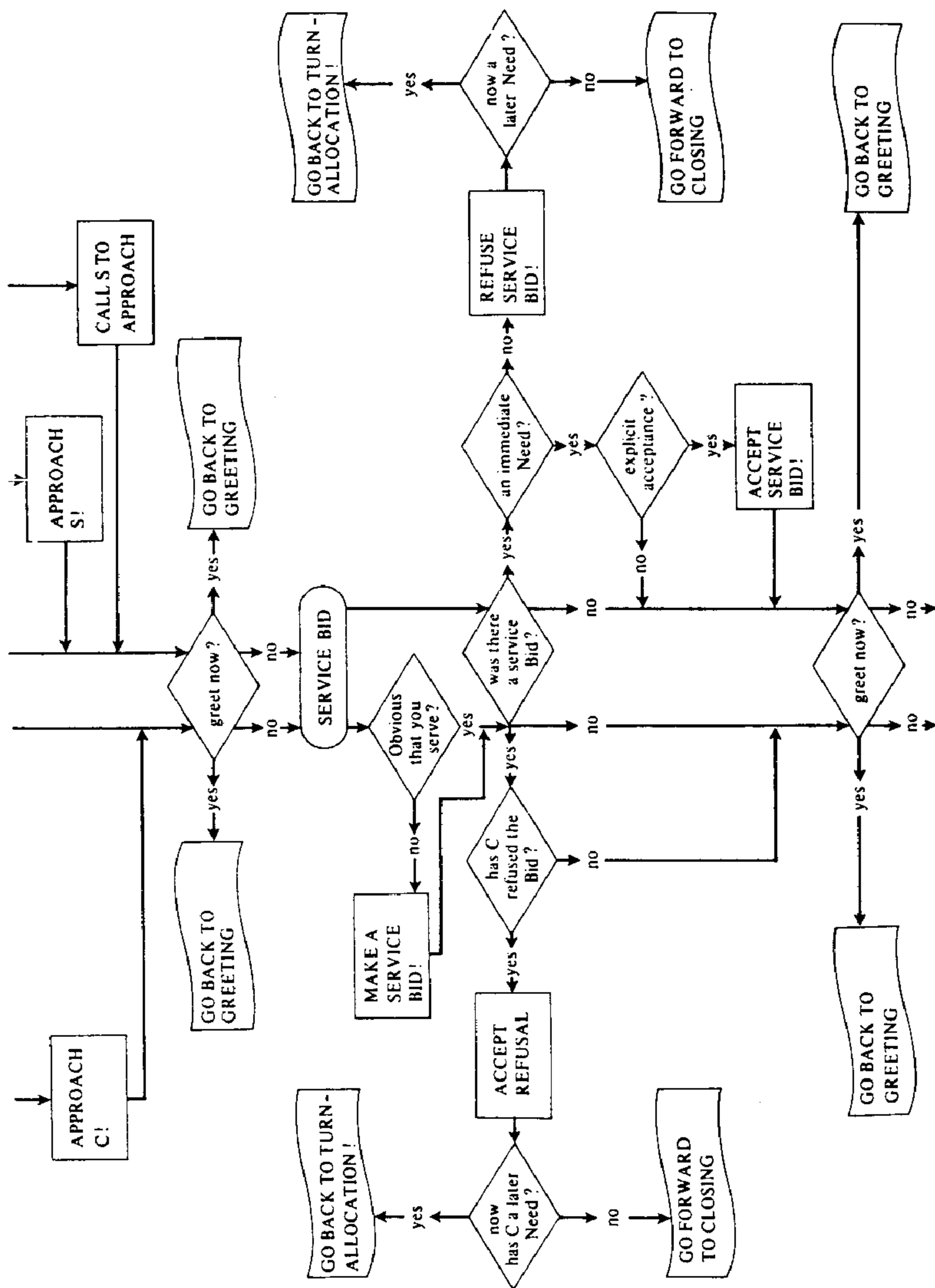
SERVICE ENCOUNTERS: Flow Chart

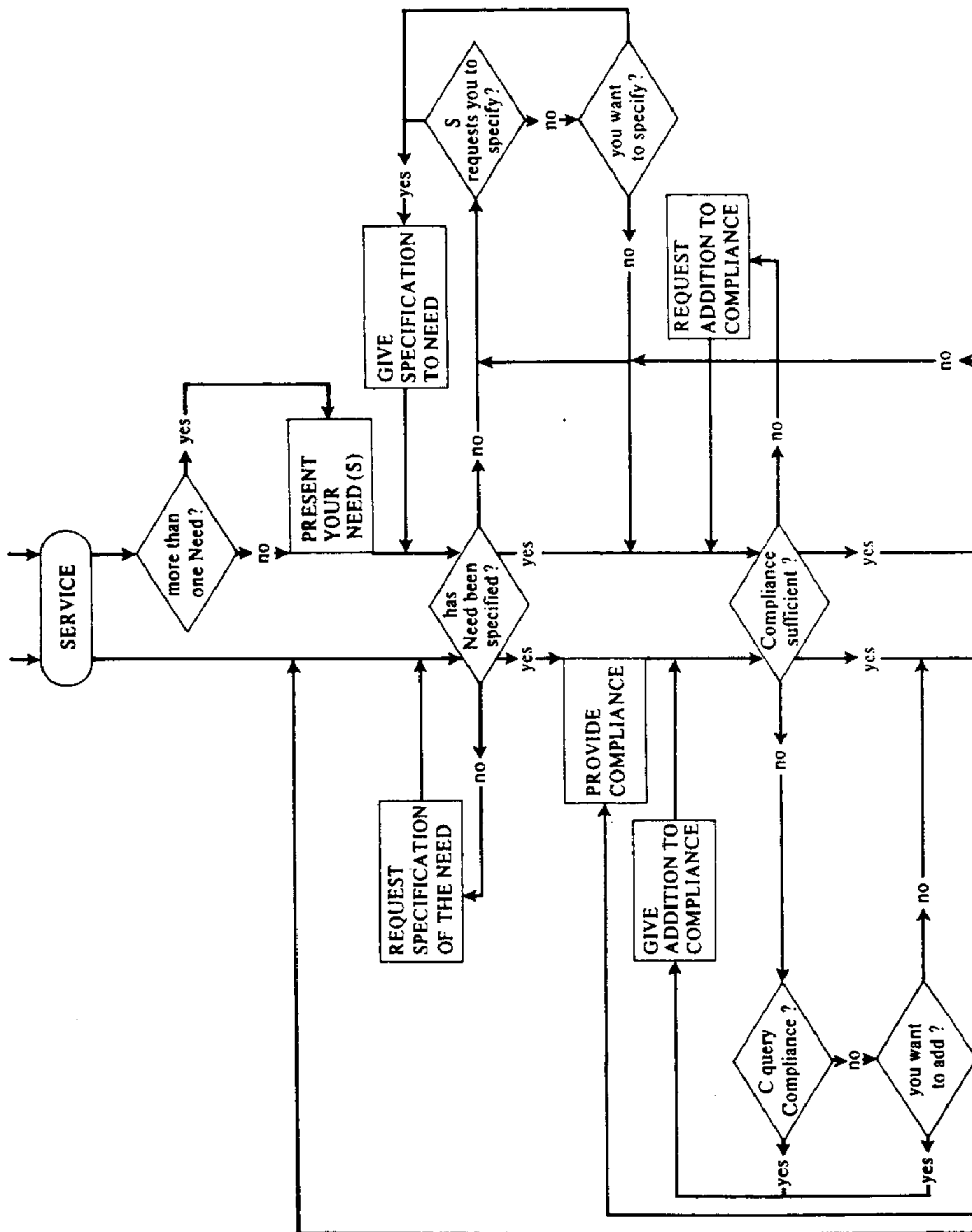
SERVER:
(S)

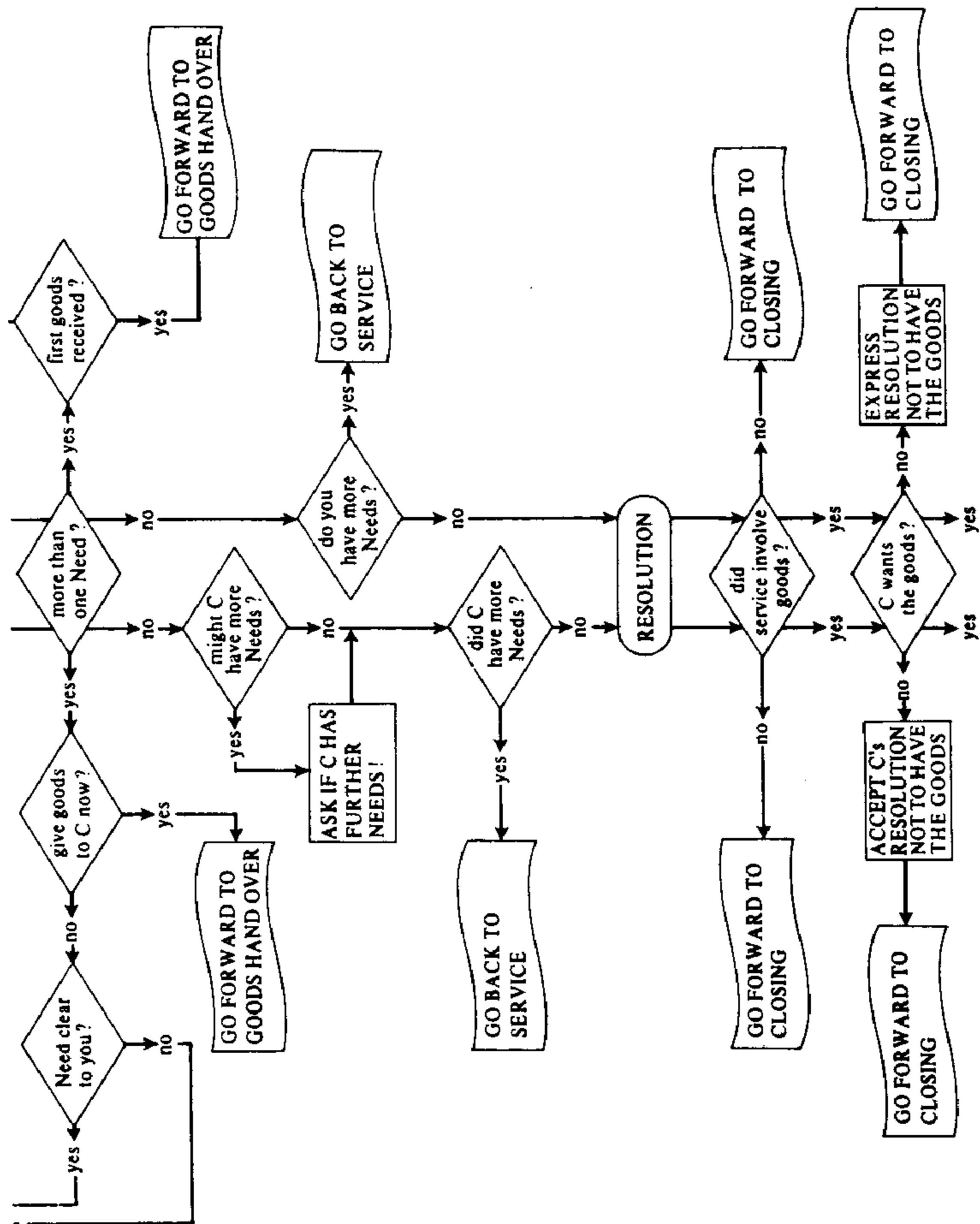
SOCIAL PROCESS

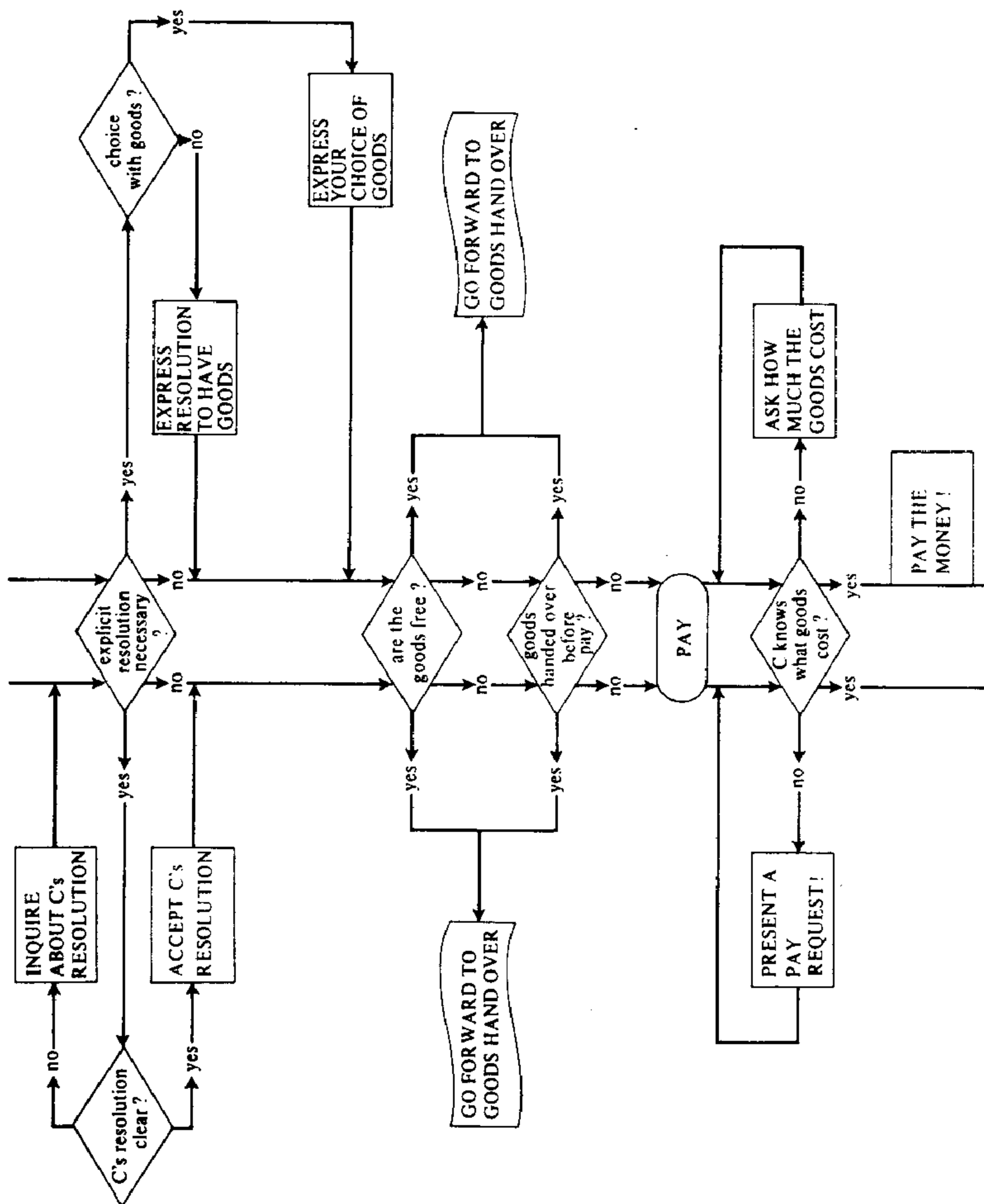
CUSTOMER
(C)

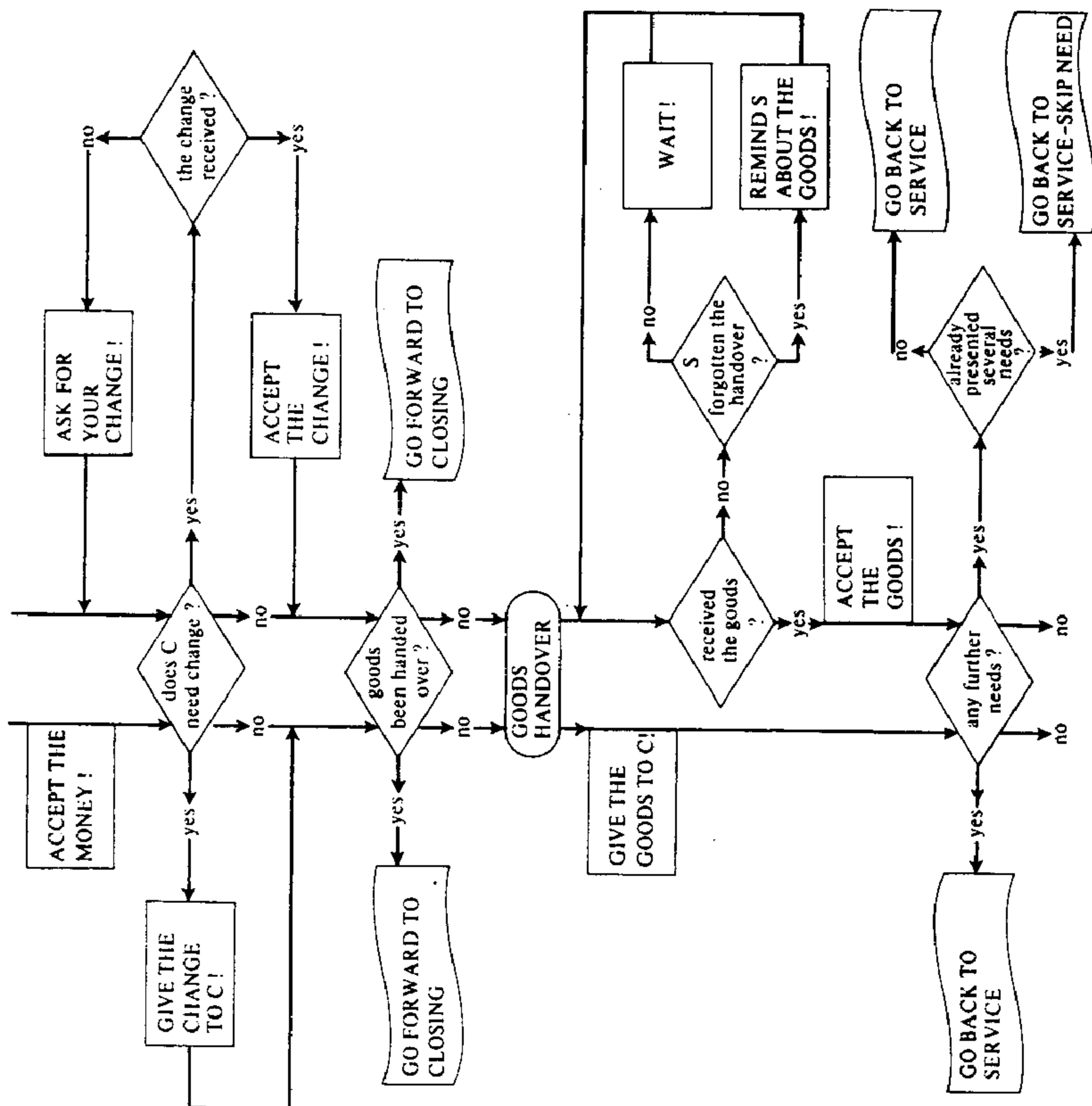












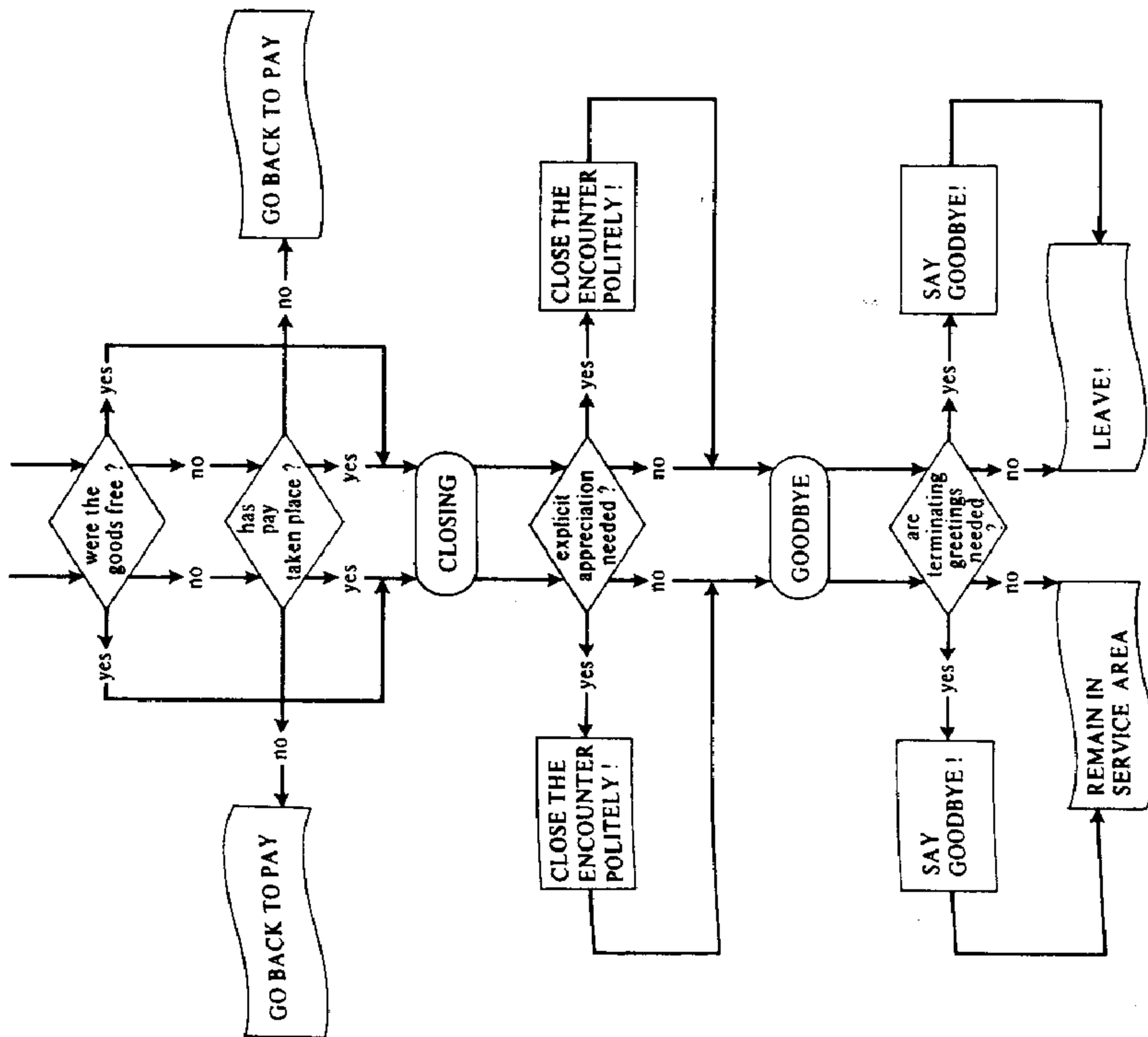


Fig. 19. The Flowchart Representation of the Service Encounter Genre
(Ventola 1983a, Appendix I).

the social process both the server and the customer have their roles to play in the realization of each element. Therefore, one of the centre lines is the server's (on the left) and the other is the customer's (on the right). Occasionally their paths may meet when a joint decision concerning the progression of interaction is taken. But the interactants also have to make independent decisions about the creation of the social process. Then the participants will 'sidetrack' by choosing the paths leading away from the centre line of the social process. The decisions the participants have to make are symbolized by diamonds. If a diamond appears on the line of only one of the participants, the decision concerns only this participant. The decision arrived at is indicated by the answer 'yes/no' and this then directs the action of the participant. According to the decision taken, 'work to be done' (verbal or non-verbal) will then be assigned to the participants. The work to be done is symbolized by squares, and the particular task is written in upper case writing within the square. Whenever within an element of the schematic structure an assignment has been carried out, the element has been realized. The other type of a square, the wavy square, does not realize elements, but simply indicates flowchart directions to the participants, i.e. to recurse or to skip an element (GO FORWARD/GO BACK TO...).

Naturally there are points in the development of the social process when one of the participants has to, so to speak, wait for the fellow participant to catch up with him. What is being done and said often depends on what decisions and assignments the other participant has just taken immediately before. This gives texts their dynamic character (text as process-view). At this stage of the flowchart representation the principles of co-ordinating interactants' moves to correspond to linearity in real time are not stated and thus need to be developed in later work. It can obviously be done only on the basis of looking at a large corpus of data and can only be expressed in terms of probabilities. The incorporation of such principles in the flowchart is most likely a matter of setting up, on the basis of natural data, decision-diamonds concerning the actual flow of interaction at appropriate places along the social process line. The

relevant answer then blocks some activity in the social process until some other activity has been performed first.

The flowchart seems to handle the problem of sequencing of elements in schematic structures more satisfactorily than the linear and the network representations do. With the notation of the wavy square participants are allowed to skip forwards or backwards at various stages of the social process (see e.g. how one can realize GR at various stages by looping back to it after AA and SB, or how one skips forward if no goods which require paying or handover have been dealt with). Recursion is easily handled by the same notation by looping back to the beginning of the element in question (see S). Further, interactiveness/co-operativeness of elements presents no problem as the elements are perceived simultaneously as interactive (each participant having a role to play) and co-operative (the element being perceived as a joint effort of both participants). Moreover, both linguistic and non-linguistic systems are taken into account, as 'work to be done' squares, which realize the social process, can be acted out verbally or non-verbally (more work is however needed to decide which realization is unmarked; this is naturally expressible only in probabilistic terms; also the fact whether verbal and non-verbal systems can alternate at every single 'work to be done' square is a question which has not been fully explored). Finally, there is no longer a need to define genres in terms of obligatory elements, because the flowchart representation shows how the realization process of a text may by-pass practically every obligatory element. The membership of a text in a genre is thus more preferably defined in terms of the shared linguistic and non-linguistic realizations and how these realizations are perceived to express the common selections of the register and genre choices in the texts. These issues will be discussed in an exploratory fashion below.

An area where the flowchart clearly needs to be made much more explicit is how it negotiates with, on the one hand, the genre agnation network and, on the other hand, its realizational plane, register. Our present understanding of both phenomena is still extremely limited. Negotiation with the genre agnation network is seen necessary when one deals with more specific choices of genres in

the network, such as how travel agency-texts may have its own specific elements like BOOKING and CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING which set it apart from the other two types of service encounters, the post office and the shop. This will be discussed later as it will involve introducing two new concepts, genre mixing and sideprogramming (see section 4.5.2; Ventola forthcoming). Negotiations with the register plane are necessary throughout the flowchart as it stands now. It has been stated above, for example, that the realizational variation in GR has something to do with the TENOR choices. This is an example of the genre plane 'talking to' the register plane, constraining or specifying the necessary register choices.

Another example of such negotiative constraining between the planes is when the element S is reached, then only certain FIELD networks are 'stimulated into action' on the register plane. Let us consider the following text:

Example 2. (additional data - PO):

S: you're right [tone 2]
C: can I have a small postal bag please jiffy bag
[3 secs - S gets the bag and hands it over]
S: twenty cents
[C hands over the money and S receives it]
S: thank you very much
C: thank you

Throughout this text realizations can be found which have to do with 'service talk' generally: you're right?, can I have -, twenty cents, thank you very much, thank you. Just by looking at these linguistic realizations it is obvious that they must appear in some sort of a service encounter, but of what kind cannot be stated more specifically. The choices of register, FIELD, MODE and TENOR, have in other words been determined by the genre agnation network of service encounters in its most general sense (lease delicately). But what about postal bag and jiffy bag? These clearly mark the text as that of a post office text. The FIELD in the element S in this text is clearly marked as that of 'postal matters'. These choices are dictated or

constrained by more delicate choices in the genre network. In other words, as the genre agnation has reached the stage where post office-texts are set apart as different social processes, for example, from travel agency-texts, it will become obvious that only certain FIELD choices are open for participants. You cannot, for instance, go to a post office and say can I have a return ticket to Melbourne please. You would immediately be told that you are in a wrong place - in other words, the genre is 'right', but the register is 'wrong'.

What do these register networks look like with which the genre network seems to be negotiating before the realization of SS can proceed? The work in this area is only starting (by the members of the research group mentioned in Note 5, Chapter II). An illustration of what is being envisaged will only be possible presently. The networks presented below are considered to be partial networks operating in the element S of service encounters of travel agency.

The two networks presented below (pp.174-175) are considered together to capture the FIELD of 'travel' as it is negotiated in the element SERVICE in the service encounters. As can be seen the networks represent the FIELD 'travel' in terms of activity orientation and in terms of object orientation. At present the networks have been drawn intuitively on the basis of the observer-analyst's experience of the field in question in such locations as travel agencies. They are meant to capture what is going on in service encounter texts when the FIELD is being realized, i.e. what information/goods are being requested and complied, the types of negotiations concerning services activities and objects. One must consider these intuitive networks as a starting point. The next step is to actually see whether the intuitive FIELD networks correspond to the networks that will be drawn after the data has been analyzed for its FIELD realizations. For example, on the basis of the work by Plum (1984), it seems that activity orientation of FIELD 'travel' will have to be seen more in terms of the way human participants participate in activities than is done in the network below. In other words, one must seek for the realized Medium ^ Process or Participant ^ Quality relationships in texts. This would involve a more detailed grammatical analyses of the texts than has presently been seen necessary,

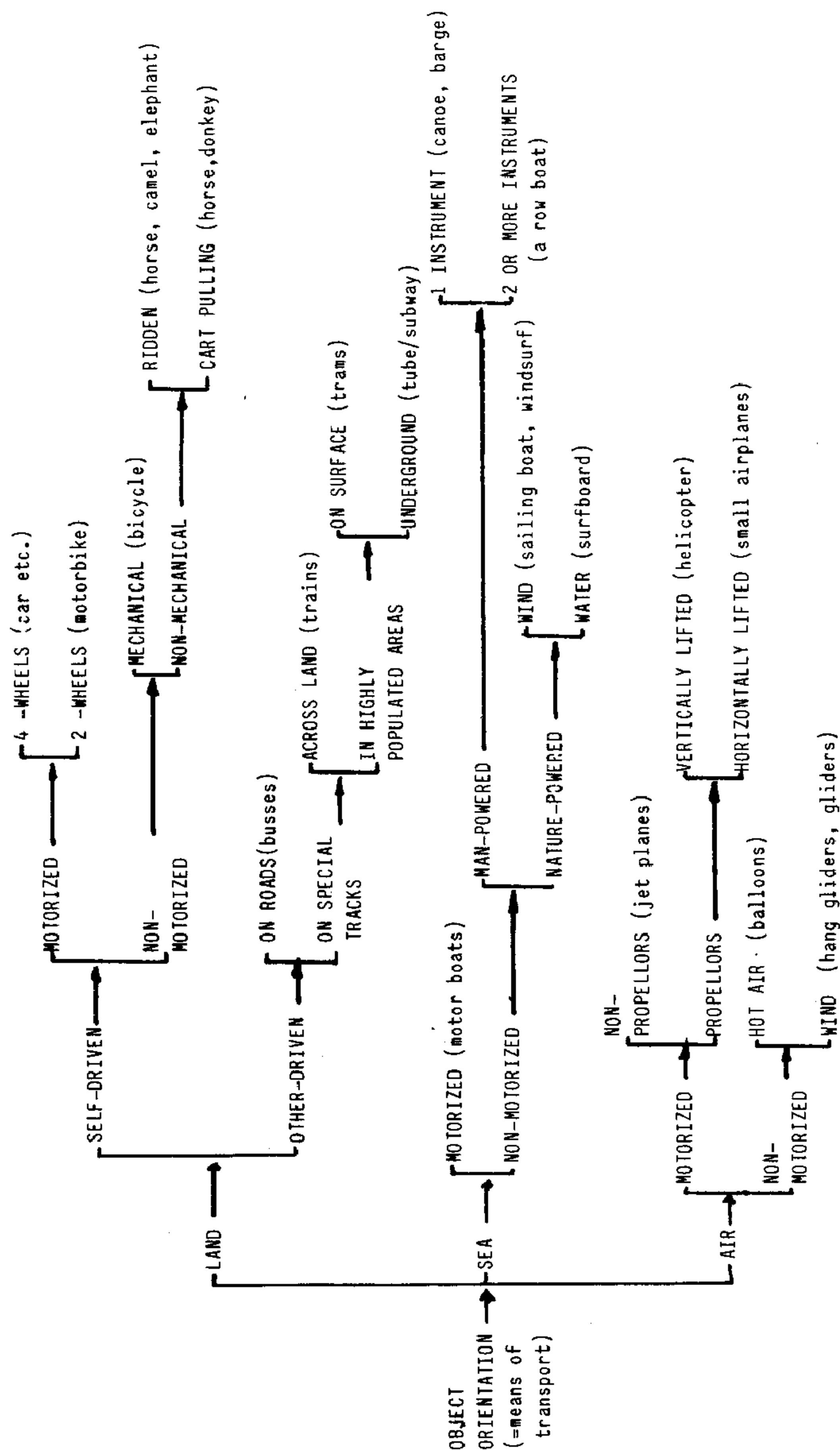


Fig. 21. Activity Orientation in the FIELD 'travel'.

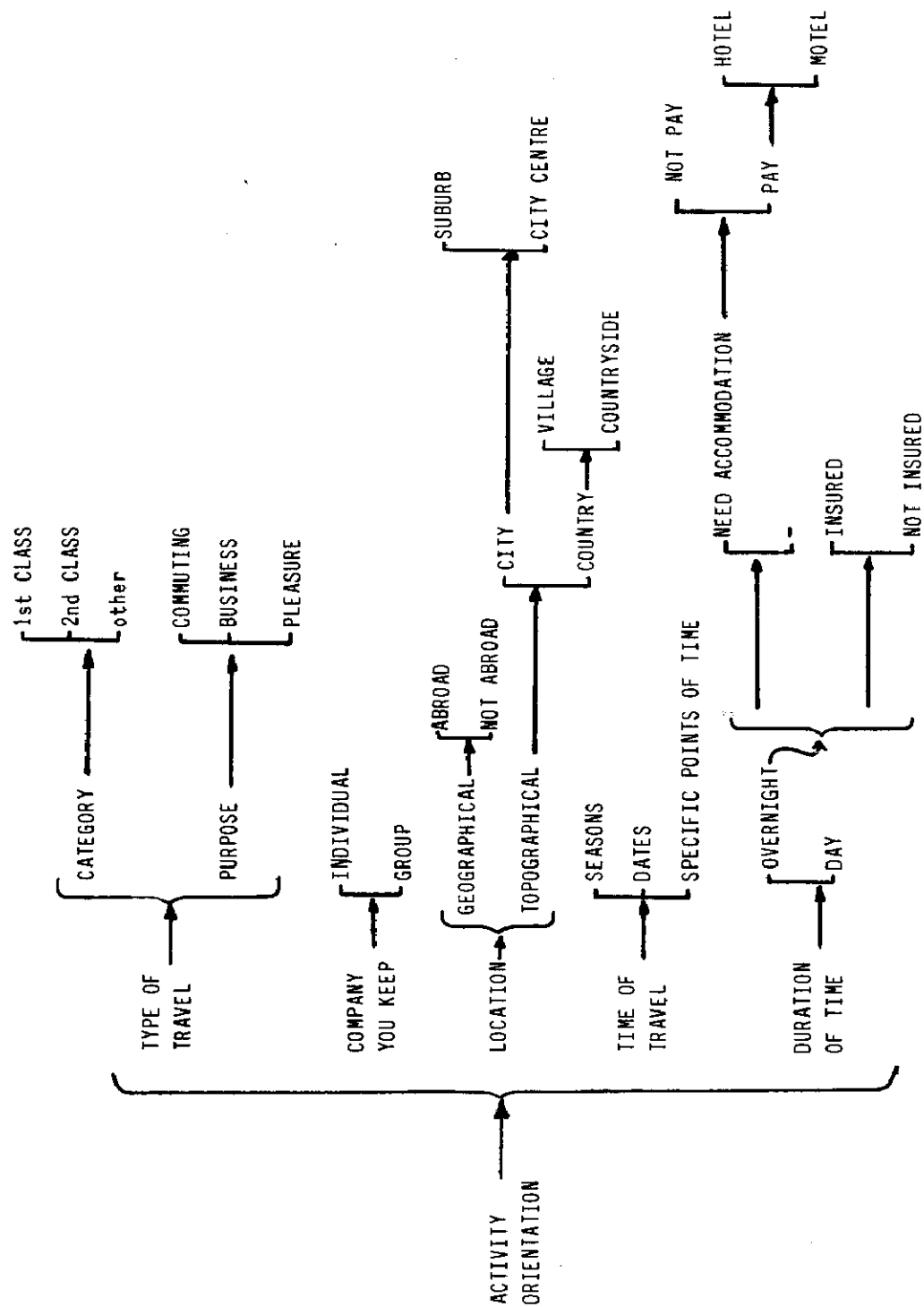


Fig. 20. Object Orientation in the FIELD 'travel'.

considering the overall goals of the thesis. The same applies for object orientation of FIELD. The relationships presented in the network can be checked in the texts e.g. by paying attention to the types of taxonomic and non-taxonomic relationships in texts. As the travel arrangements are made it is very likely that the lexical relationships in texts show some kind of super-ordinate organization and further as the social process unfolds the text is likely to reflect some kind of series of expectancy sequencing relationships as far as the various processes in the text are concerned. Some work on field networks has been done by Plum (1984) and it is in this direction that the work on the various fields realized in service encounters will also be directed in future.

It is natural that texts of course may portray more than one FIELD, i.e. that linguistic items that usually function as realization of FIELDS of totally different or of agnate genres are found in texts. Here is an example from the data collected where this phenomenon occurs:

Example 3 (additional data - P0):

S: can I help you [tone 2]
C: do you have ferries in souvenir packs [tone 2]
S: yes
I don't know if I have any left though
I've got an idea I sold out yesterday
C: uhuh
S: I'll just check for you
[5 secs - S checking]
S: gone
I'm sorry
one day too late
C: won't you get any in [tone 2]
S: no 'cause they are going off the fourteenth of this
month
C: yeah...
okay
bye

When one looks at the need of S in this text do you have ferries

in souvenir packs one would, just by looking at each lexical item individually, be confused about which particular FIELD is in fact in question. Ferries seems to refer to the FIELD of travel, souvenir to that of small-item shopping and pack seems to belong to some other FIELD that lies outside the genres in question. It is natural that texts portray such diversity in the linguistic realization. Here, however, the lexicogrammar will help the interpretation. The lexical items ferry, souvenir and pack can collocate with each other and be structurally realized as Thing ^Qualifier (see Halliday in press a) only in the social context of philatelic post office service encounters.

Of course it is not only the FIELD choices that play a part in the realization of the element S in service encounters - the genre correlates also with TENOR choices (for example, the decision on who initiates the element is a decision of 'power' in the sense of power belonging to the role of the interactant) and MODE choices (e.g. the Need of SERVICE is expressed in a post office by the written address on the envelope). Thus, it can be said that the constraints of genre on register and further of register on language have what Hasan (1978) called 'a cumulative effect' when texts are looked at retrospectively as products. It is more than obvious that much more work is needed in this area so that the realizational relationships between the communication planes of genre, register and language can be spelled out more explicitly.

How then can the fact that genre constrains register choices be displayed in the flowchart representation? The negotiations about constraining the register choices can be seen as part of the oblong circles which are labelled as elements accordingly. That is, at the beginning of each element certain selections from the register networks of FIELD, MODE and TENOR have to be made before the realization of the element can take place.

As the final point in this section, one can raise the issue of how participants' individual goals, other than those stated in the flowchart (which could be called 'generic goals') are seen to be operating in the flowchart representation (for discussions on goals, see e.g. de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981). Naturally many of the

decisions that the interactants make depend on the goals and the aspirations that the interactants as individuals set for themselves and their interaction. Such goals are here seen to lie outside of linguists' area of description, since linguists necessarily always draw their conclusions on the basis of retrospective data, i.e. actualized texts, and have no way of entering interactants' heads in any other way except possibly predicting what typically happens in certain social contexts and it is exactly this prediction side that the flowchart and the genre network describes in a cultural context. Even if such individualistic goals prove necessary and must be incorporated it should be emphasized that they always will have to be sacrificed for the 'common good'. That is, the individual's goals have to be changed as the social process unfolds dynamically depending on the situation. Customers do not always get what they want and servers are not always able to sell or provide the goods or services they are expected to.

4.5.2 Uniformity and Diversity of Generic Structures

The schematic structure elements and the flowchart as they have been presented above for the genre of service encounters represent the uniformity that can be found in the texts in the Appendix of this study. In other words, they are shared across the service encounter types in question. This does not mean, however, that the texts must look exactly alike. The flowchart provides realizational diversity in the generic structuring of the service encounter texts collected. That is, it will, by allowing elements to be skipped, to reoccur etc., account for the fact that one service encounter text may have the actualized schematic structure of SB+S+CL+GB (where '+' indicates the realized sequence in texts), whereas another may have the structure of S+R+P+GH+CL, and yet another only the structure of G+SB. All the actualized structures are considered perfectly functional as texts, belonging to the genre of service encounters in spite of the diversity in their generic structuring. But there may occur in texts also diversity which cannot be explained with the elements and the flowchart as they have so far been presented. It is to this different kind of diversity that the attention will be turned next.

It was stated above that as the scale of delicacy increases in the genre agnation network such elements as BOOKING and POSTING in travel agency and post office texts respectively are generated, setting these texts apart from one another synoptically. These are then some of the elements according to which more delicate subgenres of service encounters are recognized. But again a dynamic approach to their realization is needed, as they by no means appear in every single text nor do they always appear at exactly the same place in the schematic structure. How then are such subgeneric schematic structure elements handled in the flowchart?

Drawing completely new flowcharts for each subgenre would obviously be too elaborous and, more importantly, uneconomical and unnecessary (cf. the linear representation). The subgeneric schematic structure elements can easily be generated by sideprogramming in the flowchart. To represent these more delicate synoptic choices in the dynamics of genre then, it will be necessary to add to the flowchart presented in Fig. 19 at appropriate places a decision diamond to the effect 'is a subgeneric element 'X' applicable?' and if the answer is 'yes' the wavy square notation will give instructions to both participants to step out of the main social process flowchart and enter a sideprogramme (or possibly enter an element in another flowchart representing totally a different genre, see genre-mixing below). Here such sideprogrammes will not be drawn. Let it suffice to say that the sideprogrammes are envisaged to be of the same general shape as the flowchart proposed so far for the main social process of the service encounter genre.

There is yet another type of phenomenon found in the service encounter data which also contributes to the diversity found in the generic structuring of these social processes and which cannot be explained in terms of scale of delicacy in the genre network, but which could be handled by sideprogramming in the flowchart dynamics. What is being referred to is the kind of 'sidesequencing' found in texts of all kinds. The extracts below will illustrate the point being made:

Example 4 (additional data - TA):

C: what package holidays do you have...uh to Bali...two
week | two week
S: | two week [tone 2]
C: two week [tone 1]
[4 secs - S gets some brochures]
C: it's lovely and warm in here
S: hm isn't it
C: actually it's not actually cold it's just that it -
S: the wind gets to you
C: yeah
S: yeah always the way
C: hm
S: all right
[2 secs - S starts leafing through the brochures]
C: what is the best tim- what is the cheapest time to go
to Bali

Example 5 (additional data - P0):

S: hello Mrs. Black
how're you
C: well thank you
can I have uh I better have five...twenty cent | stamps
please
S: | twenties
[4 secs - S gets the stamps]
S: that's one dollar
[S hands the stamps to C]
[C hands a dollar-note to S]
S: | thanks very much
C: | thank you
[2 secs - C putting the stamps away]
S: been busy [tone 2]
C: yes
uh I just took four days off last week and etc.

This phenomenon will here be called 'genre mixing', for want of a better label. It seems that here an element from a completely different genre, casual conversation, has been 'borrowed' for the social process of service encounter. The extracts above are very similar in their linguistic realizations (cf. with the data in Ventola 1977, 1978, 1979) to the personal DIRECT APPROACHES and contextual INDIRECT APPROACHES of casual conversation. What causes such genre mixing as demonstrated above has obviously something to do at least with the tenor choices operating on the scale of social distance (see Hasan 1978; Ventola 1979) or 'contact' (Poynton forthcoming). It is natural that we carry numerous social roles as members

The meaning of person in the sense of a man or woman represented in fictitious dialogue, or as a character in a play, is relevant if we take a sociological view of the personae or parts we are called upon to play in the routine of life. Every social person is a bundle of personae, a bundle of parts, each part having its lines. If you do not know your lines, you are no use in the play. It is very good for you and society if you are cast for your parts and remember your lines (Firth 1950/57:184; his emphasis).

Sometimes our social roles, other than those actually typically operating in a situation, may contribute to the unfolding of the social process. For example, when I enter a post office where a friend of mine is working as a post official I shall not be treating this friend as if my relationship with him/her was just that of a customer to a server. It would almost seem that I am engaging in two social processes at the same time when talking to my friend. I would be involved with the genre of service encounter (getting stamps for my letters) and the genre of casual conversation (chatting to my friend). It is something like this that is perceived to be happening in the extracts above. To present a claim that whenever there is a social process going on there might simultaneously be a possibility of a parallel running social process (or even perhaps processes) invoked by the other social roles besides the institutional ones reigning in the situation (customer-server) is, however, too hasty. Therefore, until further research has been made to such instances, it is probably best to see such phenomena as above as genre mixing (or embedding or rankshifting of genres and their elements, to use a more technical term).

Sometimes genre mixing involves 'borrowing' only one element from another genre, as shown above, but often it may involve embedding whole other genres within a text. Examples from real life in anecdotal form are again relatively easily found. I still recall having been given a recipe by a local greengrocer when I bought my first zucchinis in Australia. Not having seen zucchinis before, let alone eaten them, I naturally enquired 'how do you eat them?', which then inspired the greengrocer into explaining to me how they were best cooked. In other words, he moved momentarily to another genre, to that of a

recipe (if it is accepted that a recipe is another genre). After having finished giving me the cooking instructions he switched back to 'service talk'. What could have possibly caused such an embedding of another genre within a service encounter is explainable not so much in terms of TENOR choices (the greengrocer was not, to my knowledge, also a professional cook) but in terms of FIELD choices. Zucchini's can be seen to be playing a part in the FIELDS realizing both the genre of recipe and that of shopping at greengrocer's. In other words, they can, as objects of activity, be cooked as well as bought, and this invokes the genre mixing. What frequently also happens in service encounter texts is that the server or the customer will tell a story in the middle of 'service talk'. Again such 'sidesequencing' is probably best seen in terms of genre mixing or genre embedding. Such genre mixing in texts is best recognized and signalled by the fact that they make their own selections of FIELD, MODE and TENOR which are perceived as being linguistic realizations which somehow do not typically fit the social process in question. Genre mixing seems to be a fairly plausible explanation to such 'oddities' found in texts.

What about genre mixing and the dynamic unfolding of the social process? How does genre mixing fit into the flowchart representation of genres? At the moment it is envisaged that such genre mixing as has been described above can also be handled by sideprogramming (cf. subgeneric elements) in the dynamics of genre. But now instead of stepping from the main social process into a subgeneric programme, the interactants are directed to enter into a totally different genre, to some specific element(s) of another genre (usually if one of the participants chooses to sidetrack the other is forced, at least momentarily, to follow until a return back to the main social process can be enforced).

Presently it is not possible to say much more about genre mixing and its relations to the dynamics of genre. Genre mixing must, however, be considered as a source of richness and diversity in our conversations. To capture its exact nature more descriptions of various genres in terms of synoptic and dynamic systems are urgently needed. Representing genres dynamically as flowcharts is still at its initial stages. Another attempt in this direction that can be mentioned in this context is a description of 'ordering a meal in a restaurant' in Ehlich and Rehbein (1972). Their approach is

concerned in relating their pragmatic interpretation of the social process mentioned to language in any rigorous way comparable to the theoretical framework that has been so far built up in these first four chapters. Neither does it set out to seek systematically for linguistic evidence for the different stages of the social process they perceive.

4.6 Summary

The present chapter has aspired to capture the character and the achievements of the few descriptions of service encounters that exist. Specifically it has concentrated on searching how different researchers who have been working with service encounter data (real or artificial) have dealt with the overall, global structuring found in texts, structuring that indicates the classification of the text in the service encounter-genre. Further, approaches to explain how various service encounter-texts are seen related to each other within the genre have been reviewed. It was found that Hasan's and Martin's views on generic structuring of texts and text-relatedness carry most weight in these approaches. But when used to explain what is actually happening in the service encounter data collected for this study both Hasan's linear representation and Martin's genre agnation network representation of service encounters run out of explanatory power. This led to the development of a flowchart representation, which is seen to capture the dynamic side of social interaction in service encounters. Many of the suggestions concerning the exact relationships between genre and its synoptic and dynamic systems and genre and its relationship to register and language remain at present unsupported by 'hard core' evidence. This largely reflects the fact that the theoretical framework within which these views on service encounters have been presented does not have a long history. It could be said, analogously to the subject matter of the chapter, that it is a theory that is still unfolding dynamically. However, finding evidence in the data for the hypotheses about schematic structuring in the service encounter genre as well as evidence for the dynamic view is seen as plausible. Demonstration of such a proof-seeking procedure by looking at the functioning of discourse systems in the service encounter texts will be the task of the remaining chapters, Chapters V-IX, of this study.

NOTES:

1. cf. Hasan (1978) and Martin (in press); both in their search for generic structuring of texts concentrate only on the linguistic realizations, although both admit that non-verbal realizations also play a role. I would like, with this definition of service encounter, to take a more definite stand towards including in the analyses also the other modes of realizing social processes in our cultures.
2. I have elsewhere (Ventola 1981) drawn attention to some other factors which, besides the need for a more abstract element, need more explicitness in Merritt's model. For example, she does not represent everything in terms of adjacency pairs even though, let us say, 'offer of service' and 'acceptance of offer of service' would be a legitimate adjacency pair. According to her (Merritt 1976:344-346) these are "recoverably deletable" for reasons of "maximal appropriateness". A semiotic representation should, however, aim at representing such a possibility. Whether or not it is realized is a matter of lexicogrammatical realization. Furthermore, in spite of building certain recursions and skipings of speech acts, Merritt's representation seems too limited to capture the dynamic aspects of service encounter interaction. For example, the customer may already opt out when service is being offered. Moreover, a 'negative response' to 'request for availability' information does not necessarily lead to closing of the encounter. Furthermore, the customers should also be allowed the possibility of renewing the buying speech acts without having to be prompted by the server's 'anything else?'.
3. Malcolm (in press) has also misrepresented the two factors influencing casual conversations and which lead to setting up four different structure potentials for casual conversations presented in Ventola (1979). She interprets these factors as social distance and length of interchange. The latter in Ventola (1979:278-279) was labelled as 'minimal and non-minimal casual conversation' and this has led Malcolm to interpret it as 'length in time', which is not at all what is being meant in Ventola (1979). Minimal and non-minimal distinction refers to the degree of social and interactive involvement in casual conversations. Minimal conversations have merely a phatic 'contact' function of establishing/re-establishing social relationships, whereas non-minimal conversations function as an expression of a greater degree of social and interactive involvement and thus open participating interactants more to each other's personalities and world views.
4. There is at least one whole group of human beings who quite successfully to a certain degree interact with other human beings totally by using non-linguistic skills and survive by doing so - tourists who do not speak the language of the society they are visiting.

PART II

CHAPTER V: CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE - EXCHANGES AND MOVES REFLECTING SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE IN THE SERVICE ENCOUNTER TEXTS

So far, when talking about the schematic structure of the service encounter genre, our viewpoint has been that of a global structure, the kind of macrostructuring found in texts (cf. Van Dijk 1980). It is now time to look at the microstructuring found in texts and what it can tell us about the macrostructuring.

One aspect of microstructuring is that a text is made up of what now commonly are known as speech acts. In this chapter the general views on speech acts and their functions will be discussed first. This leads to interpreting speech acts as part of the discourse systems of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE. The options from this system network manifest in texts as exchanges and moves. The structures generated by CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE can be hypothesized to reflect, at least partly, the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE of the genre the texts belong to. This hypothesis will be tested by looking at CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE in service encounter data and seeing whether the ways the exchanges and moves are manifested in the analyzed texts project the schematic structure of the service encounter genre as it was proposed in Chapter IV.

5.1. Speech Acts and Functions

The theory of speech acts involves a theory of speech function. That is, by uttering words a certain action is performed and the action carries a particular function. When speech acts first became a topic in linguistics functions of speech acts were mostly studied in decontextualized utterances and the function of the utterance was determined via elaborate speaker-hearer presuppositions on the level of semantics. This approach is typical of language philosophers (e.g. Austin 1962/75; Searle 1969, 1979). Now more often situational factors are taken into consideration when assigning functions to speech acts. This approach is more typical of pragmatists who see the utterance receiving its function on the level of pragmatics, i.e. outside of

the purely formal levels of language. The pragmatic view is that speech acts are assigned functions according to 1) the intentions of speakers, 2) whether or not the addressees accept the speaker's intentions and 3) the situational settings where the speech acts are uttered (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981:31).

But even though the situation may help in interpreting the function of a speech act, the classification of utterances into speech function categories is still problematic. Assigning a function to an utterance may seem fairly straightforward as long as only relatively localized, particularized contexts are considered. For example, we may have no difficulty in reaching an agreement that Stand back please functions as a command or an order when a policeman says it at the scene of an accident. But, as Matthews, whose example it is, says

easy examples are so often deceptive. Please give us a bit more room - again an order, would you say? Or has it just a touch of a request about it? (Suppose our policeman said it; would it carry the same authority?) Could you please move over a little? - is that just a politer form of an order? (Certainly it is not designed to elicit the answer No). I wonder if I could possibly squeeze in here, could I? ...Take off the tag...Does that make it less of a request?...Try the second person instead of the first: I wonder if you could possibly move over a little, could you? Do you feel that this helps you at all to think of it as an order? Try something blunter: I think I can squeeze in here, can't I? Now do you think it is getting more 'question-like'? You couldn't possibly move over, could you please? - well, at least we have left orders behind. But completely behind?...By all means try and fit these into an exhaustive classification. But promise to try again in a week or so's time. Do you think you would be likely to agree with all your earlier judgements? (Matthews 1979:83).

Most of the speech act classifications are struggling with similar problems to those illustrated by Matthews.

Various numbers of speech functions have been suggested by linguists - e.g. Austin (1962/75) suggests that the number of illocutionary verbs in English may be as great as ten thousand. Many of the speech function lists are influenced by the kind of data the analysts are handling when setting up the functions. This has

especially been pointed out by some systemicists (for a discussion, see Martin 1981a:72; Berry 1981a:120), who suggest that in such analytical models analyses are practically impossible to replicate when applied to a different set of data. The problems which have caused so much controversy in the speech act theory can be summarized under two headings: firstly, there is the question of how many speech functions need to be recognized and, secondly, there is the question of how the speech functions can be related to the grammatical form which realizes them.

5.1.1. How Many Speech Functions to Recognize?

If setting up various speech functions is approached from the point of view of looking at imaginable single utterances in imaginable contexts, it most likely is indeed possible to recognize a large number of functions for utterances. A slight change in the speaker's intentions or the setting will give a new shade of meaning to every utterance and justify its classification as a separate speech function. But the danger is, as already pointed out by Matthews, that we are not able to classify acts consistently into speech function classes. What, then, is the solution to this problem?

A suggestion for an answer is presented by Halliday (in press a, in press b) who proposes that a classification of speech acts into their functional classes can be based on and motivated by how humans structure social interaction linguistically. The principles of linguistically organized social interaction are described in terms of four factors, namely: the interacting participants are fundamentally either giving or demanding, and what is being given or demanded is either goods-&-services or information (Halliday in press a, in press b). These four factors can be crossclassified to define four basic functions for speech acts. When speakers are giving goods and service they are making offers (o), e.g. Shall I wrap them for you? and when they are giving information they are making statements (s), e.g. Air mail is more expensive. On the other hand, when speakers are demanding goods-&-services they are making commands (c), e.g. Bring it over to me when you've addressed it! and when demanding information they are making questions (q), e.g. How much are they? Halliday represents the

crossclassification of these four basic speech functions in the form of a grid, reproduced below:

Commodity exchanged: Role in exchange:	(a) goods-&-services	(b) information
(i) giving	'offer' would you like this teapot?	'statement' he's giving her the teapot
(ii) demanding	'command' give me that teapot!	'question' what is he giving her?

Table 5. Four Basic Speech Functions (Halliday in press a:110, Fig.4-1).

As the word 'interaction' implies, social interaction involves two participants who perform some sort of an exchange. Even speech act theorists who studied single utterances isolated from their contexts acknowledged this, as evidenced by such speech act classes as response or answer being set up. Today, most linguists accept that the basic form of human social interaction is dialogic. After all, the way we learn to speak our mother tongues is through interaction with people around us. This means that speech acts which can be assigned to the above mentioned speech function classes can typically be expected to be responded to by the fellow participant. Thus, giving and demanding necessarily imply receiving and giving on demand (Halliday in press a:109). More generally, social interaction inherently involves the notion of an exchange or an adjacency pair (discovered and discussed by ethnomethodologists, see e.g. Schegloff 1968/72; Schegloff and Sacks 1973/74; Sacks et al. 1974). Built in to the exchange or the adjacency pair are in turn the notions of initiation and response. When an exchange involves goods-&-services as a commodity, the response is typically non-verbal, whereas in an information exchange the response is essentially linguistic.

To Halliday (in press a:111) the response pairs for the basic speech functions are either typically expected responses or discretionary responses; these response patterns are tabularized below.

The examples of responses match up with the initiating acts presented in Table above.

role	initiation	role	expected response	discretionary alternative
giving	offer	receiving	acceptance -yes I would	rejection -no, I wouldn't
	statement		acknowledgement -yes, he is	contradiction -no, he isn't
demanding	command	giving on demand	undertaking -all right, I will	refusal -no, I won't
	question		answer -a teapot	disclaimer -I don't know

Table 6. Responses to Four Basic Speech Functions (modified from Halliday in press a:111).

Martin (1981a, in prep.) recognizes the same four basic speech functions, although his labels vary slightly. But in addition to the basic four adjacency pairs his speech function categorization includes five other speech functions (derived from Halliday's unpublished manuscript *The Meaning of Modern English*) which are assigned to acts which have the function of mediating attention, like greetings (e.g. Hello - Hi) and calls (e.g. John - What?) and their responses and the function of self-expression, namely exclamations (e.g. What a day!). These functions are listed in Table 7 below (including their typical MOOD realizations under the label in parentheses) and will be used extensively in the study of service encounters:

<u>INITIATING:</u>	<u>RESPONDING:</u>
statement (s) (declarative)	acknowledge statement (as) (elliptical declarative, minor)
question (q) (interrogative)	response statement to question (rsq) (elliptical declarative)
offer (o) (polar interrogative + others)	acknowledge offer (ao) (elliptical imperative + others)
command (c) (imperative)	response offer to command (roc) (elliptical declarative)
greeting (gr) (minor)	response to greeting (rgr) (minor)
call (cl) (minor)	response to call (rcl) (minor)
exclamation (ex) (minor)	-

Table 7. Initiating

| SPEECH FUNCTIONS and Their Congruent

The speech functions listed above are generated by the following SPEECH FUNCTION network:

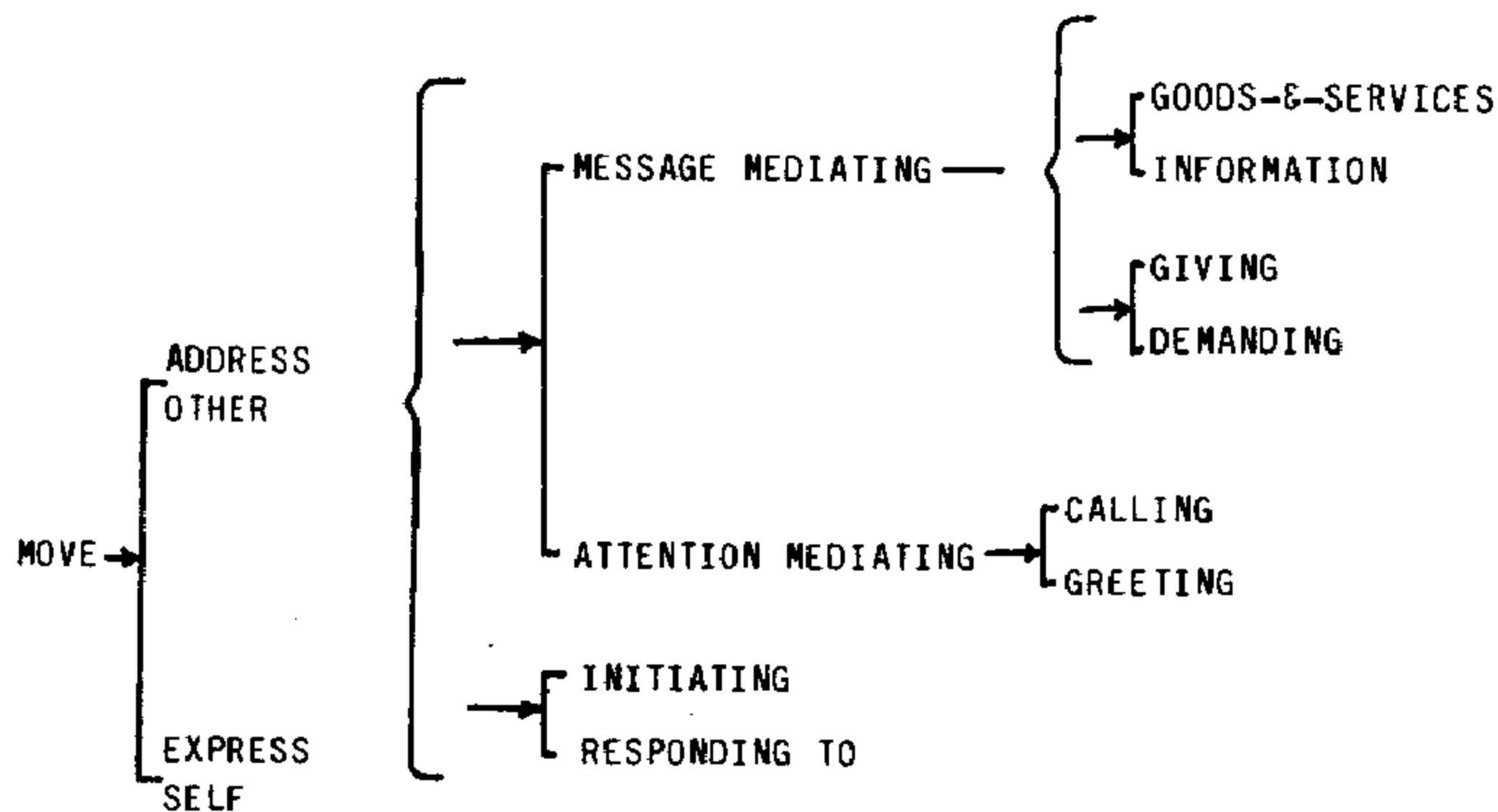


Fig. 22. SPEECH FUNCTION Network on the Discourse Stratum (Martin in prep.:33)¹

What captures one's attention in Martin's work (1981a, in prep.) on speech functions, in comparison to Halliday's set, is, firstly, that the affirmative/negative responses are not set up as speech functions on the discourse stratum (cf. Halliday's expected and discretionary responses on the level of semantics). For Martin, this distinction is a distinction made in lexicogrammar, generated by the system of POLARITY. Secondly, in Martin (1981a, in prep.) a strict criterion as to what qualifies as a responding pair to an initiating act is being proposed. In Halliday and Hasan (1976:206) it was suggested that a second pair "is any utterance which immediately follows an utterance by a different speaker and is cohesively related to it". In Martin (1981a:60) it is, however, argued that the criterion of cohesiveness is too indefinite since it allows such sequences as who's that playing tennis? - tennis balls are yellow to be considered as an adjacency pair of a question - an answer.

Martin's quest for explicit formal criteria for establishing adjacency pairs seems justified. His suggestion (Martin 1981a:60) is that the second pair part of an adjacency pair has to comply with the potential ellipsis criterion according to which the responding pair

must be retrievable from the initiating part. In other words, a response may be, but does not have to be, an elliptical clause portraying the same grammatical functions as the initiating part of the adjacency pair. Martin (1981a, in prep.) also seems to be more specific than Halliday about the unit that is characterized as a speech function class. Halliday (in press b) maps speech function onto a unit called 'move', which however remains undefined in his discussion. This will automatically cause problems in analyzing texts, as one does not quite know whether the speaker's whole speaking turn or only part of it (for example one clause in it) will be classified as a certain speech function class. Let us consider Halliday's own example from a dialogue between Nigel (age 1;10) and his mother:

Nigel: Blue pin get l0st. White pin got lost?
Mother: No the white pin didn't get lost.
(Halliday in press b:16).

In this piece of dialogue

Nigel demands information and his mother responds by giving it. This exchange is encoded semantically as: Nigel asks a question and his mother makes a statement which is an answer to it (Halliday in press b:16-17).

As can be seen from the quotation above, it is not fully clear whether for Halliday a move equals a turn or a clause. Nigel's Blue pin got l0st would seem to be a statement, judging by the falling intonation (^). A question function, on the other hand, can be assigned to the latter part of Nigel's turn. In his discussion, Halliday seems to concentrate on this function, thus leaving the relationship between the first part and the second part in Nigel's turn implicit and unexplained (i.e. there are two initiating acts juxtaposed, a statement and a question; the way in which two initiating acts can be juxtaposed without forming an adjacency pair throws further doubt about the usefulness of adjacency pairs, at least in strict terms, for text analyses; for a more detailed discussion see section 5.2).

In Martin (1981a) message is suggested as a unit of SPEECH FUNCTION on the discourse stratum. Messages are defined in terms of lexicogrammar as units selecting independently for MOOD. Initially

in Martin (1981a) no rank scale on the discourse stratum was recognized (cf. Sinclair and Coulthard 1975 and Edmondson 1981). However, in the light of Berry's work on exchange structure (see section 5.2.1) Martin now incorporates a rank scale on the discourse stratum (personal communication). The ranks are exchange and move. 'Move' thus replaces the earlier term 'message'. Moves are classes of speech functions that realize functional structural elements of exchanges (a more detailed discussion will be given in section 5.2.2). But indeterminacy concerning Nigel's turn still remains. If a move is now considered as a unit selecting independently for MOOD, then there must be two moves in Nigel's turn. Each of the moves can be categorized into a speech function class, namely a statement followed by a question. But are these moves within Nigel's speaking turn moves of the same exchange or a different exchange? This problem will be discussed later in this chapter (see sections 5.2 and 5.2.1).

Furthermore, Martin (1981a:64) makes suggestions for useful devices for distinguishing offers, commands, statements and questions from one another. These speech functions can be recognized, in spite of their various lexicogrammatical forms, with the help of three lexical items: please, okay² and thanks. Okay would be possible in responses for initiating [goods-&-services] moves, i.e. for commands and offers: Just fill in this form - Okay (c - roc) and I'll post it for you - Okay (o - ao). Okay "can be used to distinguish commands and offers from statements and questions", Martin writes (1981a:64). It is true that in responses to questions okay indeed seems unacceptable, e.g. *How much are these? - Okay. Such a response would sound odd to the customer. But, at least in the service encounter texts okay may quite frequently appear as a responding pair to a statement, e.g.

ore expensive - Okay. This has to do with the fact that counters giving information is treated as a 'linguistic

Can you tell me the time? - It's two thirty - Okay thanks)

iven a fuller treatment later in the chapter (see section se and thanks are further used to keep commands and offers mmands please can be added, e.g. Get me a drink please!

I I get you a drink please is not possible. Second pair parts to commands (roc) do not accept thanks, e.g. Get me a drink,

please! - *Okay thanks, whereas second pair parts to offers (ao) do e.g. Shall I get you a drink - Yes thanks.

Above it has been postulated that thirteen speech function classes are enough up to a certain point in delicacy to describe the basics of human social interaction. These speech functions are: statement - acknowledge statement; question - response statement to question; offer - acknowledge offer; command - response offer to command; greeting - response to greeting; call - response to call; exclamation. Before actually looking at whether these speech function classes will in fact be sufficient in the analyses of service encounter texts, it is necessary to try to sort out the other polemic area in the speech act theory, namely the problem of relating speech function to form.

5.1.2. How Is Speech Function Related to Its Form?

Above, in section 5.1, a quotation from Matthews was cited where he illustrates how difficult it is to classify speech acts into their functional categories. This difficulty has largely to do with the 'mismatch' between form and function. For example, the speech function 'command' is typically realized by an interrogative MOOD choice, pass me the salt being an example of this. But when register and genre choices are taken into consideration it may be that the context of situation demands a politer form of a command: can you pass me the salt, to which a further politeness indicator please is often added. On grammatical stratum this form is indistinguishable from the form can you play the flute. Yet functionally they are different. The former demands goods-&-services and the latter information. In the case of can you pass me the salt there is a 'mismatch' between function and form. But as there is no separate grammatical device in English which would encode the meaning 'polite command', polar-interrogative MOOD has taken on to carry this function together with its original function of demanding information.

How then to solve this mismatch between form and function? One solution would obviously be to ignore form when setting up the speech function classification. This will enable the analyst to set up as many speech function classes as will be necessary for describing the

data, different kinds of data always inspiring new classes. The analyst would not have to worry too much about the formal similarities or dissimilarities between them. Most of the pragmatic approaches have chosen to ignore form when setting up speech function classes. Consider, for example, the following quotation:

the acts performed by a given utterance are not determined by its grammar, though the grammar may constrain the kinds of acts that can be performed by a given utterance...what is said-grammatically is in this sense independent of pragmatic phenomena such as what is said-pragmatically, what is meant-conversationally, and what is done. In this view, everything that a speaker knows about the utterance, except the phonological, syntactic, and semantic knowledge of the sentence type, can be treated as the pragmatic, as distinct from the grammatical, component of the utterance (Dore 1977:141).

Similarly, Edmondson in a more recent publication, says that pragmatically oriented linguistic studies need to "pay only passing attention to the syntax of English" (Edmondson 1981:2).

To systemicists treatment of speech functions independently of the form, i.e. their realization on the lexicogrammatical stratum, seems an unacceptable solution. When the function of a speech act is considered its formal aspects must NECESSARILY be accounted for as well. But how?

The systemic-functional approach to language sees "linguistic form...as the reflex of linguistic function" (Halliday in press b:5). Or, as Martin puts it:

The meanings which are structured into a language, that is realized through its grammatical structures and closed system items, are those which are most central to the culture that language encodes, and which must be taken into account when relating the form of that language to its function in social contexts (Martin 1981a:52).

As far as speech function is concerned, this means then that there exists a systematic relationship between the speech function classes proposed earlier and the grammatical structures that realize them,

namely MOOD choices. This systematic relationship has been labelled congruence:

A 'congruent' realization is that one which can be regarded as typical - which will be selected in the absence of any good reason for selecting another one...Wherever there is one variant that is congruent, it is this variant that is likely to be taught as a 'rule' to foreign learners of a language when they are first presented with the feature in question. In real life, we rarely confine ourselves to congruent realizations for very long; not only because the resulting discourse easily becomes boring but also, and more significantly, because many of the more delicate distinctions within any system depend for their expression on what in the first instance appear as non-congruent forms (Halliday in press b:13).

Congruence should ultimately be verifiable probabilistically. As Martin (in prep.:34) notes, it can be expected that quantitative studies will show that a certain SPEECH FUNCTION class is proportionately realized more often by a certain MOOD class rather than by another. The congruent realizations for the proposed speech function classes have already been given in Table 7. These realizations are generated by the MOOD network presented in Fig. 23 below (p.196). This network is seen to realize the selection of the features in the SPEECH FUNCTION network of the discourse stratum, Fig. 22. Martin justifies the positioning of the SPEECH FUNCTION network as underlying the MOOD network in the following way:

constraining the number of speech acts recognized with respect to the relevant closed systems in lexicogrammar...works on the assumption that English, like other languages, has grammaticalized those oppositions which are most central to its meaning potential. This seems a valid assumption when attempting to describe how English is structured to do something. And it is an assumption which most linguists working on the structure of conversation make use of...Certainly, no practical alternatives to this assumption have been proposed. This is not to claim that this is a necessary assumption when questions are asked by philosophers or sociologists about how language is used. But it is a necessary assumption if linguists are to explain what it is about language that makes it usable (Martin in prep.:30).

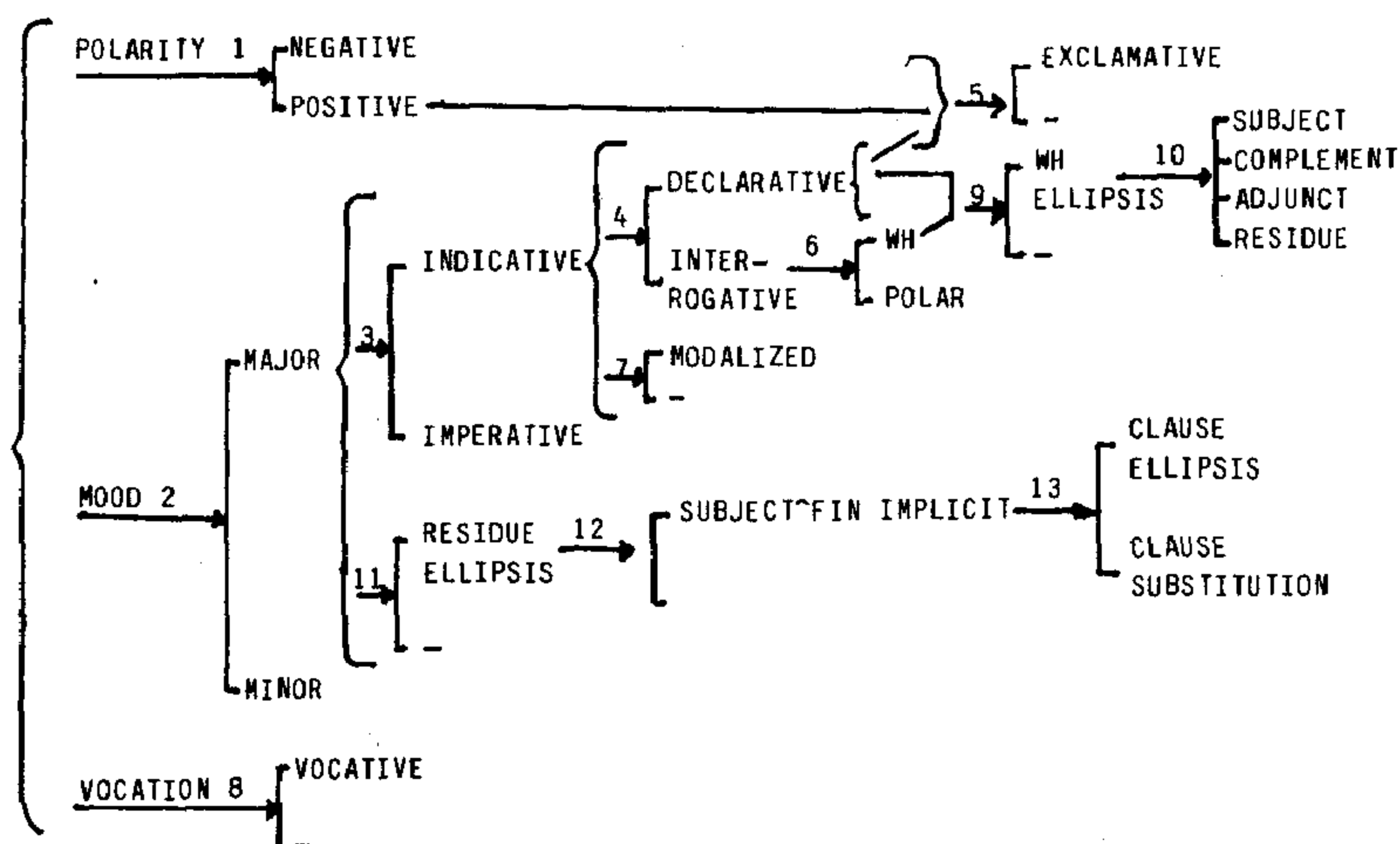


Fig. 23. MOOD Network on the Lexicogrammatical Stratum (Martin 1981a: 53, Fig. 1).

Both strata, discourse and lexicogrammar need to be considered when speech function classes are established because

for example, we should not arrive at the category of 'offer' just by inspection of the grammar, because there is no distinct grammatical category corresponding to it. Similarly we should not distinguish WH- from yes/no questions if we based our description solely on the roles in the speech situation. This is a very typical instance of the need to shunt between different levels of the system in order to arrive at a rounded, meaningful interpretation (Halliday in prep., chapter 15:16).

But if there are systematic realizations for SPEECH FUNCTION in grammar, with form being congruent with function as has been proposed, why then are there so many instances where 'commands look like questions', 'what look like questions are in fact offers' etc.? In other words, why is there incongruence between form and function and how can it best be accounted for? Martin writes:

The major oppositions in the speech function... reflect oppositions that are central to MOOD in English...the reason that function is not

biuniquely related to form as far as MOOD is concerned is not simply that MOOD classes can be used in lots of different ways. Rather, a one to one relation between form and function has broken down because speakers play systematically with the system (Martin in prep.:10).

Incongruence allows variance in realization. But 'playing with the system' implies intentional activity, which incongruent realizations naturally are (e.g. in literature). More often however, we as participants do not even realize that we are 'playing with the system'. What is being meant here is that our social system, the culture of the society we live in, makes us play with the system. It is at this point that speech function necessarily has to be related to the semiotic planes of genre and register underlying the plane of language.

Relating speech functions to the planes of genre and register enables an analyst to consider in texts the linguistic realizations of such factors as the social process in question and, furthermore, the institutions (FIELD), the power and solidarity relationships (TENOR) and the ancillary vs. constitutive role that language plays in the texts (MODE). For instance, there are genres which involve giving commands realized congruently by imperative MOOD choices, like in the genre of recipes. This may not be possible in another genre, for example not in service encounters. The customer's commands for getting goods-&-services would be considered rude if realized by imperatives. This difference can be related to the role relationships, i.e. TENOR choices involved. In more general terms, incongruence is expected to reflect the state of power rather than solidarity between the interactants in service encounters. One of the participants for some reason has power over the other participant (here it is for economical reasons, but in other situations it can be for institutional, educational etc. reasons). In service encounters the customer can be considered to have power over the server because the server will ultimately lose (his job, his business) if all customers refuse to buy because they have been insulted by him/her (for power and solidarity distinction, see Brown and Gilman 1962/72; Poynton forthcoming).

To give another example, it can be claimed that the distinction

between initiation and response in exchanges or adjacency pairing of speech function also reflects the power/solidarity distinction. The person who always seems to be initiating the adjacency pairs is assumed to be on the whole more powerful than the person who is content with a more passive and submissive role of responding. But analyzing initiations of adjacency pairs for power relationships is complicated by the fact that the speech function units do not always conflate with turns, and by adjacency pairs not always being adjacent. It is for these reasons that exchange rank needs to be established and considered as well, as will be shown shortly.

To summarize then, stratification of the discourse stratum and lexicogrammar in terms of SPEECH FUNCTION and MOOD networks and their realizations is needed to make sense of the mismatch between form and function. As Martin writes,

MOOD alone is perfectly adequate to structure conversation in terms of questions and answers and commands and compliances, statements and acknowledgements and so on. But in the process of establishing this interaction language was building up discourse structures with slots that stand only in an unmarked relation to particular grammatical classes. As command followed by compliance itself became a structure, it was possible for commands to be realized by a number of alternative MOOD classes without threatening the well-formedness of a conversational exchange. SPEECH FUNCTION is in a sense MOOD all over again. But this apparent redundancy is essential if a) the tension between form and function is to be resolved; and b) the number of uses of MOOD classes recognized is to be constrained (Martin in prep.:30-31).

When a mismatch between form and function takes place it is considered to be 'justified' by some values of the underlying planes of register and genre. In other words, there must be a good reason for a mismatch, and this can be explained in semiotic terms. Moreover, when genre and register are taken into consideration it is quite likely that the number of basic speech functions has to be increased for analyses of various specific contexts. Some systematic more delicate extensions have been proposed by Butler (recounted in Martin 1981a). The study of the occurrences of mismatches in texts and their

explanations is only starting, but once it is on its way it will most certainly project for us a powerful description of the organization of our cultural systems as relayed by the way we speak.

5.2 CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE

Above suggestions and proposals have been made for dealing more systematically with two areas of speech act theory which have proved problematic: firstly, the question of the number of speech function classes to be recognized for uttered speech acts and, secondly, the question of whether or not it is beneficial to relate speech function classes not only to the level of form but also to the underlying semiotic planes of genre and register. It is now time to start the discussion on whether the thirteen speech functions recognized will be sufficient for analyzing service encounter data and whether the speech functions as they have been presented so far reflect in any way the schematic structure of the service encounter genre, when they are realized in texts.

As seen previously, twelve of the thirteen speech functions are held to be pairing into adjacency pairs when they are generated by the SPEECH FUNCTION network, Fig. 22. In other words, in each such pair the features selected in the network are exactly identical except for the features [initiating] - [responding to], e.g. question = [address other: message mediating: demand: information; initiating] and its pair part, a response statement to question = [address other: message mediating: demand: information; responding to]. If systemic principles are followed, the system features are realized in structure, i.e. there are structural slots for an initiating speech act and a responding act, sequenced in that order and expressed notationally as initiation^response. Such a structure is commonly called an adjacency pair (Sacks et al. 1974). A question followed by a response statement to question (q + rsq) is an example of such a structure ('+' is the notation for the realized structure).

It could now be hypothesized that such adjacency pair structures would tell us something about the schematic structuring of texts belonging to a same genre. It seems logical to expect that there are

similarities in the ways adjacency pair structures are manifested or realized in one schematic structure element in the various texts of the same genre. Furthermore, one assumes that this patterning differs from the patternings in the other schematic structure elements of the same texts. But are our conversations really manifested in adjacency pairs?

We probably all agree that dialogue is the basic form of social interaction. We all initiate conversations and we all respond to others' initiations. Everyone gets a speaking turn, a chance to hold the floor, sooner or later. But it is only possible to assume that adjacency pairing in terms of initiation ^ response structure is the basic organization of dialogue if the whole speaker's turn will carry as a whole the other features generated by the SPEECH FUNCTION network as well. This is to say that speaker A's speaking turn of whatever length will function as a question and speaker B's speaking turn of whatever length will function as a response to that question. This is the problem that was already raised when the conversation of Nigel and his mother was discussed on p.191. If Martin's definition of a speech function unit as a unit selecting independently for MOOD is accepted (p.191), Nigel's turn includes two units, each of which can be assigned to its own speech function class, namely to the class of statement and question respectively. The realized structure is $s + q$. As both of the speech function units are [initiating] this structure cannot be interpreted as an adjacency pair. The following extract will demonstrate the issue even more forcefully:

Example 6. (T 10):

- S: we will book you all together and then we'll write you
as an adult and a child as a half fare
C: right it's half of the excursion fare
S: half of the excursion so you're looking at this one
how many children have you got
C: well two and a...baby

It seems impossible that the server's (S) second speaking turn could be described as one unit to which only one speech function would be assigned. S's half of the excursion seems to be interpretable as a responding acknowledge statement to the customer's (C) preceding

statement (but more likely it is a confirming move, which is part of the dynamics of social interaction and will be discussed later in this chapter). But S's continuation so you're looking at this one does not seem to have a responding function anymore. Rather, it seems that here S is giving some information to C. Lastly, S's how many children have you got seems to be an initiating act where information is being demanded and C, indeed, provides this information. The structure of S's second turn, then, involves three units choosing independently for MOOD: as + s + q. The two last moves are [initiating] and cannot therefore be considered to be functioning as part of an acknowledge statement to C's preceding turn. Further questions arise on closer examination of the realized structure above. What is the relationship of as to s and of s to q? Surely they cannot be described in terms of adjacency pairing. The description of organization of conversation in terms of adjacency pairing seems to be successful only when it is assumed that both the initiating and the responding moves equal the speaking turns by two participants respectively. But, as has been demonstrated above, we frequently 'respond' and 'initiate' during the same speaker turn. It is largely for these reasons that an adjacency pair as a basic structural organization of dialogue remains a viewpoint which is too synoptic to be adopted in this study.

Even though the adjacency pair concept must be abandoned as a tool for describing the structures in social interaction, the basic idea of an exchange behind adjacency pairing need not be rejected. That is, whenever social interaction is taking place an exchange of either goods-&-services or information is taking place. An initiation which is part of an exchange that involves either goods-&-services or information need not have a second pair part at all. For example, when I offer goods & services to another person, he need not respond to my initiating offer by thanking me (although socially of course it is usually expected). Nevertheless, the goods have been exchanged or the service has been performed. An exchange with only one structural slot has taken place. Similarly, when one makes a statement, i.e. gives information, the addressee need not acknowledge this statement. An exchange which involves only one structural slot has again been realized.

If exchanges consisting of one or more structural slots are considered as a basic form of social interaction, the problem of speech function classes not always pairing (Martin in prep.:34) would be solved. But how then is it possible to know what speech function class follows what? Berry (1981a, 1981b, 1981c) has approached this question by setting up an exchange system, which enables the prediction of sequences of moves realizing an exchange.

5.2.1 Exchange: System and Structure

The view of SPEECH FUNCTION as a system and an adjacency pair as a structure does not seem to account for the facts found in such social interactions as service encounters. A different kind of approach to the analysis of conversational organization will therefore be proposed, in which an exchange is seen as a basic unit of social interaction. Exchanges consist of one or more functionally labelled structural slots, which are sequenced in the way determined by their generation from the EXCHANGE system network at the exchange rank. Thus, once the first initiating speech act has been generated it will be possible to predict what kind of a functional slot if any is likely to follow. The functional slots consist of moves at a lower move rank. Moves are generated by the SPEECH FUNCTION network and are assigned to various speech function classes accordingly. The organization of conversation is thus seen in terms of the EXCHANGE and SPEECH FUNCTION networks. A common label used from here onwards for both of these system networks and the structures they generate is CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE. The discussion to follow is based on Berry's (1981a, 1981b, 1981c) work on the interpersonal layer of texts (her textual and ideational layers are seen to be covered by the other discourse systems and structures introduced in the later chapters of this study). Berry's work has been extended by Martin (in press, in prep.). What follows later in this chapter may in turn be interpreted as a further development of both Berry's and Martin's insights. The discussion on CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE will start by presenting the possible syntagmatic structures. At the end of this section the discussion will be summarized by the presentation of the EXCHANGE network, the paradigmatic choices of which generate the syntagmatic structures in exchanges.

According to Berry (1981b, 1981c) the sequencing of speech acts in an exchange is constrained by the following structural formula:

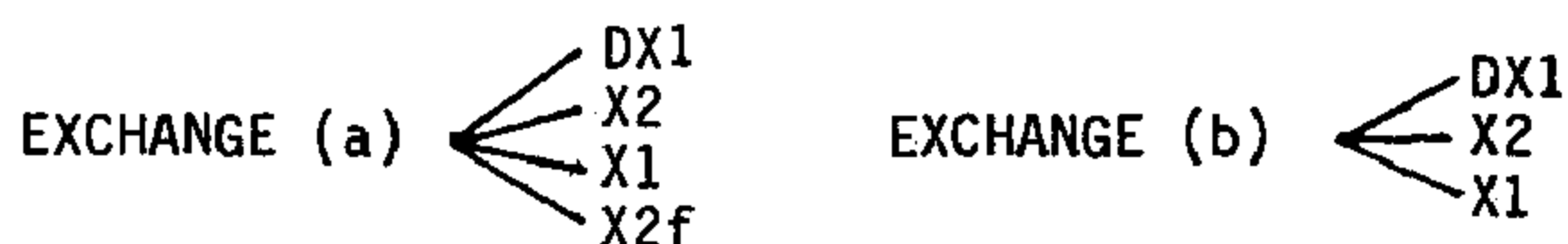
((DX1) X2) X1 (X2f)

This formula is posited to represent the structure of any exchange in both [goods-&-services] and [information] interactions. DX1, X2, X1 and X2f represent functional structural slots in an exchange. Whatever function will fill that slot will be generated by the EXCHANGE system network, which will be presented later in this section. But first, the structure will be discussed in these more general terms.

To interpret this formula one needs to know that parentheses under certain circumstances indicate optionality. Thus, as can be seen, in an exchange at least one slot has to be realized and that slot is filled by function X1. X1 is always obligatory in an exchange. This is the realizational rule number one of exchanges. The second rule is that the other functions are sequentially ordered so that DX1 may only precede X2, which may in turn occur before X1 which may be followed only by X2f, if this function will occur in an exchange at all. Thus the realizational procedure following this rule will give the following inventory of possible linear sequences:

- (a) DX1 + X2 + X1 + X2f
- (b) DX1 + X2 + X1 -
- (c) - X2 + X1 + X2f
- (d) - X2 + X1 -
- (e) - - + X1 + X2f
- (f) - - + X1 -

The same sequences can be represented as an exchange structure where the moves are joined together by a line to form an exchange. For example, the exchanges (a) and (b) are thus represented as:



All of the sequences above can be presented similarly. Rule three is that the above mentioned functions also determine each other's obligatoriness. That is, X1 is obligatory in an exchange, X2 presupposes the function X1 in an exchange, DX1 predicts both X2 and X1 and, finally, X2f again presupposes X1. Rule four dictates that each function can

occur only once in an exchange (for a more detailed discussion, see Berry 1981a:128-129; as will be seen later, certain reformulations will be necessary in order to account for service encounter data). What then are the functions these symbols stand for?

The exchanges are, generally speaking, either knowledge-oriented or action-oriented ('knowledge' must, however, be interpreted rather loosely). The 'X' in the given symbols of functional structural slots above can now be replaced by K for knowledge-oriented exchanges and by A for action-oriented exchanges. But what do the other letters and numbers represent? Let us start with the obligatory move, X1, which is now either K1 or A1. K1 stands for a knowledge-oriented move made by a Primary Knower, the person who "already knows the information" (Berry 1981a:126) and imparts it for the benefit of the other interactant present. The moves are best illustrated by constructed examples before their application to real data. An example of an exchange consisting of a K1-move only is the following: Longman and Batsford are publishing companies. A1, on the other hand stands for an action-oriented move by a Primary Actor, the person who "is actually going to carry out the action" (Berry 1981c:23). An example of an exchange consisting of an A1-move only is the following: Here's a coffee for you.

In both of these exchanges above the Primary Knower/Actor does something for the benefit of the other interactant present. This other interactant is called a Secondary Knower in knowledge-oriented exchanges and a Secondary Actor in action-oriented exchanges. Having benefitted from the Primary Knower's/Actor's move the Secondary Knower/Actor may now feel that he must somehow acknowledge the preceding move. The Secondary Knower has given such an acknowledgement by making a K2f-move, a Secondary Knower Follow-Up; e.g. Longman and Batsford are publishing companies (K1) - oh, I see (K2f). The typical acknowledgement by the Secondary Actor in action-oriented exchanges is some kind of expression of appreciation of the service done, an A2f-move. This stands for a Secondary Actor Follow-Up; e.g. Here's a coffee for you (A1) - Oh thanks very much (A2f). We can now see that X2f stands now either for K2f or A2f. The follow-up moves are not actually demanded

of the Secondary Knower/Actor. That is, they are optional (as indicated by the parentheses in the formula given earlier), but 'politeness rules' in most social situations enforce their realization in an exchange.

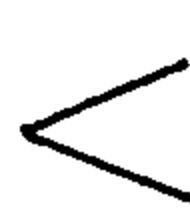
Naturally the Primary Knower/Actor is not continuously the initiator of knowledge/action-exchanges. The Secondary Knower/Actor can just as easily demand information or goods-&-services by initiating an exchange with a K2-move in a knowledge-oriented exchange and with an A2-move in an action-oriented exchange. X2 in the given formula thus stands now either for K2 or A2. With a K2-move the Secondary Knower asks the Primary Knower to impart information for his benefit (Berry 1981a:124), whereas an A2-move is a request to the Primary Actor to do something for the benefit of the Secondary Actor (Berry 1981c:23). An example of a K2-move is the following: What does incrustation mean? (K2) - It's a way of putting jewels and precious metals together (K1). An A2-move can be exemplified by the following exchange: Could you get me a cup of coffee? (A2) - Yeah, sure (A1). As the formula above shows, K2/A2 may itself be optional, but once realized it must be followed by K1/A1.

Finally, DX1 in the formula can now be replaced by either DK1, i.e. a Delayed Primary Knower-move, or DA1, i.e. a Delayed Primary Actor-move. In making a DK1-move the Primary Knower delays "his admission that he knows the information in order to find out whether K2 also knows the information" (Berry 1981a:127). A DK1-move is illustrated in the following exchange: What made Chomsky famous? (DK1) - The Vietnam war? (K2) - His work on transformational grammar (K1). When making a DA1-move the Primary Actor delays the action "to check that the action is acceptable to A2" (Berry 1981c:24). An example of a DA1-move appears in the following example: Shall I get you a cup of coffee (DK1) - Oh, yes please (A2) - Here you are (A1). In an exchange a DK1/DA1-move must be followed by K2/A2 which in turn must be followed by K1/A1, as indicated by the formula given earlier.

Above, the sequences that are possible in both knowledge- and action-exchanges have been stated. What sequence is chosen depends largely on whether the speaker of the first move in an exchange is oriented to A-events or B-events (see Berry 1981a:130, 1981c:26).

This distinction is based on Labov's work (see Labov 1970/72; Labov and Fanshel 1977). In A-events the first speaker has to be a Primary Knower/Actor. Thus the exchanges classified as A-events will start either by having K1/A1-function or DK1/DA1-function. Examples from service encounter data can now be used to illustrate further points concerning exchanges (T1, T2 etc. refer to the text found in the Appendix; 'S' stands for 'server' and 'C' for 'customer'). The following exchanges are A-events:

Example 7. (T3):


 K1 S: it [a small package] should fit into the thirty-five [a jiffy-bag] I think
 K2f C: oh right

Example 8. (T5):

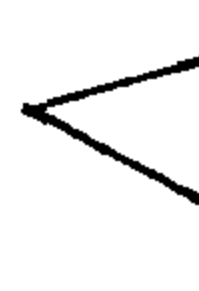
— A1 S: there we are dear [S handing over the packet]

If the first slot is filled by DK1/DA1-function in an A-event the knowledge/action in the exchange is negotiated (i.e. delayed, see above), whereas the non-negotiated A-events are started with K1/A1 filling the first slot. B-events, on the other hand, are started by K2/A2 functions filling the first slot. Labov writes:

Given two parties in a conversation, A and B, we can distinguish as 'A-events' the things that A knows about but B does not; as 'B-events' the things which B knows about but A does not...If A makes a statement about a B-event it is heard as a request for confirmation (Labov 1970/72:301).

As Berry (1981a:130) notes, it is now easy to see why in B-events the first speaker, A, cannot fill the K1/A1-slot. A is not the Primary Knower/Actor. The following example demonstrates a B-event in a knowledge-exchange:

Example 9. (T9):


 K2 C: can you er - with the er advanced purchase you can mix seasons can't you
 K1 S: oh yes
 K1 C: there's a low and high

As can be seen, the customer is requesting the server to confirm her understanding of the situation. A typical example of a B-event in an

action-exchange would be the following:

Example 10. (T3):

 < A2 C: uh can I have a jiffy bag for that please
 A1 S: uhuh [3 secs - S gets the bag]

At this stage all the sequences possible posited on p.203 will not be exemplified. There are two reasons for this: firstly, the units onto which the functions given are mapped need more clarification, and secondly, the exchanges, at least in service encounters, are much more dynamic in nature (see section 5.3.1; cf. dynamics on the genre level, see Chapter IV) than those exchanges of Berry's which have functioned as illustrations of her theoretical discussions (all the examples in Berry (1981a) are constructed modifications of a single 'natural' exchange).

Nothing has yet been said about the EXCHANGE system network that generates those functions filling the slots in the posited structural formula. Berry (1981a:134, 1981c:29) presents networks which would generate the functions as they have so far been presented. However, her system networks need some modifications in order to account for some additional phenomena in social interaction. One such modification to action-oriented exchanges has been suggested by Martin (in prep.:37). As a result of his work on speech function and adjacency pairs Martin has found that Berry's system needs to be expanded to cover what is taking place in the following (constructed) example of his:

Example 11. (Martin, in prep.:37):

 < DA1 A: shall I wrap it for you
 A2 B: yes do
 A1 A: okay
 A2f B: thanks
 Alf A: no worries

The new function is the last one, Alf or Primary Actor Follow-Up. It functions as an acknowledgement of the Secondary Actor's show of appreciation of the Primary Actor's action, done for the Secondary Actor's benefit. Alf is always an optional element in the structural formula and is sequenced after A2f.

It will now be suggested that a similar adjustment has to be made

to the knowledge-exchanges. There is enough evidence, as will be shown below, that K2f functions can in knowledge-exchanges be followed by a slot taking K1f, Primary Knower Follow-Up-function. This function can be contrasted to 'feedback on feedback' phenomenon discussed elsewhere (see Ventola 1980:133) in connection with the genre of casual conversations. There 'feedback on feedback', or K1f following K2f, is often used to enforce a speaker-change (either consciously or unconsciously) in an exchange. For example, in the following exchange Primary Knower A, 'forces' B to become the next Primary Knower by her yeah. There is no way that this yeah could be interpreted as the beginning of a new exchange.

Example 12.(Ventola 1979:288):

	K1	A: Oh, so that sounds good [getting three
		afternoons off for study]
	K2F	B: yeah
	K1f	A: yeah
	K1	B: a bit rushed...sort of etc.

Although the K1f function does not seem to occur frequently in service encounters (perhaps because turns are fairly routine) it does occur, as the example below will show. Therefore it has to be accounted for in the system network.

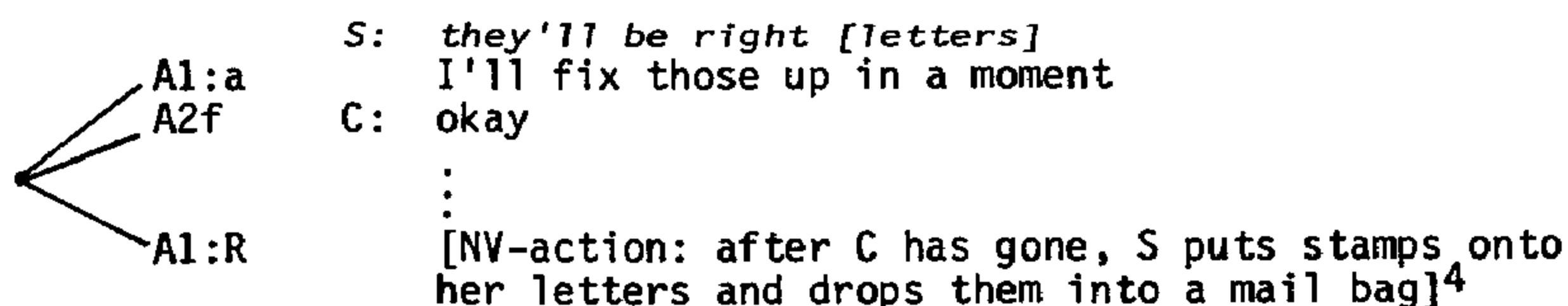
Example 13.(T9):

		C: could you give us...the <u>respective</u> charges please
		S: <u>the fares</u>
		C: yes
		[17 secs - S goes to get some brochures]
	K1	C: that'd be return
	K2f	S: yeah
	K1f	C: yeah
		[4 secs - S is looking for the information in the brochures]
		S: right the...train would be etc.

In the example above, C must be considered Primary Knower for that'd be return, since he is the one who knows what kind of a ticket he wants. What function K1f following K2f has here is obscure. More examples need to be collected and systematically analyzed in order to establish the exact nature of the function of this slot in the knowledge-exchanges.

Before the EXCHANGE STRUCTURE network will be presented one further phenomenon, found at least in service encounters but most likely in many other genres involving face-to-face interaction as well, needs to be discussed. In action-exchanges the server often commits himself verbally before actually performing the non-verbal (NV) action. Berry (1981c:25) makes a distinction between A1:Assent (A1:A) and A1:React (A1:R), where the former is the verbal commitment to performing the action and the latter is the actual NV carrying out of the action.³ When immediate action takes place, A1:A is optional and A1:R is always obligatory. But there are occasions where the realization of A1:R is not possible within the bounds of the same encounter. Let us take an imaginary example. A customer has requested goods which are not available at the store at present, but since the Server knows that the goods will arrive the following day, he will make a commitment of getting the goods and delivering the goods to C's home. The interaction will proceed as if the goods had been exchanged. C pays for the goods and leaves. Here A1:A must be considered a sufficient element to complete the action-exchange, although A1:R does not take place in the encounter. A1:A thus replaces A1:R as an element, if the encounter involves the features [action: postponed]. This distinction of [immediate] and [postponed] action needs to be accounted for in the EXCHANGE system network as well. An example from the data will roughly illustrate what is meant here:

Example 14. (T1):



It is now possible to incorporate these adjustments into the EXCHANGE system network. This network is presented in Fig. 24 below (p.210). System 1 is the choice between initiating or not-initiating an exchange. System 2 differentiates those exchanges which are oriented only to the speaker himself from those oriented to other participants. System 3 differentiates between exchanges used to

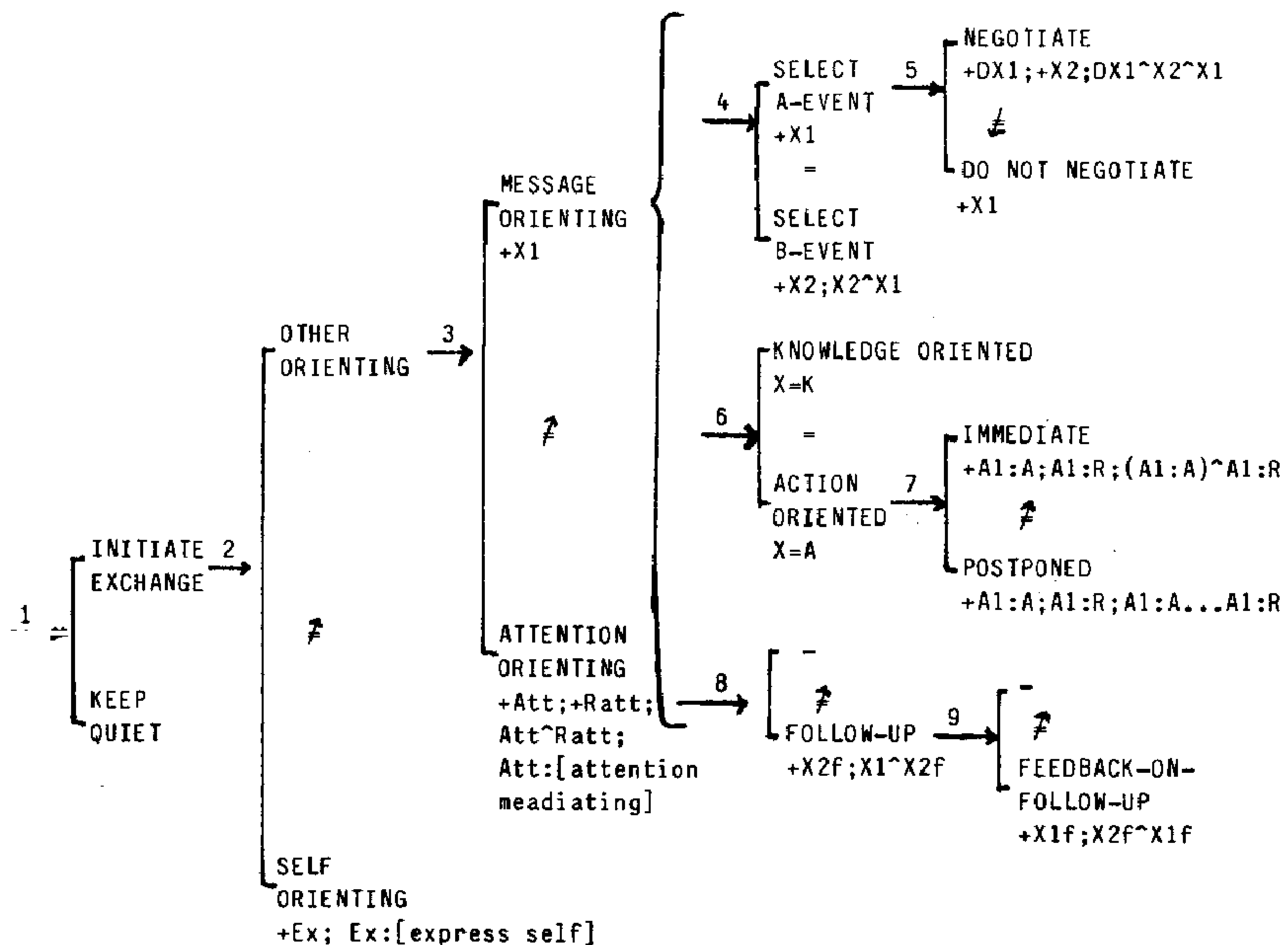
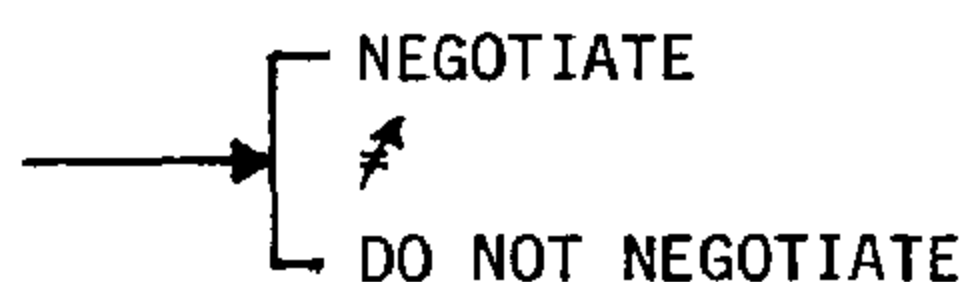


Fig. 24. EXCHANGE System Network (modified from Berry 1981a:134, 1981c: 29; Martin in prep.:37,52; $\neq$, $\neq$ and $=$ indicate inherent probabilities in the systems).

transmit messages. System 4 allows the exchange initiator to orient himself to A-events or B-events, as discussed above. System 5 makes a distinction between negotiating exchanges (thus delaying the knowledge/action) and non-negotiated exchanges. System 6 distinguishes knowledge- and action-oriented exchanges from one another. System 7 is concerned only with the action-exchanges and makes a distinction between the action that will be carried out by a Primary Actor immediately and the action that will be postponed to be carried out later (in a minute, next day, etc.). In those exchanges where the action follows immediately, the Primary Actor may or may not present an assent for action, i.e. a verbal commitment to carry out the action. If, on the other hand, the action is postponed (as indicated by the three dots '...') such an assent or commitment is obligatory and is seen to be realizing a well-formed exchange in spite of the fact that the actual action will

be carried out in the future. System 8 allows the Knower/Actor to make an optional follow-up move after X1. System 9 allows the Primary Knower/Actor to respond to the Secondary Knower's/Actor's follow-up.

The symbols '=', '~~≠~~' and '~~≠~~', written between the features in a system, indicate inherent probabilities of the systems. Martin (in prep.:51-52) adds the probability statements to Berry's original systems and to the system that generates the Alf-move in the [action-oriented] exchanges. Here probabilities are added onto the systems developed since Martin's presentation. The discussion on probabilities originates from Halliday but has been developed further by Plum (1981) and Martin (1983d). How the probability statements should be interpreted here is as follows. Firstly, systems may be equiprobable (=). That is, for example in System 4 it is as likely that the feature [select A-event] will be selected as that the feature [select B-event] will be chosen. Secondly, systems may be skewed (≠), i.e. one of the features will more likely be selected. For example, in System 5 the arrow shows that the system is skewed so that the feature [do not negotiate] is favoured. The weighting of probabilities in the system network Fig. 24 presents 'genre-neutral' and a 'register-neutral' probabilities. In analyzing data, however, the genres and the registers to which texts belong to may cause some reweighting of probabilities, i.e. taking into consideration of contextual matters may change the probabilities in systems. For example, in the genre of quiz-shows it is very likely that System 5 will be reweighted to favour the selection of [negotiate]:



That is to say, it is likely that the majority of the exchanges following one another in a quiz-show will have the $DK1 \wedge K2 \wedge K1$ -structure rather than the $K1$ -structure.

This section on exchange systems and structures has perhaps appeared to be somewhat isolated from the discussion on speech acts and their functions in the first section. The next subsection will now attempt to bring together aspects of exchanges and speech functions which have previously been treated separately.

5.2.2 Rank: Exchange and Move

Above, in the discussion on SPEECH FUNCTION systems, Martin's (1981) suggestion that the unit that is assigned a speech function class is a unit selecting independently for MOOD was mentioned. It can be seen from this that Martin constrains the speech function classification grammatically. In the discussion on exchanges little attention has so far been paid to what unit it is that fills the functional structural slot in an exchange. As Berry has been the initiator of the discussion on exchanges in its present form, it is worthwhile to consider first what her reflections on this question are.

Berry (1981b) seems to be suggesting a one-level analysis where a rank scale of exchange, move, sentence, clause etc. would apply (Berry 1981b:62). She appears to suggest that, as far as analyzing discourse in exchanges is concerned, there is no reason to establish three different levels of analysis, syntax, semantics and pragmatics (although she does admit that these levels may be needed for separating and explaining other phenomena). The grammatical level, according to her, is quite capable of also handling such units of discourse as exchanges:

Since the rules which appear to be necessary to account for the facts bear a marked resemblance to syntactic phrase structure rules, to syntactic transformational rules, to rules relating to semantic well-formedness conditions, to pragmatic rules, the simplest method would seem to be just to extend syntax, semantics and pragmatics upwards to cover the exchange as well as the sentence. In the absence of compelling arguments to the contrary, then, I am recommending that the exchange rather than the sentence be regarded as the highest unit of syntax, semantics and pragmatics. I cannot see that there are any grounds for assuming a cut-off point at the sentence from the point of view of any of these three levels of analysis (Berry 1981b:61; her emphasis).

This kind of one-level analysis is challenged by Martin's (in prep.:38) more recent approach, where he incorporates Berry's work into his own previous work on SPEECH FUNCTION. He acknowledges that exchange systems are needed to constrain the sequencing of speech acts. But he still maintains that, in order to solve the discrepancy between

form and function, stratification of lexicogrammatical and discourse strata are needed. His position, then, is that CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE on the discourse stratum

consists of two discourse systems at exchange and move rank, with exchange features realized through SPEECH FUNCTION options which are in turn realized in lexicogrammar (Martin in prep.:38).

This view will also be adopted in this study. If it were not adopted the incongruence between the function of a speech act and its lexicogrammatical form could not be solved. This is illustrated by two exchanges from the data. The first exchange consists of a K2-move followed by a K1-move: C: with the er advanced purchase you can mix seasons can't you - S: oh yes (Text 10). The second exchange is an exchange of an A2-move followed by an A1:A-move and an A1:R move: C: uh can I have a jiffy bag for that please - S: uhuh + non-verbal action (Text 3). What is lexicogrammatically realized by a declarative MOOD choice functions as a question and what is lexicogrammatically realized by an interrogative MOOD choice functions as a command. The way in which these incongruences are solved by stratification will be illustrated below by Figures 25 and 26 respectively (p.214). The systemic description follows that of Halliday (in press a).

The exchange analyzed below is a knowledge-exchange and it has two functional slots in it, K2 and K1, at the rank of exchange. These are realized by two moves, namely a question and a response to question-moves. The q-move has an incongruent (cf. Table 6) function in the grammar, the sequence of Subject + Finite verb, the choice of declarative MOOD. The rsq-move is realized in grammar congruently (see Table 7) by an elliptical declarative sentence. The 'etc.' stands for the analyses of the other ranks of the lexicogrammar.

The exchange below is an action-exchange which has three functional slots of A2, A1:A and A1:R. The A2-function is realized by a command-move, as indicated by the recognition criterion of a lexical item please. This c is realized in grammar incongruently by an interrogative MOOD choice instead of a congruent imperative MOOD choice (see Table 7).

C: with er advanced purchase you can mix seasons can't you - S: oh yes (T 10)

DISCOURSE STRATUM

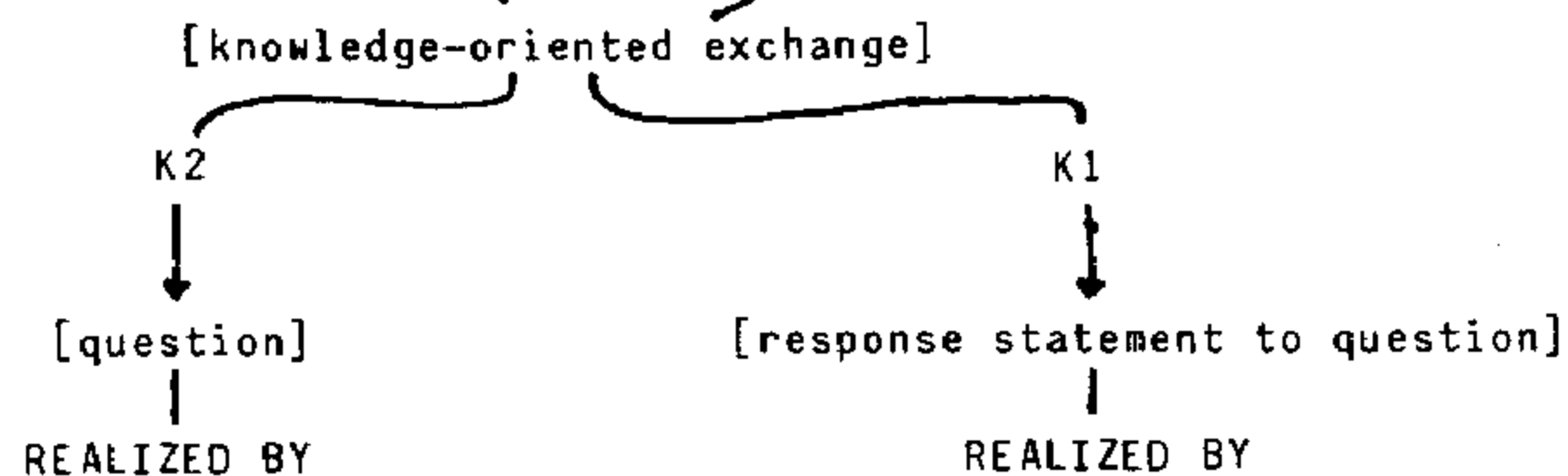
Rank - EXCHANGE

class:

Function:

Rank - MOVE

class:



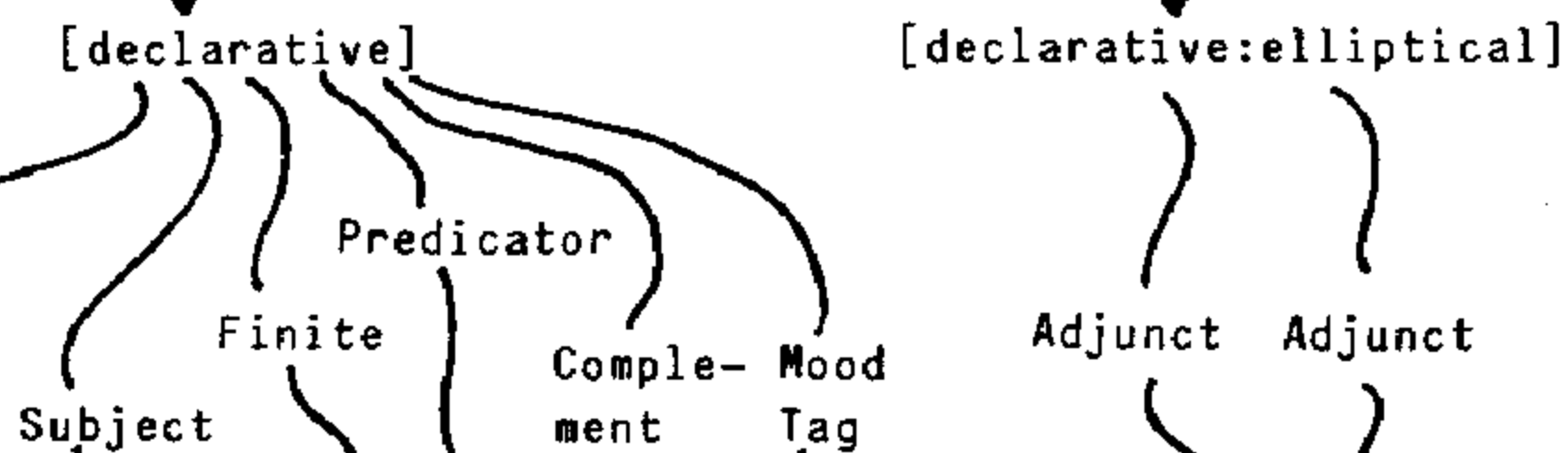
LEXICOGRAMMAR

Rank - CLAUSE

class:

Function:
etc.

Adjunct



C: with er advanced purchase you can mix seasons can't you - S: oh yes

Fig. 25. A Stratified Analysis of a Knowledge-Oriented Exchange:
K2 + K1.

C: uh can I have a jiffy bag for that please - S: uhuh + NV-action (T3)

DISCOURSE STRATUM

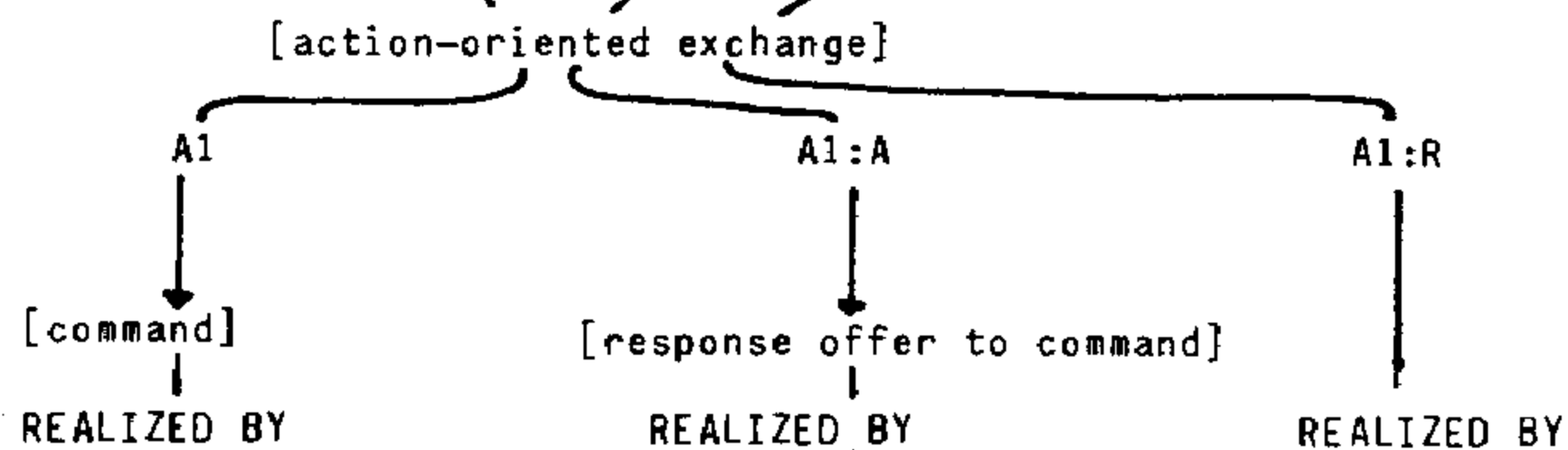
Rank - EXCHANGE

class:

Function:

Rank - MOVE

class:



LEXICOGRAMMAR

Rank - CLAUSE

Class:

Function:
etc.

Finite

Predicate

Adjunct

Subject

Complement

Adjunct

C: uh can I have a jiffy bag for that please - S: uhuh + NV-action

The A1:A-function is a commitment to perform the action requested and is realized by a response offer to command-move which in turn is realized by another semiotic system, paralinguistic. Paralinguistic is seen to be in between language and non-linguistic semiotic systems. Since so many of the paralinguistic phenomena have come to acquire a definite linguistic form and meaning, they will in this study be seen to be part of the system of SPEECH FUNCTION in the sense that speech functions can be assigned to them (pure hesitation phenomena, like uh above, can be excluded). The A1:R-function, on the other hand, will not be seen as playing such a part in the speech function assignment. Thus, this function is seen to be realized directly by the non-linguistic semiotics.

In setting up the rank of exchange and move Martin (in prep.) still considers the unit for these functional slots which are being realized through language to be a unit selecting independently for MOOD (his potential ellipsis criterion has, however, been considerably relaxed in the analyses he presents, see Martin (in prep.)). Whether this one-to-one relationship of units on the ranks of exchange and move exists in service encounter data will be discussed later in this chapter (see section 5.3.2).

5.3 Problematic Issues in CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE

Now that the stratified view on conversational structure and the systems and the likely structure realizations have been explored, it would be logical to take the next step to the actual analyses of service encounter texts. However, it does not take long before the analyst will notice that the tools that he has been given by the system networks of exchange and speech function present too synoptic a view (cf. Chapter IV). The actual conversation in service encounters is much more dynamic in nature. Thus, before the hypotheses about conversational structure reflecting the schematic structure of the service encounter texts in the collected data can be tested, it is necessary to discuss some of the most important of these further issues concerning conversational structure.

5.3.1 Intervening Exchanges - Dynamics of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE

It has so far been explained why moves do not always seem to occur in pairs. For example, this is the case when the K1-function is realized by a statement which is realized by a clause. There need not necessarily be any K2f-function (realized by an acknowledge statement-move) following. But the problem is not always that the move does not have a pair part. Below some examples of exchanges will be given where the initiating moves seem to have a pair part, but something else has intervened between the first part and the second part. In other words, the moves that are typically expected to be adjacent are not adjacent (Martin in prep.:39). How can such intervening phenomena as presented in the following examples on the right be accounted for?

Example 15.(T10):

K1	S:	children go at half of this fare
cf	C:	half of the excursion <u>fare</u>
rcf	S:	<u>half</u> of the excursion fare
K2	C:	is that applicable to the advance purchase one too ↗

Example 16.(T10):

K1	S:	the very cheapest fare is an advanced purchase airfare...which is the one which laid out here
cfrq	C:	here ↗ [C looks at the brochure that S had put in front of her]
rcfrq	S:	yes...
K1		it depends when you're going etc.

Example 17.(additional data - TA):

K1	S:	say if you're looking at fourteen <u>days</u>
bch	C:	<u>hm</u>
K1	S:	at Sanyor Beach
bch	C:	yes
		[2 secs - S's leafing through the brochures]
K1	S:	depending on which departure you wanted
bch	C:	hm
		[4 secs - S keeps turning the pages over]
A2	S:	so all you have to do
check		fourteen days right ↗
rcheck	C:	uhm
	S:	just come across to the particular place you'd like to stay at...etc.

Example 18.(T11):

K2	S:	what's your phone at home here in Canberra
ch	C:	I haven't got one
K2	S:	got an address ↗
K1	C:	65...Lindfield St.

Example 19.(T11):

K2	C:	what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow
cf	S:	tomorrow...
clfy		er morning or afternoon now ↗
rclyf	C:	uh midmorning early afternoon
K1	S:	uh well you've got a 9:30 and 10:15...
		and a 10:55...and nothing then until 3:40
		tomorrow

Martin (in press, in prep.) discusses such intervening phenomena under two headings SUSPENDING and ABORTING. In Martin (1981a) the same phenomena are accounted in the SPEECH FUNCTION network with the feature [content confirming] with adjacency pair realizations: confirmation (cf) - response to confirmation (rcf) and confirmation request (cfrq) - response to confirmation request (rcfrq). In Martin (in prep.), however, this feature and these realizations are treated as being separate systems from the exchange systems. It would be too complicated to wire these dynamic features of social interaction into the EXCHANGE system network. This is because they may eventually occur at any of the exchange slots. Besides, Martin's present view is that these ABORTING and SUSPENDING systems should be treated as part of the dynamics of exchanges and should therefore be represented in a flowchart form (Martin in press, personal communication; here Martin has been influenced by the genre dynamics). A beginning of the dynamic representation of exchange systems has been elaborated by Martin (in press). His presentation involves the dynamic representation of the selections at the DK1 slot, but due to limitations of space it cannot be discussed here.

In this study Martin's distinction between SUSPENDING and ABORTING functions for intervening sequences within an exchange will be maintained. However, the moves realizing these functions will be increased in number. As the purpose of the discussion is to offer the analyst further tools to enable the description of the exchanges in

the data rather than to present a systematic account of the intervening phenomena, the position of these systems in the theory as well as the question of their dynamics will not be pursued here. For the present purpose it will simply be enough to note that these phenomena are considered part of the dynamic representation of exchanges, but its detailed description must wait until more work can be carried out in this area.

Let us start with SUSPENDING moves. These moves, according to Martin (in prep.:40), are used as "a kind of a tracking device - they focus on the experiential content of a preceding move and check to make sure it has been heard correctly". In other words, the suspending moves concentrate on checking and giving assurance about the transmission of knowledge/action, i.e. whether or not the communication channel is working, rather than being concerned with knowledge/action itself. Below four types of suspending phenomena, giving confirmation, back-channelling, requesting confirmation and checking, will be recognized. All of these types are exemplified above.

Firstly, an exchange may be suspended for a while to give a participant an opportunity to tell his partner that he has heard correctly the message sent by the partner. This is done by repeating the vital part of the message. Example 15 is an illustration of this phenomenon of giving confirmation. C's half of the excursion fare is a confirmation-move (cf) and S's half of the excursion fare is a response to confirmation-move (rcf). Usually both cf and rcf are realized by a falling tone (tone 1, see Halliday 1967, 1970).

One could at this point question the necessity of establishing cf and rcf-moves. Could these moves not be interpreted as K2f and K1f, as presented earlier? Could they not function in exactly the same way as yeah - yeah in Example 13, p.208. The answer is that something of the previous move is not repeated just for the fun of it. The cf-move expresses the fact that the message has been transmitted and understood. It offers another participant a chance to correct the message of the preceding move. K2f does not allow this. For example, if C's cf had been half of the advanced purchase fare C would be telling S that this is her understanding of the preceding this fare. S now still has the opportunity to remedy the transmission of

information by challenging C's cf-move with no and then going on to give the right information by repeating his stand half of the excursion fare (see challenges and repetitions as ABORTING moves below). K2f after K1 indicates that there is no doubt about K1. The move has been accepted and heard. A formal criterion for distinguishing the two, then, is that cf-moves necessarily repeat the focal point of the preceding move whereas K2f moves are realized by a fairly small set of items such as yeah, right, fine etc.

Secondly, in addition to these 'content confirming' confirmations there is another dynamic phenomenon whose function is to give assurance to the speaker that his message is being received. This phenomenon is here called back-channelling (bch), following Duncan (1974). An example of back-channelling is given in Example 17, where hm, yes and hm are considered to be back-channelling moves. Usually bch-moves do not form pairs. They are realized paralinguistically or by a very small set of items, typically by yes or yeah. They typically occur either simultaneously with the message, like the first hm in Example 3, or within the speaker's 'breathing slots' while the speaker is still constructing his message. As can be seen in the mentioned example, the units after (or with) which bch-moves appear never select independently for MOOD. The function of bch-moves is to inform the speaker that the message has been received so far. There is no doubt about the reception of the information transmitted by the focal point of the message and thus the speaker can go on with the construction of his message.

Example 16 illustrates a third kind of suspending function, namely requesting confirmation. C's here has the function of inquiring whether C's understanding of the point where the information lies is the same as S's. C's confirmation request (cfrq) is responded to by S's response to confirmation request (rcfrq) 'yes'. Similarly to the cf-move, the cfrq-move repeats the focal information of the preceding move, but this time the tone is rising (tone 2) and thus indicates that confirmation is being demanded rather than being given.

In addition to back-channelling, Example 17 offers an illustration of the fourth type of suspending function, the function of checking. Here, because S's message is so long, or rather takes so long to

construct, S becomes conscious of the fact that C might have already forgotten an important piece of information given earlier. Therefore S, who is a Primary Knower, has to check whether this information is still stored in C's memory. If it is, the construction of the message can go on. Thus fourteen days right is a check (check) and uhm is a response to a check (rcheck).

Suspending moves can be summarized in the form of a table:

FUNCTION		Initiating:	Responding:
SUSPENDING	giving	cf	rcf
		bch	-
	demanding	cfrq	rcfrq
		check	rcheck

Table 8. Suspending Moves.

The next dynamic system involves ABORTING moves. According to Martin (in prep.:40), these moves function "as a kind of a challenge - they focus on the interpersonal content of a preceding move and attack its validity". Example 18 is an example of a challenge (ch). By challenging S's K2 move with I haven't got one, C questions the validity of S's inquiry. The exchange is stranded and S quickly has to adopt an alternative strategy. Challenges often have second pair parts. For example in Example 18 above, after C's challenge the S could have simply responded to the challenge by oh, i.e. a response to challenge (rch). But ch-move can be followed also by other types of moves. Consider for example the following exchange:

Example 20.(T2):

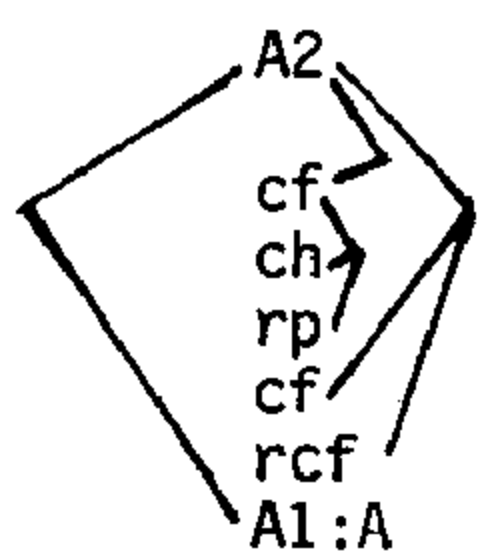
A1:A
 ch → S: it'll fit in the twenty [a tape and a jiffy-bag]
 - K1 C: no
 it's it's a bigger tape than that

By starting an exchange on his own, after challenging the exchange initiated by S (the offer of a bag), C explains the reason why he had to challenge S's move. Such a following move is considered a separate exchange from the first challenged exchange. However, naturally, as far as the text is considered, it has, of course, very much to do with

the preceding exchanges. This fact will be captured, as will be seen in Chapters VI and VII, with the analyses of LEXICAL COHESION (fit - big) and REFERENCE (it - it - a bigger tape; the twenty - that). Martin (in prep.) prefers to conflate the functions of ch and K1 in similar exchanges. Such a solution is not followed here, as the two units are considered to be separate moves.

Challenging takes also place in the following exchange:

Example 21.(additional data - P0):

	S: any any any parcel sent to London by airmail register uh insure them C: register them S: no insure them C: and insure them S: yeah C: okay

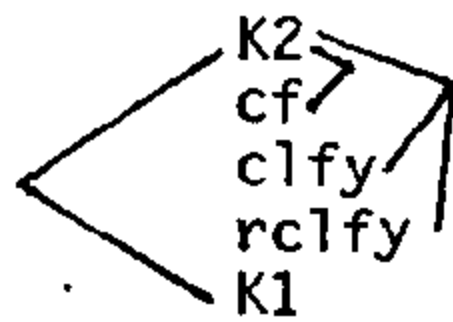
Here what S's challenge no is challenging is C's cf: register them. The challenge is caused by S's own confusion. What follows the ch-move is then a replay of the correct focal point of A2, a repetition (rp): insure them. Once the exchange is brought back onto the right track C can reconfirm the A2-move with a cf-move: and insure them, to which S responds with rcf (yeah). Only then can C commit herself to doing the action.

What can follow an aborting challenge can be summarized as follows:

ABORTING: ch ^ $\begin{cases} \text{rch} \\ \text{knowledge/action move} \\ \text{rp} \end{cases}$

In other words, a challenge-move can be followed by a response to challenge (e.g. oh), a K1- or A1-move, leading to a new exchange, and finally by a repetition, which repeats the focal point of the challenged knowledge/action move.

In addition to SUSPENDING and ABORTING intervening moves it is necessary to distinguish one further intervention whose function is ELUCIDATING the preceding exchanges. Example 19, reproduced below, will serve as an illustration here.

Example 19. (T11):

C: what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow
 S: tomorrow...
 er morning or afternoon now?
 C: uh midmorning early afternoon
 S: uh well you've got a 9:30 and 10:15...
 and a 10:55...and nothing then until 3:40
 tomorrow

Here C presents what he thinks is a completely acceptable and a sufficient move, K2. The addressee, S, first confirms the message by a cf-move. But S cannot immediately provide a Compliance to C's Need. From S's point of view C's message was deficient. As there are so many daily flights between Canberra and Sydney customers are expected to specify more precisely the part of the day when they want to fly. C has not done so. Therefore the perspectives of the interactants are not in harmony. To solve this disharmony S needs some elucidatory information. S elicits this additional information by a clarification-move (clfy): morning or afternoon now?. C provides the needed information by making a response to clarification-move (rclfy): uh mid-morning early afternoon. Now S can proceed to listing the flights available. Without such elucidatory moves the exchange could not have proceeded. Elsewhere similar exchanges, which here are treated as realizations of the dynamic systems, have been considered to be either 'embedded' (Goffman 1976; Merritt 1976) or 'bound' (Berry 1981a). Regarding such systems as the dynamic aspect of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE on the discourse stratum enables one, however, to compare the exchange dynamics with dynamics on other strata and on other planes (cf. genre dynamics in Chapter IV).

The consideration of SUSPENDING, ABORTING and ELUCIDATING exchanges is necessary if one is to give an account of what is actually happening in the exchanges in the service encounter texts collected. No doubt such dynamic systems function in different kinds of genres as well. Our view of exchange systems is in general too synoptic. We tend to treat texts only as products rather than to consider them as being processes as well (Martin in press). Studies of discourse will have to balance both aspects if meaningful accounts of what is actually going on in texts are to be given. Although the account of these dynamic systems provided here has of necessity been short, the systems

as they have been presented above will enable analysts to account for the dynamic aspects of discourse in service encounter texts. Ultimately, however, the systems of SUSPENDING, ABORTING and ELUCIDATING must be incorporated into the flowchart representation of the exchange dynamics. As mentioned earlier, the beginning of such a representation has been elaborated by Martin (in press). Testing whether his representation covers all the dynamics found in the service encounter data of this study is naturally seen to be necessary. But as his flowchart only covers the dynamics of the DK1-move, which is extremely rare in service encounters such an empirical comparison is not possible at this present stage.

5.3.2 What Fills the Structural Slot in an Exchange

So far it has been established what the functional structural slots in an exchange are and how they are sequenced. The picture emerging from Berry's and Martin's frameworks and their further considerations might give the impression that deciding what an exchange is in a piece of recorded data is a fairly simple matter. Naturally in some cases it indeed is so, for example in an exchange such as the one below:

Example 22.(T5):

$\begin{matrix} < K2 = q = \text{polar-interr.} & C: \text{how much is it [a mobile]} \\ < K1 = \text{rsq} = \text{elliptical decl.} & S: \text{four fifty} \end{matrix}$

Following Berry's discussion, here is an example of an exchange which consists of two speaking turns, one by C and one by S. What C says would fill the slot K2, as C is the Secondary Knower. What S says would fill the slot K1, as S is the Primary Knower and S's K1 is elliptical from K2. Martin's speech function analysis would add to this that the exchange consists of two moves: q, realized by a clause that has selected for polar-interrogative MOOD, and rsq, realized by an elliptical declarative MOOD as defined by the potential ellipsis criterion and by the criterion that a unit must select independently for MOOD (see Table 7). In all of the examples in Berry's work (see Berry 1981a, 1981b, 1981c) a speaking turn seems to equal a structural slot which equals a single clause. The same applies also to many of Martin's examples (see Martin 1981a, in press, in prep.). But looking

at the analyses that are provided in Martin (in prep.) it is obvious that a turn does not equal a slot. An exchange boundary may divide the speaker's turn into two (or more) functional slots or moves. An example of his analysis is provided below:

Example 23. (Martin in prep.:46-47):

$\swarrow$ K2 = q = p-interr. $\searrow$ K1 = rsq = decl. 1 — K1 = s = decl. = 2	B: Have you heard of Baron Munch- hausen A: No, I've never heard about him It's the first time I've heard of him

It can be seen that A's turn is considered to be divided into two slots, the first of which is a potentially elliptical clause (although ellipsis has not been applied) derived from the preceding move K2. Therefore it is rsq to the preceding q. The second slot, on the other hand, is seen to be a separate exchange on its own, choosing independently for MOOD. Thus it is not seen to be selecting for the feature [responding to] (see Fig. 22). Therefore it is not part of what in layman's terms would be an answer to B's turn. Both clauses in A's turn are seen as units selecting independently for MOOD and as being separate slots at the exchange rank. It seems then correct to say that Martin assumes a one-to-one relationship, not between the turn and a slot, but between the slot and the unit selecting independently for MOOD, which he defines as "a clause realising a bundle of features generated by the [MOOD] network in a single derivation" (Martin 1981a: 57).

But is it always clear what a single derivation means? Obviously Martin does not consider a rankshifted clause to be choosing independently for MOOD. In the example given above, the rankshifted clause I've heard of them is considered to be a Qualifier (see Halliday in press a) of the first time in the clause It's the first time I've heard of them. What, then, is to be done with clauses in a clause complex? Following Halliday (in press a), a clause complex is defined as a modifying relationship between clauses. This modifying relationship has two manifestations: hypotaxis and parataxis. In a hypotactic clause complex one of the clauses is dominant (α) and the others are dependent on it (β). Martin does not seem to be considering the

hypotactic clauses to be choosing independently for MOOD either. He has coded Maybe I'll get something else while I'm here, where the hypotactic structure is $\alpha \wedge \beta$, as K1 = s = declarative (see Martin in prep.:46-47).

How, then, are paratactic clause complexes to be treated? Do paratactic clauses choose only once as a clause complex for MOOD or do the clauses in a paratactic clause complex choose independently for MOOD? A paratactic clause complex is a relationship between clauses where the initiating clause (1) has an equal relationship to the continuing clause (2) (see Halliday in press a; note that in parataxis the structure is $1 \wedge 2$ whereas in hypotaxis it is $\alpha \cdot \beta$, i.e. $\alpha + \beta$ or $\beta + \alpha$). Following Halliday (in press a), the whole of A's turn in Example 23 can be interpreted as a clause complex where the second clause is an elaboration of the first, notationally $1 = 2$. If this interpretation is accepted, then it must be concluded that Martin considers clauses in paratactic clause complexes to be choosing independently for MOOD, since the two clauses in A's turn are coded separately for K1 each.

The practice of breaking up a paratactic clause complex in a speaker turn into separate independent exchanges leads to a very fragmentary analysis. This can easily be illustrated by an extract from the service encounter data:

Example 24.(T11):

Exchange 1	K2 = q = p-interr.	C: are there buses that go to Sydney uh...about midday
	K1 = rsq = ell. decl.	S: no
2	K1 = s = decl.	there's only Ansett 'n Pioneer
3	K1 = s = decl.	they have the uh main...
4	K1 = s = decl.	control they are the only ones
	K1 = s = decl.	that operate...and that section
5		they leave at 7:30 in the morning and at 5:30 in the afternoon
	K2f = paralg.	C: uhuh

The analysis of the text extract above has been conducted following the principle that each clause which selects independently for MOOD is separated out into a functional exchange slot. This analysis gives us five exchanges, two of which are one-move exchanges (2, 3 and 4).

No attention has been paid to the possible clause complex relationships existing between the clauses in S's turn. As can be seen, the overall picture of the analysis is fragmentary. Every native speaker, however, feels that analyzing this extract as an exchange of K2+K1+K2f would seem to correspond more closely to their intuitions. The four other K1-moves after S's no, the first K1-move, are closely related to C's K2. All five K1s in S's turn seem to be characterized in layman's terms as an answer to a question (similarly to the K1s in A's turn in Martin's own example, Example 23). In exchange terms the relationship between C's turn and S's turn seems to be that of K2+K1. Moreover, in Example 24 C's which, K2f, seems to be referring to the whole of S's turn rather than just to the last clause. It appears then that following Martin's principle of filling the slot in the exchange structure by a unit that chooses independently for MOOD would result in the practice of chopping up the text into too many unrelated units.

A further example which illustrates this fragmentary analysis is provided below:

Example 25.(additional data - TA):

1	K2 = q ≠ p-interr.	C: are there any of those that you'd ...recommend yourself?
	K1 = rsq = ell. decl.	S: well all three of them
2	K1 = s = decl.	we never give out any companies that we don't recommend
	bch = plg.	C: uhm
3	K1 = s = decl.	S: but Newmans're very good...
4	K1 = s = decl.	the Maori Trek've apparently excellent trips
	bch = plg.	C: uhm
	cf = minor	Maori Trek
	rcf = plg.	S: uhm
5	K1 = Fg = (s) = (decl.)	and Centralian it was-
6	K1 = s = decl.	well I hear those are quite good
7	K1 = s = decl.	C: so that'd be sort of the first preference

The extract above has been analyzed according to the principles set out by Martin for distinguishing slots and the units and their functions. What has been said about the dynamic systems in the previous section has also been included in the analysis. This results in seven exchanges for the extract, four of which are considered to be one-slot exchanges consisting of K1 alone. The first exchange consists of K2

and K1. Strictly speaking, Martin's potential ellipsis criterion would not even allow well all three of them to form an exchange with the preceding K2-move, since it is not what one would expect it to be according to the potential ellipsis criterion, i.e. either yes there are or yes there are some that I'd recommend myself. In C's turn any can in fact be interpreted as coding the same meaning as which and thus C's turn could be read as which of these would you recommend yourself. If this reading of C's turn is allowed, then S's K1 which follows can be considered as a rsq answering to a wh-q. But somehow the coding must show this incongruence between the speech function and the MOOD realization. Above such incongruence has been indicated by # and this principle will be followed throughout the study. Further, if Martin's example is followed, the second clause in S's turn must be considered as a separate exchange from the first K1, although not on its own, as it is followed by a back-channelling move by C. The bch-move is not coded for speech function, but is seen to be realized directly by the semiotic system of paralanguage (plg). The third exchange is a one-slot exchange, K1-move on its own. The fourth exchange has more dynamics in it. Confirmations are not coded for speech function either. What follows then is a fragment which possibly could have been a one-slot exchange. Such fragments are coded in this study separately from the following units (although they often are some kind of reformulation), because they sometimes are being responded to, confirmed, challenged, etc. in spite of their truncated form. Fragments will from here onwards be coded as K1-Fg and will also be coded for speech function and MOOD if at all possible, but such class labels are given in parentheses for fragments. The last clause in the extract is again a one-slot exchange consisting only of a slot with the K1-function.

The analysis above faces a similar problem to the analysis of Example 24 discussed earlier. The criteria presented by Martin allow only two of the first clauses in the extract to be coded as K2+K1, and even to do this the potential ellipsis criterion has to be relaxed. But one may ask: does the recommending end with the first K1? Again, intuitively it is felt that all of S's turns, except the rcf-move, in fact do the recommending. Is it possible that what begins with C's

question and finishes before her summing up could indeed be considered as a single exchange having a structure not unlike that of K2 + K1?

Both Berry's and Martin's exchange systems and structures seem to have been set up by taking a very synoptic view on social interaction (see Chapter IV). But social interaction is, on the contrary, very dynamic in nature, as can be seen from the following extract:

Example 26. (T10):

C: now...what happens to children under what is it three years or something (I don't know)
S: uh no it's -
C: this is a baby of about er -
S: right
C: uh well he'll probably be about six months... eight and a half months
S: it depends -
zero to two years-
two years and over are half fare
C: right er -
S: so zero to two's ten percent of the excursion air fare
C: ten percent of the excursion
S: yes
so you'd be looking at 160
C: right
S: or whatever it was we worked out
C: okay
fine

Are Berry's and Martin's exchange and speech function systems going to be able to account for the fact that the initiating K2 by C, now...what happens to children etc., will eventually be responded to to C's satisfaction? Are their accounts going to be able to show that the bare bones of this extract can be summarized synoptically with an exchange of the following kind?

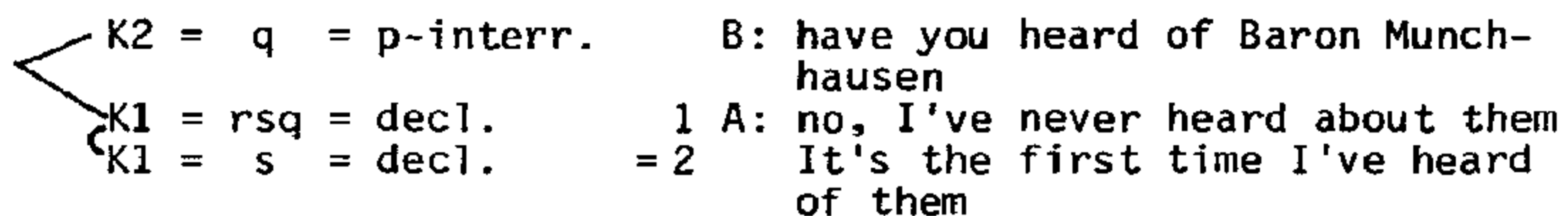
	K2 = q = wh-interr.	C: how much are airfares for children under three years or something
	K1 = rsq = ell: decl.	S: a 160 or whatever we worked out

For the exchange systems to be able to account for the dynamics and for what seems to go with what in texts further considerations need to be introduced.

It will be suggested and illustrated below that considering a clause complex (where the same speech function and the same mood have been chosen) as a basic unit filling a structural slot in an exchange

would solve many of the problems discussed above. Evidence in favour of considering the clause complex as a basic analytical unit for exchange structure will be presented here, starting with Martin's example, Example 23 on p.224. It has already been established that A's turn no, I've never heard about them It's the first time I've heard of them can be considered a paratactic clause complex, where the clauses are related to each other through the relationship of elaboration ($1 = 2$). This does not mean that It's the first time I've heard of them cannot nevertheless be considered to be belonging to a speech function class [statement]. What simply needs to be done is to show the clause complex relationship at the exchange rank in such a way that all of what A says in the role of the Primary Knower can be considered to be responding to the Secondary Knower's initiating function K2 at the exchange rank. This could be done as suggested in the reanalysis of Example 23 as Example 27:

Example 27:

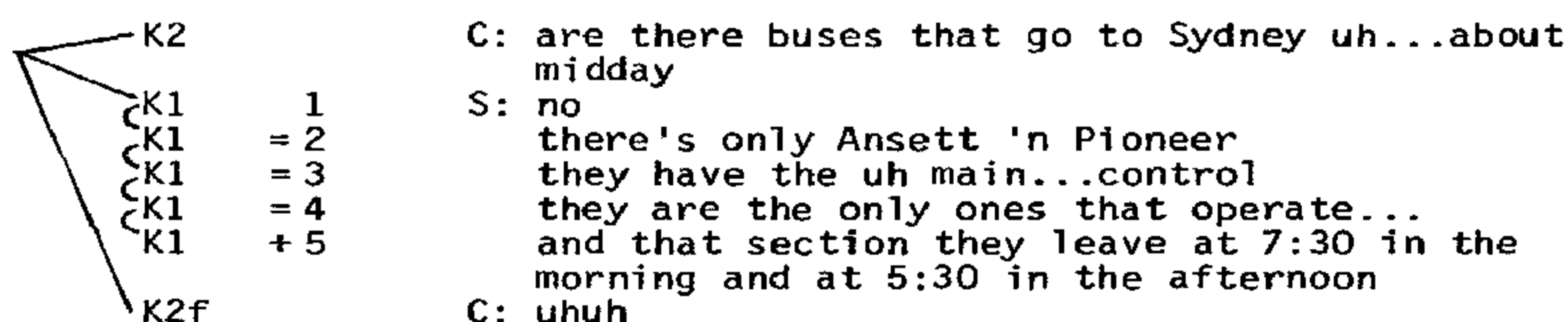


As before, the initiating K2 is connected to the following K1 by an angled line indicating the exchange relationship between the two moves. But now instead of distinguishing the second clause in A's turn as an exchange on its own, its clause complex relationship of elaboration ($1 = 2$) is recognized, as indicated, by the connecting curvy line between the two K1-moves. What this means in terms of exchange structure then is that the second K1-move is related to B's K2-move, but the interrelationship is mediated by the first K1-move. Now both K1s are considered as part of the response to K2. As can be seen, the consideration of the clause complex as a unit for an exchange has not affected the speech function and the mood analyses in any way. The moves in A's turn, the two K1-moves are still assigned to the same speech function classes of rsq and s as before. Let us next consider the service encounter examples.

In Example 24 one first of all has to determine whether S's turn

is in fact a clause complex. If the elliptical declarative no in S's turn is taken as an initiating clause (1) in a clause complex then there's only Ansett 'n Pioneer can be considered as an elaboration of it (=2). The clause they have the uh main...control can further be an elaboration of the previous clause (=3), which is then further elaborated by they are the only ones that operate... (=4). The last clause and that section they leave at 7:30 in the morning and at 5:30 in the afternoon is finally an extension (+5) (for a detailed discussion on clause complex, see Halliday in press a). If the interpretation of these paratactic relationships is accepted then the reanalysis of Example 24 as Example 28 would look like this:

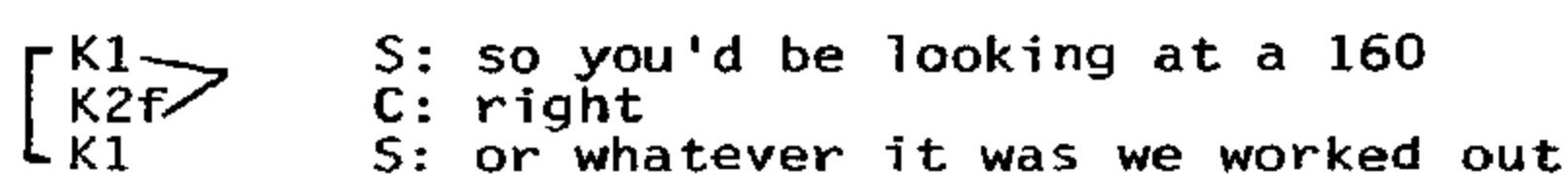
Example 28. (T11):



The speech function and mood analyses remain as presented previously.

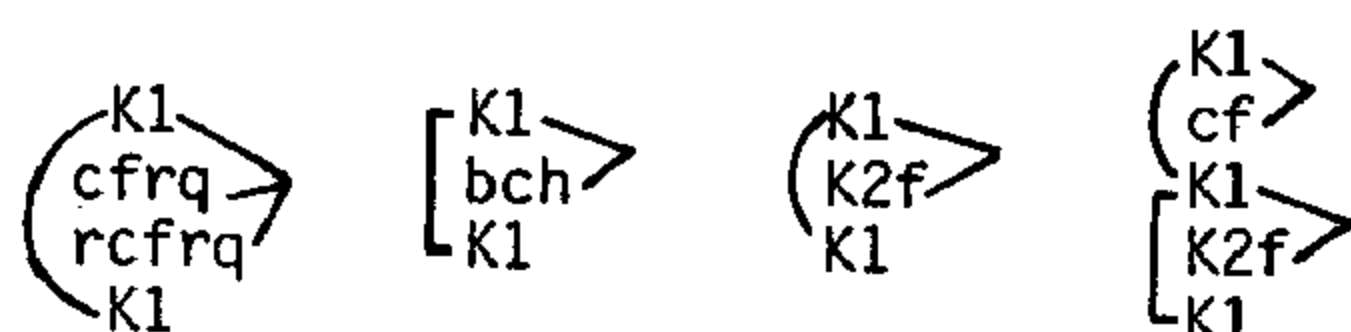
It is now easy to follow the development of the exchange along the two kinds of linking lines. The angled line connects the functionally different kinds of moves and the curvy line connects the functionally same kind of moves which stand in a clause complex relationship to one another. Yet a third kind of a line must, however, be introduced. This line is exemplified by an extract from Example 26, reproduced here as Example 29:

Example 29. (T10):



It may, at a quick glance, appear that here S's two turns are two separate K1s, the first one of which is followed by C's K2f-move. At a closer inspection, however, it is obvious that S's so you'd be looking at a 160 is in fact one clause where what follows after K2f, or whatever

it was we worked out, is a rankshifted clause functioning as a part of the paratactic nominal group a 160 or whatever it was we worked out. What happens, in fact, is that C thinks that S finishes with the first part of the nominal group and therefore rushes in with her K2f move without realizing that she is actually interrupting the structural development of S's move. It seems that here the synoptic aspects and the dynamic aspects blend in with one another in the creation of an exchange. Such an interrupted structural relationship will be indicated by a bracket line connecting the two parts of the same structural unit. Where such 'butting in' takes place, for the sake of clarity as well as for the sake of indicating that the exchange still continues, the angled line connecting K1 and K2f will now be moved to the right hand side of the exchange structure representation. Thus, K2f which breaks the structural unity of a preceding K1 will be represented in the similar way as the dynamic moves discussed earlier. So, for example, the following representations will apply:



The next example from the service encounter data, which was presented above as Example 25, is already considerably 'messier' than the previous ones. This has mainly to do with the fact that there are many more dynamic phenomena. But first of all could it be seen as a clause complex? S's move well all three of them is the initiating clause of the clause complex (1) and the following clause we never give out any companies that we don't recommend may be seen as an enhancement of it (x2). This clause is followed by C's back-channelling move. Then the actual recommending starts by but Newmans're very good which can be considered as an enhancement of what S has said previously (x3). The following clause the Maori Trek've apparently excellent trips is an extension to what has gone before (+4). Again some dynamic systems intervene with the development of the message construction. S's and Centralian it was - is a fragment, but the conjunction and indicates quite explicitly that it was intended to be an extension to what has preceded. It is hard to say what exactly S intended to say (perhaps a thematized clause: 'Centralian it was recommended to me')

before she changed her mind and decided that she was not going to express whatever she was going to say with the clause structure she initiated. So instead she says well I hear those are quite good which can be considered to be an elaboration of what she intended to say, a rephrasing (=6).⁵

Example 25 can now be coded following those principles outlined and exemplified above and is represented as Example 30:

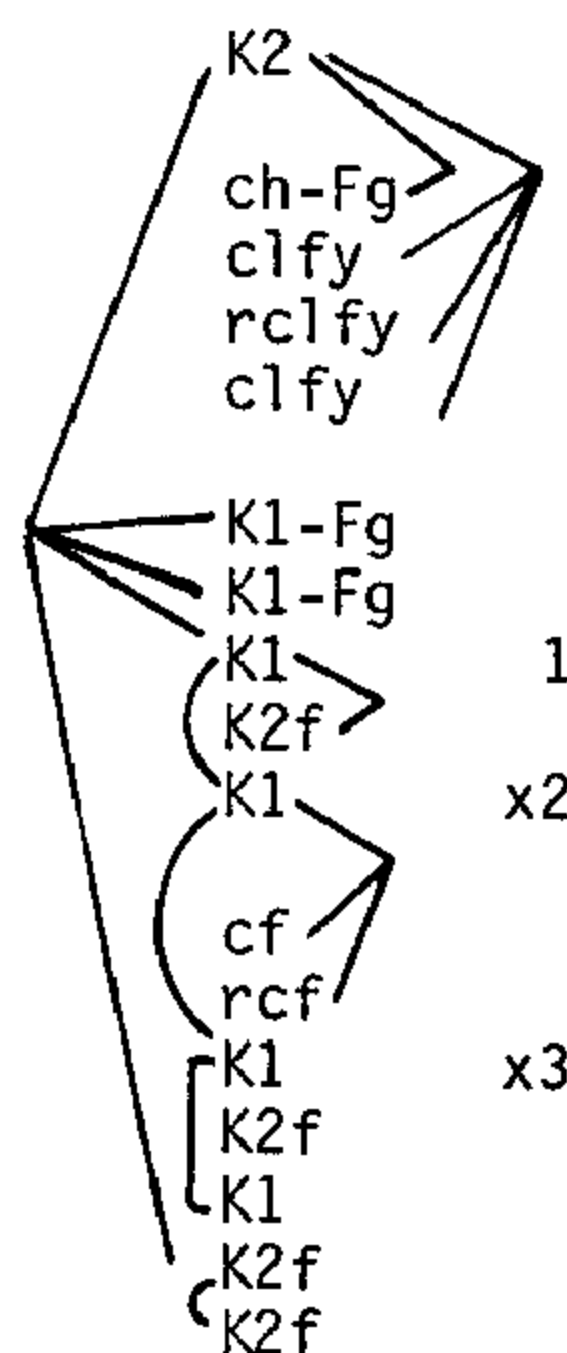
Example 30. (additional data - TA):

K2		C: are there any of those that you'd...recommend yourself ↗
K1	1	S: all three of them
K1	x2	we never give out any companies that we don't recommend
bch		C: uhm
K1	x3	S: but Newmans're very good...
K1	+4	the Maori Trek've apparently excellent trips
bch		C: uhum
cf		Maori Trek
rcf		S: uhm
K1-Fg	+5	and Centralian it was-
K1	=6	well I hear those are quite good
K1		C: so that'd be sort of the first preference

Again it can be seen how the dynamic systems frequently interrupt the construction of the message, the clause complex consisting of several Kls, to insure that the message is being received and processed as it is constructed.

The argumentation for considering the clause complex as a unit filling the exchange slot can best be summarized by analyzing the challenging text extract presented as Example 26. This example will be reproduced below as Example 31 (p.233) and how the analysis proceeds will be illustrated step by step. The exchange starts with C's K2-move now...what happens to children under what is it three years or something (I don't know).⁶ This move is challenged by S: uh no it's-. But, at the same time when S starts her challenge, C realizes that her K2-move needs further elucidation and starts defining what particular age group she had in mind (simultaneous speech is shown by vertical lines and underlining). C starts a clfy-move: this is a baby of about er-. Both interactants stop. One cannot find out retrospectively what S intended to say in her challenge. One possibility is that S was challenging C on what C in fact decides to clarify - the age group of children. S is the

Example 31. (T10):



C: now...what happens to children under what
is it three years or something (I don't know)
S: uh no it's
C: this is a baby of about er-
S: right
C: uh well he'll probably be about six months...
eight and a half months
S: it depends-
zero to two years-
two years and over are half fare
C: right er-
S: so zero to two's ten percent of the excursion
air fare
C: ten percent of the excursion
S: yes
so you'd be looking at a 160
C: right
S: or whatever it was we worked out
C: okay
fine

next person to speak again and she provides a rclfy-move to C's clfy-move. But C has not yet in her opinion said all that she intended to say. Therefore she restarts the elucidation procedure. But even when making this clfy-move she is interrupted by S, but this time she does not give up, but completes her move, thus giving the age of the child she had in mind. The interruption by S is caused by the fact that S thinks C has completed her elucidation. Therefore she starts providing an answer (K1) to C but stops as soon as she realizes that C has not yet finished. When C does finish, S starts responding (K1) by starting out with the information about the age group zero to two years, but then decides to back up and start with a different strategy, namely with the information already known to C concerning the fares for the age group of two years and over (see the whole text in the Appendix). C then provides a follow-up move to S's move: right er- (K2f). But as can be seen, she is just about to say something else as well. This something else may well have been a further reminder to S of the fact that she really was interested in finding out what the fares for children up to two years were. But S silences C by convincing C with the conjunction so that S will in fact be talking about this age group. S has listened and heard C's earlier clfy-move and is taking it into account. What then follows is C's confirmation of what she has heard

and understood as the focal point of the message: ten percent of the excursion. S reassures C of the correct interpretation (yes) and then goes on to do the calculations for S. C's early K2f, right, within the nominal group a 160 or whatever it was we worked out has already been discussed above. As C 'butts in', she feels obliged to repeat her follow-up-move. She does so in fact by reiterating the K2f-move: okay fine. Okay and fine are considered to be functionally the same and are therefore joined together by a curvy line. Their relationship to one another is equivalent of an elaborating relationship in a clause complex (1=2). It is necessary to code these on a different line because the dynamic systems may intervene between such functional reiterations, as is so often the case in K1-moves that stand in a clause complex relationship to one another.

The discussion above has been a description of what is going on in Example 31. What now needs to be decided is whether or not any of the clauses in Example 31 can be interpreted as a clause complex. If we were to exclude all the dynamics in the example and write what S says once she actually gets going, we would get the following:

K1	1	two years and over are half fare
	x2	so zero to two is ten percent of the excursion air fare
	x3	so you'd be looking at a 160 or whatever it was we worked out

It is now much easier to see the clause complex relationship where the second clause is related to the first through an enhancement, and, further, the third clause is related to the second also through an enhancement relationship (1 x 2 x 3).

It is hoped that the discussions and the illustrations above have convincingly defended the view of the clause complex as a unit filling a slot in the exchange structure. The formulation as it has been presented above avoids the problem of fragmenting the text into numerous, very small exchanges which seem totally unrelated to each other. Martin's defence for his analytical principles might be that the unity in the text is captured by such other discourse systems as e.g. LEXICAL COHESION and REFERENCE. But if they show the unity of the text why shouldn't the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE? One difficulty,

however, in treating the clause complex as a unit filling the exchange slot is the notion of a clause complex itself. Recognizing clause complexes is not always easy. Sometimes there are more than one interpretation of the internal relationships within the clause complex (see Halliday in press a:311). It is obvious that more work on clause complexes in various types of genres needs to be done. Therefore the presentation above must be interpreted as a tentative working hypothesis, which, at least to a certain degree, has proven extremely illuminating.

5.3.3 Responding

It may at first appear that the view of a clause complex, rather than a potentially elliptical unit selecting independently for MOOD, as the unit which fills a slot in an exchange will change our view of what counts as a response. But, in fact, taking this stand does not mean at all that there is no control over what qualifies as a response and what does not. Obviously, as the examples above have shown, Berry's (1981b) definition of a responding move as always being elliptical and Martin's view of it as being simply a move which can be, but does not have to be, potentially elliptical, is now too restricted. But Martin's potentially elliptical-criterion may well be used to determine what can be considered to be starting a response (i.e. a clause complex, if there is more than one clause). In other words, if there is more than one K1-move the first K1-move of the clause complex must comply to the potential ellipsis criterion (although sometimes even it is totally elided as will be shown below, see the discussion on supplementary responses below). Thus the following constructed exchange (a modification of Martin's example, Martin 1981a: 60) would not be considered a well-formed exchange:

Example 32.(constructed):

- A: Who's that playing tennis?
B: Tennis balls are yellow
and everybody would like to play like Borg.

Yet, the potential ellipsis criterion, if literally taken, is too restrictive. Consider, for example the following exchange:

Example 33.(additional data - TA):

S: how long were you thinking of going for
 C: I am hoping at the moment it'd be at least four
 or five weeks

If the criterion were applied strictly the possible answers could only be: I'm thinking of going for at least four or five weeks or for four or five weeks at least. Yet no one would say that S did not get an answer. What seems to complicate matters in this exchange is that in S's turn for how long is coded as a circumstantial Adjunct but in C's turn the Wh-information comes out in the interpersonal structure as part of a Complement (realized by a rankshifted clause):

Subject	Finite	Predicator	Adjunct	Complement
I	am	hoping	at the moment	it'd be at least 4 or 5 weeks

One gets closer to the potentially elliptical forms given above if one interprets I am hoping as an interpersonal metaphor for hopefully (see Halliday in press a for interpersonal metaphors). This leads to the reading: hopefully, at the moment, it'd be at least four or five weeks. Here four or five weeks is functioning experientially as a Circumstantial Extent (see Halliday in press a), and thus provides the information requested by S in this way.

The potential ellipsis criterion also needs to be expanded to cover what Halliday and Hasan (1976:213) call supplementary responses, which answer by implication. This will be illustrated by using their example: Are you coming back today? - This evening. Taking Martin's criterion strictly, this exchange cannot be considered an adjacency pair. But if one writes out what is being 'implied' or rather elided and analyzes it as a clause complex then the response given can be considered as a K2+K1 sequence (although not as a q+rsq):

K2 = q = p-interrog. A: are you coming back today?
 [K1 = rsq = ell:decl. 1 B: [yes I am]
 K1 = s = ell:decl. =2 [I am coming back] this evening

This evening is coded as the Primary Knower's response to K2, but in speech function analysis it is still useful to keep them separate (as this kind of information, as well as congruence/incongruence between SPEECH FUNCTION and MOOD, may prove useful when looking for linguistic evidence about the realized TENOR choices in texts).

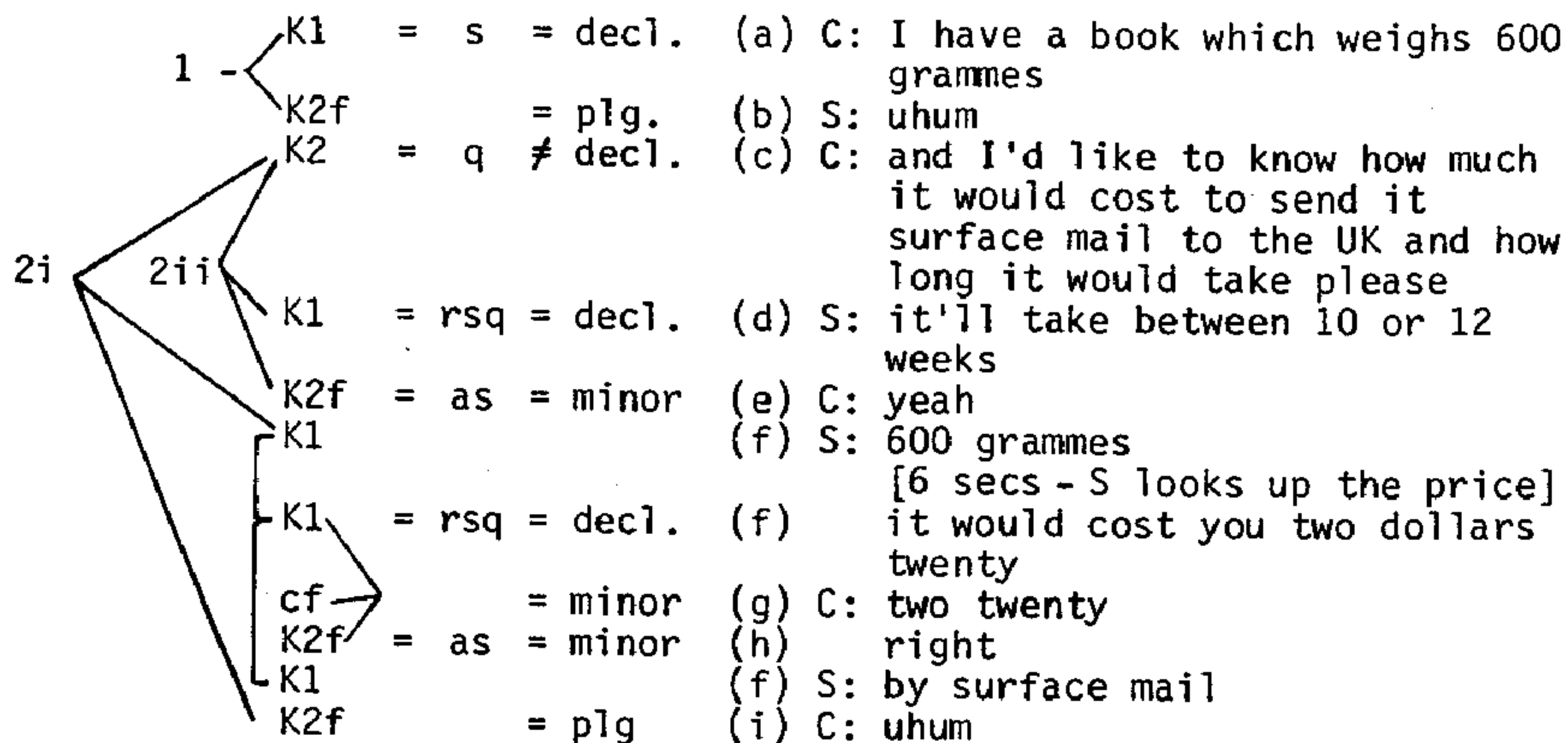
These extensions to the potential ellipsis criterion enable a slightly more extensive view of what counts as a response. The formal criteria for a response should not be so strict that something that the participants in texts have accepted communicatively as a response cannot be accepted as a response in the analyses. At the same time, however, there must be some well-defined criteria of what counts as a response. Otherwise endless presuppositions about participants' beliefs and knowledge can be formulated, enabling anything to qualify as a response. The most useful, unambiguous available criteria for defining responding acts is to be found, as Halliday and Hasan (1976), Berry (1981a, 1981b) and Martin (1981a, in prep.) in their work so far have demonstrated, in the grammatical form of the realized utterances in texts.

5.3.4 A Split Exchange

It has previously been discussed how the dynamics of social interaction may intervene in the sequencing of exchange moves. The elements that should be adjacent if viewed synoptically are not in fact adjacent. Thus for instance in Example 31 above C's elucidation concerning the baby's age intervenes in the synoptic structure $K2 \wedge K1$.

There is yet another further interesting phenomenon found in service encounter texts where the synoptic structure is broken up. This phenomenon is here called the splitting of an exchange. This refers to an occasion where one participant does more than one thing with his move, i.e. demands/gives more than one instance of goods-&-services or information. Consider, for example, the following exchange given on the right below:

Example 34. (additional data - P0):



The clause (a) and (c) could be seen as standing in a clause complex relationship to each other (1+2), but on closer inspection it is obvious that they are realizing different speech functions and different moves, (a) being a statement realizing a K1-function and (c) being an incongruently realized question which realizes a K2-function (although in fact it can be considered to be incongruently realizing an A2-function, if the interpretation of this exchange constituting a linguistic service, following the arguments that will be presented in the next section, 5.3.5, is accepted). And is here an internal conjunction (which typically separates different speech acts from one another and structures texts into different stages, see Chapter VIII for a discussion on conjunctions). In (c) two paratactically organized demands for information are being presented ($\beta_1 \wedge \beta_2$) the structure of (c) being $\alpha \wedge \beta_1 \wedge \beta_2$). Here C makes her request with only one move 'I'd like to know x, where $x = y + z$ ', organizing her demand for two separate pieces of information into the same structure. S in his response does not follow this kind of organization 'I tell you that x, i.e. $x = y + z$, is a + b'. Rather, his organization is paraphrasable as 'I'll first tell you that y is a; next I'll tell you that z is b'. What is being said then is that when (d) and (f) are compared, (f), i.e. it'd cost you two dollars twenty by surface mail, cannot be considered to be an elaboration, an extension nor enhancement of (d), i.e. it'll take between ten or twelve weeks. The an

of the text of the exchange above demonstrates the coding used for split exchanges (2i and 2ii).

Further support for considering (d) and (f) as split responses to (c) is that (d) and (f) also show a split in lexis. Such items as cost, dollars and surface mail can only be seen to be cohesive with the lexical items cost, send, surface mail, UK that occur in the first part of (c), whereas take and week in (d) are cohesive with long and take in the latter part of (c). Lexical cohesion is naturally only a further suggestive clue for recognizing split exchanges. More work needs to be done on characterizing split exchanges in specific grammatical terms. Here the phenomenon has mainly been introduced and illustrated for its relationship with the schematic structure of service encounters, as such split exchanges frequently seem to be functioning as realizations of recursion (or rather looping) in the dynamic representation of the service encounter genre.

5.3.5 Linguistic Services

Service encounters is a genre that is mainly about goods-&-services. The whole interaction in the service encounter genre is oriented towards demanding and giving goods-&-services. Its CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE may thus be expected to be highly geared towards action-oriented exchanges. It should not come as a great surprise that even demanding and giving information may in this genre be treated as a service, a linguistic service.

What is meant by a linguistic service? This can easily be illustrated with an example with which probably all of us have some experience. A is walking on the street. B approaches A and the following conversation takes place:

Example 35.(constructed):

- (1) B: excuse me
- (2) what's the time please
- (3) A: two thirty [looking at his/her watch]
- (4) B: okay
 thanks

Excuse me is simply used to catch A's attention. It is rather the second unit what's the time please that is of interest here. At first

glance it looks like [demand: information], i.e. a question, realized by wh-interrogative MOOD choice. Unit (3), two thirty provides further evidence for that interpretation, since it portrays a typical wh-ellipsis pattern in a response. But what about the two following units, okay and thanks. The two of them occur mostly as K2f-moves in action, not in knowledge-oriented, exchanges. Backtracking now, it is also noticed that (2) includes please, another typical marker of an action-exchange. It seems that demanding and giving information is treated as a service, a linguistic service, rephrasable as 'do me a service - tell me the time!'.

Demanding/giving information is frequently treated in this way in social interaction. For example, a clerk may ask a customer what's your name please when filling out a form for the customer. Whether it's John Smith or Patrick Walrus does not make any difference to him. What is being requested is not the information but the linguistic act of giving the information. This contrasts markedly with a situation where at a party, for example, someone introduces himself/herself and then asks your name: I'm John/Mary...what's your name?. Here the information matters.

Sometimes naturally it is very hard to tell whether what has been said is meant as a linguistic service or simply as a piece of information. For example, one day when my co-worker was leaving the office he called out to me you're here on your own now, Eija!, to which I replied okay thanks. As I did not rush out to ask him what exactly he had meant with what he had called out, I have no way of telling whether he, from his point of view, was doing a linguistic service to me or whether he was simply informing me incongruently that he was leaving the office. However, as can be seen from my response, I certainly treated his utterance as a linguistic service. We both work in a laboratory and my office room is in the furthest corner of it. Due to the location I cannot hear very well what is going on in the other parts of the laboratory. But knowing that I was there on my own, I would certainly pay more attention to such matters as the phone ringing or someone trying to come in. Thus it is often only by looking at what follows and by examining the context that one can decide whether something constitutes a linguistic service or not.

Given appropriate contexts almost anything can be turned into a linguistic service. An exchange like linguistics is hard - yeah is almost certainly an exchange of information (or opinions). An exchange like linguistics is hard - okay thanks may at first seem ill-formed. But one needs only to imagine a context such as a second-year student instructing a first-year student in choosing the subjects to study and the exchange becomes quite plausible. The thanking is done for the valuable linguistic service the older student has done for the novice when giving him a piece of advice.

How are linguistic service exchanges recognized then? Some useful indicators have already been mentioned. A request for a linguistic service usually includes the marker please (or frequently at least in Australian English thanks), cf. action-exchanges. Follow-up moves are typically okay or thanks, again cf. action-exchanges. Of course it is natural that not all of these appear in the utterance at the same time. But it seems that in order to classify an exchange as a linguistic service the following criterion is necessary: some of these markers must actually appear while others must have a potential for appearing in a particular slot typical to them.

How are linguistic services coded? They are best considered to be rankshifted K-moves. As can be seen from the initial example, they resemble K-moves in all respects except for their action-exchange markers:

$$\begin{array}{lcl} \angle K2 & = & q = \text{wh-interr.} \quad (2) \text{ B: what's the time please} \\ \angle K1 & = & \text{rsq} = \text{ell.decl.} \quad (3) \text{ A: two thirty} \end{array}$$

But since (2) really functions as a command tell me the time and two thirty as a response offer to command the question arises as to where the incongruence should be shown in the analyses. It seems that it is best shown between the exchange structure and speech function since the form of the units (2) and (3) correspond to the MOOD choices. Thus the following coding will probably capture best what is going on:

$$\begin{array}{lcl} A2 & \llbracket K2 \rrbracket & \neq q = \text{wh-interr.} \quad (2) \text{ B: what's the time please} \\ A1:LS & \llbracket K1 \rrbracket & \neq \text{rsq} = \text{ell.decl.} \quad (3) \text{ A: two thirty} \end{array}$$

Here the following type of bracketing $\llbracket \]$ shows that the move is rankshifted to function in another exchange type. The linguistic

service is coded as A1:LS. As will be shown later, clause complexes, as well, may function as A1:LS. Then the coding will look something like this:

A2 [[K2]]
 A1:LS [[K1
 K1
 K1]]

It is also worth pointing out that in post offices at least, the non-verbal action usually follows the linguistic service-move. In other words, the function of something like how much would this be please addressed to a post official when handing over a letter is two-fold: requesting the post official to tell how much the letter will cost, but also requesting the server to give the right amount of stamps to the customer. Thus the exchange structure in such cases could look something like this:

 A2 [[K2]]
 A1:LS [[K1]]
 A1:R = non-verbal
 A2f

Let us now look at a couple of examples in service encounter data that can be interpreted as linguistic services:

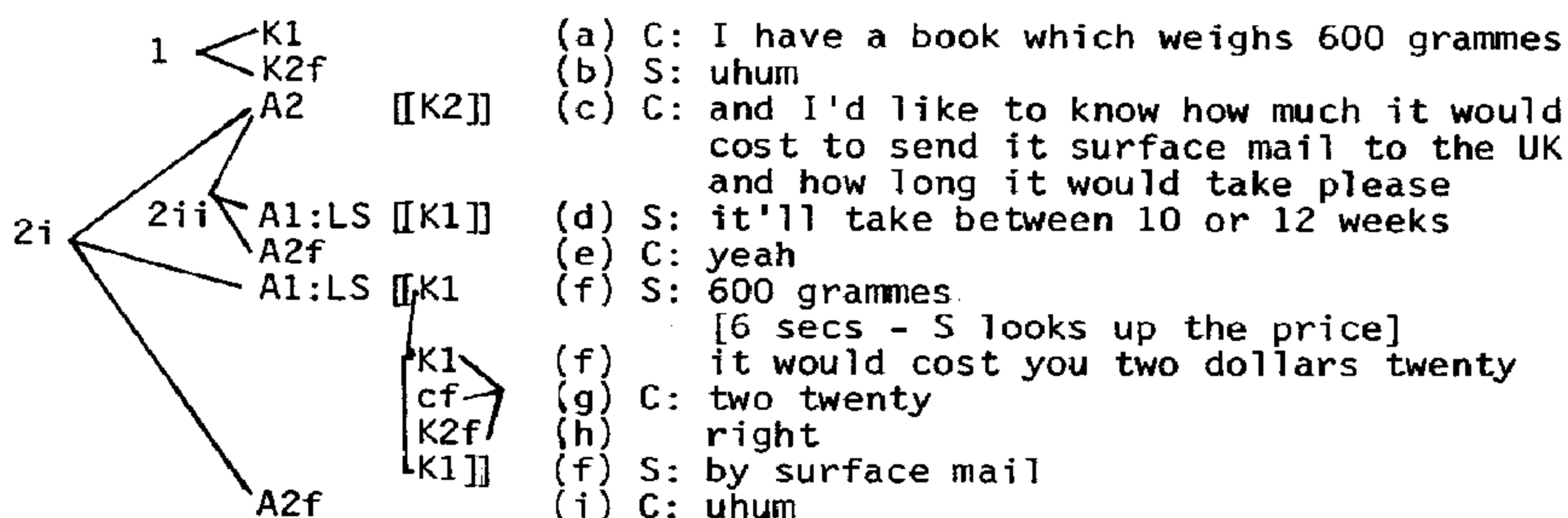
Example 36. (T11):

A2 [[K2]] A1:LS [[K1 K1 K1]] A2f		C: is there any economies on the 10:55 then please
	1	S: yeah
	=2	there's no problem there
	x3	we can put you on
		C: okay

What C wants S to do for him in this exchange is to check whether there are any seats available on a particular flight. Usually such checking involves some action from S's part, e.g. using the computer to check the available seats. Here, however, S possesses this knowledge and can therefore simply tell C about the seating situation straightaway. S's A1:LS move is a rankshifted clause complex, where the clauses are related to each other by elaboration and enhancement ($1 \wedge = 2 \wedge x3$). C's A2f indicates a satisfactory completion to the linguistic service exchange.

Another example of a linguistic service has already appeared as Example 34 in connection with the splitting of exchanges. This exchange has previously been given a knowledge-oriented interpretation, but, as can be seen, it complies with the criteria for linguistic services. The request, which could be rephrased as 'do me a service - tell me about...', includes please, which supports the reinterpretation of this move as a rankshifted K2-move functioning as A2. Both response parts of this split exchange end with C's follow-up moves, yeah and uhum, both of which could potentially have been okay thanks had the exchange not been a split one. The recoding of this extract as a linguistic service exchange will thus be as follows:

Example 37. (additional data - P0):



Linguistic service moves have not been incorporated into the EXCHANGE system network presented in Fig. 24 on p.210, as they are, at least at this stage of investigation, felt to be very genre specific. In future work it will need to be explored how expansive this phenomenon in fact is in various genres. Linguistic services in this study will be treated with caution and exchanges will not be coded as such unless enough evidence can be found to justify the coding.

5.4 CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE and the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE Elements of Service Encounter Texts

The discussion has so far focussed on structures of single exchanges. Attention will now be turned to the question of whether the organization of exchanges, i.e. the realization of CONVERSATIONAL

of these texts on a higher plane. Can it be shown that CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE reflects the generic structure of the texts? If so, this will benefit applied linguistics greatly, as teaching programmes could then be designed not only to teach students the different functions of speech acts, but also the different stages of social interaction, where to use the functions and how to organize them into appropriate sequences.

As this study is, to my knowledge, the first of its kind as far as its goals are concerned, it is not easy to know what is the best way of approaching the task of finding linguistic evidence for the schematic structure of a genre in the organization of exchanges in individual texts. Here the following method will be adopted: first, each text has been sectioned intuitively into schematic structure elements, then, discussing the elements in the order they were hypothesized in Chapter IV, the realization of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE of each element and the possibility of using this realization as a recognition criterion for a schematic structure element will be discussed. The abbreviations PO, SH and TA stand for postal, shopping and travel FIELD orientation in the texts.

5.4.1 GREETING

The first hypothesized element is GREETING (GR). This element has not been realized in the data at all. It can be understood why people in post offices would not greet. The whole interaction tempo there is very rapid and routinized. People queue up and the whole set up intimidates greeting, suggesting it would be too 'chatty' and a waste of other people's time. Therefore, it seems natural to think that GR is not typically realized. But this should not be the case in shops or travel agencies. Besides GR, does also occur in PO-texts.⁷ It may be that our conception of GR is too generalized. Martin (in press) assigns the realization of GR to the feature [face-to-face] encounter (see Table 2 in Chapter II, section 2.4.2). It may be that during our frequent interactions in these institutions we get to know the servers and soon treat them similarly to acquaintances and friends whom we are obliged to greet (Ventola 1979). Thus GR comes to be considered part of the synoptic system for service encounters as well. Cultural

differences may naturally also be great in the realization of GR.⁸ Further data need to be looked at to see what the role of greeting is in various genres.

5.4.2 ATTENDANCE-ALLOCATION

The next element, ATTENDANCE-ALLOCATION (AA), is realized in all PO-texts and in one SH- and TA-text. One exchange, such as the one below, typically realized this element:

Example 38.(T1):

$\begin{array}{l} \text{Att} = \text{cl} = \text{minor} \\ \text{Ratt} = \text{NV} \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{S: yes please} \\ \text{[C steps forward]} \end{array}$

The reason why it is used in PO more than in SH or TA locations is the simple fact that in PO S cannot approach C. S stands behind a counter and thus must call C to approach. In SH- and TA-locations S may sit behind a desk or a table, but may always come around to C.

5.4.3 SERVICE-BID

The SERVICE BID (SB) seems to be realized in none of the PO-texts, in only one SH-text⁹ but in all TA-texts. It would be too rash a conclusion that SB does not occur in PO-texts at all. It does, as the following example from additional data illustrates:

Example 39.(additional data - PO):

S: yes ↗
 can I help you
 C: four fifty-five-cent stamps please

Typically SB is realized by a very stereotyped S's can I help you? After C's yes, if it occurs, C proceeds to present his Need for S-element. What is the exchange structure here? It seems best to characterize it as a sequence of

$\begin{array}{l} \text{DA1} \\ \text{A2} \\ \text{A1} \end{array} \quad \text{[[the whole text]]}$

In other words, the whole text is seen as the action which takes the form of non-verbal or linguistic service. This stand will be clarified

Example 40.(T10):

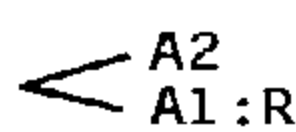
DA1 =	o =	p-interr.	S:	can I help you
A2 =	ao =	ell:imper.	C:	yes please [do]
A2 ≠	s =	decl.		I'd like some information on fares
				to England...(at first)
cf		plg.	S:	uhm etc.

As can be seen, the mood changes from elliptical imperative to declarative and thus C's turn (following the criterion of the move choosing for the same MOOD and speech function) must therefore be considered to be belonging to separate elements, SB and S respectively. The first exchange is thus to be considered either as incomplete, since it never has an A1-move (of any kind), or alternatively the whole interaction that follows must be considered as the A1-move, i.e. the whole text is rankshifted to function as the A1-move of the exchange realizing SB.

5.4.4 SERVICE

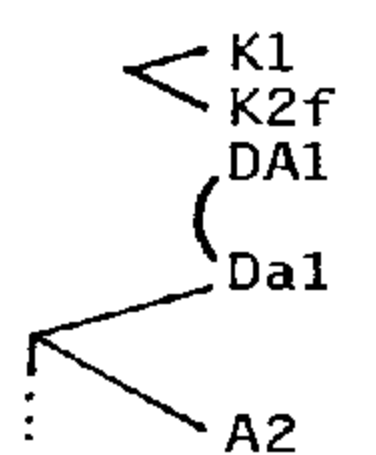
In the element SERVICE (S) the relationship between the schematic structure and the exchange structure is much harder to see immediately, as each S seems to involve more than one exchange and, further, each exchange appears to be so unique due to the intervening of dynamic systems in the synoptic patterns of exchanges as explained in section 5.3.1. Yet a basic pattern can be found. Each S involves some kind of nuclear activity which can be expressed in general terms as a Need and a Compliance. Sometimes presenting a Need and giving a Compliance to it is fairly straightforward. The Need can be expressed by one move made by C and the Compliance by another made by S, i.e. there is a one-to-one realizational relationship between the nuclear activity and the exchange. An exchange realizing the nuclear activity in a one-to-one way can be called a nuclear exchange for the sake of easy reference. The nuclear exchange is either $K2 \wedge K1$ or $A2 \wedge A1$ (where, as has been discussed before, K1 can be a clause complex and A1 can be A1:A, A1:LS and A1:R). The boundaries of the nuclear activity, Need and Compliance, coincide with the boundaries of the nuclear exchange in very routinized, stereotyped interaction. The following exchange is an illustration of such interaction where S-element = Exchange:

Example 41. (additional data - P0):


 C: two airletters please
 [S gets the aerogrammes]

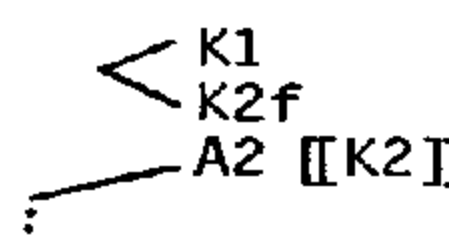
Sometimes S entices C into presenting his Need and in these occasions the nuclear exchange is initiated by DX1-move:

Example 42. (T5):


 C: I'm just looking at those mobiles
 S: okay
 S: uhm...which one did you er...would you like
 to see out...
 any particular one there? [the mobiles are
 at the show window]
 [2 secs]
 C: the diver

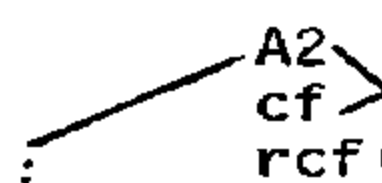
A one-to-one realizational relationship between the element S and the exchange must however be considered to be an exception rather than a rule. Interaction in service encounters involves a lot of negotiating and thus the S-element is frequently realized by more than one exchange. A part of this negotiation is that C may introduce his Need with an exchange preceding the nuclear exchange. An example of this has already been given in Example 37 above, but will be reproduced again as Example 43 below.

Example 43. (additional data - P0):


 C: I have a book which weighs 600 grammes
 S: uhuh
 C: and I'd like to know how much it would cost
 to send it etc.

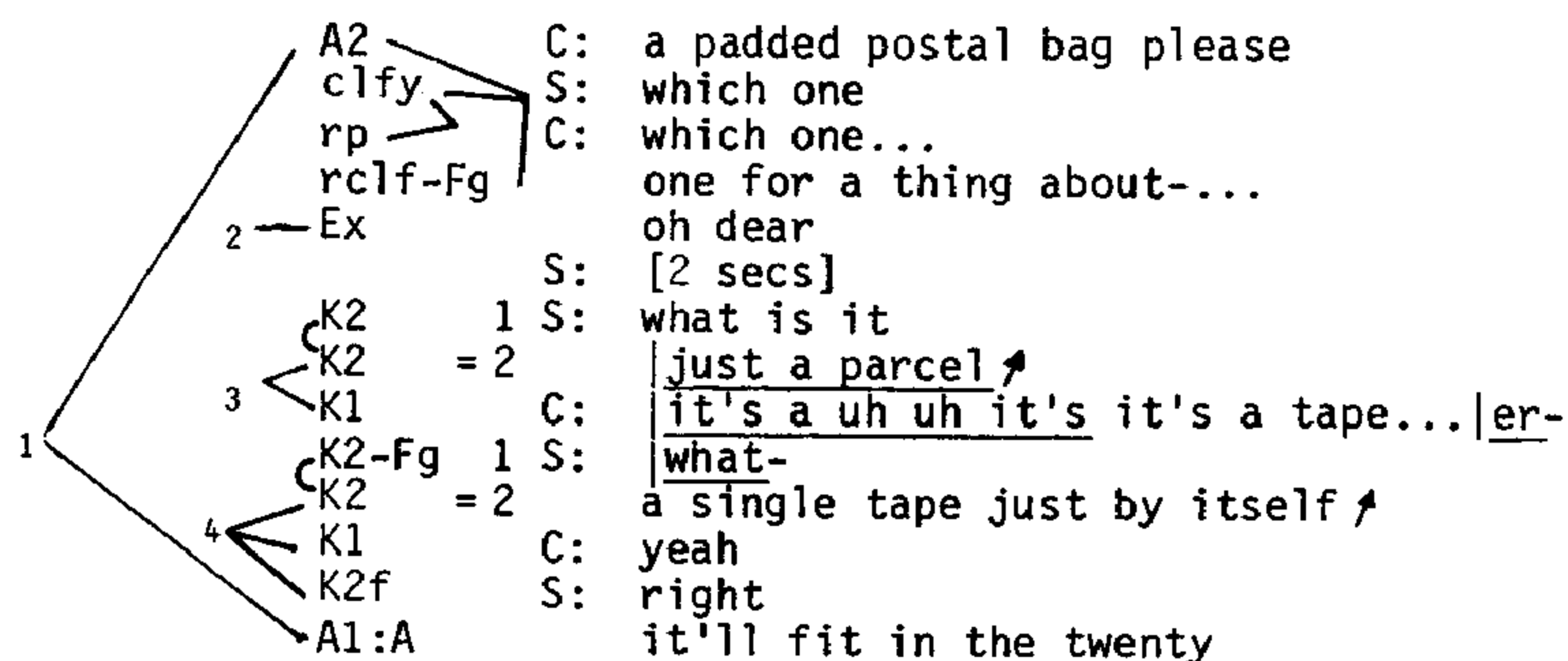
So far only the typical, the synoptic view of the realization of the S-element has been discussed. But mostly the realizations of S are not so uniform, because dynamic systems may intervene in the structure of a nuclear exchange. The systems of SUSPENDING frequently interrupt the development of the nuclear exchange, realizing the Need and the Compliance in the element-S:

Example 44. (T9):


 C: could you give us the...|respective charges please
 S: |the fares
 C: yes

SUSPENDING-moves delay providing the Compliance to the Need in X2-moves. But if the Need has been realized by a move that needs ELUCIDATION the Compliance cannot be provided. Moves in need of ELUCIDATION are extended either by dynamic clfy^rclyf-moves or by knowledge-oriented exchanges seeking further Specification of Need. An example of several such embedded Specification sequences, all realized by knowledge-oriented exchanges, is given below:

Example 45. (T2):



As can be seen, C's first move expressing his Need has not been clear from the point of view of S, as there are more than one type of postal bag that she could offer to C. Therefore she tries to rectify the exchange by a clfy-move. But as can be noticed C is not able to provide the clarification. He needs more time to think and therefore he gives up momentarily. The second exchange is an expression of his despair. But S tries again, this time with a knowledge-oriented exchange, Exchange 3. This exchange produces a Specification of Need. S now knows that C wants to mail a tape, but she still wants to verify that C only wants to send the tape by itself. Once she has received this Specification she can go on to provide a Compliance to C's Need presented earlier (which however is challenged by C, see the Appendix). Note that S's turns what is it just a parcel and what - a single tape just by itself are both interpreted as interrogative clause complexes related to each other by an elaborating relationship (see Halliday in press a).

Specifications can be initiated by S, as illustrated above, or

alternatively C himself can provide them, as illustrated below:

Example 46. (T9):

	C: could you give us the... <u>respective</u> charges please S: <u>the fares</u> C: yes [17 secs - S goes to get some brochures] C: that'd be return S: yeah C: yeah

It seems then that such Specifications of Need are realized by either a Server-initiated exchange (K2) or C-initiated exchange (K1).

Specification: ↘ < K2 by S / K1 by C
 K1 by C

Once the Compliance to the Need is given, realized by the X1 of the nuclear exchange, it is possible that further explanations or additions are provided to the Compliance. Such Additions of Compliance are realized by separate exchanges following the nuclear exchange.

Example 47. (T11):

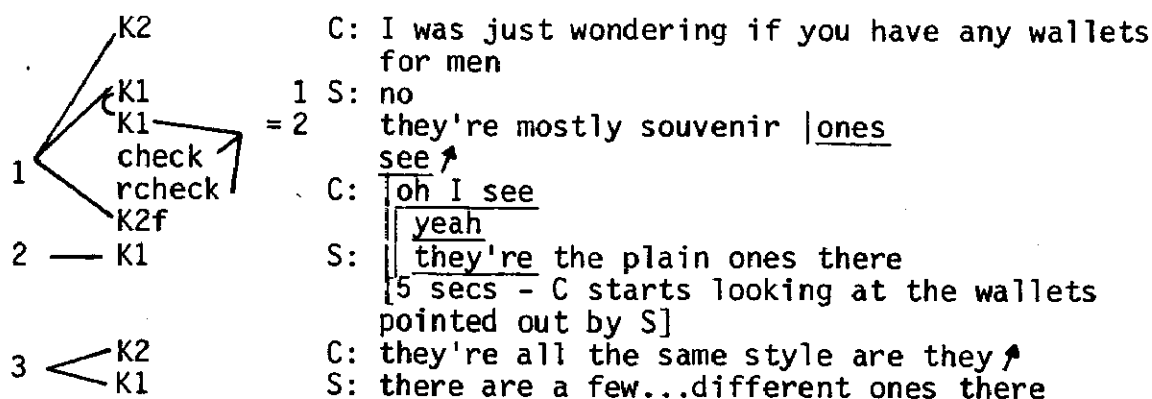
	C: what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow S: tomorrow... morning or afternoon now / C: uh midmorning early afternoon S: uh well you've got a 9:30 and 10:30...and a 10:55. ...and nothing then until 3:40 tomorrow [4 secs] C: 10:55 [C mumbles to himself] S: we normally have one at ten past one but it's out earlier tomorrow it's 10:55

As can be seen, S provides a Compliance to C's Need. As C seems to be contemplating the information given by S, S feels that he ought to justify why there is such a big gap between the flights (from 10:55 to 3:40). So he provides an Addition to his own Compliance. This is realized by Exchange 3 (which is a clause complex where the clauses are related to one another by extension and elaboration).

Additions can naturally just as well be elicited by C. C in this case is not fully satisfied with the Compliance that S has provided and therefore proceeds to elicit more information about the matter by

presenting an initiating move of a knowledge-oriented exchange:

Example 48.(T8):

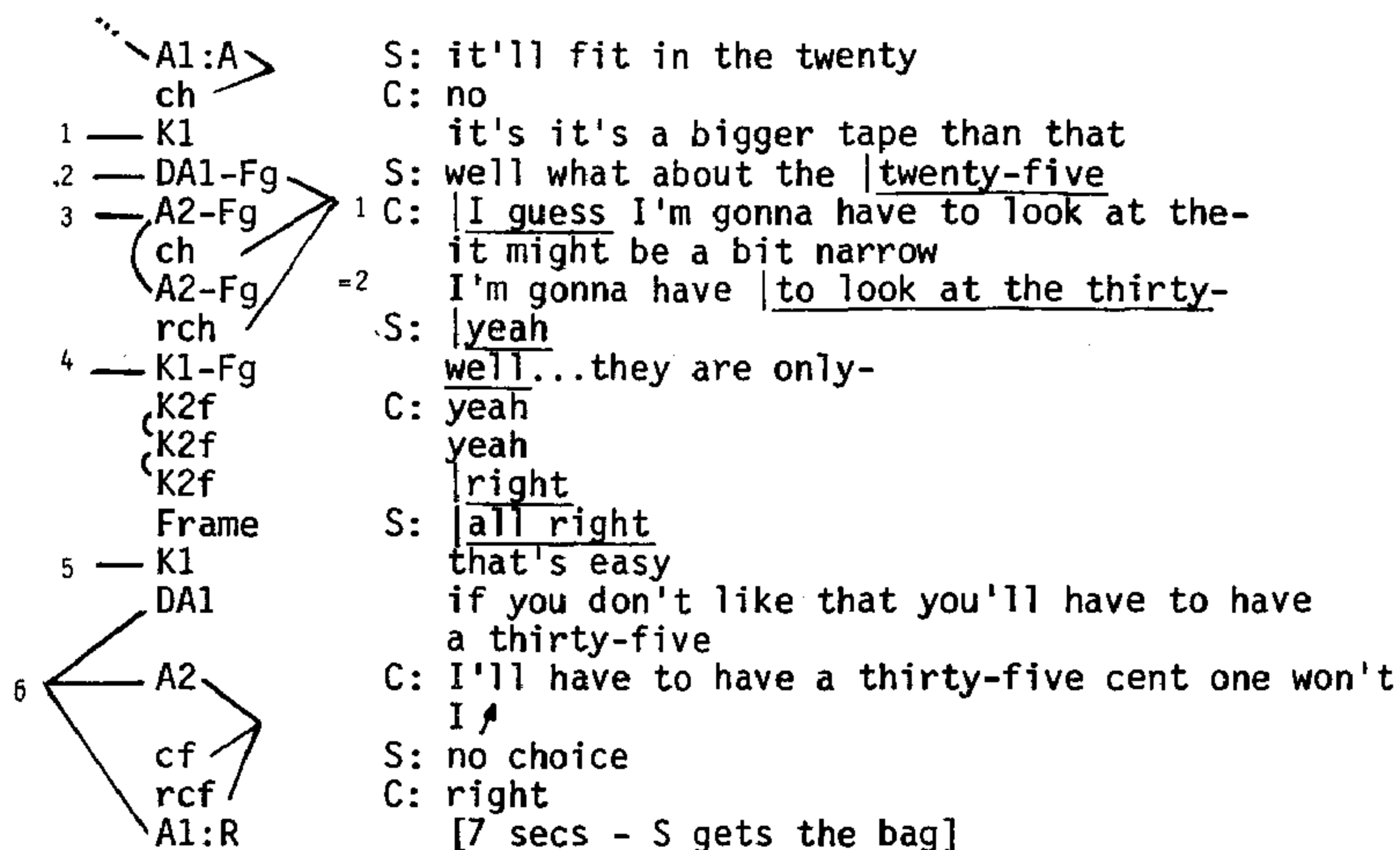


As C enters the shop S is engaged with another customer, so C goes to a shelf and starts looking at wallets. S then comes to offer her service to C. C expresses her Need to which S provides a Compliance, indicating that in fact the wallets C is looking at are not the kinds she has said she wants. This is what Exchange 1 captures. The second exchange is an Addition to S's compliance, thus directing C towards the place where she would more likely find what she is looking for. The third exchange is also an Addition, this time initiated by C, and its function is to elicit more information about the wallets. So, summarizing then, Additions to Compliance can be realized by either an S-initiated exchange (K1) or by a C-initiated exchange (K2):

Addition: $\searrow$ K1 by S $\swarrow$ K2 by C
 $\swarrow$ K1 by S

Sometimes it may happen that the nuclear exchange that originally was started gets stranded in spite of the dynamic systems of SUSPENDING and ELUCIDATION. This is the case when the nuclear exchange is ABORTED. An excellent example of this is in Text 2. It has been shown already in Example 45 above how the Need of the S-element in this text has to be remedied, as the move that realizes it is not clear. Once all the clarifying moves and Specifications have taken place S provides the beginning of the Compliance, realized by A1:A-move. But as can be seen below, this move is challenged by C, i.e. the compliance is not what C wants:

Example 49. (T2):



As the Compliance to the Need is aborted by a challenge (the challenge given is justified by Exchange 1 following it), a new Need has to be formulated. S makes an attempt to do this by offering a twenty-five-cent bag. But this move is a Fragment, as it is interrupted by C's own reformulation of the Need, which he fails to finish as he realizes what S has suggested. C challenges S's new suggestion for Compliance and begins again his own formulation for a Need. He, however, gets interrupted by S again as she replies to his challenge. And as she gains the floor by her interruption she starts to explain that she can do no more for C. However, she does not finish what she intended to say. C has caught enough of S's fragmented K1-move to provide a follow-up move for it (this K2f move is a reiteration of three lexical items with the same function and they are therefore treated in the way similar to clause complexing). S decides to attempt once again. She frames the beginning of her new attempt (for frames see Chapter VIII), all right. Exchange 6 is her introduction to her last resort to solve the problem. Then she goes on to make her last offer in a DA1-move which then is accepted by C. S's no choice is treated as a confirmation, since it has purely interpersonal meaning, and it is responded to with C's right after which the Compliance to

this newly formulated Need is provided.

Negotiations for Need are naturally not always as complex as the one in Text 2. But, judging by the collected data, it is probably true to say that most of our everyday exchanges in service encounters are at least somehow negotiated, remedied, interrupted etc. Therefore, it is no wonder that each text looks so unique in the way its S-element is realized. It seems that there is nothing in common between the different realizations of the element S in various texts. However, as the discussion above has hopefully indicated, the realized conversational structures in these texts do have a lot in common that can be related to the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE on the genre plane. But exchanges by themselves cannot be related straight to the schematic structure element-S, as there is no way of telling simply from exchange systems alone that, for example, the K2+K1-sequence which has been thought to realize the Specification of the Need is in fact related to the move realizing the Need. To show that a relationship exists between this exchange and the other different type of linguistic evidence has to be found. Such further evidence is sought by using other analyses of discourse structures, specifically structures generated by LEXICAL COHESION and REFERENCE. In other words, if Specifications and Additions indeed belong to the Need and the Compliance of the same S-element they must be lexically cohesive with each other and form retraceable reference chains through the element-S. This will be discussed in detail in Chapters VI and VII below.

5.4.5 RESOLUTION

The next element to be discussed is RESOLUTION (R). R is an element where a specific decision of taking the goods is made. Thus its realization depends largely on whether the choice of goods exists, although not always (see e.g. Text 9: S: d'you want these? - C: erm ...yeah all right). In the example below, C and B have been looking at different kinds of mobiles out of which one is selected:

Example 50. (T5):

A2	C: we'll take him [the diver mobile]
A1:A	B: have him [said to C]
A1:R	S: okay
	[32 secs -

The typical realization for R is C's A2-move responded to by S's A1:R-move. The grammatical realization of the A2-move of R differs from that of the A2-move realizing the Need of the S-element. It is a declarative clause in future tense. An A2-move realizing a Need is often also incongruently realized by a declarative clause, but it is typically either (a) in present tense or (b) in present in present tense (see Halliday in press a):

- (a) T12: C: well I want to...rebook to Brisbane
- (b) T5: C: I'm just looking at those mobiles

5.4.6 PAY

The element PAY (P) consists of two activities: requesting and giving the payment and giving and receiving the change, which however is not realized if the payment has been exact. Usually there are two exchanges which realize these activities (A1:R being the only obligatory move in both exchanges):

- payment: A2 by S followed by A1:R by C
- change: A1:R by S followed by A2f by S

Here are some realizations of P:

Example 51. (T11):

	S: thirty-six dollars ninety C: [C gives two twenty-dollar notes to S] S: thanks very much [2 secs - S gets the change]
	S: thirty-six ninety thirty-seven three is forty [S gives the money to C while speaking] C: thanks very much

Example 52. (T3):

	S: one dollar fifteen altogether thank you C: there's the eighty [4 secs - C is counting her coins] C: there's the twenty-five (laugh) [C gives twenty-five cents to S] emptying out all my- S: it's all right I don't care how it comes...as long as it comes C: (her' y're) [hands over the rest of the sum] S: thanks

< the money

In Example 51 both the payment and the giving of change are realized. In Example 52 only the payment is realized, as the sum that C has given is exact and therefore giving change is not necessary. But the latter example is interesting in that the payment is realized by a split-exchange (li, lii, liii). The moves of the exchanges realizing P are very distinct in their grammatical realization, mostly being minor clauses. The lexical choices are selected from a very closed set of lexis, the numbers. Both of these factors make it impossible to mix these exchanges with the other exchanges appearing elsewhere in the service encounter texts. Besides, if one compares the realization of P and S in terms of exchanges, although they both are often merely $A2 \wedge A1:R$, in P A2 is by S and in S the A2-move is by C. So the roles of the participants making the initiating move in the exchange are reversed in these two elements.

5.4.7 GOODS HANDOVER

The exchange typically realizing the element GOODS HANDOVER (GH) is S's A1:A followed by A1:R followed by C's A2f-move.

Example 53. (T1):

		[S puts the covers into a bag]
←	A1:A	S: here we are
←	A1:R	[2 secs - S hands the bag to C]
←	A2f	C: thank you

Frequently GH is realized by an exchange consisting of only the non-verbally realized A1:R-move. This makes GH an inaudible element on the tapes, but one which nevertheless has to be accounted for. Mostly however it is followed by A2f, which makes the task of locating its realization on tapes easier. As can be seen, the exchange structure of GH is typically the same as that of giving change. However, the speech function assignments for moves, the mood realizations and the lexical realizations in the grammar will keep these exchanges apart, e.g. A1:A in GH is an offer whereas in P giving the change is associated with a statement.

5.4.8 CLOSING

CLOSING (CL) is an element which indicates that the major activity

in the encounter is over. It is not considered to have an exchange realization on the discourse stratum. Rather it is seen to be realized directly on the lexicogrammatical stratum by such lexical items as thank you, ta, etc.

5.4.9 GOODBYE

GOODBYE (GB) is an element which is realized only once in the service encounter data collected:

Example 54.(T9):

S: bye bye

GB is typically perceived synoptically as an adjacency pair, consisting of moves belonging to the speech function classes of greeting (gr) and response to greeting (rgr). Their infrequent realization throws some doubt on whether they belong to the description of service encounters. It may be, as was already explained in connection with GR, that here some other TENOR choices than those typically selected in service encounters may influence the synoptic view of the schematic structures of texts which represent the service encounter genre. These elements do however appear now and again in the service encounter texts and therefore they cannot be completely ignored. The solution may be that they can simply be seen to operate on the genre level, as CL does, and that they are realized in texts when some other TENOR relationships typical of service encounters also play a role in the texts (see genre mixing in Chapter IV, casual conversations in Ventola 1979 and the dynamics of genre in Ventola forthcoming).

5.5 A Comparison of Analyses

When one looks at CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE by itself, i.e. the exchanges generated by the EXCHANGE and SPEECH FUNCTION networks, it seems that each text has its own unique pattern of exchange structure. But when one relates these patterns to the higher level semiotics through a realization relationship, similarities between various realizations of the schematic structure elements in terms of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE start emerging. It may be that one text does not have in its realization the element AA and therefore no exchange

structure realizing it, but that several other texts do, and thus serving as evidence for the existence of the AA-element on the genre level. It may be that in some texts the S-element is realized by a single exchange, whereas in another several embedded exchanges realizing Specifications of Need are necessary. But, in spite of these variations the same basic pattern of conversational structure can be found in the 'nuclear exchange'. It seems then, that CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE in service encounters does in fact help to recognize the realization of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements in the service encounter genre. As the realization patterns of exchanges are limited, it is, of course, natural that in texts there may be several exchanges with exactly the same pattern of moves. That they may belong to different schematic structure elements may naturally be concluded, partly from the way they are sequenced in realization in relation to each other. But such similarities will mostly be solved by looking at how the other discourse systems function simultaneously in the texts. Such shunting between the analyses on the discourse stratum and between the higher planes of semiotics enables one to give a fuller account of what is actually going on in one text and how that text as an instance is related to the social system itself. The last chapter in this study will show how the discourse systems have jointly operated in three texts in such a way that one can say that they belong to the genre of service encounters, but still represent different register choices independent from one another. The discussion above is best summarized by Table 9 (p.257) which captures the typical exchange patterns found in SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements of the service encounter texts.

Above the relationship between SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE has been established by first segmenting texts intuitively (according to what was felt to be a hypothesized generic element), and then comparing each segmented element in turn to the other segmented elements of the same kind in the data in a search for similarities in the realization of exchanges in that hypothesized element. It is now time to see whether the analysis of the exchange structure alone in a text enables one, in the light of what has been said about the relationship between CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE and

SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element:Typical realization of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE:

GR	< Gr	by C/S		
	Rgr	by S/C		
AA	< Att	by S		
	Ratt	by C		
SB	< DA1	by S		
	A2	by C		
S	< A2	by C	or	K2 by C
	A1:A	by S		K1 by S
	A1:R	by S		
R	< A2	by C		
	A1:A	by S		
	A1:R	by S		
P	< A2	by S		
	A1:R	by C		
	A2f	by S		
GH	< A1:R	by S		
	A2f	by C		
CL	-realized directly by the lexicogrammatical stratum			
GB	< Gr	by C/S		
	Rgr	by S/C		

Table 9. SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE Elements and Their Typical Exchange Patterns.

SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE, to assign a text to the genre of service encounters. Such an attempt will be conducted below by using a text from another corpus of data (Bowker 1983).

This text, which is labelled as 'fare information'-text by Bowker (1983) can be considered to belong to the genre of service encounters because it has three typical schematic structure elements in it. Firstly, the first exchange portrays a typical realization patterns for SB where the whole text may be considered to be the A1-move completing the exchange. Secondly, one S has been realized in the text by Exchange 2, which is a knowledge-oriented exchange. The Need of the S has not at first been heard properly, so S has to confirm that he has heard the focus of the K2-move correctly. C, on the other hand,

Example 55. (Bowker 1983:42, Text 4):

SB:	1	DA1	1	S: can I help you please?
		A2	2	C: yes
:		K2 (Need)	3	do you know how much a day return to Middlesbrough would be?
		cfrq	4	S: to where sorry?
		rcfrq	5	C: Middlesbrough
		cf	6	S: Middlesbrough
	3	K1 (Specification 1)	7	C: I just need to price it so I can find out the cheapest way of getting there
2		K2f	8	S: oh
	4	K2 (Specification 2)	9	not with a railcard
		K1	10	C: with a railcard yeah
		K1 (Compliance)	11	S: erm day return twelve pounds twenty five
		K2f	12	C: great
CL:	-		13	thank you

after confirming the focus, provides an explanation for why he needs this piece of information. This Specification of Need is realized by Exchange 3. This puts the Need into a new light for S, who now has to elicit more information concerning the Need. The second Specification of Need is realized by Exchange 4. Once the Need has been specified to the satisfaction of both participants, Compliance takes place. The K1-move realizing the Compliance is followed by C's K2f-move. CL is the third schematic structure element realized in the text. It marks the end of the encounter and is considered to be generated on the genre level rather than on the discourse stratum by the conversational structure systems.

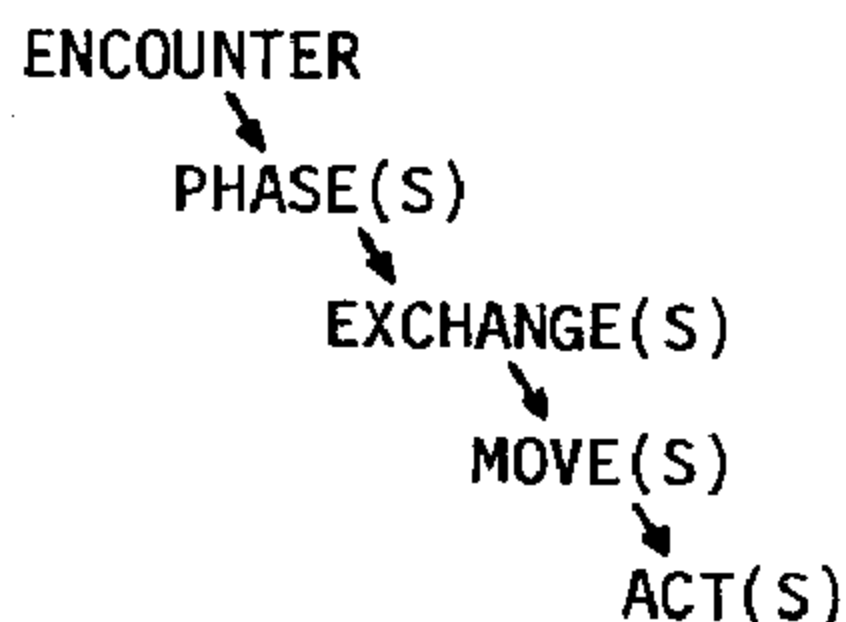
It can justifiably be said that this text carries remarkable resemblance in its SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE realization to the texts in the Appendix. All of the texts, this fare-information-text included, can be considered to belong to the same genre - service encounter - and all of them can be generated by the dynamic flowchart presented in Chapter IV. If further analyses were conducted on the text above it would soon appear that this text carries an even closer resemblance to the Texts 9-12 in the Appendix. This text, as Texts 9-12, have all selected for the FIELD 'travel'.

It is interesting to compare what has been said above with what

Bowker (1983) has to say about his text. He is following a model of analysis developed by Edmondson (1981) which in turn is developed from Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model. The model can be summarized in Edmondson's own words:

The elements of interactional structure...have their combinatorial potential built into their definition. Acts combine to form interactional moves, which in permissible sequences form exchanges. Exchanges may then be linked in various ways, thus forming Phases. It is posited that an Encounter consists of an ordered sequence of phases, though the only structural possibility we feel justified in positing at this level of analysis is that of (Ave)-Business-(Vale) (Edmondson 1981:114).

In other words, the whole text, i.e. the whole encounter, is seen as a single realizational cycle on the pragmatic level. Any of the texts presented in the Appendix of this study should then be basically describable as:



The gravest problem both with Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) as well as with Edmondson's (1981) model seems to be that they never get to the description of the top level, encounter, as they themselves admit (see Sinclair and Coulthard 1975:56-60; Edmondson 1981:189-190). Edmondson posits that the structure of the encounter is (AVE)-BUSINESS-(VALE). This is just about as useful as BEGINNING ^ MIDDLE ^ END. Every text produced in an encounter where such physical limits as participants entering and leaving the scene set boundaries to the text can be described in these terms. Unfortunately such a description will tell us nothing about the organization of the world in which we live and, more importantly, in which we have to behave linguistically every day.

Bowker's analysis of his own text looks like this:

Int. Exchange	Move in Structure	Int. Act	Illoc. Act	Sp.	Observed Communicative Act	Line
	PM	H	RR	A:	can I HELP you please?	1
	SAT=	H	RI	C:	yes do you know how much a day	
	PR				return to MIDDLesbrough would be?	2
	PR	H	RI:loop	A:	to WHERE sorry?	3
	SAT	H	I:repeat	C:	MIDDLesbrough	4
		UPT	Accept	A:	MIDDLesbrough	5
	EX2	SH	I	C:	-- I just need to PRICE it so I can	
					find out the cheapest way of	
					GETTING there	6
		UPT	Exclaim	A:	OH *	7
	PR	H	RI		not with a RAILcard	8
	SAT	H	I	C:	WITH a Railcard YEAH	9
	SAT	H	I	A:	* erm - day reTURN * TWELVE pounds	
					twenty FIVE	10
		UPT	Accept	C:	GREAT	11
	PR	H	Thanks		thank you	12
	(SAT)	H				

Fig. 27. Bowker's Analysis of a Travel Agency-Text (Bowker 1983:42, Text 4).

Int.	= Interactional
Illoc.	= Illocutionary
Sp.	= Speaker
PM	= Prime
H	= Head
RR	= Request Request
SAT	= Satisfy
RI	= Request Inform
PR	= Proffer
I	= Inform
UPT	= Uptake
EX	= Expander
SH	= Supportive Head

Table 10. Bowker's Notational System.

Bowker summarizes the analysis of this text as "one Head Exchange, including two Pre-Responding Exchanges which clarify the Head Proffer [i.e. line 2]" (Bowker 1983:42). A specific description of how Bowker came to this conclusion would involve a detailed discussion of Edmondson's model, and that is not seen to be necessary here. Suffice it to say that the basic pattern for an exchange is Proffer followed by Satisfy. "A Proffer by definition initiates Exchange, and a Satisfy by definition produces an outcome" (Edmondson 1981:87). The outcome is indicated by the arrow placed on the line linking Proffer and Satisfy. Pre-Responding Exchanges referred to by Bowker are his lines 3-4 (i.e. cfrq + rcfrq) and lines 8-9 (i.e. Specification 2).

This shows that no functional differentiation is made as to whether the Pre-Responding Exchange modification is needed because of problems with the communication channel or the content of the message. Note further that line 5 (i.e. cf) is not seen to be operating at the same level as lines 3 and 4. Neither is line 6 (i.e. Specification) included in the analysis of the Head Exchange, although for example a lexical cohesion analysis and a reference analysis would show that it is certainly very closely related to the Need of the Service-element.

It seems that Edmondson's model remains largely a descriptive tool. It sees texts as large exchange chunks where the Head exchange is pre- and post-modified by various moves. One may immediately raise the question of how useful it is to see a text in terms of one exchange. This question is especially important from the point of view of applied linguistics. Bowker's analysis shows that two post Proffer Proffer-Satisfy sequences are needed before the Proffer on line 2 can be Satisfied. But the analysis fails to show that all these Proffer-Satisfy sequences are different functionally. If one compares Bowker's analysis to the analysis given in Example 55, such functional differences are much more apparent. A Need in the SERVICE element is first suspended until the problem with the channel of the message is solved. Then further Specifications of Need are given: the first initiated by the customer and the second by the server. Only then can the Compliance be provided.

It is this kind of knowledge and how to execute it that is important when teaching native or foreign speakers communication

skills. Analyzing data in terms of how the moves in an exchange are formulated enables the learners to model their 'exchange-creation' accordingly. Such modelling is possible in the exchange analyses that have been built up in this chapter, whereas it is impossible if the analyses are conducted on one level only, cf. Edmondson's model which concerns itself with only the pragmatic level, thus ignoring the other linguistic levels (see Edmondson 1981:2). The exchange structure has to be related to both the strata of lexicogrammar and phonology below its own stratum, the discourse stratum. Learners of a language have to be given tools for constructing the moves in an exchange lexically, grammatically and phonologically. It is no good telling foreign learners that what they must produce is a Need (or a Proffer in Edmondson's terms). They must also know how to do it grammatically, what lexis to use and how to express all the above linearly in a string of phonemes. It seems that this is exactly what present theories of ESL which follow the functional notational syllabuses are not doing. They are teaching students e.g. 'requesting' without systematically relating the function of requesting to the level of form, to whether the grammatical realizations are congruent or incongruent and to the use of lexis. These approaches claim that they help students to use language functionally. But all they ultimately succeed in doing is to teach students a few typical lexicogrammatical realizations for speech functions, e.g. for 'requesting': can I...x?, could you...x?, is it possible that you...for me?, may I...x?, would you mind if...? etc. Largely the students are left to sort out for themselves which formulae to use in which social situation and when speaking to whom.

Edmondson's model and so many of the functional notational syllabuses found in textbooks have an impoverished theory of social context. Therefore they cannot be used in a generative sense. Speakers do not learn to 'tune in' to social contexts. When speakers construct exchanges they not only need the lexicogrammatical and the phonological 'tools' but they also have to make their exchanges relevant to the whole social process they are engaged in. In other words, exchange structures must also relate upwards to the planes of genre and register. Exchanges must realize appropriately the genre in question and the register (FIELD, MODE and TENOR) choices selected.

This is what applied linguistics and foreign language teaching must also take into account. Foreign language teaching would get closer to its goal of generating 'socially appropriate language behaviour' if it took all three semiotic planes of genre, register and language into account simultaneously. This would mean, for example, that when we are teaching 'requesting' to learners, we first instruct them about the appropriate genre where requesting frequently occurs, let us say service encounters. The learners are instructed about the schematic structuring of such a genre and how 'requesting' as part of the realization of the social process plays a role on the plane of genre. Then they are instructed in what FIELD, MODE and TENOR choices are possible in this genre. In other words, we do not go to request stamps in a travel agency or vice versa (FIELD), nor do we request to speak to the post master if we merely want to buy stamps (TENOR) and, finally, we need not write a letter to purchase a present for a friend (MODE) (the examples are extreme in order to amplify the point being made). All these choices have linguistic repercussions for the linguistic realizations of 'requesting' on the strata of discourse, lexicogrammar and phonology. In other words, 'requesting' does not only involve the discourse stratum where speech functions operate, but must necessarily be related to the other linguistic strata and to the semiotic planes of genre and register as well.

5.6 Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to show how the study of conversational structure as it is realized in texts will reflect the schematic structure of the genre the text belongs to. The discussion was begun by first trying to establish how many speech act functions need to be recognized in the study of texts and how the form of a speech act is related to its function. Then the discussion proceeded to how speech acts are sequenced to form exchanges. Several problems were dealt with, such as the dynamics in exchanges, what move fills the structural slots, what counts as an answer, how exchanges split and how some knowledge-oriented exchanges seem to be interpretable as linguistic services. Much more work needs to be done on exchange structures in order to fully account for their dynamic realizations.

It seems that representing exchanges with a dynamic model as well, with a flowchart, may serve as an answer here. The last section of the chapter demonstrated that the generic structure is indeed reflected in the conversational structure of a text, or, on the other hand, that it is possible to draw conclusions about the genre membership of a text by studying its conversational structure realizations.

NOTES:

1. This network differs from the one presented in Martin (1981a:58) in that it leaves such acts as confirmation, response to confirmation, confirmation request and response to confirmation request to be dealt with by the dynamics on the discourse stratum (see Martin in press).
2. It is also worth pointing out that such a lexical item as okay has other functions as well. In other words, not only does it possibly identify speech function class sequences of offer + acknowledge offer for us, but it also indicates boundaries between SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements and the stages reached in the dynamics of the flowchart (for a discussion, see Ventola 1983b; Chapter VIII, section 8.4 in this study). In such cases, thus, it functions on the plane of genre, not on the stratum of discourse.
3. Berry (1981c:30) uses this distinction to subclassify different speech acts (speech functions), e.g. command would only include A1:React, not A1:Assent; request would have both A1:Assent and A1:React. Natural data presented e.g. in this study, shows that such categorization would most likely be too rigid.
4. This exchange is slightly ambiguous. Another interpretation of it would be:

 < DA1 S: I'll fix those up in a moment
 A2 C: okay

C's okay could be interpreted as an elliptical imperative and as a command okay do that instead of interpreting okay as A2f, which would be a minor clause and an acknowledgement to offer (ao), i.e. okay thanks (following Martin's criteria for distinguishing speech functions of command and offer from one another, see p.192). Offers and their pair parts have a potential of filling two different slots in an exchange. Here, if the genre is considered and especially the tenor relationships between the post official and the customer, the interpretation of okay as A2 seems less likely than its interpretation as A2f. This interpretation seems also to be supported by the fact that in clearer cases where an offer typically is filling the slot which functions as DA2 it is realized by a polar-interrogative (Shall I get you a beer?), whereas when it fills the slot A1:A it mostly seems to be realized by the declarative mood (Here's your beer - okay thanks).

5. Here I hear is treated as an interpersonal metaphor expressing modality instead of treating I hear as an α -clause and those are quite good as a β -clause of a hypotactic clause complex the structure of which would be $\alpha^{\wedge}\beta$ (see Halliday in press a for a discussion on interpersonal metaphors and clause complexes).
6. In this clause something that can in layman's terms be labelled as 'self-questioning and -answering' takes place: what is it three ; or something. This kind of a device is often used to

gain time; it is a hesitation device. But in grammatical terms all of under what is it three years or something (I don't know) functions as a Qualifier to children (see Halliday in press a). (I don't know), which is in parentheses because it is barely audible, is considered simply an expression of modality, i.e. an interpersonal metaphor (see Halliday in press a for a detailed discussion).

7. The data collection methods may have interfered with the realization of this element. In shop texts and in travel agency texts the researcher asked for the customer's permission to record the interaction before the actual conversation with the server started and this may have caused initial confusion to the customer (as seen in Text 9, for example). But in shops the permission-asking took place actually outside or at the door of the shop premises and thus should not have influenced the interaction. In post offices the customers were informed about the recording by signs.
8. It may be, in fact, that I have been influenced by the Finnish culture in setting up the hypothetical elements for the schematic structure of service encounters. It intuitively seems that GR is more frequently realized in the Finnish culture in shops etc. although this naturally has to be confirmed by looking at the data collected in the similar situations (such data has already been collected, but has not yet been analyzed in detail). None of the native speakers who have become familiar with this schematic structure hypothesis have however rejected GR as an element of the service encounter genre.
9. The reason why SB did not occur in SH-texts more often might have been that the shops chosen for the data collection were very much 'walk in-walk out' type of shops. That is, customers wandered in, browsed around and wandered out again. Often there were more than one customer present and the one server in a shop only got to the customers after they had already started looking at things, i.e. their shopping in a sense had already started.

CHAPTER VI: LEXICAL COHESION IN THE SERVICE ENCOUNTER TEXTS

This chapter will address itself to LEXICAL COHESION in service encounter texts and specifically to the question whether LEXICAL COHESION can be shown to realize the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES of the genre of service encounters. Firstly, a short introduction to the background of lexical studies will be given followed by a description of the present understanding of LEXICAL COHESION as system. To this will be added illustrations of LEXICAL COHESION as structure. Finally, the usefulness of LEXICAL COHESION analyses in genre studies will be discussed, especially as an indicator of the realization of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE.

6.1 Lexical Studies

A layman's understanding of the meaning of a text derives from the words in the text, or more specifically from the company the words keep (Firth 1957b/68:179). For example, the meaning of the word passive in a text is not understood until the whole text is considered, that is, relating passive to other lexical items which occur in the text. Thus, the meaning of passive is quite different in a text where it occurs in the company of such lexical items as grammar, voice, verb, etc., to a text where it occurs in the company of such items as transistor, voltage, resistor, power, coil, etc. The choice of FIELD in the former text is that of linguistics while in the latter that of electronics. Firth (1957b/68:181) has called such mutual expectancy relationships collocation.

6.1.1 Collocation

Firth set up principles for the study of lexical structures on the lexicogrammatical stratum. He considered collocational relationships to, firstly, reflect the field of a text through pivotal or key words making up a lexical set ('field' is understood here as something akin to subject matter).

Statements of meaning at the collocational level may be made for the pivotal or key words of any restricted language being studied. Such collocations will often be found to be characteristic and help to justify the restriction of the field. The words under study will be found in 'set' company [i.e. system] and find their places in the 'ordered' collocations [i.e. structure] (Firth 1957b/68:180; his emphasis).

Secondly, as can be seen from the latter part of the above quotation, the study of collocation also meant for Firth the study of lexis on the syntagmatic axis, lexis as structure on the lexico-grammatical stratum. This means that statements about meaning can also be made by looking at lexical items in their immediate, mutual expectancy context, that is, by looking at what occurs syntagmatically on either side of the pivotal/key words taking them one at a time.

Meaning by collocation is an abstraction at the syntagmatic level...[and so] one of the meanings of night is its collocability with dark, and of dark, of course, collocation with night (Firth 1951/57:196).

To recapitulate, Firth saw in texts key words which characterized the field of the texts (restricted language) thus relating the lexis of the texts to the situational and cultural contexts. Furthermore, he held that lexical items which syntagmatically occur typically in collocational relationships with the key word form sets which accounts for the mutual expectancy of key words and collocating items. To take the Firthian view of each linguistic level being constituted by a paradigmatic system and a syntagmatic structure, it is these sets which are the system and the collocations which are the structures of lexis on the lexicogrammatical stratum. How lexis reflects the field of texts has been a specific concern of Hasan (Halliday and Hasan 1980; Hasan 1984), Martin (1981c), and Martin and Rothery (1980, 1981), whereas the latter aspect of how lexical sets are defined through collocations has been further developed by Halliday (1966b) and Sinclair (1966). Although the major focus of this chapter is on lexis in the sense of how lexical cohesion on the discourse stratum reflects choices made on the genre and register planes, a brief summary with

comments will be presented of collocation and lexical sets on the lexicogrammatical stratum.

6.1.2 Collocation and Lexical Sets

Halliday (1966b) and Sinclair (1966) were the first within systemic theory to outline a program for the statistical study of lexis in a volume dedicated to Firth (Bazell et al. 1966). In his article, Halliday (1966b) discusses the problems to be faced in lexical studies: lexis as an 'open' rather than a 'closed' system unlike grammar; formal scatter in lexis (teach, teaching, teacher); whether or not items in a scatter are to be considered as single lexical items; whether in addition to single lexical items phrasal and compound lexical items should be recognized (die, pass away, kick the bucket); and the different collocational probabilities of homonymous items (which would for example solve the ambiguity in the interpretation of model in He came out with a beautiful model - came and came out with being recognized as separate lexical items).

Sinclair (1966), on the other hand, concentrates on describing in more detail how the study of lexis could be carried out by computer to discover collocational probabilities. Lexical items whose collocations are focussed upon in a text are called nodes (cf. Firth's pivot/key words). On each side of the node there are lexical items which collocate with the node. The number of these collocating lexical items is being called the span of the node (a span can be e.g. three lexical items on each side of a node excluding grammatical items). Lexical items which occur within the span of a node are the collocates of the node. The collocates and the node together are called a lexical cluster. Some lexical items in texts collocate with a node more frequently than others: significant vs. casual collocation.

SIGNIFICANT COLLOCATION is regular collocation between two items, such that they co-occur more often than their respective frequencies and the length of text in which they appear would predict (Sinclair et al. 1970:15).

Those lexical items which collocate statistically in a significant way with a node form together with the node a lexical set (for more

detailed discussion, see Sinclair 1966:418; Halliday 1966b:156).

Ultimately, both Halliday (1966b:160) and Sinclair (1966:427) see the presentation of the lexical sets founded on statistical studies of collocational probabilities in natural texts as constituting a linguistically based thesaurus of a language. But both Halliday and Sinclair also recognize the enormity of the task involved in establishing lexical sets. The major difficulty lies in the fact that lexis is an open system. Open system items have understandably lower frequencies of occurrence than closed system items. Halliday (1966b:159) estimates that twenty million running words (i.e. 1500-2000 hours of natural text) is necessary before interesting results concerning lexical sets and collocations can be achieved.

Sinclair and his colleagues conducted a number of collocational studies in the 1960's which support sufficiently the hypothesis that the lexical set organization of language "can be found by studying patterns of significant collocation" and, furthermore, that "intuitively satisfying lexical sets" can "be found based on collocational information from a very large body of natural language" (Sinclair et al. 1970:77-78). Sinclair et al.'s (1970) data base did not anywhere approach in size the data base held necessary by Halliday to yield interesting results. Their data base consisted of: (i) 135,000 words of spontaneous conversation between university students and staff members on such varied topics as university life, local government, holidays, etc., (ii) one million words of written American English (the Brown corpus), (iii) 12,000 of written scientific English, (iv) two synthetic texts of 8,000 and 5,000 words (an informant produced sentences by using particular lexical items or utterances containing certain lexical items were collected in their natural contexts of occurrence) and (v) two literary texts of 24,000 and 1,000 words.

The collocations studied in these data involve collocations of grammatical items, semigrammatical items, lexical items, homographs, idioms, items in formal scatter and self-collocational items. Collocations of closed class items appear to be highly significant on both sides of a node. This is largely due to the high predictability

of grammatical structures (the class membership of the lexical items appearing on both sides of a grammatical node can be predicted, although the item itself cannot be predicted). Also semigrammatical items which are part of conversational clichés, e.g. I think/mean, sort of etc. seem to be highly predictable in their collocational patterning (cf. interpersonal Adjuncts in Halliday in press a). Semigrammatical items seem to be primarily a feature of spoken language. This factor leads Sinclair et al. (1970:66) to draw attention to the importance register variation has for collocational patterning: "words may vary in the degree of lexicability they display according to the register of language in which they are used". Specifically MODE choices which least delicately are stated as spoken vs. written influence the lexical patterning in texts. Spoken texts tend to be grammatically more complex but lexically less dense, whereas written texts tend to be grammatically less complex but lexically denser. Sinclair et al. see the high predictability in collocational patterning of grammatical and semigrammatical items as a major problem with lexical studies. They write:

When a text is searched for examples of significant collocation, the first patterns to emerge are common grammatical structures, followed by low-level clichés. These patterns are so strong that they may obscure the identification of more lexical associations between words (Sinclair et al. 1970:66).

The assumption in these early studies was that texts share a lot of collocational patternings. The patternings were studied in 'raw data' on the lexicogrammatical stratum, although both Halliday (1966b) and Sinclair (1966) had envisaged that studying collocational patterns in certain registers would most likely quicker yield significant lexical patternings. The 'raw data' approach was however easier as the register theory was still in its very early stages at the end of the 1960's. The results by Sinclair et al. (1970) indicate that register variation must be included in lexical studies if more significant results are expected. This becomes conceivable as our understanding of how higher semiotic planes skew the choices on the language plane increases.

Sinclair et al. (1970) studied the collocations of a selection of twenty most frequently occurring lexical items in the corpus of 135,000 words from the conversations between university students and the staff. On the basis of significant collocations they were able to establish for this corpus two lexical sets, those of 'time' and 'language' (Sinclair et al. 1970:77). 'Time' is explicable by the fact that exchanges were apparently concerned with the duration of studies, holidays etc. and 'language' by the fact that the participants had a shared interest in language studies. In the study of this corpus the major difficulty for setting up lexical sets was obtaining enough tokens of one item in order to establish a lexical item type. In 135,000 words there were 8,150 types out of which 3,676 (45%) only occurred once and 170 items only occurred more than 100 times (Sinclair et al. 1970:22-24). This highlights the need in the study of lexis for such notions as genre and register. If the genre and register planes are taken into consideration when choosing texts for the corpus of lexical studies lexical item types could be more easily established because collocations are more frequent in the texts of the same kind (i.e. of the same genre and the same register). It is not surprising that in the Sinclair et al. (1970) study the range of lexical items was so wide. The conversations between students and the staff seem to belong to the genre of casual conversation. It has elsewhere (Ventola 1977, 1979) been pointed out that casual conversation is probably least restricted in its schematic structure. Furthermore, in the CENTERING elements of casual conversations almost an unlimited number of FIELD choices is possible. This is also reflected in the subject matter choices in the Sinclair et al. (1970) corpus. When such varying choices of FIELD as university life, local government and holidays are selected it is understandable that also the lexis shows the wide variation in FIELD.

What has been said above is not to say that Sinclair et al. (1970) were not aware of the dependency of collocational patternings of lexical items on genre and register. They say that many collocations are 'text dependent' (Sinclair et al. 1970:73). This seems to refer to 'text-type dependency', i.e. genre and register. But since their data were only of the casual kind they could not research the issue

further and no one since, to my knowledge, has taken up the lexical collocation studies to the same extent as did Sinclair and his colleagues. Certainly the Sinclair et al. (1970) study offers encouragement for such future studies, as shown in the following quotation:

there is a need for a taxonomic study of English...
it would be of value to find the factors of the
language...[i.e.] certain characteristics of the
language which we can quantify and use to compare
one text with another (Sinclair et al. 1970:36).

Sinclair and his collaborators were also interested in establishing ways of recognizing homographs through their different collocational patternings, as well as studying the collocational patterning of idioms and of lexical items in formal scatter. Collocations proved important both in homograph and idiom recognition. The variation in the collocations of items in formal scatter raised doubt whether the items could be treated as the same lexical item (for a more detailed discussion, see Sinclair et al. 1970).

Some problems which limited Sinclair et al.'s (1970) study have already been mentioned above, but it is useful to summarize them again (see Sinclair et al. 1970:20-25). Firstly, the major problem that the lexical studies faced in the 1960's was that computer technology was not well enough developed to handle such large amounts of data necessary for collocational studies. The computer used in Sinclair et al. (1970) could manipulate and store only 135,000 words at a time. Secondly, there is no clear understanding of the data size needed to discover for example the collocations of the 3,000 most frequent items in the language. Thirdly, grammatical structures seem to 'interfere' with the collocational patterns. Furthermore, there are still problems in homograph and idiom recognition, although there is evidence that they could be identified by their collocational variation. Moreover, these studies have shown that without sufficient data it is not possible to determine the collocational patterns of items. It appears that future studies on collocations should start with at least a million running words, as Halliday has pointed out, if they are to produce collocational information about several hundred fully lexical items. Lastly, more attention should be paid to the selection and the

treatment of text.

The study of lexical sets (system) and collocation (structure) is the study of language on the lexicogrammatical stratum. When lexical sets are established on the basis of collocational patterns found in large numbers of different types of texts language systems and structures are studied without a specific context. Consequently lexical items do not appear frequently enough to establish lexical sets. Sinclair and his colleagues (1970) use additionally synthetic texts to increase the frequency of the occurrence of lexical items. But they readily admit that this is not at all a recommended procedure for collocational studies. They, as did Halliday (1966b:160) and Sinclair (1966:429) earlier, emphasize the importance of the concept of register in computerized studies of lexis. They write:

the development of a reliable system for describing and identifying different language registers, based on a comparison of their statistical properties, would be extremely useful for future researchers into lexis (Sinclair et al. 1970:20).

But exactly how register is to be incorporated into the framework of the study of lexical sets and collocational patterns within the whole language system has not however been made explicit.

It is most obvious that collocational studies would greatly benefit if they were restricted to particular genres and registers. By limiting the corpus to selected genres and registers, it will be possible to increase the frequency of occurrence of particular lexical items and their collocations and still be analyzing natural rather than synthetic data. Now that our understanding of the generic and register organization of texts has increased it will soon be possible to continue the work started by Sinclair and his colleagues. Lexical studies can be approached from the semiotic systems (from above) rather than from the unclassified language material itself. In addition, the computer technology of today can probably more easily handle large amounts of data necessary for establishing lexical sets. It can thus be envisaged that in the future, once the lexical sets have been

established, lexical analyses of texts could be done in the following way:

one could simply look up open class items, see which sets they belong to, and group together those items in the text under consideration from the same lexical set as a representation of lexical cohesion [the reflection of higher semiotics onto the discourse stratum of the language plane]. Information would also be available as to how strong the probabilities of co-occurrence between lexical items were, giving a measure of the strength of lexical ties in the text (Martin 1981c:2-3).

As a collocationally based thesaurus is still not a reality, Martin (1981c:3) suggests that other means have to be developed to handle lexical cohesion in texts, e.g. by looking at how items relate to each other in a text and how they reflect the 'context' in which the text was produced (the higher semiotic organization in texts). In other words, the focus of the following discussion will be on how lexical items in texts function as indexical markers of a particular genre and register, and on how lexical items realize textual cohesion in texts as a whole.

6.2 Lexical Cohesion

It has been pointed out above that collocation is seen to operate on the lexicogrammatical stratum. It is a structure which in practical terms is mostly detectable within the grammatical unit of the clause or clause complex. That is to say that collocation is probably stronger within a clause or the boundaries of a clause complex. Collocations are followed linearly by taking each lexical item as a node in turn and the final groupings of intercollocating items are then the lexical sets.

Until we have the lexical thesaurus in our hands it may be more practical to start lexical studies on the next higher stratum by beginning to look at how lexis operates in a text - a unit on the discourse stratum - and relating it to the higher semiotic planes of register and genre in our culture. The relevant questions are then: how does the lexis of a text reflect the unity of the text as a whole?

what is the relationship the text has to higher level semiotics?
how are texts related to each other through their lexis? how does
the text (or texts) reflect the whole culture of the society?

6.2.1 Reiteration and Collocational Cohesion

The phenomenon of lexis creating unity in text has been called lexical cohesion by Halliday and Hasan (1976). Cohesion (of various kinds) is a kind of measure of the texture of a text. If the lexis in a text is organized so that items in the text can be related to preceding or to following items through some kind of cohesive relationship, the text is seen to be more closely 'knit together' (i.e. more cohesive) than a text where such relationships do not exist.

What type of textual relationships can then be recognized? Halliday and Hasan (1976:274-292) recognize five types of relationships which relate the lexical items of a text to one another and give it cohesiveness (unity as text). These types are (a) general word (thing = book), (b) repetition (book = book), (c) synonym (volume = book), (d) near-synonym (booklet = book), and (e) superordinate (flower - tulip). The general label for these types listed above is reiteration.

It is worth pointing out that the system of reference frequently coincides with lexical cohesion, e.g. a boy - the boy, but from the lexis point of view

a lexical item...coheres with a preceding
occurrence of the same item whether or not the
two have the same referent (Halliday and Hasan
1976:283).

Whenever two items are related both through reference and reiteration (two different systems) they must be considered to have double cohesive ties (Halliday and Hasan 1976:319).

In addition to reiteration Halliday and Hasan (1976:284-288) recognize collocational cohesion as a system creating cohesion in texts. Collocational cohesion does not mean the same as collocation in Halliday (1966b), Sinclair (1966) and Sinclair et al. (1970), who see it as a lexical relationship within a particularly defined span. It seems that in Halliday and Hasan (1976) collocational cohesion is

seen to be operating on a different level to lexicogrammatical collocation. Collocational cohesion is part of the cohesive description of a text/texts and concentrates on describing the associative meaning relationships between the regularly co-occurring lexical items in the text without paying attention to the span within which they occur (Halliday and Hasan 1976:284).

Collocational cohesion relationships between items are however slightly problematic. It is often very hard to describe systematically in discourse functional terms what exactly these relationships are, as for example in the following pairs: laugh-joke, blade-sharp, garden-dig, ill-doctor, try-succeed etc. (for more examples see Halliday and Hasan 1976:285-286).

The cohesive effect of such pairs depends not so much on any systematic semantic [i.e. discourse] relationship as on their tendency to share the same lexical environment, to occur in COLLOCATION with one another...any two lexical items having similar patterns of collocation - that is, tending to appear in similar contexts - will generate a cohesive force if they occur in adjacent sentences (Halliday and Hasan 1976:286).

But the collocational patterning is not just limited to the juxtaposed sentences; collocational patterns seem to be

weaving in and out of successive sentences. Such patterns occur freely both within the same sentence and across sentence boundaries; they are largely independent of the grammatical structure (Halliday and Hasan 1976:286).

It is unclear what role Halliday and Hasan (1976) see the distance or the span between cohesive items playing in collocational cohesion. In the analyzed text extracts in Halliday and Hasan (1976) it seems that the cohesive relationship of items in collocational cohesion varies. There are eighteen occurrences of collocational cohesion in their texts, nine of which are within a zero distance (i.e. the related collocational item is found in the immediately preceding sentence). The other nine instances of collocational cohesion have propositionally non-related intervening sentences between the

collocating items. The number of these intervening sentences varies from one to sixteen. Obviously the collocational relationship is experienced to be stronger if the collocating items appear in juxtaposed sentences than being for example sixteen sentences apart. Halliday and Hasan (1976) do not discuss the principles in relating items to near and distant items in any great detail, but they seem to be following the principle that the collocating item is related to the nearest associative item, whatever the preceding span between the two items might be.

Halliday and Hasan (1976:290) see cohesive force to be based on three things: 1) on how the items are related in the linguistic system (i.e. the probability that they will co-occur since they belong to the same lexical set; e.g. sunset being closer to sundown than for example to day), 2) on the distance between items (i.e. the span - the longer the distance the weaker the cohesive relationship) and 3) on what the overall frequency of the item in the language is (i.e. high frequency collocating items project less cohesion into a text than low frequency collocating items).

How are reiteration and collocation cohesion then seen by Halliday and Hasan (1976) to be functioning in text? As they point out "the effect of lexical, especially collocational, cohesion on a text is subtle and difficult to estimate" (Halliday and Hasan 1976:288). The main function of lexical cohesion can be expressed in very general terms as a 'guarantee' that our discourse does not aimlessly wander from one discourse topic to another (except perhaps in casual conversation where the conversational rules for topic shift are relaxed to a certain degree, see Ventola 1977, 1979 or in schizophrenic speech, see Rochester and Martin 1979). Lexical cohesion gives a text "a certain consistency of topic and predictability of development" (Halliday and Hasan 1976:288). As the text unfolds what has preceded provides a context for the lexical items that occur later, cf. a well-known quotation from Firth:

most of the give-and-take of conversation in our everyday life is stereotyped and very narrowly conditioned by our particular type of culture. It is a sort of roughly prescribed social ritual, in which you generally say what the other fellow expects

you, one way or the other, to say. The moment a conversation is started, whatever is said is a determining condition for what, in any reasonable expectation, may follow (Firth 1935/57:31-32).

Halliday and Hasan (1976:289) see the 'textness of texts' as a result of "the occurrence of the item IN THE CONTEXT OF RELATED LEXICAL ITEMS that provides cohesion and gives to the passage the quality of text".

Halliday and Hasan (1976:289) emphasize the 'instantial' meaning that lexis creates in a text making texts unique. But they also emphasize the fact that texts must be seen in relation to the generalized situation type - the context of situation - which enables one to accept texts as texts (Halliday and Hasan 1976:20). They see any passage as a text if it portrays 'consistency of register', register being constituted by those linguistic features which can be associated with a 'configuration of situational features' (i.e. particular values of field, mode and tenor) (Halliday and Hasan 1976:22-23). Thus they define a text as

a passage of discourse which is coherent in these two regards: it is coherent with respect to the context of situation, and therefore consistent in register; and it is coherent with respect to itself and therefore cohesive (Halliday and Hasan 1976:23).

Furthermore, they make a distinction between register and cohesion and their relation to text:

The register is the set of semantic configurations that is typically associated with a particular CLASS of contexts of situation, and defines the substance of the text: WHAT IT MEANS...Cohesion is the set of meaning relations that is general to ALL CLASSES of text, that distinguishes text from 'non-text'...cohesion does not concern what a text means; it concerns how the text is constructed as a semantic edifice (Halliday and Hasan 1976:26).

But although lexical cohesion, following the extract above, is considered general it seems natural to expect that cohesive patterns of a text also play a role when a text is classified as one text-type rather than another. Halliday and Hasan show how a text is built to be a cohesive unit of discourse. One can, however, extend their

work by hypothesizing that it should be possible to recognize in texts of the same text-type the same 'building materials' giving the texts their unity. The same lexical patterns should partly be found in all of the texts belonging to the same text-type (i.e. to the same genre and register).

What is being proposed is that the study of the lexis of a text is not only interesting because we can determine how well-constructed, cohesive a text is but also because the patterns of reiteration and collocational cohesion tell us something about the higher semiotic organization of the text. Lexical cohesion is considered here to portray the generic structure of a text as well as the realization of its register specifically in terms of FIELD. This view in part goes back to Firth's notion (see p.268) of lexis (pivot/key words) reflecting FIELD choices in texts. Martin (1981c) has primarily been the one who has developed analyses for capturing how lexical cohesion realizes FIELD choices in texts. Following Martin, similar analyses will in this study be used to see whether lexical patterning also reflects SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES of texts which are considered to belong to the same genre. However, such a discussion presupposes familiarity with LEXICAL COHESION as a system and as a structure.

6.2.2 LEXICAL COHESION: System

As has already been discussed in Chapter IV, register for Martin (in press, in prep.) is a semiotic plane. One aspect of register is FIELD, which is reflected in texts through lexis (see also Benson and Greaves 1981 for a discussion). On the discourse stratum lexical relations are presented as a system network and these systems generate lexical structures which represent the FIELD related co-occurrences of lexical items in texts, as will be shown later. Such lexical structures are dependency structures rather than constituency structures.

In Martin (1981c) a network is presented whose purpose is to handle the lexical relations on the discourse stratum (cf. Halliday and Hasan's 1976 semantic level). Martin (1981c:5) sees such a network as underlying "the collocational description of lexis at the lexicogrammatical level proposed by Halliday and Sinclair", but does not very specifically state what exactly the relationship is between

the discourse patterning of lexical cohesion and the collocational patterning on the lexicogrammatical stratum. Obviously more work needs to be done on both strata before such a relationship can be made fully explicit.

Below a LEXICAL COHESION system network based on Martin's work is presented (Fig. 28, p.282). The lexical relations captured by the LEXICAL COHESION network in Fig. 28 are relatively straightforward. The pairs of lexical items in parentheses following the most delicate features of the network are presented as examples to illustrate the meaning relations generated by the network. It is therefore not considered necessary to detail all the systems in the network. A few examples will illustrate the principle. For instance, the lexical items flower and tulip would be related in a text through the selection of the following features: [taxonomic: superordination: inclusion: hyponymy]. This means that although flower and tulip belong to the same class of items, the meaning relationship between the two items is so organized that one of the items is superordinate to the other. This relationship of superordination means that flower and tulip are hyponyms, where the meaning of tulip implies that it is some type of flower but a flower need not be a tulip. In the case of co-hyponymy, tulip and rose imply the same kind of a relationship, namely that they both are kinds of flowers.

Taxonomic relations tend to be thing-oriented, whereas non-taxonomic relations tend to be activity-oriented. As laymen we are more used to classifying things rather than activities. Therefore taxonomic lexical relations in texts seem much clearer to us than activity-oriented lexical relations. Part of the difficulty that linguists face in recognizing activity-oriented lexical relations is that they frequently 'co-operate' with taxonomic relations in texts. Let us take as an example [extensions] which have the function of adding something to the meaning of the Head, whether it is a Process, an Event or a Thing. In the clause He won the race, the Medium the race is added to the Process to win. In these [experientially nuclear] relations part of the meaning of a text as the realization of a particular genre and of a particular register is captured by the syntagmatic structures of language (i.e. by items that we expect to

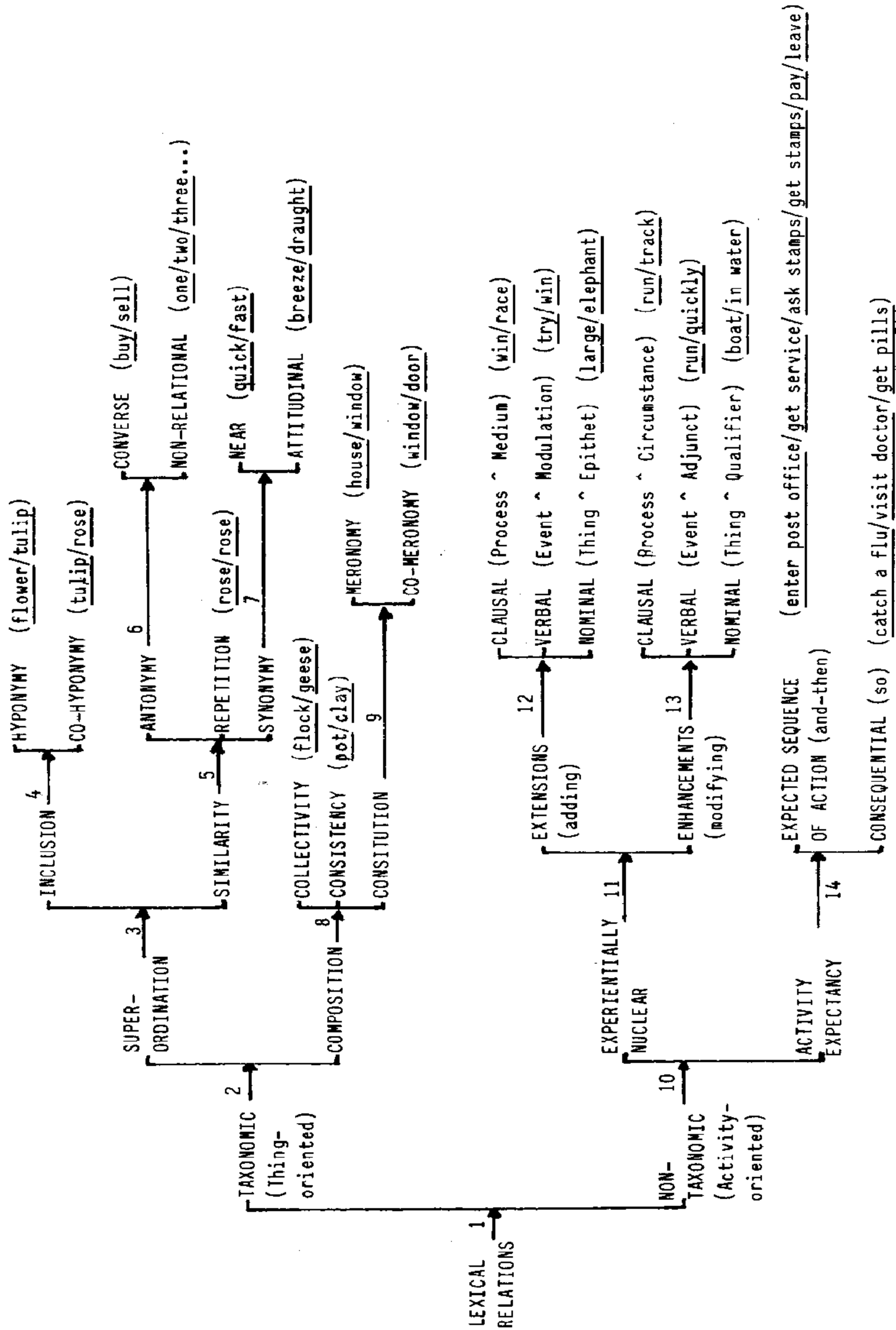


Fig. 28. LEXICAL COHESION; The Discourse Stratum.

co-occur in each other's company). The relations which realize [activity expectancy] are equally helpful in recognizing activities in text. Such lexical relations seem not only to capture a single event but rather a sequence of events. In the following two text extracts the lexical items express the [activity expectancy] relations of banking:

Example 56 (additional data):

S: I tell you what your best bet is go over to the bank
 C: yes
 S: and ask them for a bankdraft for that much
 C: yeah
 S: and then you you pay them the money they'll give you the bankdraft and you can put it in the letter

Example 57 (additional data):

S: you ask them for a bank cheque and they'll give it to you and you put it into an envelope and seal it

To capture the lexical relations in the text extracts it is best to refer to participants by the respective lexical items, not by the reference items. Such lexical rendering gives us the following banking sequences for Examples 56 and 57:

Example 56:

customer	-	go	-	bank	
customer	-	ask	-	servers	- bankdraft
customer	-	pay	-	servers	- money
servers	-	give	-	customer	- bankdraft
customer	-	put	-	bankdraft	- letter

Example 57:

customer	-	ask	-	servers	- bank cheque
servers	-	give	-	bank cheque	- customer
customer	-	put	-	bank cheque	- envelope
customer	-	seal	-	envelope	

Both of these text extracts were recorded in post offices. Their lexis indicates a momentary shift to the FIELD 'banking'. This is caused by the server explaining to the customer the best procedures of sending money overseas. But since the server advises the customer to use bankdrafts/bank cheques, he needs to 'borrow' also the whole lexis of

'banking', the [activity expectancy] relations involved in another FIELD. The borrowed lexis also reflects the generic organization of the subgenre 'banking' of service encounters.

The work in the area of LEXICAL COHESION and how genre and register are realized by the lexis in texts is still at its initial stages. Even though linguists have not progressed in describing the functions of lexical relations native speakers seem to understand intuitively how the taxonomic and non-taxonomic lexical relationships operate in a language. Most definitions that native speakers give to non-native speakers are given either in taxonomic or non-taxonomic terms (also monolingual dictionaries operate on this principle). Native speakers are however not expected to master all the possible lexical relations in a language.

No speaker of English is familiar with even most of the taxonomic organization of lexis in his language. Speaking a language involves a mastery of next to all its closed systems but only those open systems that are relevant to the experience of the speaker (Martin 1981c:8).

Lexical theories may best be developed when this factor is taken into account. This means relating lexis systematically to the higher semiotic planes. Our familiarity with certain genres and registers also influences our knowledge of the taxonomic and non-taxonomic organization of the language we use. A specialist in his own area of expertise has quite a different taxonomic organization to a layman. A good example of this is the differences between a doctor's and a patient's description of the symptoms of an illness. Naturally, of course, a doctor does not have to use his 'specialist's' taxonomies when talking to his patient but rather limits their use to talking with colleagues (an example of how TENOR choices influence the realization of FIELD choices). Thus, whenever lexical relations are being studied in a text it has to be kept in mind that they also function as realizations of higher semiotic systems, specifically that of FIELD.

6.2.3 LEXICAL COHESION: Structure

How then are these lexical relations manifested in texts? How

are the FIELD choices kept track of in a text? The systems of LEXICAL COHESION operating on the discourse stratum have been presented in Fig. 28 but what are the structures like which realize the choices in these systems? This is not such an easy question to answer because lexical structures in texts are not as obvious as the constituency structures found for example on the lexicogrammatical stratum.

LEXICAL COHESION systems generate dependency structures, independent of grammatical structure (as pointed out by Halliday and Hasan in section 6.2.1). A cohesive relationship exists between one lexical item and another whether they are adjacent or several clauses apart (although naturally the relationship is weaker the further apart the lexical items are). These dependency relationships between cohesive lexical items can be captured by lexical strings. Martin (1981c:13) suggests that the principle where each lexical item is taken "back once to the nearest preceding lexically cohesive item regardless of distance" will serve as a good analytical method for capturing the dependency relationships of lexis as they are realized as lexical structures in texts.

Sometimes it may be difficult to decide whether or not an item is related to another, not because of 'physical' distance but rather because of 'semantic' distance. That is, two items are so distantly related in either taxonomic or non-taxonomic terms that it is doubtful whether the items are still cohesive (similarly, when the 'physical' distance is great cohesiveness is greatly weakened). One may see a cohesive relationship between mosquito and insect, but are mosquito and animal in a cohesive relationship? Martin (1981c:8) suggests that reference criteria can be used as a 'test' of cohesiveness of taxonomic items realizing participants; in other words, if a subclass item is cohesive with a superordinate term, the latter will take a definite reference item: a mosquito - the insect - but not the animal. With meronymy, bridging can be used as a criterion: lexical items expressing the part-relationship to the whole can be referred to as if 'given', e.g. a house - the door, the roof etc.

By relating a lexical item back to the preceding item enables one to form lexical strings which run through a text. An example of such a lexical string analysis of an extract from Text 11 is provided in

'section of day'	'destination'	'transport activities'	'transport'	Text 11: SERVICE I
MIDDAY(4) meronymy	SYDNEY(4)	GO(4) hyp-	BUSES(4) hyponymy ANSETT(6) PIONEER(8) instantial	4 are there buses that go to Sydney uh...about midday
SECTION(9) er- MORNING(9) o-mer- AFTERNOON(9)		OPERATE(8) hyp. LEAVE(9) hyp. OPERATE(12) SYDNEY(14) CARRY(13) hyp. GO(18a) hyp. CARRY(18b) hyp. GO(18c)	7:30(9) 5:30(9) co-hyp. GREYHOUND(12) non-tax:nuclear TRAFFIC-RIGHTS(14)	5 S: no 6 there's only Ansett 'n Pioneer 7 they have the uh main...control 8 they're the only ones that operate...
	CANBERRA(14) co-hyp. SYDNEY(14) hyp. INTERSTATE(18a) hyp. BRISBANE(18c)			9 and that section they leave at 7:30 in the morning and at 5:30 in the afternoon 10 C: uhuh 11 S: yeah... 12 Greyhound do operate 13 but they can't carry you 14 they've no traffic rights Canberra Sydney 15 C: yeah 16 I see 17 S: yeah 18a it's only if you're going interstate 18b then they can they could carry you 19 C: uhuh 18c S: if you're going through to Brisbane

Fig. 29. LEXICAL COHESION: Structure for SERVICE I in Text 11.

As can be seen in Fig. 29 not all the lexical items in the text enter into lexical strings. But those items which do can be said to represent the predictable occurrence of items that imply a particular choice of FIELD. The strings realize the lexical structure of this text extract. By looking at the strings one can tell relatively accurately what the FIELD selections this text extract are. All the strings may generally be said to be related to the FIELD 'travel'. Possible FIELD networks that these strings realize are proposed in Fig. 30 (p.288).

It is fairly straightforward to analyze and to discover the lexical structure in one text and say how it realizes the selected FIELD in the text. But even though texts would be realizing the same FIELD selection their lexical structure may not be the same. The same lexical items will not be used in all of the text realizing the same FIELD choice(s). For example, in a souvenir/gift shop we may discuss mobiles like in Text 5, or wallets like in Texts 6 and 8, or strings of pearls like in Text 7. How is one then able to state that the lexis in the Texts 5-8 in the Appendix reflects the same FIELD? One way to approach this question would be to look for the kind of relationships as presented in the LEXICAL COHESION network in Fig. 28. But taxonomic and non-taxonomic relations can be found in all texts irrespective of the realized FIELD (although naturally certain FIELD selections may be realized by some relations more often than others). So to think of the lexis in texts only generally in terms of types of lexical relations will not be very productive. But if one approaches the lexical taxonomies from the perspective of underlying semiotics, thinking what it is in terms of genre and register between which these relationships exist, one can get very much closer to understanding how for example two post office texts can have different lexical items in them but still realize exactly the same FIELD selection. FIELD taxonomies, thus, give texts the 'scope' of realization.

Drawing networks representing FIELD, MODE and TENOR that will describe the whole culture would be an enormous task. If however, we think of a particular part of the culture - a particular social situation-type - the choices are much more restricted and descriptions of the most prominent registers within our society are more feasible.

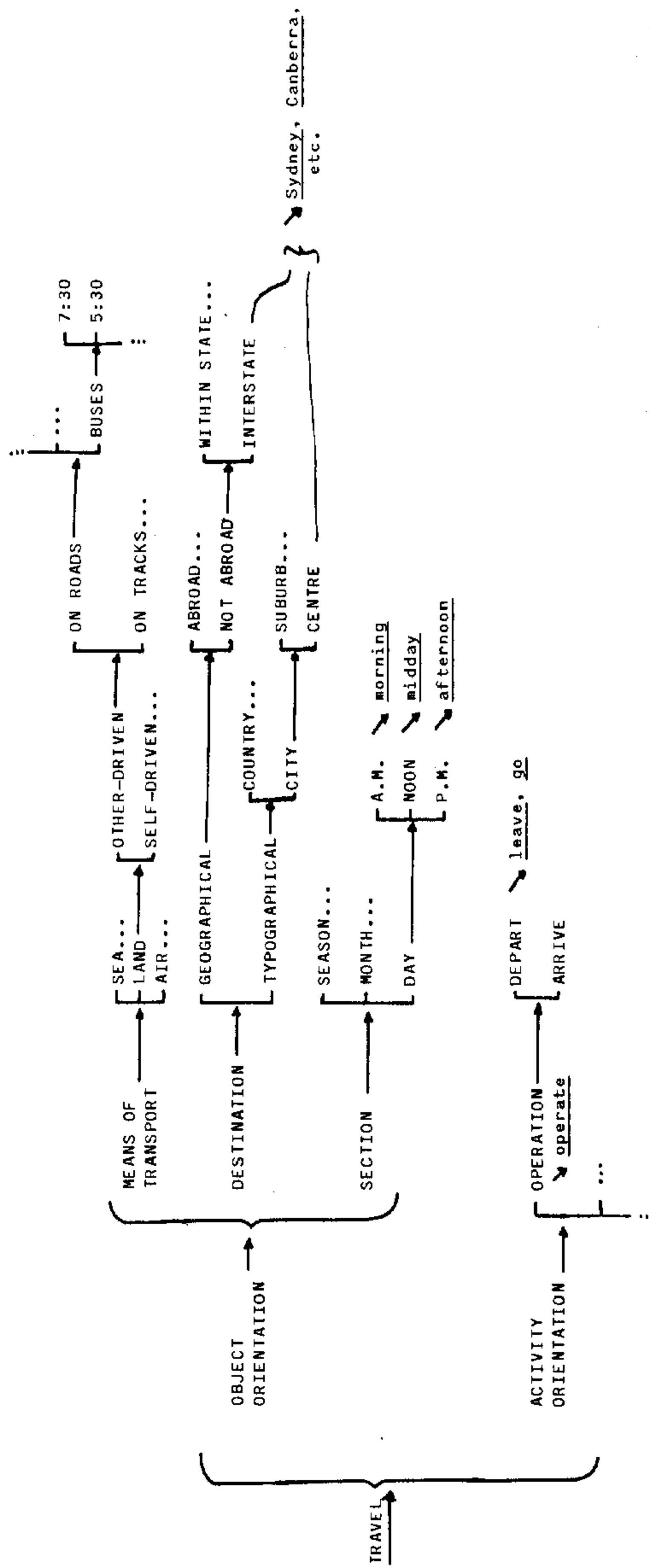


Fig- 30. Text-Specific Choices of the FIELD 'Travel' on the Register Plane.

The work of describing registers as semiotic potentials mapped out as choices in networks is only starting and therefore the partial FIELD networks presented in this study should be considered very tentative descriptions of the FIELD selections. These FIELD networks are meant to capture how the lexis in the data of this thesis realizes the particular FIELD selections. When for example all the subgenres of service encounters in the total context of the culture are described a much more complex network will emerge.

If the theory outlined above is correct, it should be possible for example by looking at the four post office-texts in the Appendix to establish what is common to these texts in terms of activity and object orientation of the FIELD 'postal matters'. Below the four PO-texts will be looked at from the point of view of how the lexis in these texts is realized as structure (i.e. as lexical strings) and what the cohesive strength of the strings is. The main object of the following discussion is to illustrate whether or not lexis indicates the similarity of the texts in terms of activity and object orientation of FIELD. The analyses of the four texts are presented as Figures 31, 32, 33 and 34 respectively (pp.290-295).

The lexical strings realizing taxonomic and non-taxonomic relations in the four post office texts in the data have each been semantically labelled. The analyses show that the lexical strings in the texts share some similar features. For example, the items appearing in the strings labelled 'items to be bought' (jiffy-bag, first-day-covers, parcel etc.) could only occur in post'office texts. In the same way, the string 'rates' seems to occur in all of the analyzed texts and the items in these strings greatly resemble one another across the texts. On the basis of the items occurring in these lexical strings one can attempt a rough estimation of what the object orientation in the FIELD network for the FIELD 'postal matters' would look like (Fig. 35, p.296).

The processes in these post office texts are very general (e.g. take, have, go, get, etc.). Largely this is a result of MODE selections. In such language-as-action situations as post office encounters the processes are elicited, because they are contextually explicit.

'quantity'	'items to be bought'	'rates'	Text 1 (post office)
TWO(2) ant.			1 S: yes please [C steps forward]
ONE(4) rep.			2 C: can I have these two like that [hands over two letters]
ONE(5) ant.			3 S: yes
			4 S: one's forty-five
			5 S: one's twenty-five
			6 C: have you got...the...first day covers of...
			7 S: yes
			8 C: (Anzac)
			9 S: how many would you like
			10 C: four please
			11 S: two of each
			12 C: what have you got
			13 S: there's two different designs on the
			14 C: I'll take two of each
			15 S: uhuh
			16 S: right...
			17 that's a dollar seventy thank you
			18 [10 secs - S puts the covers into a bag; C gets out the money]
			19 S: here we are
			20 [2 secs - S hands over the goods; C hands over the money]
			21 C: thank you
			22 S: thank you
			23 [5 secs - S gets the change]
			24 S: dollar seventy that's two four and one's five
			25 C: thank you very much
			26 C: thank you
			27 [2 secs - C reaches for the letters]
			28 S: they'll be right
			29 I'll fix those up in a moment
			30 C: okay [C leaves]

Fig. 31. LEXICAL COHESION: Structure in Text 1.

'activities'	'size'	'items to be bought'	Text 2 (post office)
		PADED-POSTAL-BAG(2) inst. hyp. PARCEL(8) inst. TAPE(9) rep. TAPE(11) rep. TAPE(16) rep. TWENTY(14) co-hyp. TWENTY-FIVE(17) co-hyp. THIRTY(20) co-hyp. THIRTY-FIVE(28) rep. THIRTY-FIVE-CENT(29) LOOK(18) rep. LOOK(20) FIT(14) non-tax. BIGGER(16) ant. NARROW(19) HAVE(28) rep. HAVE(29)	1 S: yes sir [C steps forward] 2 C: a padded postal bag please 3 S: which one 4 C: which one.... 5 one for a thing about-.... 6 oh dear 7 [2 secs] 8 S: what is it 9 C: just a parcel / 10 C: it's a uh uh it's it's a tape... er- 11 S: what- 12 a single tape just by itself / 13 C: yeah 14 S: right 15 it'll fit in the twenty 16 C: no 17 it's it's a bigger tape than that 18 S: well what about the twenty-five 19 C: I guess I'm gonna have to look at the- 20 it might be a bit narrow 21 I'm gonna have to look at the thirty- 22 S: yeah 23 well...there are only- 24 C: yeah 25 yeah 26 right 27 all right 28 that's easy 29 if you don't like that you'll have to have a thirty-five 30 C: I'll have to have a thirty-five-cent one won't I / 31 S: no choice 32 C: right

'activities'	'size'	'items to be bought'	Text 2 (continued)
			[7 secs - S gets the jiffy bag and hands it over to C; C counts his coins] 32 C: ()... 33 good--- 34 exactly 35 S: [C is giving money to S] 36 good 37 C: thank you very much thank you very much

Fig. 32. LEXICAL COHESION: Structure in Text 2.

'move- ment'	'destination'	'rates'	'methods of mailing'	'indexical activities'	'items to be bought'	'time'	Text 3 (post office)
0(6)	ADELAIDE(7)	EIGHTY-CENTS(8) ant.	SURFACE-MAIL(8) ant.		JIFFY-BAG(2)		1 S: yes please
non- tax.	rep.	DOLLAR-TWENTY(8)	AIR-MAIL(8) ant.		inst.		2 C: can I have a jiffy bag for that please [hands over a packet]
ET(9)			SURFACE-MAIL(9) rep.		THIRTY-FIVE(4)		3 S: uhuh [3 secs - S gets the bag]
non-tax. 0(10)	ADELAIDE(10) meron. BAROSSA		SURFACE-MAIL(13) ant.				4 S: it should fit into the thirty-five I think
rep.	VALLEY(11) meron.	ant.	WAY(14) hyp.				5 C: oh right [2 secs - S puts the packet into the bag]
0(14)	ADELAIDE(14) meron. BAROSSA(14)		ROAD(14) co-hyp.				6 S: where is it going
rep.			TRAIN (14)				7 C: Adelaide [3 secs - S weighs the bag]
0(14)							8 S: hm that's eighty cents surface mail or a dollar twenty air mail
							9 C: when will it get there by surface mail
							10 S: whereabouts is it going in Adelaide
							11 C: uhm Barossa Valley
							12 S: uh that's outside
							13 you might as well send it surface mail because it's-....
							14 it'll be there Monday...or Tuesday...either way... b'cause it'll go to Adelaide and it goes up by road or by train to the Barossa
							15 C: yeah
							16 okay
							17 S: okay
							18 C: so it's eighty
							19 S: uhuh
							20 plus thirty-five for the bag [10 secs - S gets the stamps and staples the bag]
							C gets out her money]
							21 C: (six eight) [S hands the goods to S]

'rates'	'indexical activities'	Text 3 (continued)
(21) ant. ONE-DOLLAR-FIFTEEN(22) ant. EIGHTY(23) ant. TWENTY-FIVE(24)	(13) <	

Fig. 33. LEXICAL COHESION: Structure in Text 3.

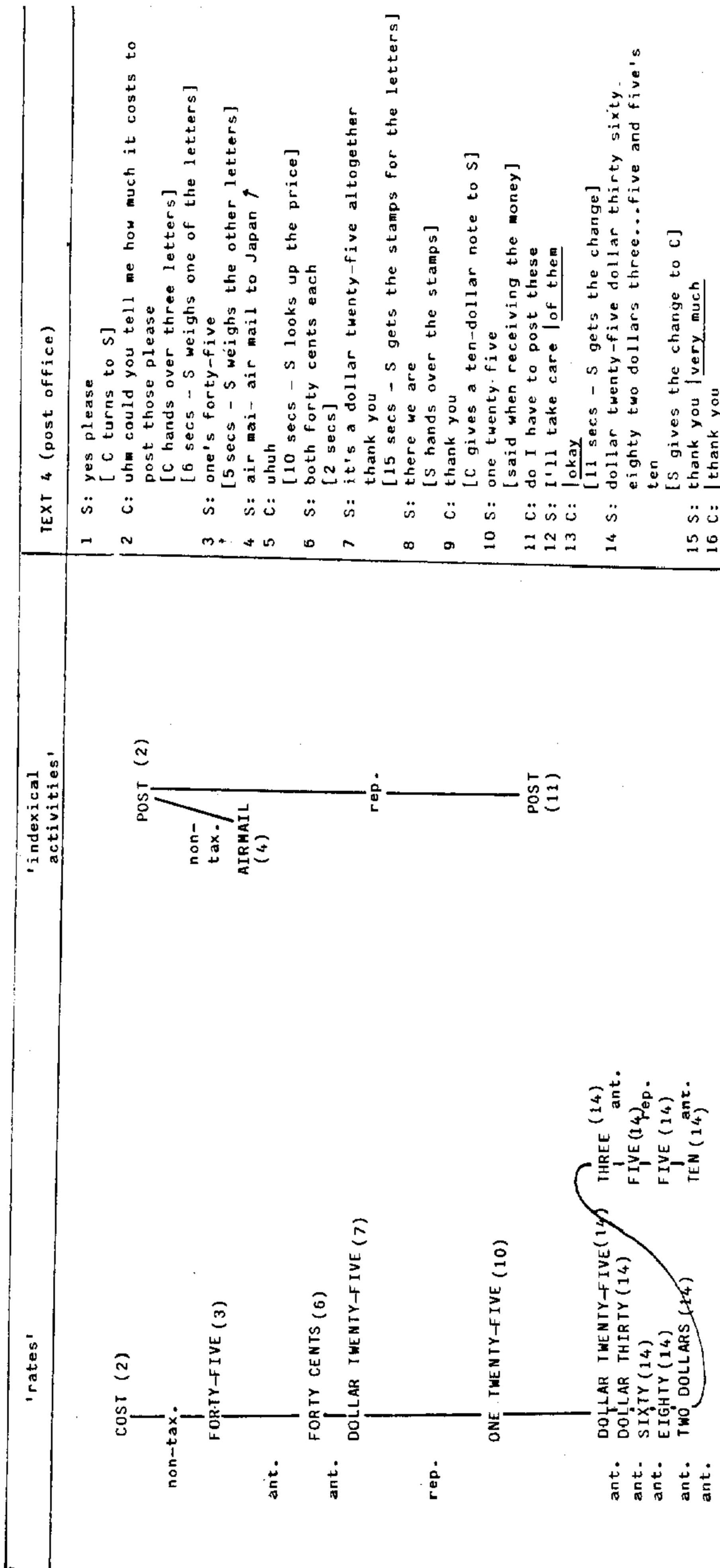


Fig. 34. LEXICAL COHESION: Structure in Text 4.

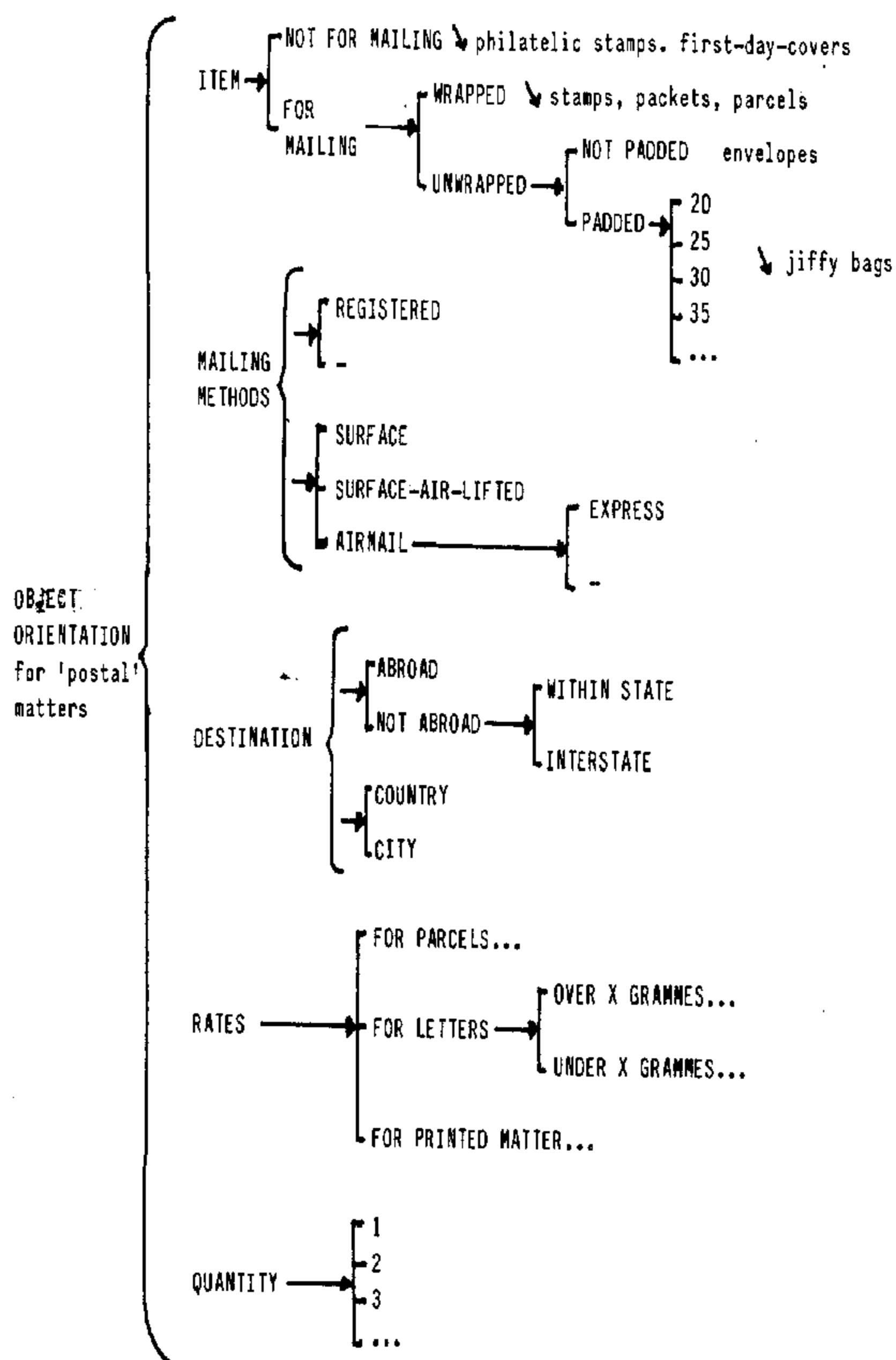


Fig. 35 Object-Orientation in the FIELD 'Postal Matters'

No attempt will therefore be made to draw activity orientation for the FIELD 'postal matters'. The reason for the use of generalized processes in post office texts may be the stereotyped, routine character of these service encounters. Few indexical processes, such as post, send, address are needed because the social process and its on-going development is so obvious to all participants.

In these post office texts there are lexical strings that specifically indicate that the texts realize the FIELD 'postal matters'. These lexical strings are usually th

purchased are negotiated. Certain types of activity strings and such strings as 'methods of mailing' are also typical of post office texts. A further string that seems to appear in all of the texts is that of 'rates'. This string seems to be part of the realization of generic structure rather than the FIELD 'postal matters'. It is part of all the texts where the items are actually being bought. It will be shown later in Chapter IX that the 'rates' strings also appear in Texts 5 and 11, these being shop and travel agency texts respectively. Thus some lexical strings are considered to realize the choices on the genre rather than the register plane. More work needs to be done in this area before more specific claims concerning generically determined lexical strings can be made.

When the analyses of these post office texts are examined closely it is apparent that the lexical items in the strings form groups. In other words, at certain stages of the interaction the lexical density of the items within the string seems to increase. This observation leads to the following question: do the lexical items also indicate the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES of texts? As the participants create texts dynamically moving from one stage of the social process to another they naturally utilize the various resources of language. This movement from stage to stage is also reflected in the linguistic realizations in texts. Some support for the hypothesis of the correspondence between the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE of a text and its lexis has been found by Martin and Rothery (1980:32). When single texts are being analyzed it is relatively easy to see a relationship between the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE of a realized text and its lexis. When several texts belonging to a particular genre and register are being analyzed it becomes much harder to show what exactly the relationship between the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES and the lexis in the texts as a potential rather than as actual is. In other words, the question being asked is the following: how does the lexis in several texts show that they belong to the same genre? From the dynamic perspective one could ask: how is a text generated lexically if it is meant to express its generic classification? A search for answers to these questions will begin next.

6.3 LEXICAL COHESION and SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE

What can one hypothesize about the relationship between LEXICAL COHESION and SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE? LEXICAL COHESION is a 'general progression of meaning association' (see Martin 1981c:14) or a reflection of the ongoing social process. LEXICAL COHESION structures reflect the FIELD choices in text. Martin (1981c:25) suggests that lexical cohesion analyses will provide the means 1) for measuring cohesion in texts, 2) for making explicit the realization of FIELD and 3) for interpreting certain aspects of verbal art. The second point will specifically be of interest to the study of service encounters.

When for example a post office text is looked at it is usually immediately obvious that it is a post office rather than a shop or a travel agency text. Naturally one may speak about stamps in a travel agency or talk about one's travels in a shop. But even such texts reflect that the text is a travel agency rather than a post office text or a shop text rather than a travel agency text in the latter case. Only occasionally one feels doubtful about the subgeneric classification of the transcribed text. This seems to happen with texts which have been realized so exophorically that it is hard for an analyst to pin down immediately what the selected FIELD is in the text. Consider, for example, the following text:

Example 58 (additional data - PO):

- S: you're right [tone 2]
[2 secs - C organizing himself]
C: how much would that be please
S: fifty cents
[10 secs - S gets the stamps, gives them to C, who hands over the money]
S: thank you
[2 secs - C organizes himself to leave]
C: thanks very much
S: thank you

This text cannot in any way be described as a deviant text. It was perfectly functional in its context of situation. But for an analyst who retrospectively looks at such a text it presents a problem. The FIELD seems not to have been realized, or rather its realization is
please. All

the other lexical items seem to point to the realization of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE rather than any particular FIELD. One can of course draw conclusions about the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE and judging by the fairly routine manner in which the interaction is realized one may guess that this text is a post office text. The only way that one can capture the lexis in such texts as above where the MODE selections influence the realizations of lexical items, is by replacing every exophoric item with the item it refers to. Such a procedure can only be done if enough contextual information is available to the analyst. Usually, however, texts do include a few indexical lexical items, which indicate the FIELD selection. FIELD selections seem to be done at a particular stage of interaction, that is in a particular SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element. Such FIELD selection realizations in the texts function as indicators of generic structuring in texts, as will be discussed next below.

Martin and Rothery (1980) have indicated how lexical cohesion patterns change in the unfolding of narrative and in expository texts. In these literary genres certain lexical strings can be directly related to certain SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements of the text. There are also, however, lexical strings that extend over whole texts (see Martin and Rothery 1980 for a detailed discussion and analyses). An interesting question can now be posed: does lexical cohesion in spoken texts pattern in the same way? Could one expect the lexical patterning in service encounter texts to show the progression of the social process?

Naturally spoken genres differ from written genres. Firstly, they are products of interaction between at least two interactants whereas in written genres only one person is responsible for the text. Secondly, social interaction is also realized by other semiotic codes as well as language. Consequently, lexical patterning cannot be expected to be as 'pronounced' or 'highlighted' in spoken interactive texts than it is for example in verbal art.

In most cases, however, lexical patterning can be said to reflect the social process as the interaction proceeds from one activity stage to the next, from one schematic structure element to the next. This can be shown by looking at the lexical strings and the items realized

in the post office texts analyzed in detail. At first lexical cohesion relationships in lexical strings do not appear to give any clear indication of the realization of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE of a text. The main reason for this is that post office texts as social activity seem to select the 'language-as-action' options of MODE rather than 'language-as-reflection' options. The social activity in the post offices has become so routine the language has acquired a simply ancillary role in these situations. Language seems to be required mainly for requesting service and for requesting payment of goods. It is both of these elements, S and P, that are probably most clearly reflected in the lexical patterning of texts.

The following SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE emerges for Text 1:

<u>elements:</u>	<u>lines in text:</u>
AA	1 + NV
S I	2-5 + NV
S II	6-14 + NV
	15 (=Frame, see Chapter IX)
P	16 + NV + 19-20
GH	NV + 17
CL	21-22
POSTING	23-25

Do the lexical strings in the text reflect this structure? Lexical strings seems to throw very little light on the realization of AA, GH and CL (this is also the case in all of the other post office texts analyzed in this chapter and Text 5 and Text 11 in Chapter IX). This is not surprising. AA is realized in such a routine way that there are no other items in the text with which the items in it can cohere. The primary mode of realization of GH is non-verbal and this largely explains the lack of cohesion with the other lexical items in the text. The CL element sometimes has lexical coherence (e.g. thank you - thanks). But CL is best treated as being realized directly by the lexicogrammatical structure and not reflecting the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE on the discourse stratum. All of the elements mentioned above can be considered to be interpersonal in nature rather than experiential and this largely explains that they are not realized by LEXICAL COHESION structures in texts. POSTING could be expected to be realizing the FIELD 'postal matters' more explicitly but this is not the case in Text 1 (but cf. Text 3). This leaves one to consider

the role lexical strings play in the realization of the elements S I, S II and P.

The lexical items, two, one and one in the 'quantity' string and forty-five and twenty-five in the 'rates' string appear on lines where S I is seen to be realized. The Need in S I is realized exophorically these [two letters]. When one looks at the above mentioned strings it seems that there is a gap in the strings after S I has been realized (four on line 9, following one on line 5 in the 'quantity' string, and dollar-seventy on line 16, following twenty-five on line 5). This seems to indicate that after the Need and the Compliance of S I the lexical density in these strings falls. The cause for this is that the S II element follows - the negotiation about the goods in S II has begun. A new lexical string begins with the item first-day-covers. This is indexical of the FIELD 'postal matters'. In other words, it definitely belongs to 'post office-talk' and not for example to 'travel agency-talk'. The items four-two-two-two start appearing again in the 'quantity' string. What these observations seem to suggest then is that the element SERVICE can be recognized by the lexical items appearing in the lexical strings: when expressing his Need C needs to tell S what the items are he wants to buy and also the quantity. So one can expect that lexical items realizing the items of Need will appear in texts more frequently in the Need parts than for example in the Compliance parts of the element S. Usually once the item to be bought has been established by an indexical lexical item, indicating FIELD realization, the system of reference usually takes over. The 'rates' string, on the other hand, is something that S controls and the lexical items appearing in the 'rates' string may be expected to concentrate on the Compliance part of the S-element (and on the P-element, as will be seen later). The 'quantity' string seems to cover both the Need and the Compliance in the elements S I and S II, that is, the items group according to the S I and S II elements. The lexical density of the items in the string is concentrated in lines 2-5 and 9-13. If one combined the exchange structure analysis with the lexical cohesion analysis it would be observed that these lines form the nuclear exchange on the S element.

A further indication of lexical strings providing information

about the relationship between the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements and LEXICAL COHESION is the fact that both the 'quantity' and the 'items to be bought' strings end as the elements S I and S II end. A different type of lexis takes over after the S-elements have been realized. The 'rates' string begins. The lexical density of the items in this string increases again considerably. This increase of lexical density corresponds to the realization of the element PAY. Note also that the string ends at the boundary between P and CL.

Can similar observations about the correspondences of lexical strings, the density of the strings and the realization of the schematic structure elements be made from the other three post office texts? As will be seen, this largely proves to be the case.

The structure of T-2 can be seen as:

<u>elements:</u>	<u>lines in text:</u>
AA	1 + NV
S	2-31 + NV
GH	NV + 32-33
P	34 + NV + 35
CL	36-37

What has been said above about the lexical string 'items to be bought' for Text 1 also applies for S in Text 2. C presents his Need and the lexical string starts with an indexical item padded-postal-bag (this is taken as one lexical item; cohesion within the nominal group is thus not being treated here, although naturally one could do so; it is seen to contribute so little extra information on lexical cohesion that it is considered unnecessary). The Need has to be negotiated since it has not been specific enough and this is done by several kinds of jiffy-bags being offered to C by S. These lexical items expressing the different types of jiffy-bags are considered to stand in a relationship of co-hyponymy to one another but in an instantial relationship to bag. As the price of the bag is already apparent in the Need, it is no longer necessary to realize it explicitly in P. Thus, unlike in Text 1, P cannot be identified by a lexical string. But since it can be related to the lexical string of 'rates' in three out of four texts, it is justified to assume that the unmarked realization of P is that it is realized by the increased lexical

In Text 3 the following SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE is discovered:

<u>elements:</u>	<u>lines in text:</u>
AA	1 + NV
S I	2-5 + NV
S II	6-16 + NV
	17 (=Frame, see Chapter IX)
P	18 + 29 + NV
GH	NV
CL	30
POSTING	31-33

Again in SI the indexical jiffy-bag appears in C's Need. In S II the Need has been implicit and it has to be specified - S assumes that C wants to mail the article for which she had bought the jiffy-bag, but S does not know the destination. So there are several lexical strings indicating how the Specifications of Need are achieved, 'movement' (of mail), 'destination' and 'methods of mailing'. All these lexical strings are restricted to the boundaries of S II, appearing on lines 6-14. The element P is again recognized by the high frequency of lexical items referring to money, lines 18-24.

In Text 4 the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE can be stated as:

<u>elements:</u>	<u>lines in text:</u>
AA	1 + NV
S	2-6 + NV
P	7 + NV + 10 + 14 + NV
GH	8 + NV + 9
POSTING	11-13
CL	15-16

The actual items to be posted in Text 4 are coded exophorically in this text (those). But there are in the S element lexical items which indicate that the FIELD 'postal matters' is being realized, namely post (line 2) and airmail (line 4) which both appear in the Need part of S rather than in the Compliance. The major string in this text is, however, the string of 'rates'. This string seems to run through the elements S and P. Therefore one could say that the 'rates' string does not very well distinguish these SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements from one another. But if one considers the high frequency in which the items appear in this string one can see how the items concentrated in the P element. More importantly, the items are arranged so that

the value expressed by the lexical items increases from the cost of the goods purchased, one-twenty-five-, to the denomination of the note proffered by C in payment for the goods, ten dollars.

In short, one can say that certain conclusions can be drawn about generic structuring realized in these texts on the basis of how lexical items realize lexical structure, that is, form lexical strings in these texts. The lexical strings in these post office texts reflect clearly the realizations of the elements SERVICE and PAY (and more specifically the interactional parts of SERVICE, the Need and the Compliance). It seems, however, that the post office texts are probably not the best texts to study the relationship between lexis and SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE. As mentioned earlier, this is due to the fact that the social process realized in such situation types has become stereotyped and routinized to the degree where language simply plays an ancillary role and a lot of the action is realized by other semiotic codes as well as language. One way which may be considered to strengthen the lexical structure analyses is lexical rendering: lexical items that are realized through reference and substitution items would actually be included in the lexical strings. Such a procedure has not been followed in this study. Some further discussion on the possible links between LEXICAL COHESION structure on the discourse stratum and the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE on the genre plane will be presented in Chapter IX. Also texts realizing the FIELDS 'shopping' and 'travel' will be analyzed for LEXICAL COHESION in Chapter IX.

6.4 Summary

This chapter has approached the study of service encounter genre from the point of view of its lexical realization. A discussion of some earlier lexical studies within the register theory of the 1960's was presented. These early lexical studies dealt mainly with such issues as recognition of lexical items, the collocational spans in lexis and lexical sets. Halliday and Hasan (1976) developed this early work by their presentation of lexical cohesion and its role in establishing the texture of a text. It was also shown how now LEXICAL COHESION is seen as the major realization of FIELD in a text. The lexical items which are cohesive in a text were held to form lexical

strings which represented the realization of the FIELD choice(s). A further hypothesis that lexical strings also function as indicators of the generic structuring of texts was presented. The analyses of lexical structure of post office texts seemed partly to support the hypothesis. Certain lexical strings could be associated with a certain SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element when the length, the density and the indexicality of the lexical strings were considered. Future work will hopefully clarify the nature of the realizational relationship between the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements and the LEXICAL COHESION structures more extensively.

CHAPTER VII: REFERENCE IN THE SERVICE ENCOUNTER TEXTS

This chapter is about participant identification as it is realized by REFERENCE in service encounter texts. The purpose of the chapter is to discuss the systems and structures of REFERENCE in English and see how they are realized in service encounter texts. In written texts participant identification as realized by REFERENCE choices reflects the unity of a text by keeping track of the relevant participants in the text. Here it shall be explored whether this is also true for such spoken texts as service encounter texts. Further, it will be studied whether one can expect reference structures in any way to function as projections (realizations) of the schematic structure of the genre in question.

7.1 REFERENCE - What Does it Do in Texts?

Halliday and Hasan (1976) who consider reference as one of the major systems contributing to the creation of a text in terms of cohesion see it as being a kind of an interpretative relationship that a linguistic item has:

There are items in every language which have the property of reference...that is to say, instead of being interpreted semantically in their own right, they make reference to something else for their interpretation (Halliday and Hasan 1976:31).

Halliday and Hasan (1976) distinguish three types of reference categories in English: personal (e.g. I, you, his, them...), demonstrative (e.g. this, here, the...) and comparative (e.g. same, better, identically...). The identities of the items in these categories cannot be established in the text unless one searches for them. Once one has retrieved the identity of an item, the link between the sought identity and the item becomes cohesive and text-creating. But where does one look in order to retrieve identity of these items?

This retrieval procedure can be illustrated with a text type familiar to all of us - a fairy tale. For example, fairy tales might begin:

Once upon a time there was a giant.
He was always hungry.

New participants are introduced in the text by items of presenting reference (Martin in prep.). A in the nominal group a giant signals to the listeners that this participant is being mentioned for the first time. The item he (which could just as well have been the giant or this giant), on the other hand, tells the listeners that the identity of this participant is known to them. The listeners know immediately that they are already familiar with this participant and all they have to do is to retrieve his identity. In this case, the identity of he is retrieved from the preceding clause, where a giant functions as the source for interpretation. He, in this text then, is an item of presuming reference (Martin in prep.). In presuming reference the identity of the participant is always retrievable.

The identity of reference items may be either retrievable from the extralinguistic-situation or from the text itself (Halliday and Hasan 1976:33). In the example above the identity of he was retrieved from the text itself, from the preceding clause. Without the preceding clause the identity of he in the second clause would have remained undiscovered and the listeners would most likely have protested by asking for a clarification: 'who is he?'. The extralinguistic situation of the story-telling would not have permitted listeners to successfully identify the participant and they would have remained at a loss. But it is the case that the extralinguistic situation often does permit listeners to retrieve the identity of participants. This can be demonstrated by relating the following imaginary sequence of events.

If I walked into the kitchen of my flat in Glebe, turned the lights on, screamed and rushed back into the adjoining room, and then to the great surprise of my friends present returned to the kitchen armed with a rolled up newspaper and after a loud smack calmly stated Got it!, my friends could only have the vaguest clue as to what it refers. Obviously they could make guesses as to the identity of the reference item it and if they also lived in Glebe they might even guess correctly. But those friends not residents of Glebe and of course the non-Glebe-resident readers of this text would be at a loss.

The reference relationship between it and whatever I had encountered in the kitchen would to me, the speaker, be exophoric. The only way the identity of an exophoric item can be retrieved by the listener is through experiencing the same context of situation, e.g. having seen what I saw in the kitchen.

If, on the other hand, I had in the first place simply screamed out A cockroach!, my friends would have been in a position to immediately understand my actions and might simply have made a few sarcastic comments about my paranoid cockroach hunts. They would have been able to relate it in my later utterance Got it! to the earlier item a cockroach. The verbal context provided by my uttering a cockroach would have served as a sufficient environment for the interpretation of it. Just as the first example the identity of he was retrieved from a giant in the previous clause, here the identity of it is retrieved from a cockroach in the previous utterance. In both of these cases the reference relationship, as far as the retrieval of the participant is concerned, is endophoric, more precisely anaphoric, i.e. referring backwards. Endophoric reference relationships may also refer forward. I could have, for example, gone to the kitchen and killed the creature and then informed the others: 'Got him!' Then, adding an explanation, I would have continued 'There was a cockroach in the kitchen'. In this case the presuming reference him refers cataphorically to the following presenting reference, a cockroach.

The distinction between endophoric and exophoric reference is most important in text studies, as it is only endophoric reference that plays a part in creating cohesion in a text (Halliday and Hasan 1976:37). This distinction would for the major part be sufficient for the study of participant identification in service encounters. There are, however, a few other ways of retrieving the identity of participants which occasionally are needed in the study of REFERENCE in service encounter texts. These are homophora, esphora and bridging, described e.g. by Halliday and Hasan 1976; Martin in prep.) Homophoric reference items indicate that the participant is known to all members of that culture (or subculture). The sun is an example of homophora. The in this nominal group signals that the identity of the participant is known to all speakers of English. In the work

place of the office the in the boss may be used homophorically by the staff. Since they share the same subculture they immediately recognize the identity of the participant to whom the boss refers. Esphora refers to the retrieval relationship within a nominal group. In There's the cockroach I killed, the points out the identity of the cockroach which is now dead, as indicated by its structure of a Qualifier following a Thing. Had I continued the previous utterance with the following utterance Look at the feelers, the in the nominal group the feelers would have referred to the cockroach by bridging, the feelers being a part of the cockroach (for a more detailed discussion and for more examples, see e.g. Martin in prep.:78-79).

The various ways in which the identity of reference items in text are retrieved is summarized by the RETRIEVAL network presented by Martin:

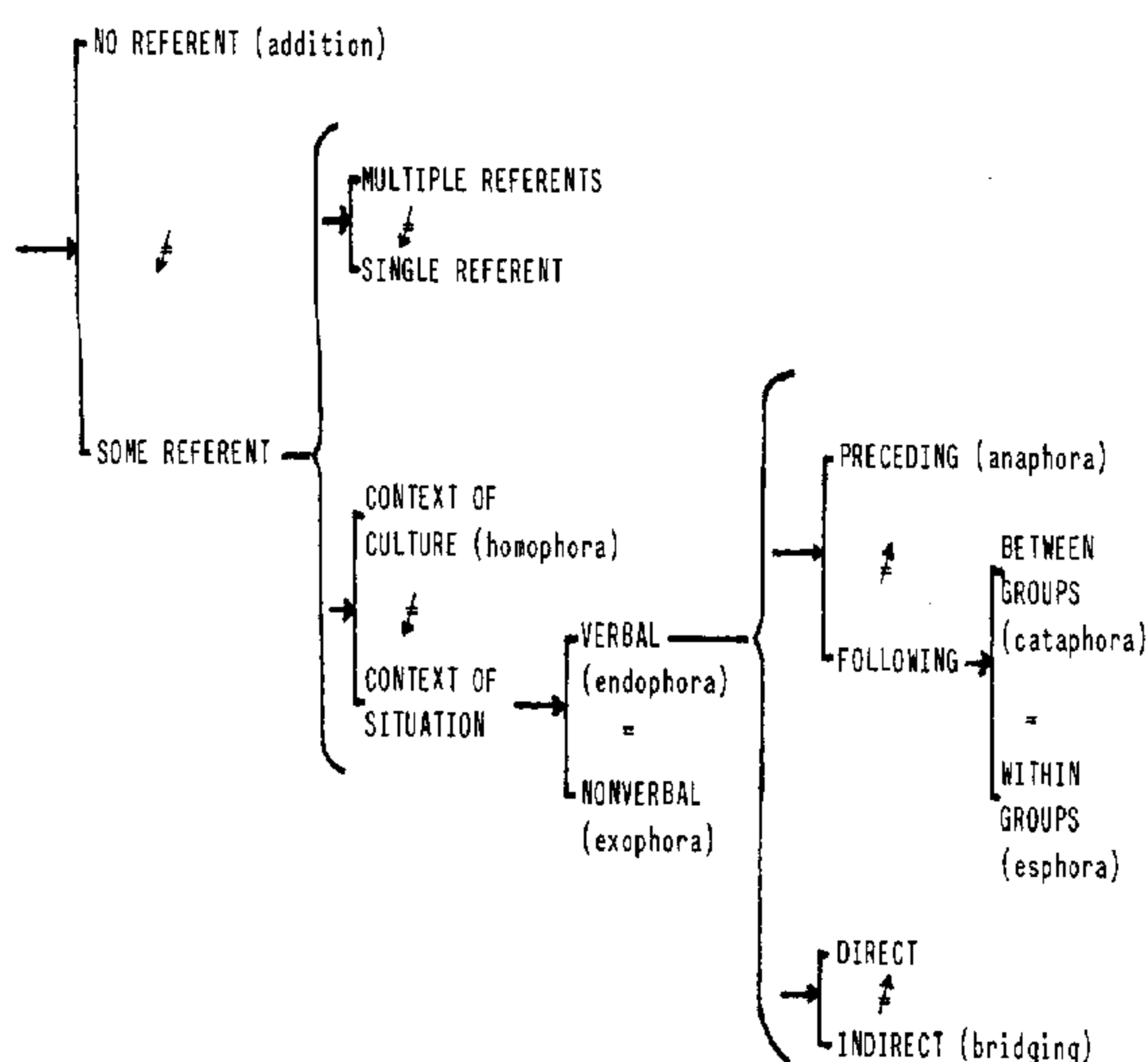


Fig. 36. Complete RETRIEVAL Network for Phoric Reference (Martin in prep.:80).

So far the discussion has dealt with the retrieval of the identity of participants in texts including the discussion of both presenting and presuming reference in the nominal group. Before going on to look

at the items that realize reference choices, it is worthwhile to consider an aspect which greatly influences reference choice. This is the realization of the register variable MODE in text.

7.2 Participant Identification and Differences in MODE

As noted above, the function of reference relationships is to establish the identity of reference items and so identify participants in texts. The system of REFERENCE is the major system which handles the identification of participants in texts in English (this need not be the case in other languages, see a discussion in Martin 1983b, in prep.). By participant identification is meant "the strategies languages use to get people, places, and things into a text and refer to them once there" (Martin in prep.:59). As also noted above, participant identification is basically of two kinds: exophoric and endophoric. The fact that children first learn the exophoric identification of participants should not surprise anyone who has observed the language development of children. The child first learns to use language as a means of action, a means of obtaining the goods and services that he wants or needs. Slowly he acquires the skills of using language as a means of reflection, i.e. for giving as well as demanding information, for telling stories etc. (see Halliday 1973, 1975, 1978). The distinction of 'language-as-action' vs. 'language-as-reflection' is a MODE distinction on the register plane. Whenever the MODE of a text is characterizable as 'language-as-action' it is linguistically marked by exophoric reference, whereas when the MODE of a text is characterizable as 'language-as-reflection' reference is almost invariably endophoric. Childrens' language use in the peer group is typically characterized by exophoric reference, as noted by Halliday and Hasan:

When children interact with each other, especially young children, they do so through constant reference to things; and since the things which serve as reference points are present in the immediate environment they are typically referred to exophorically (Halliday and Hasan 1976:34).

As adults, who have acquired the ability to shunt smoothly between the least delicate choices of MODE, 'language-as-action' and 'language-as-

reflection', we do not sufficiently appreciate the difficulty that children experience in learning to handle the 'language-as-reflection' MODE choices as well. Bernstein (1970/72, 1971) has tried to draw our attention to the difficulty that working class children especially experience in trying to learn to use what Bernstein called the 'elaborated' code. The elaborated code is the accepted and the expected code in the classroom and working class children who are less exposed to it in their everyday lives fail to use it in situations where it is expected. Instead they use the 'restricted' code, which is more context-bound. Why Bernstein's work is interesting in relation to REFERENCE systems is that the elaborated code typically involves endophoric reference and is more a choice of 'language-as-reflection' in MODE than the restricted code, which is characterized by exophoric reference. Language is used as if the 'language-as-action' choice had been made in MODE (for these differences see the two well-known texts where middle class and working class children give an account of a football incident, see Bernstein 1970/72:167; Hawkins 1977).

Why should the connections between exophoric/endophoric reference and 'language-as-action/language-as-reflection' interest us in the study of spoken interaction in service encounters? Reference studies have so far mostly concentrated on the study of participant identification in written texts (see e.g. Martin and Rothery 1980, 1981). What I am suggesting is that an analyst that sets himself the task of studying participant identification in transcribed, audiotaped spoken texts, 'language-as-action' texts, faces exactly the same agony as the middle class teacher who is reading working class students' essays, full of exophoric referencing. The analyst must constantly be asking questions like 'what are the participants that are being talked about? what is being referred to?'.

To illustrate the difference between MODE selections and their influence on the participant identification in texts I shall below present two texts. The first text is an actual audiotaped conversation; the second is a rewritten version of the first text using the 'language-as-reflection' MODE choice. The differences between the language systems in the texts are remarkable. The differences that

distinguish the two codes of Bernstein's and the written texts from the spoken interactive texts are differences of the similar kind as illustrated in Example 59.

Example 59. (additional data - P0):

A: you're right ↗
B: to Bangkok
[7 secs]
A: it's overweighed
B: thought it might be
[2 secs]
A: sixty cents
[6 secs]
A: thank you
B: thank you
[4 secs]
thank you very much
[15 secs]
B: thank you
A: thank you

Who is you? What is the it that the interactants are talking about?
The only endophoric cohesive relationship here is between the two its.
But the identity of it is only retrievable exophorically. Without any contextual information the text seems almost non-sensical.

When, however, the contextual information is built into the text, it becomes 'self-context creating', i.e. endophoric and 'language-as-reflection'.

Example 60. (the rewritten version of Example 59):

A customer, person B, walks into a post office and approaches the counter behind which a post official, person A, stands. The post official asks whether the customer wants to be served. The customer hands over a letter saying that he wants to mail the letter to Bangkok. The post official weighs the letter and informs the customer that the letter is overweighed. The customer has already thought to himself that the letter might be overweighed. The post official pulls out the drawer where he keeps the stamp sheets and starts separating a stamp from the stamp sheet. At the same time he informs the customer that the stamp will cost the customer sixty cents. The customer reacts by taking the money from his wallet. As the post official hands the stamp over to the customer the customer gives the post official a dollar-note. Both the customer and the post official thank each other.

The post official proceeds to get change for the dollar note and hands the change to the customer who thanks the post official. The customer then proceeds to stick the stamp onto the envelope, collects his things, thanking the post official for the service he has been provided with. The post official at the same time also thanks the customer for the interaction. The customer departs.

Just by comparing these two texts one can appreciate the difference in the ways the systems of REFERENCE seem to operate in the texts. In the latter text the participants are always introduced by presenting reference items and kept track of by presuming reference items (e.g. a customer/the customer; a letter/the letter; a stamp/the stamp etc.). The reader is able to retrieve the identity of every participant from the text. If analyzed for cohesion as realized by the REFERENCE systems this text would turn out to be very cohesive indeed. Furthermore, such an analysis might show that the participants are introduced into the text at different stages of the social activity - the schematic structure of the genre of service encounters. For example, the letter will be introduced as the customer expresses his Need. The stamp is introduced during the Compliance by the post official's action of getting the stamp and so on. None of this happens in the first text - neither the letter nor the stamp get an explicit mention, i.e. they are not being referred to endophorically by first establishing the identity of the participant with presenting reference and then keeping track of it with presuming reference.

It seems, then, that 'language-as-action' type of interaction found in service encounters has very much in common with the way language is first used by children, especially by children who have only been exposed to the restricted code. The sources for the retrieval of participant identities are not found in the text but outside the texts in the actual extralinguistic situations. Being closer to the 'language-as-action' MODE makes the study of REFERENCE system realizations (reference structures) in service encounters much harder than is the case in the written texts where the MODE selected is 'language-as-reflection'. It is already obvious from the remarks made above that linguistic evidence for the realization of generic structures in service encounter texts can necessarily be expected to

Now that the difference between texts according to the least delicate choices of MODE and their influence on participant identification and the REFERENCE systems has been discussed one may start to look at what the REFERENCE systems are which operate in such 'language-as-action' texts as service encounters, what kind of structures they realize, and how these structures reflect the genre and register in question.

7.3 Phoricity

So far this chapter has concentrated on discussing the distinction between presenting and presuming reference, the sources where the identities for reference items can be found and how MODE differences influence the realization of REFERENCE and the retrieval of participant identities in texts. All that has been said about the reference items themselves is that at least three types of reference categories can be recognized - personal, demonstrative and comparative, all of which can be used both exophorically and endophorically. But REFERENCE is in fact part of a much more complex linguistic phenomenon that has so far been implied. Martin (1981d:1), who has continued Halliday's and Hasan's work, speaks of phoricity systems, which are all "those systems which English speakers use to structure their utterances on the basis of what they assume their listener knows". This assumption about the knowledge that the listener has may concern participants, processes and circumstances in texts. Here only the assumptions about the knowledge about participants are of direct interest and the systems realizing the assumptions concerning the participant identities are those of REFERENCE and nominal SUBSTITUTION & ELLIPSIS (see Halliday and Hasan 1976; Martin 1980, 1981d, 1983b, in prep.).

On the lexicogrammatical stratum participants are realized by nominal groups. In English every nominal group realizing a participant codes on the lexicogrammatical stratum whether the speaker does not expect the listener to know the identity of the participant or whether he expects the listener to be able to retrieve the identity either from the extralinguistic context or the text. This distinction has above been referred to as [presenting] - [presuming] REFERENCE and the English article system is one of its realization devices on the

lexicogrammatical stratum. Presenting nominal groups are not phoric, but presuming ones are. Thus, for example, a cockroach when first appearing in the text is not phoric, but the second reference to the same creature as the cockroach is. This kind of phoricity has been labelled by Martin (1981d:6, in prep.:63) as reminding phoricity. The second mention of an item reminds the listener that the identity of this particular participant has already been given and the listener simply has to search for it (either in the text or the extralinguistic context).

In addition to the reminding phoricity Martin (1980, in prep.) also distinguishes relevance phoricity. An example of the relevance phoricity would be the following:

'I just killed a cockroach in my kitchen and then straightaway another bigger cockroach appeared'.

The identity of the second cockroach is not the same as that of the first; thus in that sense they are not tracking down the same participant in the text and the second cockroach is not phoric. But it is phoric in another way:

the participant it encodes is related to the first...
by comparison. In effect the group tells the
listener: you don't know my identity, but you do
know the identity of a participant related to me
(Martin in prep.:62).

Perhaps the 'resemblance phoricity' would be a more appropriate label for this kind of phoricity, considering its function of telling the listener that the participant is relevant to the text and resembling another participant in its identity.

If the clause above had continued as the following

'I just killed a cockroach in my kitchen and then straightaway another bigger cockroach appeared and after a while a giant one crawled forward',

a third type of phoricity would have been coded in the same clause complex. The phoricity coded in the nominal group a giant one is that of redundancy phoricity (Martin in prep.:63). Without the surrounding text, the identity of this participant would be unrecoverable, but since one can assume from the linguistic context that one is a

substitution for cockroach some sort of relationship is being established between the nominal group a giant one and the previous nominal groups of a cockroach and another bigger cockroach. In other words,

the substitute one forces the listener to recover its experiential content from the preceding nominal group[s]...: you don't know my identity and you don't know any participants which are relevant to identifying me, but you do know the general class of things to which I belong (Martin in prep.:62-63).

The nominal group a giant one is presenting and not phoric, except for redundancy phoricity coded in one. Redundancy phoricity reduces the explicit experiential content in texts (Martin in prep.:63) and this is noticeable in some of the service encounter texts in the Appendix.

Reminding and relevance phoricity are realized by REFERENCE systems on the discourse stratum whereas redundancy phoricity is realized by nominal SUBSTITUTION & ELLIPSIS, as the previous examples have illustrated. The major phoricity type that keeps track of the participant in the text is that of reminding phoricity and it is the system of REFERENCE that is therefore of major interest in the study of how participants are coded in the social process of the service encounter. Thus our attention will next be turned to the system network of REFERENCE and then to the structures by which the choices from this network are being realized in texts.

7.3.1 REFERENCE: System

Below in Fig. 37 a network presenting the major systems of REFERENCE in English and examples realizing the choices will be given (this network does not represent the most delicate choices of REFERENCE; for a full treatment of REFERENCE network, see Martin in prep.).

System 1 distinguishes [generalized] and [specified] reference:

They say cockroaches spread diseases.

The biologists at the research centre say cockroaches spread diseases.

System 2 has already been discussed. It makes a distinction between a

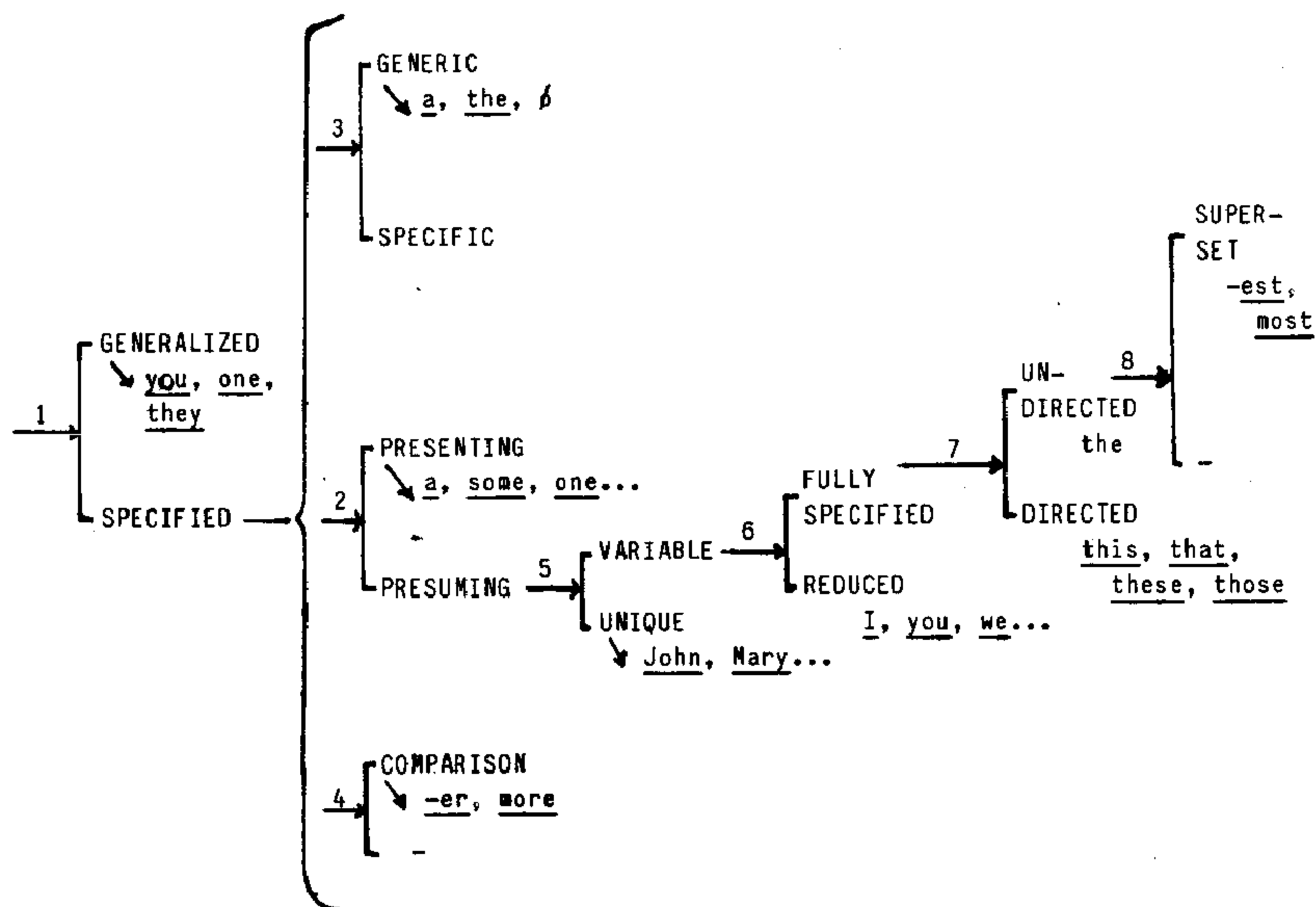


Fig. 37. The Major REFERENCE Systems (adapted from Martin 1983b:50, in prep.:77).

[presenting] reference and a [presuming] reference relationship:

I just killed a cockroach in my kitchen.

It was an ugly-looking beast.

System 3 distinguishes a [generic] reference from a [specific] reference. Generic reference refers to a class or to a member of a class representing a class, whereas specific reference identifies a particular participant in a text:

A cockroach is an insect.

This cockroach was the most horrible insect I have ever seen.

System 5 distinguishes the presuming reference more delicately as either [unique] or [variable]:

Mary hates cockroaches.

She hates cockroaches.

In system 6 there is a choice between [reduced] reference offering minimal identification information about the participant and [fully specified] reference:

She hates cockroaches.

This woman hates cockroaches.

As system 7 shows, [fully specified] reference can be either [directed] or [undirected] towards a participant:

This cockroach is ugly.

The cockroach is ugly.

Furthermore, a [fully specified:undirected] participant can belong to a [superset], as system 8 shows:

The cockroach is ugly.

The biggest cockroach managed to crawl under the fridge.

So far the examples, if they have been phoric, have illustrated reminding phoricity. System 4 realizes relevance phoricity:

I managed to kill the bigger cockroach. The small creature escaped.

Now that the major REFERENCE choices have been illustrated attention can be turned to REFERENCE Structures.

7.3.2 REFERENCE: Structure

What kind of structures do the REFERENCE systems generate?

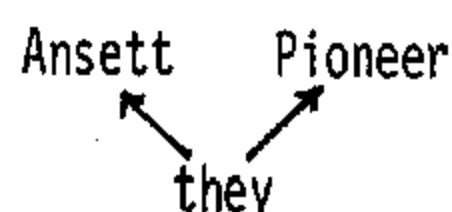
REFERENCE structures are like LEXICAL COHESION structures (lexical strings), dependency rather than constituency structures. They keep track of the participants by forming referential cohesive ties between the linguistic items referring to the same participant (see Halliday and Hasan 1976). REFERENCE structures are being generated every time [presuming], [superset] and [comparison] features are being selected from the network given above, i.e. "when phoric items are used endophorically in text" (Martin in prep.:89).

Let us consider the underlined items in the following extract from Text 11 and see the discourse structures being created by the REFERENCE systems here:

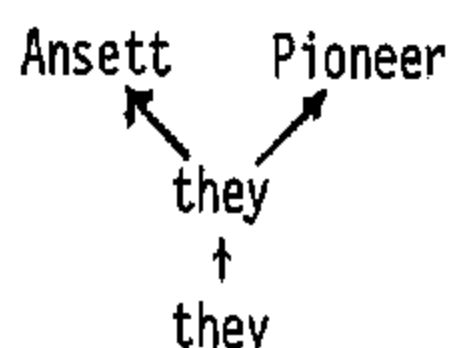
Example 61. (T11):

- (1) S: there's only Ansett and Pioneer
(2) they have the uh main...control
(3) they're the only ones that operate

The underlined items in (1) are in this extract being presumed by they in (2). The presuming reference item they points simultaneously both to Ansett and to Pioneer. This reference relationship can be described by the following kind of a coding:



The arrow points to the presumed item. The principle that has been adopted for capturing reference structures in texts is that each endophoric item is taken back to the closest reference item referring to the same participant (for reasons behind this principle, see the discussion in Martin in prep.:90-91). The third underlined reference item appears in (3). This they is now being linked with a cohesive reference tie to the item they in (2). The description of the reference relationship between these items will thus be:



The they in (2) is presuming as well as being presumed. In other words, the item they in (2) presumes Ansett and Pioneer in (1) but it itself it being presumed by the item they in (3). The reference structures generated by the REFERENCE systems such as illustrated above are called reference chains (Martin in prep.).

The reference items in the example above were all of reminding phoricity. The following example provides an illustration of relevance phoricity (RL), which tells the listener to relate the identity of the participant in the nominal group in question via its resemblance to another group.

Example 62.(T7):

- (1) S: what if I could find something like that in that
 colour
(2) C: I think even milder a colour¹ would do.

The following example from Martin (in prep.:91) illustrates the way in which he prefers to code relevance phoricity

The boy found his frog with another frog.

 frog
 ↑RL
 another frog

However, here it will be suggested that the following coding be adopted:

 frog ↙ RL
 another (frog)

This is because, strictly speaking, the two nominal groups realizing the two kinds of phoricity are not tracking down the same participant. There are two frogs. The identity of the participant in the second nominal group is established with the help of the resemblance relationship between the participant coded as frog and the participant coded as another frog. Another frog may however come to be presumed itself and thus will become a part of another reference chain, the two reference chains being related by the relevance phoricity relationship but tracking two different participants in the text. Example 62 will then be coded as:

- (1) that colour ↙ RL
 ↑
(2) milder a colour

Earlier in this chapter it has already been noted that service encounter texts frequently involve participants whose identities are in an exophoric relationship. Consider, for example, the following underlined reference items in an extract from Text 3:

Example 63.(T3):

- (1) C: uh can I have a jiffy bag for that please
(2) S: uhuh
 [3 secs - S gets the bag]
(3) S: it should fit into the thirty-five I think

Just by looking at the transcrip

the identity of that. It is an exophoric reference item in this text and its identity must be sought in the extralinguistic context. What about it? What does it refer to? There is no doubt that native speakers of English would agree that it in (3) is presuming that in (1). But is it also exophoric? Although the identity of it will never be found in the linguistic context (text), it is nevertheless considered to be endophoric, referring to that in (1). This solution can be justified by the fact that often participants are introduced exophorically into the text, but then when the participant 'of the real world' disappears from the extralinguistic context, nothing will prevent the interactants from continuing to refer to him/her/it even though he/she/it has left the scene (see Martin in prep.:91).

Example 63 above also illustrates a different type of phenomenon frequent in service encounters, i.e. bridging (BR) (already discussed briefly on p.309). A reference tie can be established between a jiffy-bag and the thirty five:

a jiffy-bag
↑BR
the thirty-five

As can be seen from the coding, the tie between a jiffy-bag and the thirty-five is considered to be formed by bridging. The thirty-five is not considered to be part of a jiffy-bag in the same way as e.g. the cockroach - the feelers on p.309 are seen to be related. But when one considers the different types of jiffy-bags, i.e. the relevant partial field network in the register in question, the thirty-five can be seen as a part of the system network for jiffy-bags and as thus being related to the whole system by bridging:

jiffy-bag → { 20
 25
 30
 35
 ⋮

Instantial reference relationships also play an important role in service encounter texts (for a discussion see Hasan 1979; Halliday and Hasan 1980). Consider, for example

Example 64. (T10):

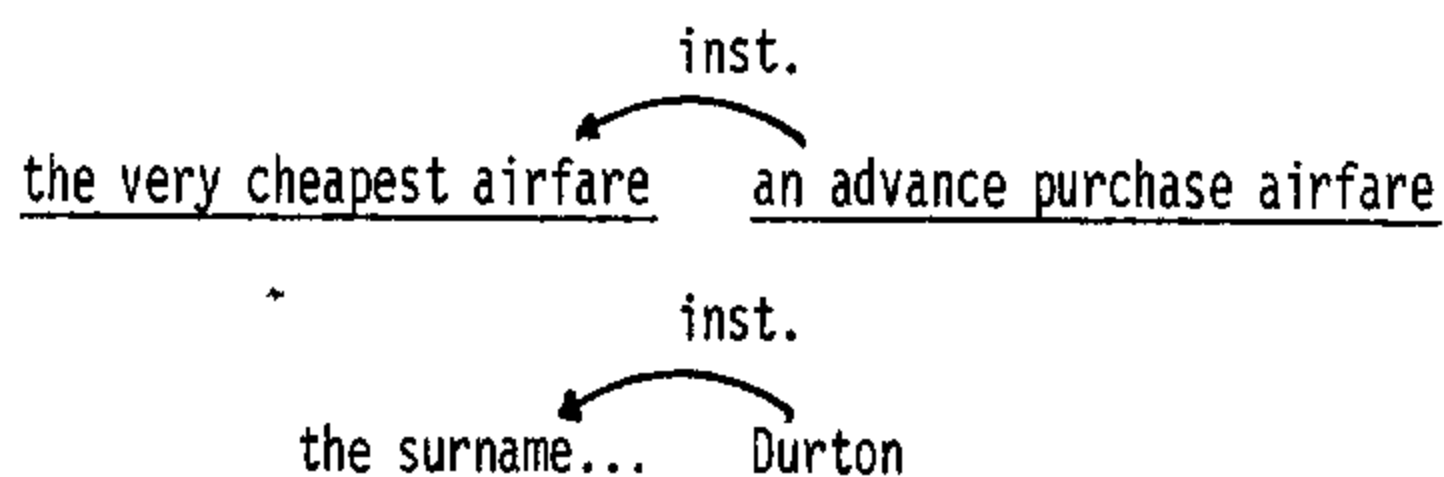
S: the very cheapest airfare is an advance purchase
airfare.

The very cheapest airfare is related to an advance purchase airfare by a relational process (see Halliday in press a). Another example of an instantial relationship would be the following:

Example 65.(T12):

S: what's the surname of the people you're staying with
C: Durton

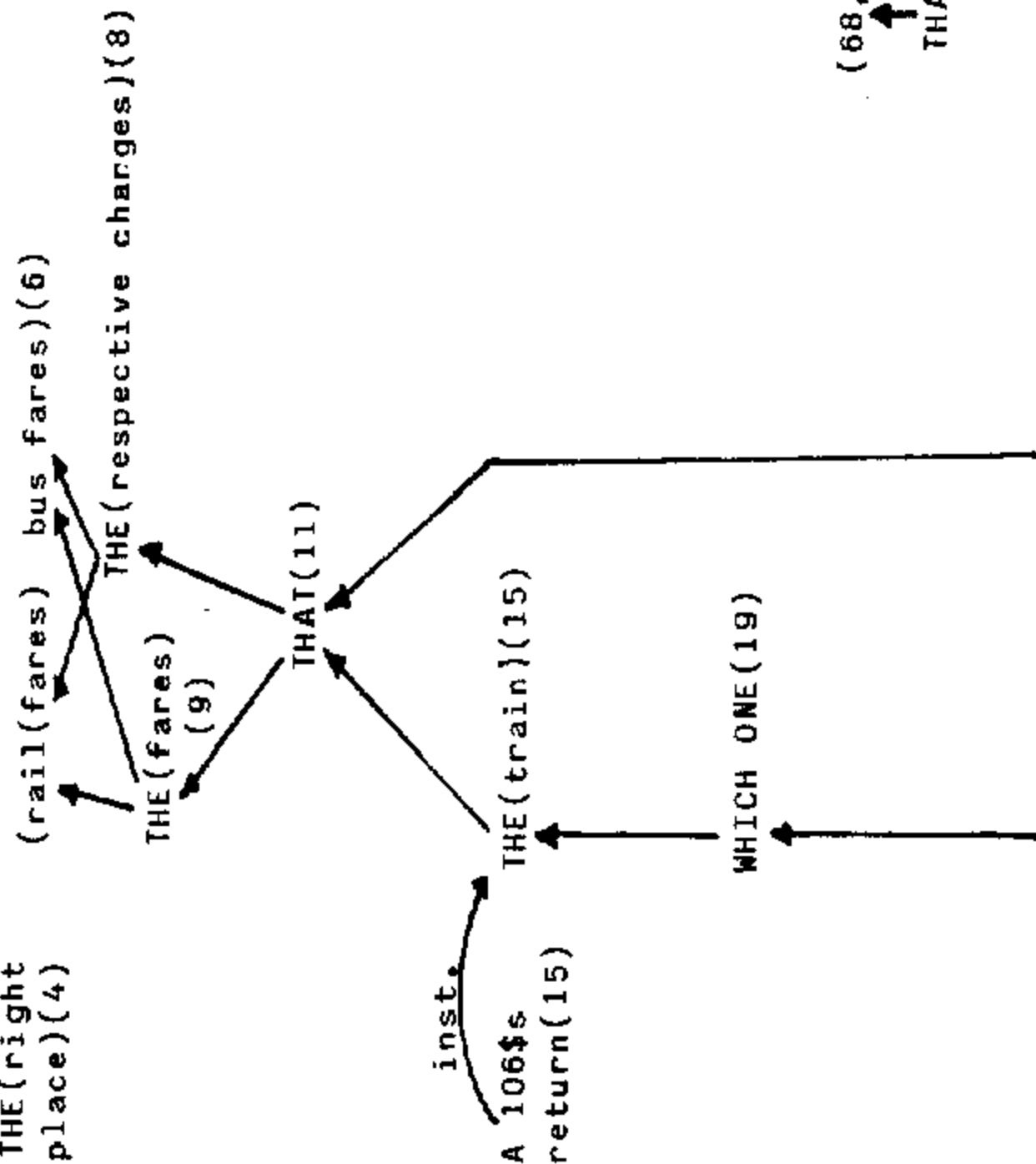
Instantial relationships will be coded by a curvy line connecting the participants in question:



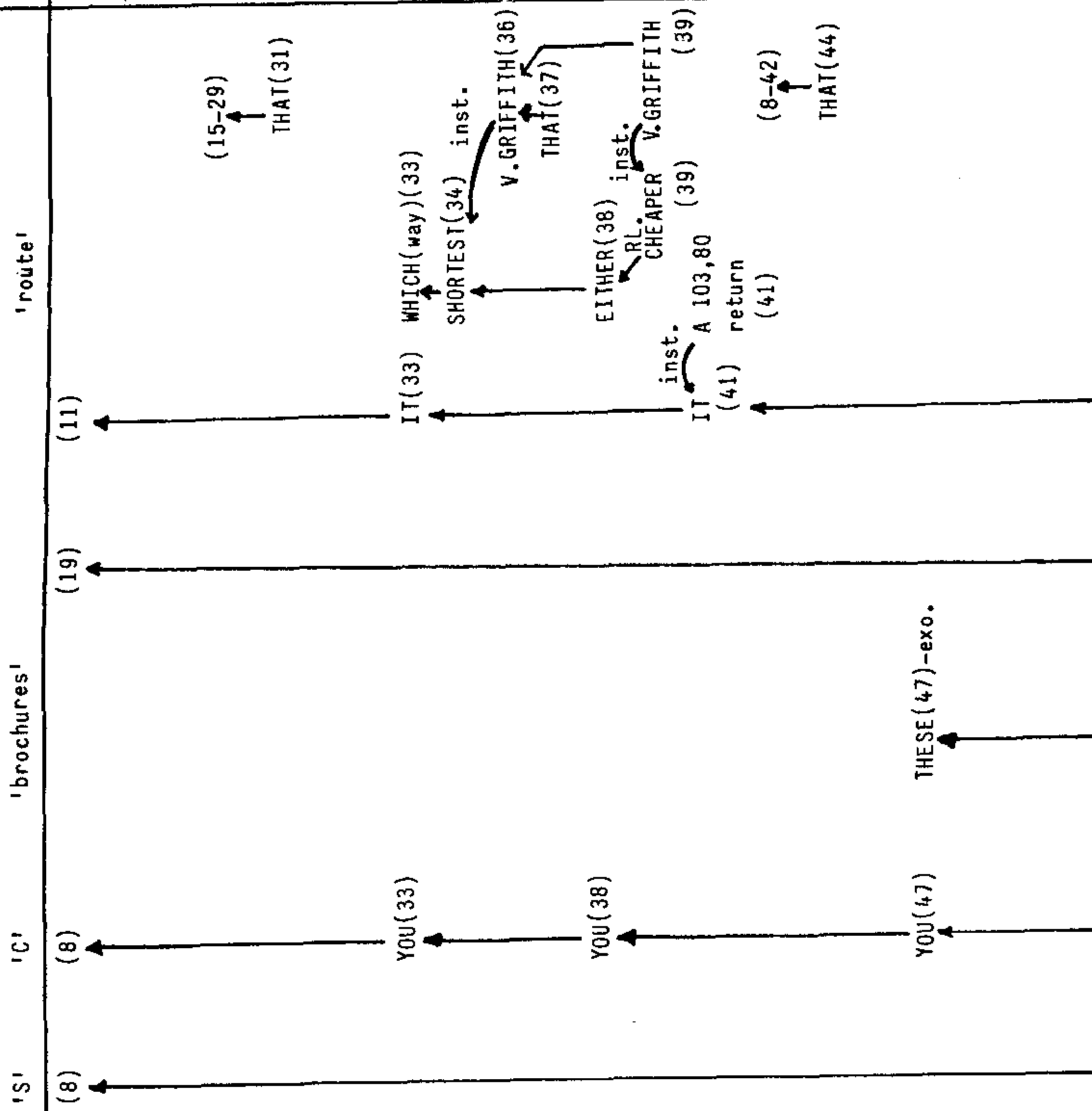
In order to demonstrate how reference chains track participants down in service encounter texts, an analysis of a full text will be presented next (see pp.323-325). The text to be analyzed is Text 9 (in Chapter IX more analyses of texts will be presented).

As can be seen from the analysis of reference items in Text 9, the server and the customer are the participants who are being referred to throughout the text, more so at the beginning and at the end of the text than elsewhere. Note that on line (8) the customer uses us instead of I. This is due to his having a companion with him at the travel agency, although the companion remained silent throughout the interaction. On lines (4) and (6) the same instantial relationship appears. This is a repetition and is not in fact considered to be presuming, i.e. the reference items in (6) do not presume the identities in (4). On line (6) participants rail fares and bus fares are presented. These items are not phoric, but since they start the reference chain by being the items presumed they are included in the chain. The first item that presumes an identity is the in the respective charges in (8). This refers back to rail and bus fares in (6). This is S's the fares. This appears to refer to the items in (6) rather than to the respective charges because, as can be seen from the text, respective and the fares are simultaneous speech. The item that on line (11) presumes both the fares (9) and the respective

'S'	'C'	'agency'	'fares'	Text 9
I-exo. (1)	YOU(1) ↑ exo. I (3)	THIS ↑ inst. THE(right exo.(4) place)(4)		1 S: can I help you
	I(5)	THIS ↑ inst. THE(right exo.(4) place)(4)		2 C: yes
	US(8)			3 I'd like to....just-
				4 is this is this the right place for erm booking....
				5 erm....(laugh)
				6 I'm just getting all confused (laugh)
				7 is this the right place for booking....rail or erm-
				8 bus fares to....er....Adelaide
				9 S: yeah
				10 C: could you give us the....[<u>respective charges</u> please
				11 S: [the fares
				12 C: yes
				13 [17 secs - S goes to get some brochures]
				14 C: that'd be return
				15 S: yeah
				16 C: yeah
				17 [4 secs - S is looking for the information]
				18 S: right
				19 the...train would be a hundred and six dollars
				20 return
				21 C: uhuh
				22 S: oh hang on....
				23 Canberra
				24 [2 secs - S is looking at the brochures]
				25 S: (which one) [S mumbles to herself]
				[3 secs - S is still checking the information]
				S: eighty....six dollars forty....return [by train
				C: uhuh
				that's second class is it /
				S: yes
				economy
				C: uhuh



'S'	'C'	'brochures'	'route'	Text 9 (continued)
(8)	(8)		(11)	26 S: yeah
			(19)	27 first class would be...about a hundred and forty- three dollars
				28 C: uhm
				29 S: seventy-one seventy one way
				30 C: okay
				31 S: that's train
				[2 secs - S takes the other brochures]
				32 S: bus
				[6 secs - S's leafing through the brochures]
				33 S: it depends which way you go
				34 C: shortest
				35 S: right...
				via Griffith...
				that's gone up isn't it ↑ [to S2 or to herself]
				[3 secs]
				38 S: you can go either way
				via Griffith is cheaper
				39 C: uhuh
				40 S: [it's a hundred and three dollars eighty return
				via Melbourne is a hundred and twenty-eight
				dollars eighty return
				43 C: okay
				that could be a good idea to work from
				45 S: okay ↑
				46 C: thanks very much
				47 S: do you want these ↑
				48 C: erm...yeah
				all right
				49



'S'	'C'	'brochures'	'fares'	Text 9 (continued)
(8) ↑ I(51)	(47) ↑ YOU(51)	(47) ↑ THOSE(51) ↑ THEM(53) ↑ IT(55)	(19) ↑ THE(rates)(53) ↑ (41)	50 C: thanks 51 S: I'll give you those 52 C: thank you 53 S: and then the rates're on them 54 C: right 55 S: and it's got departure times and days and everything 56 C: good 57 S: okay 58 C: thanks very much 59 S: right 60 bye bye

Fig. 38. REFERENCE: Structure in Text 9.

charges (8). This kind of branching out and joining up again is very common in texts. Here such branching might be a reflection of the recursion of C's Need, i.e. C presents two Needs one after the other (looping in the flowchart, see Chapter IV). As two Needs have been presented, two Compliances become necessary. But as the Compliances are more complex than simply a straightforward single utterance, S is forced to sequence her Compliances. She chooses to deal with the train fares first. This is clearly marked by the reference item in the train (15). Once the train fares part is over this is signalled to C by what can be called a text-reference that on line (31) (see section 7.4 below). Then the Compliance concerning the bus fares can start.

Giving information about the bus fares is however complicated by the fact that there is more than one way of going by bus to the destination. The right route has to be negotiated first. The reference chain including which way (33), shortest (34), either (38) and cheaper (39) is a result of selecting a participant of a superset and comparing one participant in a set to another (selecting the right bus). Once the bus fares are given there is another text-reference that (44); this will be discussed more in the next section. The last distinct reference chain in this text is that of the 'brochures', starting with these on line (47). This is naturally an exophoric reference item and without extralinguistic knowledge its identity would remain unretrievable.

What can, then, be said on the whole about reference structures in service encounter texts on the basis of the analyses conducted? Perhaps the easiest way to discuss the general characteristics of reference chains is to contrast them with another genre and its reference structures. One may for example contrast narratives and service encounters. Martin and Rothery (1981:42-44) present a following short narrative and its reference structure:

	<u>The Lonely Stray Dog</u>
a dog named Whiskers	(1) Once there was a dog named Whiskers.
↑	
he	(2) He got run over
↑	
he	(3) because he ran in front of a car.
↑	
he	(4) He was very sick after
↑	
he	(5) He had +

†
he

(6) At the end he ended up dieing.

(7) Isn't that 'sad'.

The End.

This narrative is of course a child's narrative and the narrative form can be considered to be at its first developmental stage (for a more complex narrative and its reference structure, see Martin and Rothery 1980:22). But what immediately strikes the reader is that the narrative has a major participant, a 'hero', as Martin (in prep.:67) puts it.

Service encounter texts do not have 'heroes' in the same sense. Service encounters seem to involve so many participants (people, things) that none of them will have a chance to become heroes of the text. Of course some participant may also become a 'hero' for a while in a service encounter text, but not from the beginning to the end. Reference chains seem to be fairly dispersed throughout the text, and some chains are fairly disparaging and insignificant. This can only be considered to be the linguistic reflection of the nature of the social process in service encounters. When going 'shopping' whether for souvenirs or tours, perhaps less so for postal items, customers frequently have no clear, definite idea of what in fact it is that they want to buy. Customers expect the server to present them with various goods, make suggestions and so on. All this activity is reflected in the discourse. The reference chains are exophoric, short and, naturally, instantial reference also often plays an important part in the texts. The chains tend to end and begin as the customer and the server move from one 'purchaseable item' to another. This is perhaps less often the case in post offices, where the activity seems to be more strictly structured or routinized. But post office service encounters tend to be so short that the structuring of social activity is not reflected in the structures generated by REFERENCE systems (reference chains are usually not very long in post office texts; it seems that CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE reflects the activity in post offices better than REFERENCE).

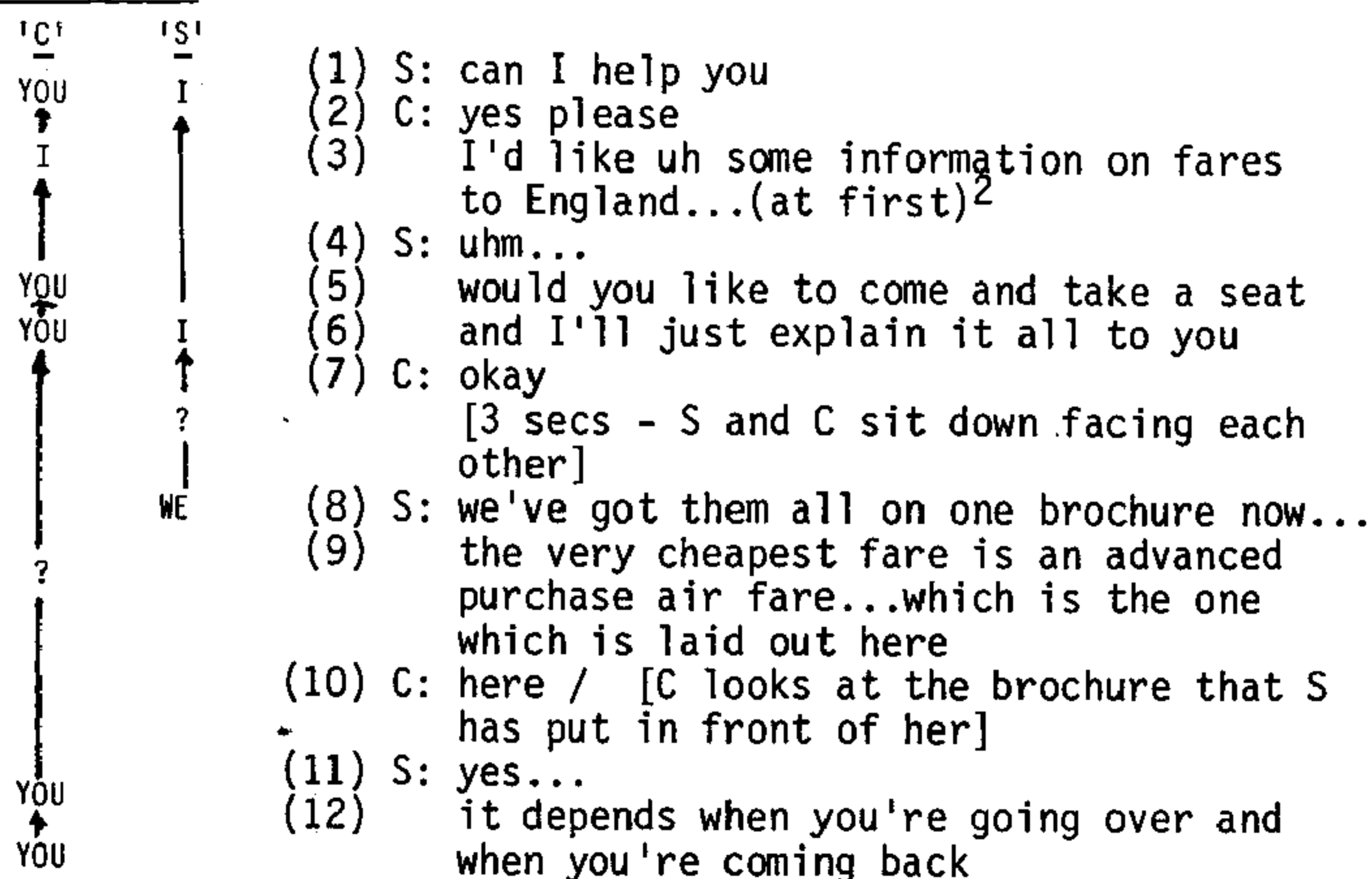
7.4 REFERENCE and SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE in the Service Encounter Texts

It has above been demonstrated how REFERENCE systems generate

discourse structures which track down the participants in texts. It is natural that different genres have developed their own characteristic ways of keeping track of participants in texts belonging to them (for some preliminary work done in this area, see Martin and Rothery 1981). In the previous section it was mentioned that service encounters do not seem to have any major 'hero' participants for the whole text. The participants being referred to keep changing as the social process unfolds, and consequently the reference chains tend to be short, or, when longer, at times no reference to the participant is being made at all. The density of reference items is here and there relatively low. There is a reason for this type of organization of reference structures. It appears that the reference structures discovered in texts are yet another linguistic reflection of the higher semiotic organization on the plane of genre. The reference chains reflect the social process in question in service encounters. When one sets out to search for linguistic evidence of the generic structuring of service encounters, one of the areas to look for for such evidence is in the reference structures in text. In service encounter texts the very disarray of reference chains, the lack of participant 'heroes' and so on is the best indication of the realization of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements.

When one considers the development of the social process in service encounters, what needs to be negotiated first is 'who does something for whom'. It is therefore not surprising to find at the beginning of the text exophoric, and subsequently endophoric, references to the interactants playing the social roles of S and C. This can be seen also in Text 9 above. But once the negotiation about the items to be purchased begins, such references to S and C seem to cease. 'The items to be purchased' are being referred to instead, as can be seen for example in Text 9. Sometimes the reference seems to change from referring to the individual interactants towards generalized reference referring to the social roles only, not the individuals who are holding those roles as well. Consider, for example, the extract from the beginning of Text 10:

Example 66 (T10):



It seems that up to line (6) the reference items you and I have referred to the individuals holding either C or S-role. But from line (8) onwards the individuals do not seem to matter any longer, only the roles do. Thus we (8) refers to the role 'travel agent', and this is even more obvious as it is in the plural, meaning 'we, the agency'. If this interpretation of the shift from personal reference to generalized reference is accepted, then the reference items from (8) onwards do not belong to the C- and S-chains.

Following from this discussion, one can now say that the C- and S-chains seem to indicate some kind of change from purely inter-personal activity towards activity which is also experiential, a change from such interpersonal elements as GR, AA and SB to the S element.

A clearer signal for the shift to S-element, demarcating its boundary, is the beginning of the reference chain tracking down the participant coding the C's Need. Text 9 seems to involve three S-elements (see Ventola 1983b). The first one would be lines (3-7), the second one lines 8-31 and the third one lines 8-13 and 32-45. The first S-element is so short, being an inquiry about C being in the right place to find the information he is after, that no reference chain, except for the instantial reference tie between this and the

right place, is formed. But on line 8 in C's Need the reference chain of 'fares' begins. As the lines 8-13 are the realization of two Needs of separate S-elements, it seems natural that the 'fares' reference chain splits up when S starts complying. The two Compliances have to be sequenced one after the other, and this fact is clearly marked by the reference items and their presumed items during each Compliance. Also, in Text 10 in the extract given above the beginning of a long reference chain can be placed onto C's Need with the chain fares (3) - them (8) - the very cheapest fare (9) - instantial - an advance purchase air fare - instantial - the one - it etc. It thus seems fairly justifiable to conclude that the point where the reference chain tracking down 'the item to be purchased' begins marks the beginning of the element-S.

It has been stated earlier that C's Needs are often not specific enough for S to comply with, and that therefore some Specification of Need is necessary. Such Specifications are usually reflected in the reference structure of the text by their separate, localized reference chains. In Text 9 such a chain can be found, starting with which way on line (33) (see also reference chains in Chapter IX).

The Compliance part of the S-element seems to be demarcated by instantial reference relationships. In Text 9 such relationships appear on lines (15) the train (fare) - a 106 dollars return and (41) it (=bus fare) - a 103,80 return. In Text 10 instantial reference relationships appear on S's line (9): the very cheapest fare - an advanced purchase air fare.

If Compliance is being rejected by C this results in subsequent new reference chains tracking down all the other items that S offers as an alternative or as an approximation of what C is looking for. This is very evident for example in Text 7, of which an extract will be given in Example 67 on the following page (p.331) (for the full text, see the Appendix). What C wants in Example 67 is a piece of jewellery that is a kind of greyblue colour and that will fit nicely around the neck of the dress. Her Need is reflected in a reference chain involving, firstly something - it - it (lines 1-4), secondly, this dress - the neck (line 1) and lastly also perhaps the presenting reference item sort of greyblue (line 2). As can be seen, it is not

'C'	'S'	'jewellery'	'dress'	'colour'	An extract from Text 7 (shop)
I(1)		(something)(1)	THIS (dress)(1)		1 C: I'm looking for something that will go with this dress
I(4)		IT(2)	THE(neck)-exo.		2 just around the neck
ME(5)	YOUR(5)	IT(4)	(1)	(sort of greyblue)(2)	3 but it can be sort of greyblue couldn't it
I(8)					4 very dull
					5 I don't think I shall find it
					6 so don't waste your time on me too much
					7 S: what sort of-
					8 C: you know the sort of-
					9 if I happened to see one that sort of colour...
					10 that's the type of thing only in the wrong colour
					11 that's awfully nice actually
					12 S: what if I could find something like that in that colour
					13 C: I think even milder a colour would do
					14 S: a cream a cream would do
					15 I think cream would be the nearest
					16 C: a cream would do you think do you
					17 how much are they
					18 [7 secs - C finds a piece of jewellery]
					19 S: two dollars fifty
					20 you can try it on
					21 C: I don't think it would be really-
					22 [4 secs - C tries it, but then puts it back]
					23 C: yes
					24 S: I'll see if we couldn't find an off-white
					25 how about a string of off-white pearls
					26 would that be better
					27 C: that might be better
					28 [S shows C the pearls]
					29 C: I think I'm too old for that honestly

Example 67. (T-7).

a very specific Need. The customer is not sure exactly what she wants. Therefore the whole social interaction will involve looking at various pieces of jewellery, either as selected by C herself or as presented as a suggestion by S. The reference chains in the text reflect this social activity in the text very clearly. First of all, on line (8) C still continues expressing the Need and specifying the colour that she would like the piece of jewellery to be. Then she happens to spot something that will correspond to her conception of the type of jewellery she wants. This is expressed by an exophoric reference item that (line 9) and the instantial relationship (Carrier ^ Attribute) between that and the type of thing. But the colour of the piece is wrong. The wrong colour in (9) does not enter any of the reference chains. It is exophoric, and because it is the wrong colour it will not be mentioned again. But S comes up with an approximation of the greyblue C wants. On line (11) both 'the type of thing', 'the type of jewellery', and 'the colour' are expressed. S has spotted a colour in another piece of jewellery that according to her represents an approximation of the colour C is after. This is expressed exophorically by that colour in (11). Both the chain starting with that on line (9) and the chain starting with that colour on line (11) represent approximations of the Need C has in mind. They are not exactly what she is looking for. The piece of jewellery that C has found is the right type, but the wrong colour. The piece that S points out is the wrong type, but its colour is in S's opinion close to the colour she imagines C to be looking for. However, C rejects this. The colour is too strong for her liking. This is expressed by a relevance reference milder a colour (line 12). Both of these reference chains end, the natural cause being that both are ultimately found unsuitable to be purchased by C.

Now having the knowledge that C wants a milder colour, S goes on to suggest that 'a cream' would according to her probably be the closest to the greyblue colour C is looking for. The original colour request by C is brought back into the text by the reference relationship of the nearest (line 14) and that sort of colour (8). The greyblue colour is referred to as a superset, and the colour corresponding it closest would be a cream, expressed by an instantial

reference relationship between the items a cream (line 13) and the nearest (line 14). C, however, does not do much with S's suggestion of the colour cream as her attention is already directed to another piece of jewellery. She goes on to inquire about its price. They (16) 'is an exophoric reference to this new piece of jewellery that C has found. But this participant does not become a 'hero' participant for long. The reference chain for this participant ends on line (19), as C rejects this piece of jewellery, after trying it on. Then a new reference chain appears in the discourse structure. This time it is tracking a participant suggested by S, a string of off-white pearls (line 22 - a presenting reference). But that too is rejected by C.

All the short reference chains reflect the social activity that is going on in the situation. The chains are the linguistic reflection of the participants' moving from one piece of jewellery to another, trying to match each piece with the requirements that C has set for the item she wants to buy. But as each jewellery item does not remain the focus of attention for long, the reference chains seems short, unlike the texts where the focus of attention is only one or perhaps only a few participants. By looking at these short reference chains one may however roughly estimate where the S-element ends. As it turns out, later in this text C actually does find a piece that corresponds fairly well to her concept of the jewellery she wants, although she does end up buying it. This chain starts in Example 67 after C has already expressed her desire to go and has thanked S for her service. But at the last minute S comes up with one more suggestion (see Text 7 in the Appendix):

S: what about that one.

With that one starts a longish reference chain, which ends only when C decides not to buy the item after all and the participants move on to the CL-element.

Once the S element is over GH and P follow, if applicable. GH is mostly realized non-verbally. Thus, reference chains cannot be expected to project the realization of this element. But occasionally reference structures can also be found in GH. Consider, for example,

the underlined items in the following GHs in Texts 1 and 5:

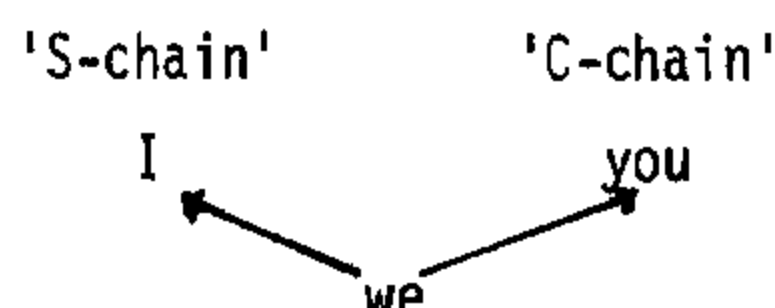
Example 68. (T1):

S: here we are
[S hands over the stamps]
C: thank you

Example 69. (T5):

S: there we are dear [handing over the wrapped mobile]
C: thank you

In both texts the reference item joins chains tracking down C and S as participants (see the reference analysis of Text 5 in Chapter IX) and can be characterized as:



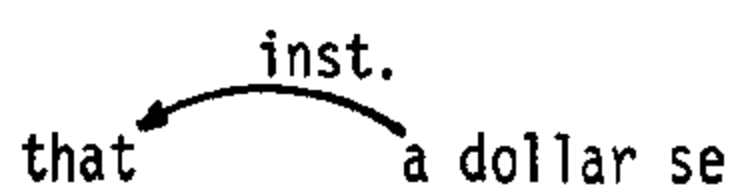
Thus, the point where S and C-chains join may be considered to pinpoint quite accurately the realization of GH. This does not, of course, happen all the time. For example, in Text 9 GH seems to be realized as a reference structure by a chain which tracks down the goods (the brochures) as a participant rather than joining the S and C-chains.

What about the element P then? A good example of the beginning of P is the following line from Text 1:

Example 70. (T1):

S: that's a dollar seventy thank you

There seems to be an instantial reference relationship between that and a dollar seventy. But what does the that refer to? As can be seen by looking at the whole text (see the Appendix) the encounter involves two SERVICES, one concerning getting the stamps for the two letters and the other concerning buying some first-day covers. It would seem that that in S's pay request refers to the two services as a whole and the providing of the goods in the two services is then given a total price by an instantial reference relationship:



Of course a dollar seventy would have been a sufficient realization of the pay request just by itself, but the reference item that pointing back to a chunk of text seems to explicitly indicate the closing up of one stage of social activity and the starting of a new one. This kind of text reference will be discussed in more detail shortly.

CL and GB elements are not expected to be reflected by discourse structures generated by REFERENCE systems due to their stereotyped, routine realizations. The you in such realizations of CL and GB as thank you and see you later has in fact lost its function of referring to the interactant in question.

Another fairly reliable signal in helping one to observe the realization of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE in a text is, as already has been mentioned on several occasions, text reference (see the discussion on text reference in Halliday and Hasan 1976:52-53, 66-67). By text-reference is here meant those endophoric reference items which seem to refer not to a participant in a text but to a whole chunk of text. A good illustration of how text reference functions in texts has already been given in the analysis of Text 9. That on line 31 refers to the whole chunk of text, lines 15-29 which realize SERVICE II in that text, and that on line 44 also refers to a chunk of text. It is slightly ambiguous whether this latter that just refers to SERVICE III concerning the bus fares or all of the recursions of the S element. In the latter case it would refer to lines 8-42.

Other examples of text references are to be found in Text 6 and Text 10 (see the Appendix and also Text 4 in Chapter IX). In Text 6 towards the end of the encounter S says oh we'll leave it at that. It is very hard to say in fact how far back in texts both it and that in the utterance given above go in the text. It seems to refer to C's search for a purse for his son and would thus refer to the whole chunk of text following C's turn:

Example 71. (T6):

C: very hard to buy a purse for a boy that's not
sissy

The that, on the other hand, seems to refer to S's trial of complying

to C's Need and would thus seem to go back at least as far as where she presents C with the little wallets costing \$1.50.

Example 72. (T6):

S: 'cause there's little wallets up there
but they are a dollar fifty
did you see those ↗

In Text 10 the first text reference seems to appear after S's initial explanation of what the advance purchase airfares are all about:

Example 73. (T10):

S: so that takes care of the advance purchase one

This that can thus be taken back to the beginning of S's Compliance:

Example 74. (T10):

S: the very cheapest fare is an advanced purchase airfare

The next part of the S's Compliance, the excursion airfare information is introduced cataphorically:

Example 75. (T10):

S: this one here is an excursion return

Later in the text one can find the following utterance by S:

Example 76. (T10):

S: this this is the sort of fare-
yeah [a response to C's previous remark]
that's the sort of fare you're looking at...
it's flexible
it's broken after seasons etc.

The this and that are ambiguous. They can refer back to the this one here given above, i.e. the fare that S is presenting next to C. But they could also be taken as text-references referring to the whole chunk of text which occurs in between these two utterances by S. In such a case it would mark the end of S's Compliance or rather the end of what she first thought to be sufficient information to give C about airfares. But as can be seen she decides to supply C with some additional information, continuing: it's flexible it's broken after seasons etc. At this stage of investigation on text references and

SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element realizations there is no way one can solve this problem of ambiguity in reference. Further studies are expected to throw more light on such phenomena. But even now one can fairly confidently say that such text-reference items as discussed above do indeed function as markers of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element boundaries in texts. A comprehensive account of text reference will, however, necessarily involve a more careful consideration of this phenomenon both from the synoptic as well as from the dynamic point of view than has been possible in the context of this study.

7.5 Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to discuss whether participant identification, realized in texts by REFERENCE STRUCTURES generated by REFERENCE systems, can in any way support the identification of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements in service encounter texts. This involved, first of all, a discussion of what REFERENCE systems do in texts, i.e. how participants in the texts are being referred to, exophorically or endophorically, and how their identities are retrieved. Secondly, the mood differences in texts and their influence on REFERENCE structures and participant identification were discussed. It seems that for an analyst the identities of participants being referred to in spoken interaction is harder to establish than in texts which are self-context creating. Thirdly, three types of phoricity systems, used to structure discourse according to what the listener already knows, are recognized: reminding, relevance, and redundancy. In English REFERENCE systems are the most important systems for tracking down the participants in reminding and relevance phoricity types. The REFERENCE options were discussed by using constructed examples, but REFERENCE structures were discussed by looking at how these systems generated discourse structures in the service encounter data, i.e. how participants are tracked down in service encounter texts according to what the listener knows. Finally, attention was turned to the question of whether the REFERENCE structures which were discovered in the texts projected the realization of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements on the genre plane. It was found that, although at first reference chains seem to be short and

disarrayed, definite conclusions can be drawn from the realization of higher semiotics by looking at REFERENCE structures very closely in terms of location of chains, reference items in chains, the density of the items in the chains and the joining and branching-off of the chains.

NOTES:

1. Milder a colour in spite of its 'non-nativeness' was said by a native speaker in the interaction with another native speaker.
2. Similarly to Note 1, this was also said by a native speaker.
3. The reference items in the tags and modality expressions (I don't know, I think etc.) are not considered to contribute to the reference chains.

CHAPTER VIII: CONJUNCTION AND BOUNDARY MARKING IN THE SERVICE ENCOUNTER TEXTS

This chapter will discuss the systems of CONJUNCTION, the fourth and last system network seen to be generating structures on the discourse stratum. The discussion will rely heavily on the presentation of CONJUNCTION by Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Martin (1979, 1981b, 1982a). CONJUNCTION systems are for the major part seen as systems marking relationships between messages. There are, however, points in texts where conjunctions seem to mark relationships between larger chunks of texts, between the realized schematic structure elements of the text. Internal conjunctions especially seem to reflect the organization of a text on a higher semiotic plane. In this study such conjunctions are seen to be realizing the choices in the BOUNDARY MARKING system network, thus signalling boundaries between the realized schematic structure elements of the text belonging to the genre of service encounters. In addition to conjunctions, such boundaries of schematic structure elements can be marked by what will here be called frames (which are typically realized by clauses on the lexicogrammatical stratum). Thus, both conjunctions and frames are seen to be realizing options in the BOUNDARY MARKING systems on the genre plane. The realizations of these system choices appear to operate on the discourse stratum (conjunctions) or on the lexicogrammatical stratum (frames). But since they realize the options in the system network which is seen to be located on the genre plane, they are seen to be projecting the realization of the generic structure in the service encounter texts collected. The results achieved by analyzing the realizations of the BOUNDARY MARKING systems that will be presented in this study must be considered tentative, as the work in this area is still in its early stages.

8.1 CONJUNCTION in Texts

Conjunctive relations are seen as part of the logical relations inherent in a language. According to Halliday and Hasan (1976:320-321) logical relations can be expressed structurally, i.e. lexicogrammatically, by coordination, apposition, modification and so on. But logical

relations can also be expressed by conjunctive relations which are considered text-forming rather than structural. Conjunctions are, to Halliday and Hasan (1976:321) "linkages between components of a text". Conjunction specifies "the way in which what is to follow is systematically connected to what has gone before" (Halliday and Hasan 1976: 227). It is important to note that conjunctions do not create these logical relations. They simply 'stamp' the logical relations existing between 'the components of a text', as Martin (1983a:1) puts it. Thus, the two following examples include exactly the same logical relationships but the latter is explicitly stamped for the relationship (in this case a temporal one): (1) John came in. He sat down. and (2) John came in. Then he sat down. Before actually distinguishing the different types of conjunctive relationships it is worthwhile to discuss briefly what units conjunctions are seen to relate to in texts.

As already mentioned above, Halliday and Hasan see conjunctions as linkages between components in texts. Halliday and Hasan (1976) are mainly interested in presenting the conjunctive relations functioning in English, without a consideration of a text type. Therefore they do not explicitly discuss what such 'components of a text' might be that are linked to each other by conjunctions. Here and there in Halliday and Hasan (1976) one, however, finds suggestions of what such components might be. For example, the conjunction and may occur in narrative fiction "at the boundary of dialogue and narrative" (Halliday and Hasan 1976:235). An example of such a boundary is the following:

'While you're refreshing yourself,' said the Queen,
'I'll just take the measurements.' And she took a
ribbon out of her pocket, marked in inches...
(Halliday and Hasan 1976:235; example [5:9]; my
emphasis).

Further, when speaking about a continuative (see below, section 8.2) now for example, Halliday and Hasan (1976:268) say that

it means the opening of a new stage in communication;
this may be a new incident in the story, a new
point in the argument, a new role or attitude being
taken on by the speaker, and so on. For example,
in a transaction situation such as a shop encounter,
the transition from phatic communion to transactional

relations is often made by now: Now what would you like, dear? (Halliday and Hasan 1976:268; their emphasis).

In the sample analyses that Halliday and Hasan (1976:340-355) present the conjunctions seem mostly to relate adjacent clauses to one another, although occasionally the cohesive relationship created by conjunction involves connecting clauses which are several clauses apart, as is the case in the following example:

I harked back to his school years, and he confessed that he had never liked school (1). 'I remember it very well, and particularly my dislike of it, which has never died to this very day (2). And I am now 68 (3)!' Whenever he visited schools, the smell of the chalk or the plasticine always gave him a sinking feeling (4). He hated it so much (5). 'Then we moved into the country, to a lovely little village called Warley (6). It is about three miles from Halifax (7). There are quite a few about (8). There is a Warley in Worcester and one in Essex (9). But the one not far out of Halifax had had a maypole, and a fountain (10). By this time the maypole has gone, but the pub is still there called the Maypole (11)... (Halliday and Hasan 1976:351; my emphasis).

In this example then in (6) is a temporal, simple, sequential conjunction and relates (6) to the whole of the preceding text. By this time in (11) is a temporal, complex, terminal conjunction and relates the clause back to clause (6).

These examples illustrate that Halliday and Hasan envisage the components of texts which are connected by conjunctions to be of various sizes. A conjunction may for example relate just two clauses to one another, but just as well it may relate clauses which are several clauses apart, or it may relate a clause to a preceding chunk of text. Since Halliday and Hasan are mainly interested in illustrating the various types of conjunctions operating in English they are not explicitly concerned about what the exact relationship between the components of a text and the conjunctions is. In other words, they do not for example attempt to relate conjunctions to the schematic structure of a text, as it has so far been presented in this study. Such a relationship is however suggested to be possible by Martin

(1983a:56) and will be elaborated further in this chapter in regard to service encounter texts.

In his earlier article, Martin (1981b) has explicitly stated the units which he held to be related to one another by conjunctions. He has presented the following kind of a figure where all the language strata are organized in ranks which then correlate with one another:

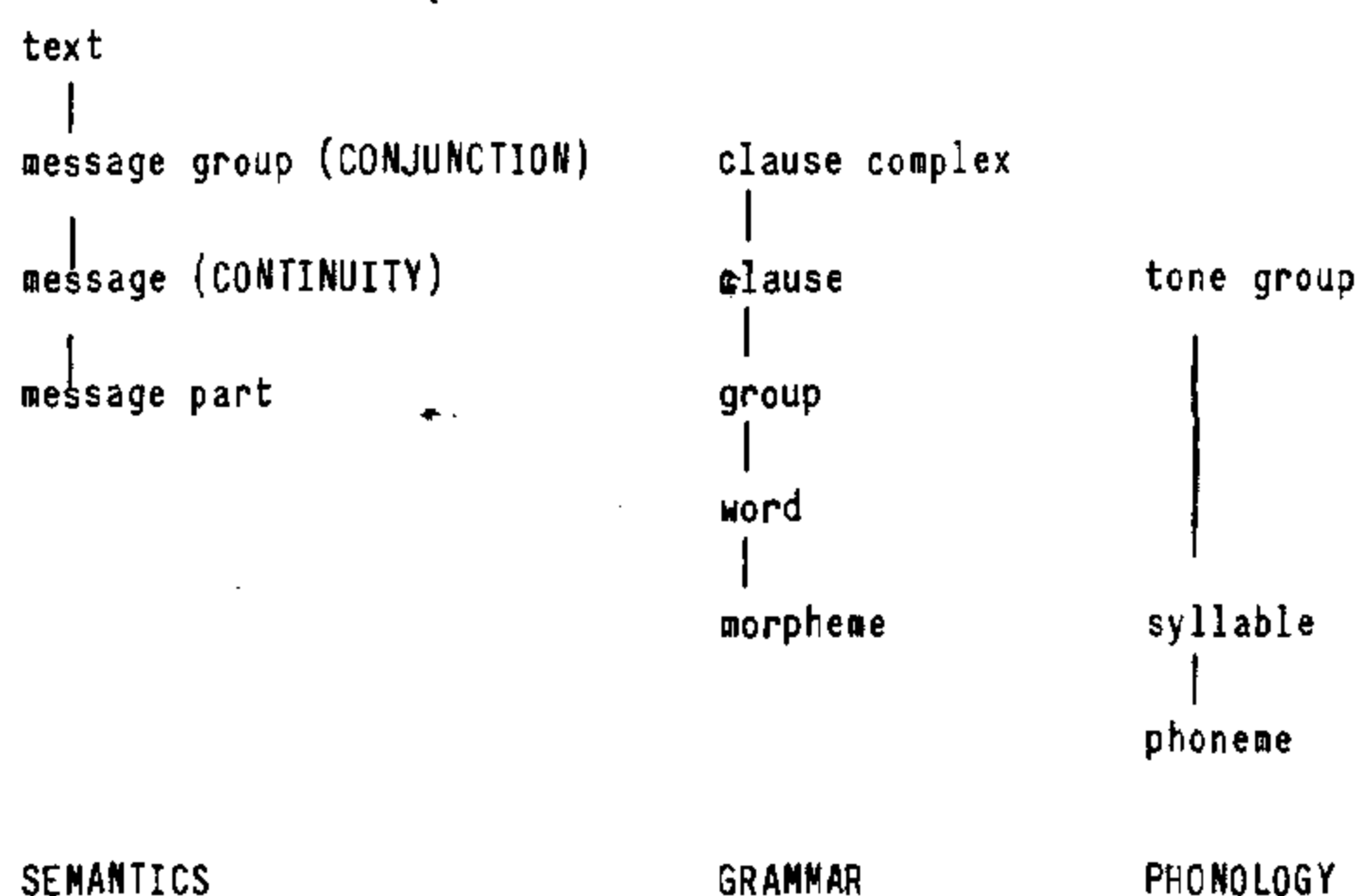


Fig. 39. CONJUNCTION and CONTINUITY and Language Strata (Martin 1981b:311)

The semantic stratum in Martin's later writings is reinterpreted as the discourse stratum (see Martin in press, in prep.). As can be seen from the figure above, the semantic stratum involved a rank scale of text, message group, message and message part. CONJUNCTION was held to relate messages to one another on the message group rank. Message groups were then realized on the lexicogrammatical stratum by clause complexes. CONTINUITY, realized by a closed set of particles, was seen to be functioning on the message rank, i.e. the particles function within a unit which on the lexicogrammatical stratum is realized as a clause (Martin 1981b:310-311).

In his later article on CONJUNCTION the rank scale is no longer presented (see Martin 1983a). But conjunctions are still treated from the synoptic point of view. Their main function is to relate juxtaposed messages, as the following quotation indicates:

The CONJUNCTION networks...generate the 'logical' structure of text. These structures are basically dependency ones; in the unmarked case a message is signalled to the listener as depending on the immediately preceding message in the text in terms of addition, time, cause, or comparison. There are of course exceptions to this general principle. At times messages depend on more than one preceding message; some messages depend on those which follow; and some messages depend on preceding ones that are not contiguous...But it remains a general feature of CONJUNCTION that messages depend retrospectively on a single contiguous message (Martin 1983a:46).

Presently Martin adopts a more dynamic view on conjunctions and the units they combine. The units that conjunctions link vary in size according to the requirements that the dynamic unfolding of the social process sets to texts. This view has been influenced by the work done on CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE (Berry 1981a, 1981b, 1981c; Martin in prep.; Chapter V above). The third stratum does not involve the rank scale presented in Fig. 39 above. The only ranks on the discourse stratum are the exchange and the move, which are the units of the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE systems. As has been shown in Chapter V, the units of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE are created dynamically and they may vary in size. For example, an exchange may involve a move that is in fact made up of several moves, all rankshifted to function at one slot. This dynamic aspect of the realization of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE makes it more difficult to define the size of the units related by conjunctions. Certain correlational relationships in terms of realization can however still be made between these exchange units and the lexicogrammatical units. What is being meant is that when conjunctions relate moves in an exchange to one another, these moves are lexicogrammatically describable as the units of the lexicogrammatical rank scale, see Fig. 39 above.

Conjunctions are not only significant when discovering the realization of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE as exchanges, but they are held to be significant also when the realization of genre as schematic structures found in texts is considered. Martin makes a suggestion that there is a relationship between the schematic structure of a text and the discourse structure generated by the CONJUNCTION network:

Certain internal [see below section 8.2] conjunctions, now, okay, anyway, and by the way, for example, have as their sole function demarcating stages, or elements of schematic structure, in a text...And other conjunctions may be used in this way. It is common for internal so and then to range back in a text over a large number of messages. In fact the extent of their retrospective range can be determined only by examining the schematic structure of a text...Such relations are paraphrasable along the lines of 'Since I've argued this far/told you this much, now I'll go on and tell you what's next'. So is used in this way... [below], demarcating the Set Ground and State Problem elements of schematic structure in a genre ...[where the activity is] of persuasion

Lips are a must.

They're in fashion.

So what are you using in your skin care?

(Talking Shop 1978, scene 21) (Martin 1983a:56; his emphasis).

Martin's work in this area must be considered suggestive and provisional. He has been looking at the realized schematic structures and conjunctions in two texts from Talking Shop (1978), scenes 21 and 32 (Martin 1979). The first text is a text where a beautician instructs a customer on her skin care and the second text is a shop text where a customer in fact jests with a salesperson in the book department by setting him on a fruitless hunt for a book about Baroness Munchhausen - the first woman's fibber. The two texts belong to different genres and the second cannot be considered to represent a typical text in the social situation of shopping.

Taking these factors into consideration it is hardly surprising that Martin's presentation does not offer a systematic account of the connection between the schematic structure of a text and its 'logical' structure. To find any systematic patterns of conjunctions occurring at the schematic structure elements of texts one has to look at texts belonging to the same genre. It is from here that this chapter takes off.

Before the discussion on CONJUNCTION and CONTINUITY systems and the structures they generate will begin, a warning about a biased viewpoint adopted in this chapter will have to be issued. The CONJUNCTION and CONTINUITY systems will be discussed not per se, but

function as linguistic evidence of the realization of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE of a genre, in this case the genre of service encounters. These discourse systems will therefore not be discussed in their most delicate terms (for more delicate descriptions of CONJUNCTION and CONTINUITY systems, see Halliday and Hasan 1976; Martin 1979, 1981b, 1983a).

8.2 CONJUNCTION: System

The discussion on CONJUNCTION systems is best started by presenting the options involved at the least delicate level and this delicacy degree will in fact be considered sufficient for the purposes of this chapter.

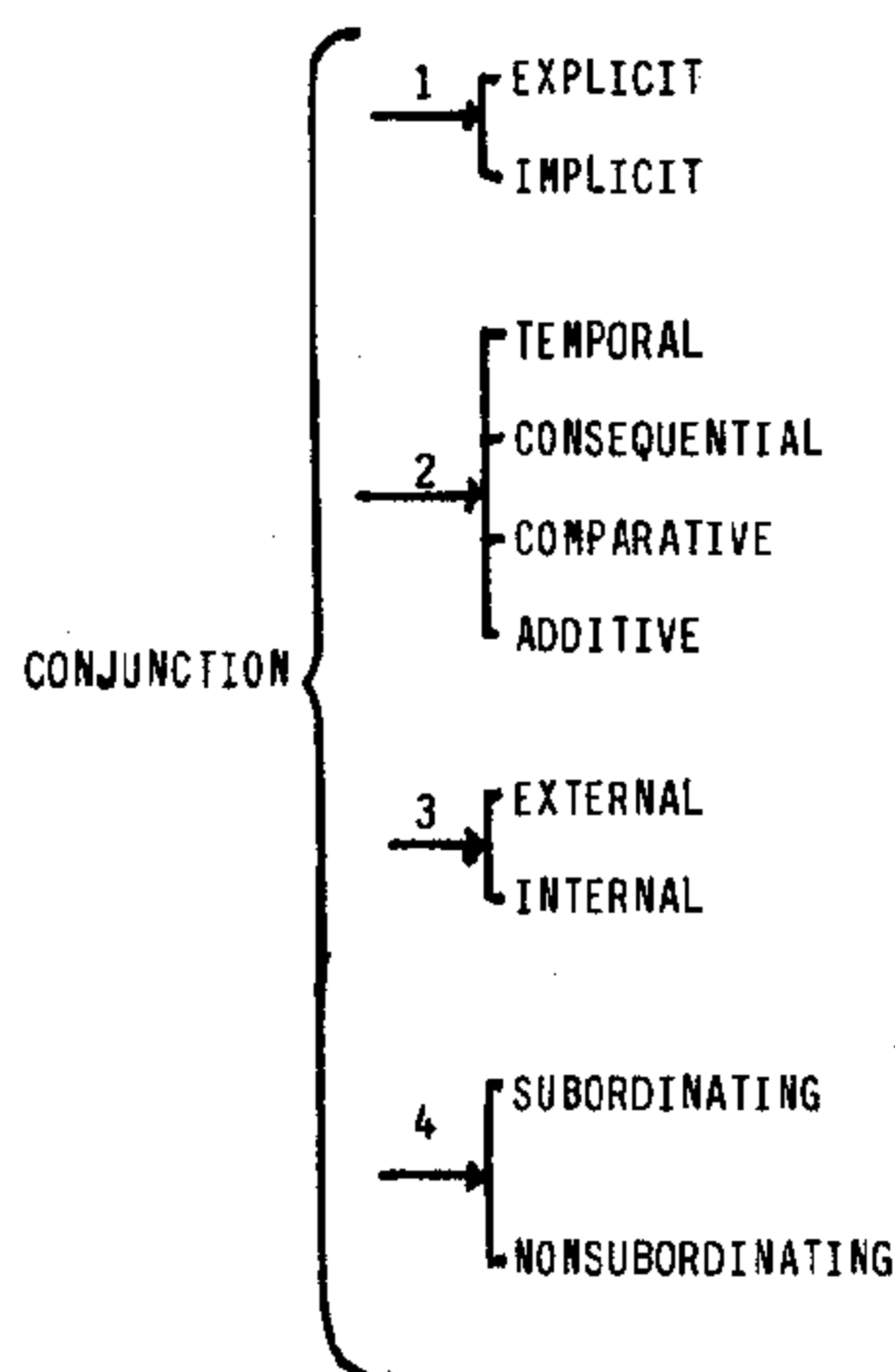


Fig. 40. CONJUNCTION in English at Primary Delicacy (Martin 1983a:3; Fig. 1)

The first distinction made in System 1 is that between [EXPLICIT] and [IMPLICIT] and it has, in fact, already been exemplified on p.341.

(1) John came in. He sat down.

(2) John came in. Then he sat down.

In (1) the conjunctive relationship is implicit. The logical structure in both (1) and (2) is the same, but (2) is stamped for this relationship

explicitly by a conjunction (here a temporal conjunction).

System 2 makes a distinction between [TEMPORAL], [CONSEQUENTIAL], [COMPARATIVE] and [ADDITIVE] relations between messages. Temporal conjunctive relations encode messages according to the way actions expressed in the messages are sequenced. Martin (1983a:4) gives such temporal relations a structure of Anterior * Posterior. Anterior encodes an event that begins in the real world before the event in Posterior, but linguistically they can be expressed either as A+P or as P+A. This is exemplified below:

A: After I have finished this thesis,
P: I shall have a holiday.

P: I shall have a holiday,
A: after I have finished this thesis.

Anterior and Posterior events may in fact be even overlapping (for examples, see Martin 1983a), but such finer distinctions do not need to be considered here. Some examples of temporal conjunctions are when, while, after, as, since, before, as soon as, the second/instant/moment/minute that, until etc.

Consequential conjunctive relations can be assigned a structure "Cause * Effect where the Cause is that message which brings about the Effect" (Martin 1983a:11). A finer distinction of consequential relations is made by a further subclassification of condition, purpose and concession (for details, see Martin 1983a). Again the structure realized can be either C+E or E+C:

C: If the weather's nice,
E: I'll go to the beach.

E: I'll go to the beach,
C: if the weather's nice.

Examples of consequential conjunctions are: if, provided that, so that, because, since, even though, although, thereby, by, lest, in case, as long as, for whatever reason etc.

Comparative conjunctive relations have to do with contrasts and similarities between messages. The structure for comparative relations could be expressed as Comparison * Standard of Comparison, but this representation has its own problems (for a detailed discussion, see

Martin 1983a:20). It seems for example that Comparison and Standard of Comparison are not reversible in such a clause as:

He works as hard as any other pen-pusher does.

Examples of comparative conjunctions are: like, as, as...as, as if, ...-er than..., except, instead, whereas etc.

Additive conjunctive relations simply add or offer an alternative to a message. Addition is most frequently expressed by conjunctions and, besides and plus, whereas alternation is expressed by or. Correlative realizations of additives are both...and and either...or (see Martin 1983a:25). Examples of additive conjunctions relating messages to one another are given below:

I have written the chapter on reference and the next chapter will be on conjunction.

You can type the thesis yourself or you can get it typed by a professional typist.

System 3 makes a distinction between [EXTERNAL] and [INTERNAL] conjunctions. So far all the examples used to illustrate the conjunctive relationships have been external. Halliday and Hasan (1976:239; example [5:14]) illustrate this difference between the external and internal conjunctions by two examples which will be reproduced below:

- (a) Next he inserted the key into the lock.
- (b) Next, he was incapable of inserting the key into the lock.

In both (a) and (b) the conjunctive relation expressed by next can be described as temporal. But in the first, Halliday and Hasan (1976:239) write, "it is a relation between events...The time sequence...is in the THESIS, in the content of what is being said" whereas in the second "the time sequence is in the speaker's organization of his discourse...in the ARGUMENT". Thus, the first clause could have preceded with First he switched on the light and the second with First he was unable to stand upright. The internal conjunction can thus be paraphrased as "next in a series (of things to be said)" (Halliday and Hasan 1976:236).

Martin suggests the following recognition test for external/internal conjunctive relation:

change the TAXIS of the message group in question and see whether explicit reference must be made through a verbal process to the act of speaking one of the messages. If so, the relation is internal (Martin 1983a:37).

One of Halliday and Hasan's (1976:321) examples can be used to illustrate the point. The two non-subordinating clauses below, both involving a causal relationship expressed explicitly by so, can be changed into subordinating clauses (i.e. the change of TAXIS), but only (a) demonstrates an internal conjunctive relationship.

INTERNAL so:

- (a) We are having guests tonight,
so don't be late.
- changing TAXIS (aa) Because we're having guests tonight,
I'm telling you not to be late.

EXTERNAL so:

- (b) He drove into the harbour one night,
so they took his licence away.
- changing TAXIS (bb) Because he drove into the harbour one night,
they took his licence away.
- (bbb) *Because he drove into the harbour one night,
I'm telling you they took his licence away.

The clause complex (a) accepts the verbal process as the TAXIS is changed. In (b) such a verbal process cannot be included in the change of the TAXIS as illustrated by (bbb).

Martin (1983a:25) notes that additives and comparatives seem to be used much more frequently internally than externally and further, that there are some conjunctions which can only be used internally. Therefore, it is perhaps well worth listing those conjunctions which Martin (1983a) sees functioning only internally, so that once looking at the service encounter texts one can be aware of them, although a more delicate description of the internal conjunctions is seen unnecessary in this context. The most abundant ones, namely comparatives and additives, will be given first. The networks which generate these items are presented in Martin (1983a).

At least the following internal comparative conjunctions, in addition to those external comparative conjunctions which may also be used internally, can be recognized: that is, i.e., in other words, for example/instance, e.g., in short, in brief, in general, generally, in particular, particularly, in fact, actually, at least, indeed, again, still, likewise, similarly, in the same way, equally, correspondingly, conversely, rather, instead, on the contrary, on the other hand, but and on the one hand...on the other (Martin 1983a:26).

Internal additive conjunctions are, according to Martin (1983a:32): oh, well, incidentally, by the way, anyway, now, alright, okay, in addition, as well, and, additionally, moreover, further, furthermore, or and alternatively. Martin (1983a:32) involves in his network of internal additive conjunctions such options as STAGING, DEPARTING and FRAMING (realized by the conjunctions listed above from incidentally onwards to okay). It will be suggested later, in section 8.4 that these are probably better interpreted as realizations of discourse boundaries. Therefore the internal additive conjunctions will be discussed in greater detail later.

The major internal consequential conjunctions are: then, after all, so, for, hence, in conclusion, admittedly, of course, needless to say, in any case, anyhow, at any rate, but and nevertheless (Martin 1983a:35).

Finally, internal temporal conjunctions are the following: at the same time, finally, lastly, first, second, third... (Martin 1983a:36). Examples of at least some of these internal conjunctions listed above will be provided when the CONJUNCTION structures are considered in the service encounter texts. Further examples can be found in Halliday and Hasan (1976) and in Martin (1983a).

The last system in the simplified network presented earlier in this section (see Fig. 40) is System 4. This system distinguishes between subordinating and nonsubordinating messages and, further, if subordinating, then between finite and non-finite subordinating message (although this further option is not presented in the simplified network above). The options in this last system can be exemplified by the following temporal relation (from Martin 1983a:9), although it

naturally applies to consequential, comparative and additive relations as well:

Before he found his frog the boy looked everywhere.
(finite, subordinating)

Before finding his frog, the boy looked everywhere.
(non-finite, subordinating)

The boy found his frog. Previously he looked everywhere.
(nonsubordinating)

Nothing has so far been said about the other system that was mentioned in section 8.1 at the same time as CONJUNCTION, namely CONTINUITY. This distinction is made by Martin (1981b, 1983a). It should not be mixed with the grouping of conjunctive items which Halliday and Hasan (1976:267-271) call continuatives and which includes the following items: now, of course, well, anyway, surely and after all.

All these items are included in the categories of internal conjunctions by Martin (1983a). He writes:

Like internal comparatives, internal additives have a richer internal than external organization. This is partly a result of incorporating Halliday and Hasan's (1976) category of continuatives into the internal additive network (Martin 1983a:31).

Martin does not give any other reason for this inclusion of Halliday and Hasan's continuatives into internal additives except their 'richer internal organization'. Furthermore, although Martin explicitly states that the above mentioned continuatives are incorporated into internal additives, this is not in fact the case. Halliday and Hasan's continuatives are included into internal conjunction systems of two different kinds. Now, well and anyway are listed with the internal additives, whereas of course and after all are listed with internal consequentials (see above and Martin 1983a:32,35). Surely is simply not included in any of the earlier listed internal conjunction categories.

If for Martin CONTINUITY is not realized by those continuative items listed out by Halliday and Hasan, what then does he envisage continuity items to be? He writes:

CONTINUITY is realized through the particles 'already, finally, at last, still, yet, only, just, also, as well, too, neither, either, even', and connects clauses to their context in terms of time, counterexpectation, and comparison (Martin 1983a: 42; see also the CONTINUITY network in Martin 1983a:44).

Continuity items can firstly be recognized grammatically. They seem to be realized within a grammatical unit of a clause. This seems to be the same for both English and Tagalog (Martin 1981b, 1983a). On the discourse stratum they are recognized by the fact that they occur within a message rather than within the message group rank. The continuity items listed above, except for already can also be used as conjunctions, as can be seen from the following examples (from Martin 1983a:43):

John is here. Still I wonder if Mary is coming (conjunction).
John has left. But Mary is still here (continuity item).

I felt like relaxing only I was upset about the exam (conj.).
No I'm not busy. I'm only reading (cont.).

In the examples above, a continuity item seems to concern just the message within which it occurs; a conjunction seems to concern the message group. The third characteristic of continuity items is their apparent attitudinal meaning. This may partly explain, as Martin (1983a:45) says, the fact that they appear to be more common in conversational texts than in monologue texts. As continuity functions within messages rather than within message groups, they are not expected to contribute much to the 'logical' structure of the text, but they frequently seem to co-operate with conjunctions in such expressions as 'even if' and 'just because'.

Even though Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Martin (1983a) do not seem to include the same items into the categories of continuatives and continuity items, they seem to feel that these are the areas where further work is needed. The influence of different TENOR choices to the realization of continuatives and continuity items in texts would seem especially of interest, as well as discovering the role they play in the development of argumentation in texts. In the analyses of service encounter texts, which are to follow shortly, continuity items will be noted in the texts, but the study of their

exact role in service encounter genre must wait another occasion.

8.3 CONJUNCTION: Structure

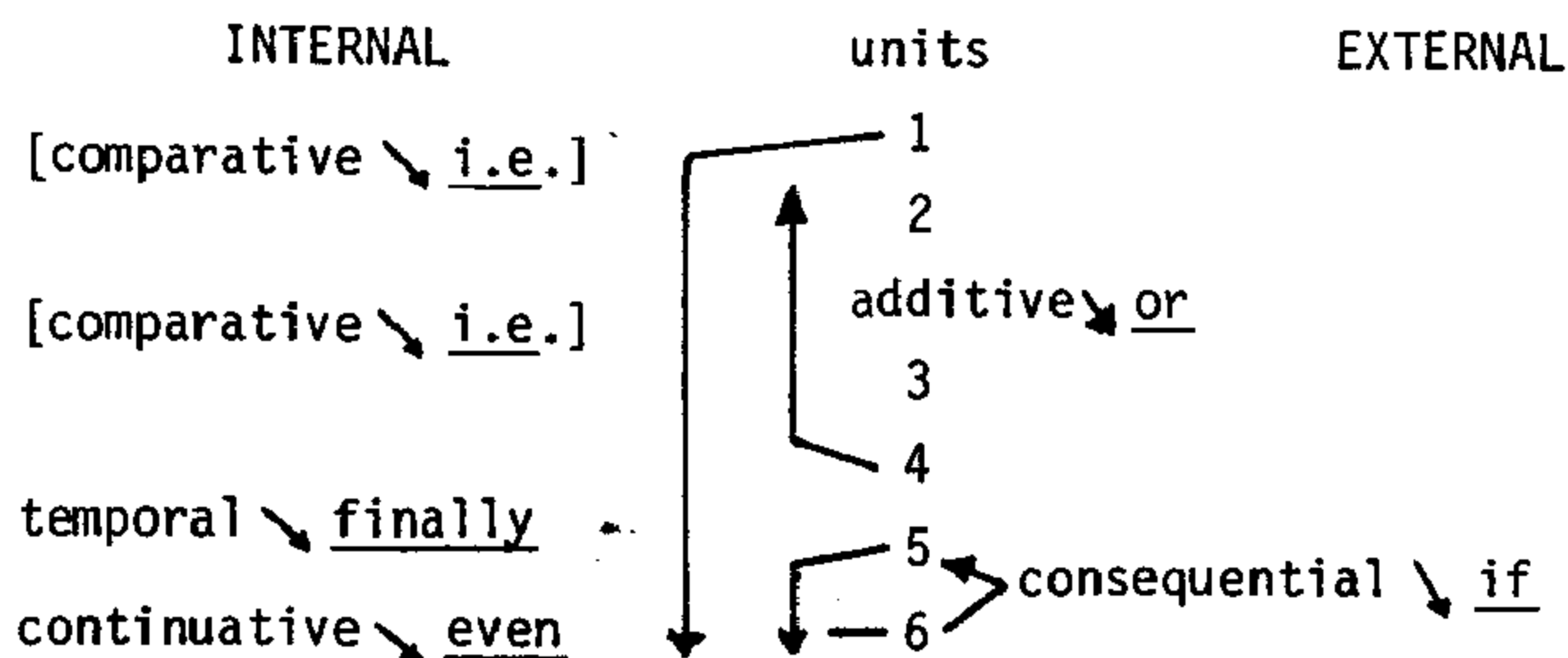
The CONJUNCTION network, like any other discourse system described so far in this study, is expected to generate structures. Martin has developed a reticulum to represent the generated structures (the reticulum representation has its origin in the work of Hartford stratificationists, see Martin 1983a:46). This representation is also adopted here for the study of the realization of CONJUNCTION structures in service encounter texts.

A reticulum is a vertical listing of all the messages in a text. A message in the reticulum is a unit which is conjunctively relatable (here CONJUNCTION structures differ from the other structures presented before; in the others the basic unit is a unit selecting independently for MOOD). The internal relations are presented on the left of the message line, whereas the external relations are presented on the right. Implicit conjunctive relations are also usually included in the reticulum and they will be inserted within brackets []. However, caution must be practised with implicit conjunctions. One must avoid reading too much into the text. Explicit external additives are listed on the vertical line itself, between the messages. Implicit internal additives are not listed at all, as one could add them practically into every message group. The picture that arises then is one where a reticulum (i.e. a discourse structure generated by the CONJUNCTION network) is presented for a constructed text in the following example (p.354).

As can be seen, this hypothetical text consists of six messages (listed vertically). The second and the third messages are related to one another by an additive conjunction and (this is an explicit, external additive; internal additives, if explicit, would be listed on the left). Messages 2 and 3 are related to Message 4 internally (this is the second comparative relationship listed on the left; the first one is being ignored for the moment). As this is an implicit relationship, it is included within the brackets. Note how Message 4 is a recapitulation of what Messages 2 and 3 are saying. This is

Text:

- (1) Who says writing a thesis is easy?
- (2) One is constantly on the verge of having a nervous breakdown
- (3) or one is always contemplating suicide.
- (4) Self-destruction is everpresent.
- (5) Finally, one always wonders.
- (6) if there even are any right answers to be found.



represented by the fact that the line runs first vertically straight through 2 and 3 and then connects with 4. The internal temporal conjunction finally, which is present in the text explicitly connects Messages 5 and 6. Lastly Messages 5 and 6 are also related to one another by an external consequential if. Message 6 further includes a continuative even. Continuatives are also listed on the left of the reticulum. When one looks at the whole text there is also an internal, implicit i.e. relationship between Message 1 and the rest of the text (the line starting from 1 and going through to 6.

What the logical structure of the analyzed constructed text has shown then is that in (1) a THESIS is presented. This thesis is supported by the following text (2-6), which subdivides itself into two separate ARGUMENTS. The first argument consists of two parts, (2) and (3), which are then summarized in (4). The second argument consists also of two parts, one of which is conditionally (i.e. a subcategory of consequential conjunctions) related to the other.

Now that the principles of conjunction reticulum have been explained, some examples illustrating conjunctive relationships in the service encounter data can be considered. These examples will mostly be from texts other than Texts 4, 5 and 11, as these are analyzed fully for conjunctive relationships in Chapter IX. Also, for illustrative

purposes it seems best to give examples of explicit rather than implicit conjunctions.

The examples below illustrate some external conjunctions in service encounter texts:

Example 77. (T2):

1
2 ➤ conseq. S: if you don't like that
you'll have to have a thirty-five

Example 78. (T10):

1
2 ➤ conseq. S: although you must pay no later than 45 days
before you travel
you must pay within seven days of booking

Example 79. (T6):

1
2 ➤ conseq. S: I presume you've looked around
so you probably know what you're looking for

Example 80. (T3):

1
2 ➤ conseq. S: I don't care how it comes
as long as it comes

These examples are illustrations of external consequential conjunction structures. Note how in the first two examples the conjunction points forward and in the two following examples it points backwards (note also that in Example 78 before you travel is considered to be a Qualifier to days and therefore is not a conjunctively relatable unit).

The next example demonstrates both a temporal and an additive conjunction:

Example 81. (T3):

1
2 ➤ temp. S: when you've addressed it
just bring it back to me
add.
3
and I'll post it for you

(note that just is a continuative and would be analyzed on the left hand side of the reticulum). The last example will demonstrate an external comparative conjunction:

Example 82. (T7):

1
2 → comp. C: I'm looking for something that will go
with this dress just around the neck
but it can be sort of greyblue couldn't it

More interesting from the viewpoint adopted for this study is the way the internal conjunctions structure texts. Some illustrations will be provided below:

Example 83. (T7):

conseq. ← 1
2 C: I don't think I shall find it
so don't waste your time on me too much

Example 84. (T12):

1 S: how can we help you
2 C: yes
3 well I want to...rebook Brisbane...on the
4 17th...please
add. ← and I'd like to get on the 1:10 p.m.

(note well will be discussed in section 8.4)

Example 85. (T6):

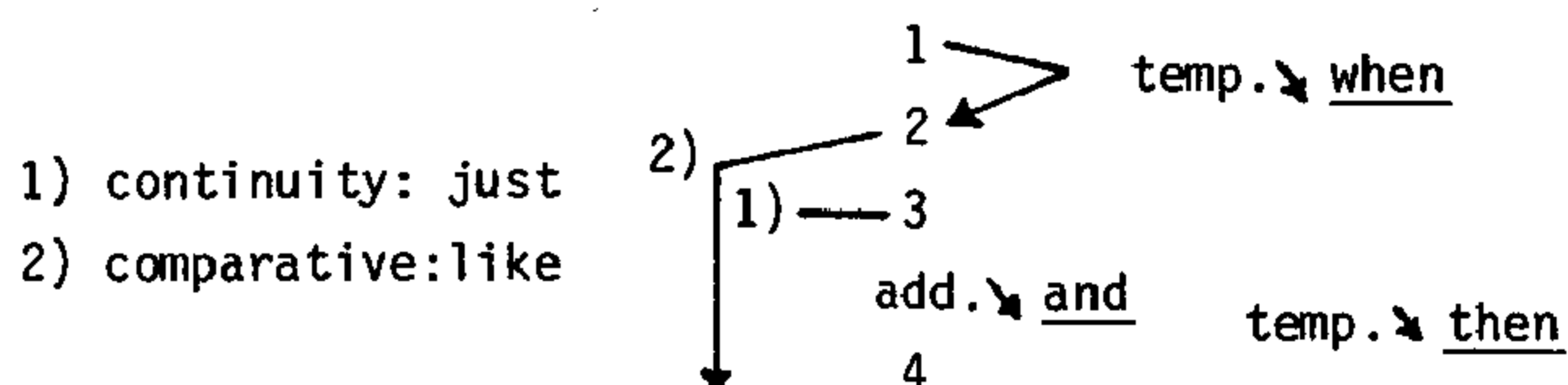
comp. ← 1
2 C: it's for my mother
3 S: yeah
but what age is the boy

Here is an extract involving both external and internal conjunctions:

Example 86. (T10):

1 S: when we come to writing out the ticket
2 yours is costed out differently from the child
3 just like on the domestic one we will book you
4 all together
and then we'll write you as an adult and a child
as a half fare

This extract from T10 has the following logical structure:



It can be seen how S makes more explicit what she is saying by providing

The examples above have so far been short and simplistic. More complex and elaborate examples are certainly available in the texts. But, before such examples and analyses of whole texts can be attempted, it is necessary to consider a further aspect of discourse which together with conjunctions indicate the structuring of a text. This aspect involves what here are called frames, devices which mark boundaries of larger chunks of texts.

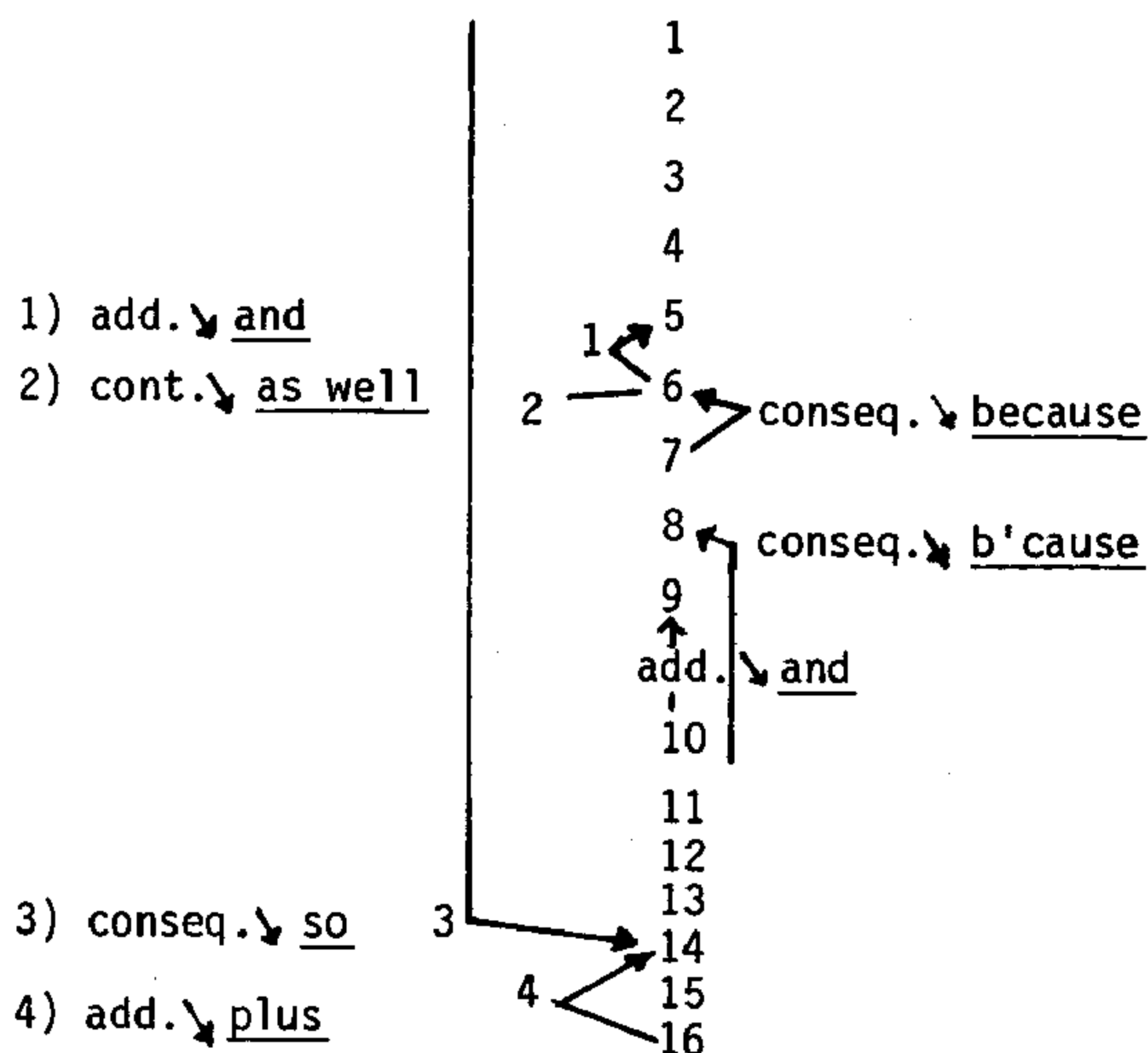
8.4 Frames and BOUNDARY MARKING

It has already been stated that conjunctions are of interest to this study mainly because they chunk messages together by relating two or more messages to one another. When a conjunction relates one message to more than one single other message one can speak of the range (Martin 1983a:48-49) or the domain (Halliday and Hasan 1976:233) of the conjunctive relationship. Examples of the range of conjunctions have actually already been given in this chapter. The first examples appear on p.354, the constructed example. One can see that there the implicit comparative conjunctive i.e. relationship extends from unit 1 to unit 6. Another implicit comparative i.e. relationship extends from unit 4 upwards to unit 2. The range of the explicit temporal conjunction finally is from 5 to 6. Further, on p.356 in Ex. 86, the range of like in 2 is up to unit 4.

But the range of conjunctive relationships can be even longer than in the examples mentioned. Consider for example an extract from Text 3 and its logical structure, which appears on p.358. What is of special interest in this example is the third internal conjunction so. It seems that so has the range reaching (at least) to 1. The meaning of this so could be paraphrased as 'the matters of fact being stated in units from 1 to 13, the consequence of this interaction is that I, the customer, have to pay you, the server, eighty cents for the service you're providing me'. So seems to sum up the preceding interaction which is seen as a consequence or a result of the preceding interaction.

Example 87. (T3):

S: where is it going
 C: Adelaide
 [3 secs - S checks the weight and looks up the price]
 1 S: that's eighty cents surface mail or a dollar twenty
 air mail
 2 C: when will it get there by surface mail
 3 S: whereabouts is it going in Adelaide
 4 C: uhm Barossa Valley ↗
 5 S: uh that's outside
 6 and you might as well send it surface mail
 7 because it's-...
 8 it'll be there Monday...or Tuesday...either way...
 9 b'cause it'll go to Adelaide
 10 and it goes up by road or by train to the Barossa
 11 C: yeah
 12 okay
 13 S: okay ↗
 14 C: so that's eighty
 15 S: uhuh
 16 plus thirty-five for the bag



Another similar example is found in Text 6:

Example 88 (T6):

- 1 C: he's not up to those yet
- 2 S: no no
- 3 oh we'll leave it at that
[8 secs - S packs up what C has bought; at the same time
C is looking at some pins at the counter]
- 4 C: how much are the pins
- 5 S: they're two dollars fifty
[4 secs - S gives the goods to C and C gives money to S]
- 6 S: thank you
- 7 three eighty-five then

An interesting question arises with this internal consequential then conjunction. What is the range of then in (7)? It seems that it goes beyond the extract given here - the range of this conjunction appears in fact to reach a non-verbal action of C's, where she first picks up something to buy. Looking at the whole text (see the Appendix) one never finds out what the item for which C is paying \$3.85 is, but the first reference to it is to be found in S's turn but that's all right though. Later it turns out that it is something for C's son, although it's not a purse, which C in fact wanted to buy.

- S: but what age is the boy
C: oh that's for him

More examples of the similar use of then can be found in Text 11 in Chapter IX.

It seems that whenever the range/domain of a conjunction is functionally so far reaching as illustrated above by so and then, one is not dealing anymore with the conjunctions in the same sense as when they link contiguous (or near contiguous) messages. Furthermore, in cases such as illustrated above one cannot speak of the range of a conjunction in the same sense as one speaks of it when it connects two clauses or two clause complexes. Rather, the range for these 'far-reaching' conjunctions seems to be determined dynamically. Each unit is negotiated by the interactants and conjunctions, if used as illustrated above, seem to 'signpost' boundaries of such units. It seems then logical to assume that such outreaching conjunctions might well have something to do with the realizations of higher semiotics in texts, with the realization of schematic structures.

It will be suggested below that some such items as now, well

anyway, alright, right, okay, so, then amongst others, some of which are continuatives to Halliday and Hasan (1976) and internal additives to Martin (1983a), are better interpreted to be signalling significant phases or stages in service encounter interaction. These phases are either elements of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE or interactional subelements of such SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements on the genre plane. It will be hypothesized that on the genre plane also some kind of boundary marking mechanics operate. These mechanics are represented as a BOUNDARY MARKING system network. Selections from the BOUNDARY MARKING system network are seen to be realized mainly by internal conjunctions and continuity items on the discourse stratum on the language plane. So and then in Examples 87 and 88 realize boundaries in such a way.

But BOUNDARY MARKING options can also be realized by other means than conjunctions on the language plane. For example, they may be realized on the lexicogrammatical stratum by major or minor clauses. In Text 9 (see the Appendix) after having explained the train fares to the customer, the server finishes the SERVICE element by saying: that's train. This is an example of a major clause realizing a BOUNDARY MARKING option. In the same text after the server has finished explaining also the bus fares the following exchange is found: C: okay that could be a good idea to work from - S: okay ↑. This exchange is again simply realizing the BOUNDARY MARKING options. In C's turn the boundary is being marked by a selection of a minor clause okay and additionally by a selection of a major clause that could be a good idea to work from. In S's turn the boundary is signalled by a selection of a minor clause okay ↑. BOUNDARY MARKING options which are realized by choices on the language plane are called frames.

To summarize, the BOUNDARY MARKING systems are seen to operate on the genre plane. The choices from the BOUNDARY MARKING system network are realized on the language plane by frames. On the discourse stratum frames are usually certain internal conjunctions or continuity items. On the lexicogrammatical stratum frames are either major or minor clauses. Furthermore, it will also be assumed that other semiotic codes than language may be realizing frames as well. However, a consideration of such non-language semiotic realizations of BOUNDARY MARKING options will not be pursued here. What will be said below

about boundary marking phenomena in the service encounter texts must be seen as a development of the initial presentation of boundary markers in Ventola (1983b), but even in its present format their account must still be considered tentative, as research in this area is only starting.

8.4.1 INITIATING/ENDING Boundaries

It has so far been established that the basic organization of a genre is in terms of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES. In such a structure elements are sequenced one after the other (the organization being dynamically negotiated by the interactants, see Chapter IV). The points where one schematic structure element ends and another begins are often explicitly marked by frames. Such frames which mark boundaries between schematic structure elements can point both forward as well as backward. When a new element is beginning a frame may be used to signal to a fellow participant that the transition from one element to another is about to take place. Similarly, when an element is completed a frame may be used to signal to the fellow participant that there is nothing to be added to the activity performed during the element and therefore the element can now be considered complete. Thus, one can say that on the genre plane BOUNDARY MARKING involves, first of all, the following system, System 1:



This System 1 generates Forward Pointing Initiating Frames ($\uparrow$ IFr) and Backward Pointing Ending Frames ($\uparrow$ EFr). The arrows in the labels in the parentheses indicate the forward ($\uparrow$) or the backward ($\uparrow$) pointing function of the frame.

An example of a $\uparrow$ IFr realized by an additive conjunction and is given below:

Example 89. (T1):

	1	S: one's forty-five [3 secs - S weighs the other letter]
S I	2	S: one's twenty-five
S II $\uparrow$ IFr (and) + Need of S II	3	C: and have you got...the...first day covers of...etc.

The first SERVICE ends on line 2. By a $\downarrow$ IFr and the customer C wants to signal S that there is yet another Need coming.

The next two examples illustrate the use of a $\downarrow$ IFr and the use of a $\uparrow$ EFr.

Example 90 (T3):

		1	S: and it goes up by road or by train to
			<u>Barossa</u>
		2	C: <u>yeah</u>
	$\uparrow$ EFr (okay)	3	okay
S I	$\uparrow$ EFr (okay $\uparrow$)	4	S: okay $\uparrow$
PAY	$\downarrow$ IFr (so)	5	C: so that's eighty

In S I S finishes her advice to C concerning how C's letter best gets to Barossa Valley on line 1. Yeah on line 2 is a K2f-move to the move on line 1. C's okay on line 3 is an ending frame, $\uparrow$ EFr. C indicates that as far as she is concerned she is ready to complete the element SERVICE. S's okay $\uparrow$ on line 4 is also a $\uparrow$ EFr, checking up that C has been given enough information. With a $\downarrow$ IFr realized by an internal conjunction so C indicates a move to the next element, PAY.

Example 91 (T10):

S I		1	S: so you can get a combination of 'n off-peak
			shoulder peak <u>off-peak or whatever</u>
		2	C: <u>right</u>
	$\uparrow$ EFr (3)	3	<u>okay</u>
	$\uparrow$ EFr (4)	4	S: <u>that gives you it all worked out</u>
$\downarrow$ IFr (<u>now</u>) + S II		5	C: now another thing I was interested in's
			children's fares

In Example 91 Backward Pointing Ending Frames are used first. Line 1 brings SERVICE I to its end. Line 2 right functions as a K2f-move to the preceding move on line 1. Line 3 okay, on the other hand, signals that C understands that the interaction has reached some kind of ending of an exchange or an element (see Grosz 1982, who discusses the similar function of okay in task-oriented dialogues). This okay on its own does not in fact realize the element boundary. But when it is followed by S's that gives you it all worked out, it is obvious that the first SERVICE is completed. Again one can say that dynamics plays a role even in the BOUNDARY MARKING systems. What has happened is that C gives S a chance to add something to the Compliance of

concerned she is ready to complete the element. Then because S has nothing to add to the Compliance she gives a signal that also she is ready to end SERVICE I. This signal is realized by a frame which is realized by a major clause, whereas C's frame is realized by a minor clause. Both frames are considered to function as $\downarrow$ EFr. It is common that at the end of the element the $\downarrow$ EFr realization is reciprocal, as illustrated above. This is natural when one considers the interactional nature of service talk. The ending of the element has to be an acceptable procedure for both the customer and the server and therefore it has to be negotiated by both participants. But naturally there are occasions where the boundary is marked with only one $\downarrow$ EFr by one participant, or simply the boundary is not marked by frames at all. In such cases the boundary must be fairly obvious to the participant(s) and there is no need to signal the boundary by frames. More research needs to be done to find out what it is that makes some boundaries so obvious that they need not be framed, whereas others need the clear signalling of boundaries.

An illustration of a Forward Pointing Initiating Frame ($\downarrow$ IFr) is given on line 5 in Example 91. As one element, SERVICE I, has been completed, the whole encounter could now proceed to CLOSING since no buying of the travel ticket was completed. But C has yet another Need and she has to indicate this to S. She uses the internal additive conjunction now as a $\downarrow$ IFr to signal that there is yet another Need to come to which C wants S to comply with. The Need of SERVICE II is also framed by a comparative reference item 'another thing'. It is obvious that such reference items as above, and some others mentioned earlier in Chapter VII in connection with text reference, function also as realizations of the BOUNDARY MARKING system choices (see also the discussion in Grosz 1982:148). However, the discussion on frames realized by REFERENCE systems will be limited in this context. In language the same relationship is often manifested redundantly and the example above is one instance of such redundancy. Another example of the same redundancy phenomenon will be given below.

Example 92 (additional data - P0):

	1	S: (one two three <u>five</u> [giving change to C])
PAY	2	C: <u>oh thank you</u>
↓IFr(and)+↓IFr(I have...)	3	C: and I have a question
S II	4	I have a book which etc.

Line 3 includes two frames, and plus I have a question, which both point forward to line 4 and beyond to SERVICE II. The first frame is realized by an internal additive and and the other is realized by a major clause I have a question. It is hard to think of another function to this major clause than framing. Experientially it codes nothing of relevance for the FIELD choice 'postal matters' of the register in question. Again in this latter ↓IFr REFERENCE plays a role. An open class lexical item question is preceded by a presenting reference item a which points forward to what will be presented later, namely C's Need of SERVICE II.

Syntagmatically the frames discussed so far could be presented as encircling a SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element in the following fashion:

(↓IFr) + ELEMENT + (↑EFr)

These slots on both sides of the element are considered to be the slots where frames potentially occur. The potentiality is represented by the parentheses around the frames. When discourse unfolds dynamically, these potential frame slots occur in the following manner:

(↓IFr) + ELEMENT + (↑EFr) + (↓IFr) + ELEMENT + (↑EFr) + (↓IFr) + ...

8.4.2 INTRINSIC Boundaries

The basic organization of service encounters is interactional. That is, there are actions that the server does and actions that the customer does. This interactional organization is reflected also in the organization of each SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element. In ATTENDANCE-ALLOCATION, for example, the server calls the customer to approach, which the latter then does. In SERVICE BID the server offers service to the customer which the customer then accepts (of course the realization sequence may be reversed, too, i.e. the customer requests the server for help and the server promises it, e.g. C: could you help me with x? - S: yes sure). In SERVICE the customer presents a Need and the server provides a Compliance to this Need. All elements can

Following such a role-related description of elements it can be said that elements consist of interactional subelements (cf. Grosz's 1982 subdialogues which she sees as parts of task-oriented dialogues).

From the point of view of BOUNDARY MARKING this organization into interactional subelements is important because it seems that frames can also occur in between these interactional subelements. Naturally, when an element is so routinized that it is realized simply by one exchange of two moves in an adjacency pair manner, it is unlikely that frames occur in between such moves. This is why such elements as GREETING, ATTENDANCE-ALLOCATION, SERVICE BID, CLOSING and GOODBYE are very unlikely to include frames between their interactional subelements. But when an element is realized in a less routine manner it is more likely that its interactional subelements will be framed. The element SERVICE can be used as an example here (although again in such routinized interactions as for example in a post office often this element is also realized in an adjacency pair manner). S is seen to have two interactionally motivated functional parts, the customer's Need and the server's Compliance, which are diagrammatically presented as:



It will now be hypothesized that between these two interactional subelements two kinds of frames may occur. Firstly, there may occur a Backward Pointing Intrinsic Frame ($\uparrow$ IntrFr) which marks the end of a Need. Secondly, there may occur a Forward Pointing Intrinsic Frame ($\uparrow$ IntrFr) which signals that a Compliance is now about to begin. Syntagmatically the same can be represented as follows:



It is highly unlikely that in service encounter discourse all of the potential slots would be filled by frames at the same time. But Text 10 illustrates three of the frame types being realized in one SERVICE:

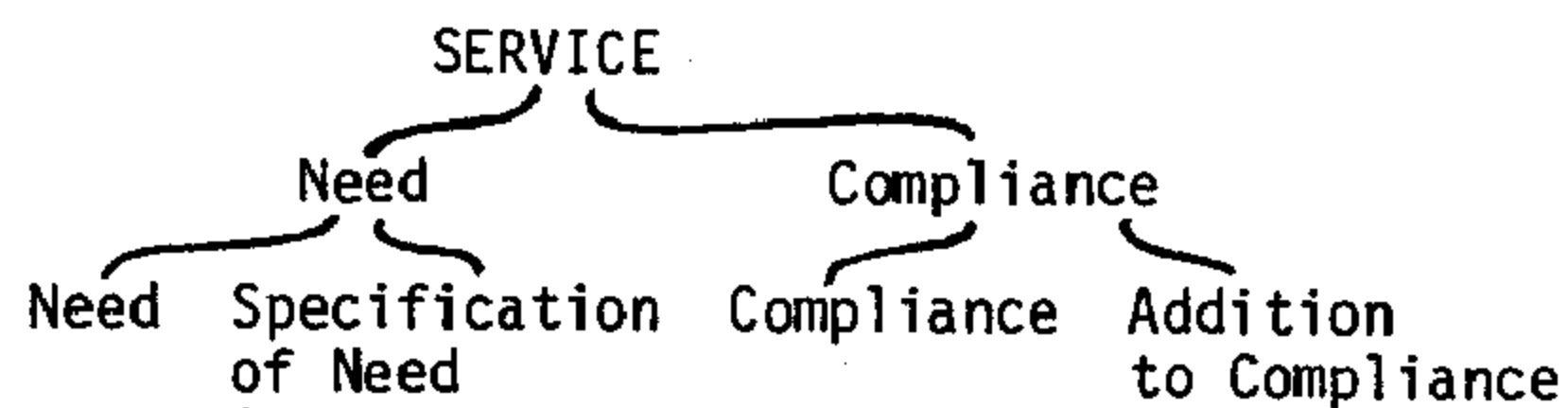
Example 93 (T10):

	↑EFr (okay)	1 C: okay
S I:	↑EFr (2)	2 S: that gives you it all worked out
S II:	↓IFr (now) +	3 C: now another thing I was interested
	Need	in's children's fares
	↓IntrFr (well) +	4 S: well children are not eligible for
	Compliance	advanced
		5 children go at half of this fare...
		[for the intervening text see the
		Appendix]...
		X you're looking at 1616
	↑EFr (right)	Y C: right
	↑EFr (z)	Z S: so they're the two together
		and that's the fare
S III:	↓IFr (now) +	C: now...what happens to the children
	Need	under what is it three years etc.

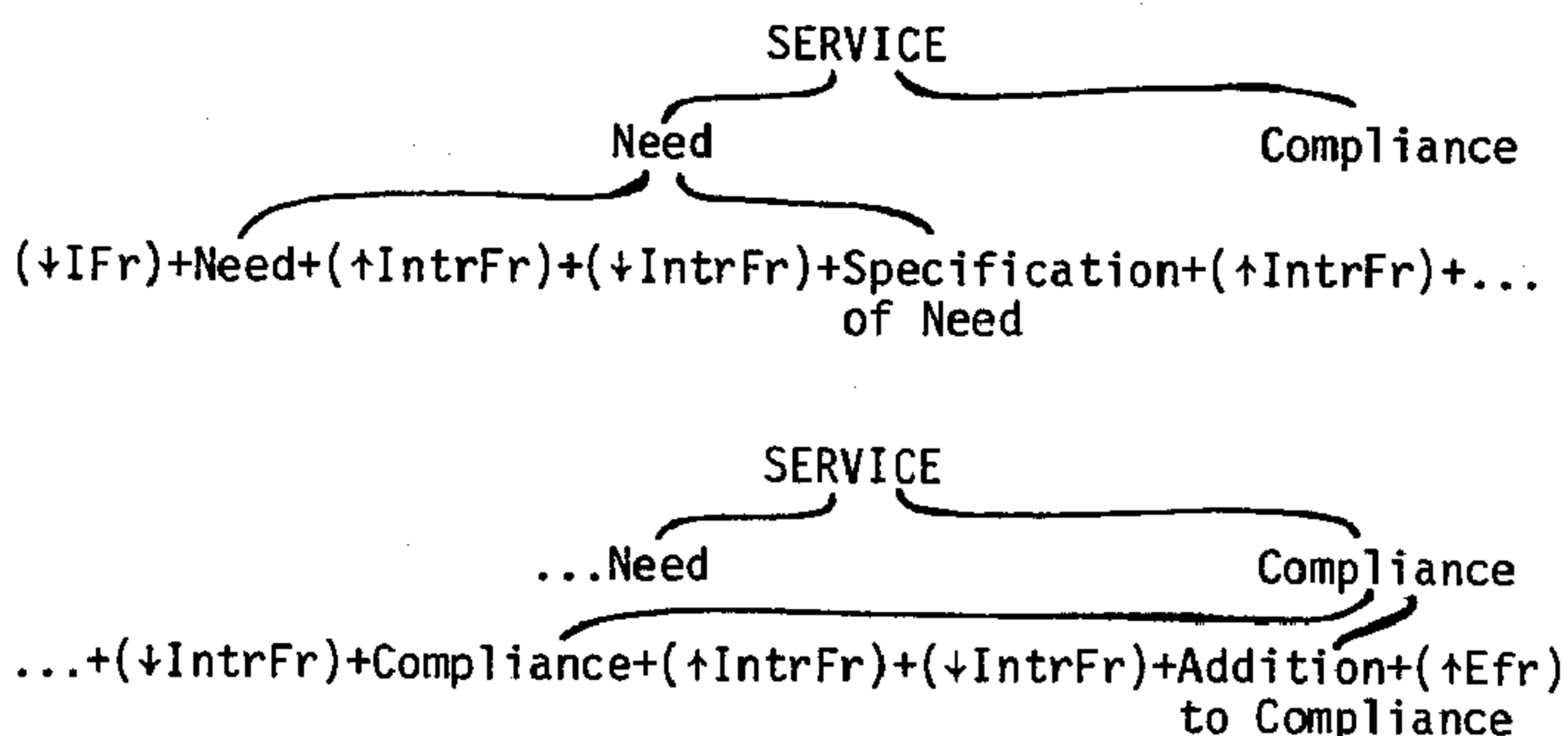
Lines 1 and 2 realize ↑EFr's which mark the end of SERVICE I. When SERVICE II starts C signals the initiation of the new element and the presentation of another Need by a ↓IFr now on line 3. On line 4, S, on the other hand, signals that she has understood C's Need and is ready to give her Compliance. This she does by using a ↓IntrFr well. The Compliance continues for some time until on line X S sums up the information as a concrete price. C's move right on line Y can be interpreted simply as a K2f-move in the exchange structure. But it is possibly realizing this function in the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE as well as realizing a BOUNDARY MARKING option of ↑EFr, thus indicating that C is ready to finish this particular element, unless S has something else to add. S responds to C's ↑EFr by her own ↑EFr on line Z. Then, as the following line with its ↓IFr now shows, C moves on to the Need of Service III.

It has so far been postulated that frames may also potentially occur in between the interactionally motivated subelemental parts of elements. The basic organization of such subelements is 'adjacency pairing'. But, when the elements are realized dynamically, at least those elements which are realized less routinely tend to expand and grow beyond this synoptic view of 'adjacency pairing'. This is the case for example, with the element SERVICE very often. As the SERVICE element grows it becomes more important to distinguish the subelemental part Need from the subelemental part Compliance. This is the reason why frames are frequently used to indicate the ending of Need and the

initiation of Compliance. But when realized dynamically the element SERVICE may even grow beyond this interactive subelemental organization. What is being meant here is that often C's Need is not specific enough and a Specification of Need is necessary. Similarly, often S's initial Compliance is not sufficient and an Addition to Compliance will either be elicited or provided. In other words, the picture that emerges is of the following kind:



How do Specifications of Need and Additions to Compliance influence the realization of BOUNDARY MARKING options? It seems, at least when looking at the realization from the synoptic point of view, that the number of potential slots for frames will be increased. It can be assumed that it is also necessary to demarcate the boundaries between a Need and a Specification of Need and between a Compliance and an Addition to Compliance by frames. The $\uparrow$ IntrFr and $\downarrow$ IntrFr are also seen to be functioning within the Need and within the Compliance. So syntagmatically the following structure with all the potential frame slots would seem to apply:



The picture is complicated even more by the fact that when realized dynamically Specifications of Need and Additions to Compliance may be recursive, i.e. more than one Specification or Addition may be needed before the ini

assumed that in natural discourse one will find every single posited slot to be filled by a frame at the same time. But evidence from the service encounter data seems to justify the hypothesis of these slots as presented above. Exemplifying every single slot and how it is realized by a frame will not be attempted here. It is hoped that in future research this can be done by finding examples of the realization of BOUNDARY MARKING and its relation to SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE from other genres besides service encounters. Here hopefully the following example will sufficiently demonstrate the principle behind intrinsic framing.

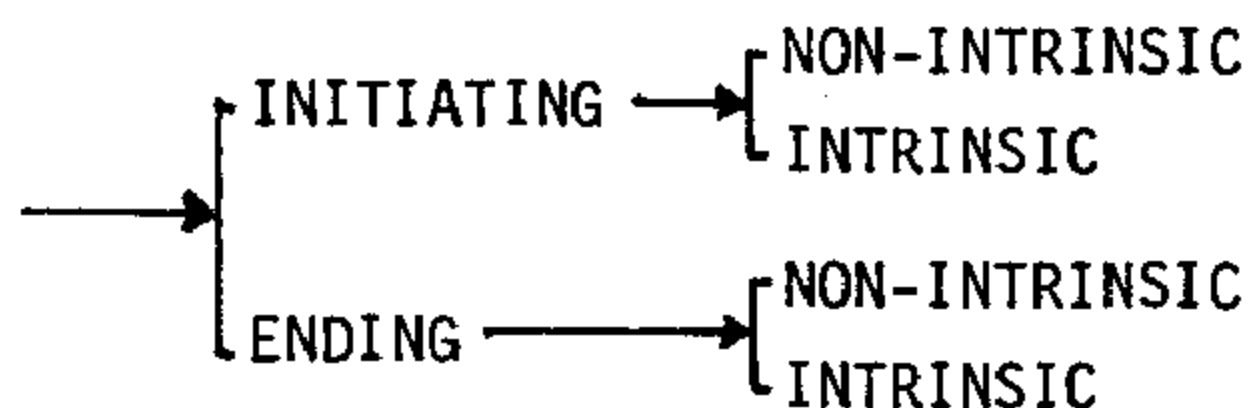
Example 94 (T11):

S I: S II: +IFr (then) + Need ----- +IntrFr (now) + Specif. of Need ----- +IntrFr (well) + Compliance	1 S: it's only if you're going interstate then they can they could carry you if you're going through to Brisbane [they = buses] 2 C: what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow 3 S: tomorrow 4 morning or afternoon now ↗ 5 C: uh midmorning early afternoon 6 S: uh well you've got a 9:50 and 10:15 etc.

The example above includes several frames. The first one occurs at the boundary of SERVICE I and SERVICE II. Line 1 finishes S I, which has been about bus fares from Canberra to Sydney. Because C finds bus departure times totally unsuitable for him, he changes the strategy and initiates a new SERVICE, S II, which is an inquiry about flights to Sydney. He appropriately signals this shift from one element to another by using a +IFr (line 2) realized by an internal temporal conjunction then as he presents his Need of S II. S responds by a dynamic cf-move tomorrow on line 3. But as there are several flights to Sydney from Canberra during a day, S would save more of his time if he knew whether C intended to travel in the morning or in the afternoon. Thus S requests C to specify his Need. S marks this Specification of Need by a +IntrFr now (line 4). Once C has supplied the information, S's Compliance may start and this is signalled by a +IntrFr well (line 6).

By introducing a possibility of having backward and forward pointing frames not only between the interactional

SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements but also between the subelements of a subelement (i.e., between a Need and a Specification of Need or between a Compliance and an Addition to Compliance) a new distinction has in fact been added to BOUNDARY MARKING. It is no longer sufficient to describe a frame either as [initiating] or as [ending]. This is because one has to at the same time now specify also whether an initiating frame begins an element or whether it begins a subelement. Similarly with an ending frame one has to specify whether it concludes an element or whether it only concludes a subelement. In other words, a further selection between features [non-intrinsic] and [intrinsic] has to be made. Since [initiating] and [ending] frames can both be either [intrinsic] or [non-intrinsic] the choices could be represented by a system network, where the features [intrinsic] and [non-intrinsic] have been added to System 1 presented earlier, in the following manner:



But as can be seen this representation is redundant. This redundancy can be avoided by making the choice of [intrinsic]/[non-intrinsic] simultaneous with the choice of [initiating]/[ending]. The network below represents the BOUNDARY MARKING systems of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements:

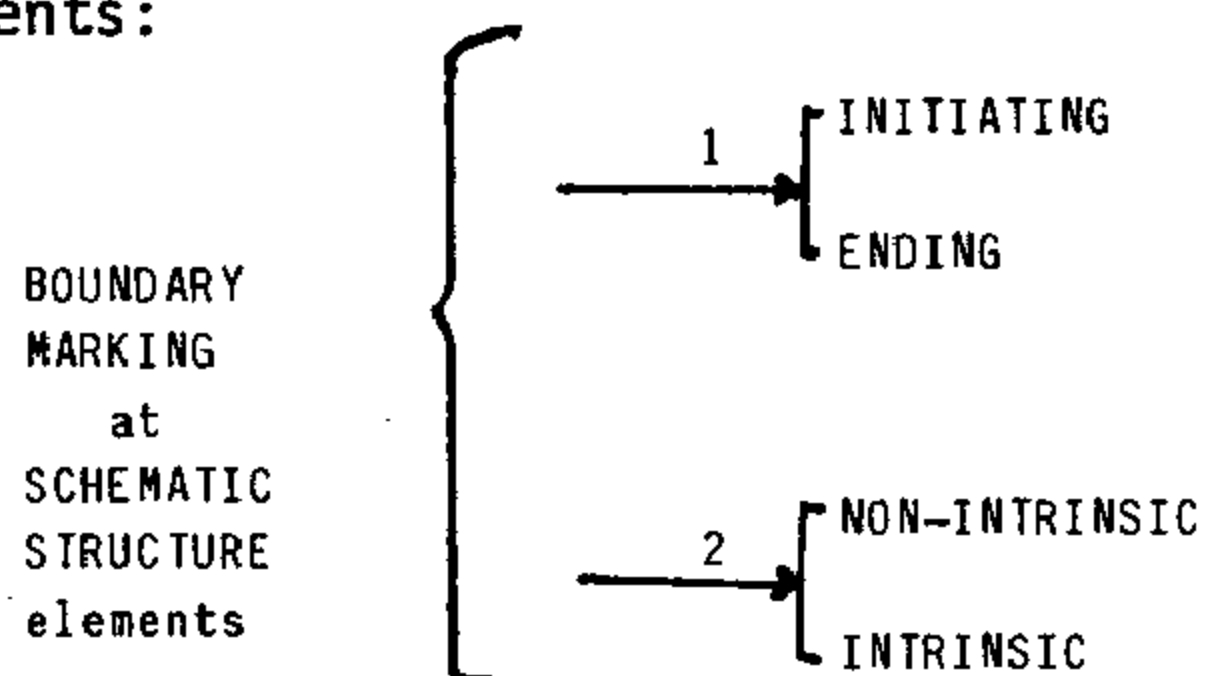
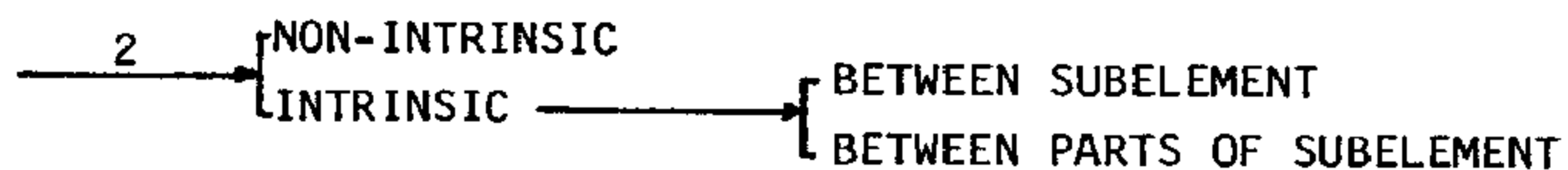


Fig. 41. BOUNDARY MARKING Systems of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE Elements on the Genre Plane

When the features [initiating] and [non-intrinsic] are selected the frame selected will carry the function +IFr. When the features [ending] and [non-intrinsic] are selected the frame will have the

function $\uparrow EFr$. Furthermore, when the features [ending] and [intrinsic] are selected then the frame will carry the function $\uparrow IntrFr$, signalling thus either the end of Need or the end of a Specification of Need. Finally, when the features [initiating] and [intrinsic] are selected simultaneously the frame will be carrying the function $\uparrow IntrFr$, signalling either the beginning of Compliance or the beginning of Addition to Compliance.

At this stage of investigation the following question is left unexplored: are the intrinsic frames used to signal boundaries between interactional subelements, e.g. between a Need and a Compliance of SERVICE and between further subelemental parts of these subelements, e.g. between a Need and a Specification of Need or between a Compliance and an Addition to Compliance, functionally different? If they are the feature [intrinsic] in System 2 could then be drawn more delicately as



Naturally also the labels used for the intrinsic frames would then have to reflect this finer functional distinction. But to decide whether such a finer distinction is in fact necessary would involve looking at the potential slots posited earlier and the types of frames occurring in them. Due to limitations of time and space such an investigation will have to be left to be conducted in future studies. Future studies on frames will also have to include an investigation of all the classes of items which on the plane of language realize the framing functions posited so far.

Thus the realization statements for the BOUNDARY MARKING systems as they have been presented so far can be summarized in a tabular form:

[initiating : non-intrinsic]	+ $\downarrow IFr$	$\downarrow IFr \sim ELEMENT$
[ending : non-intrinsic]	+ $\uparrow EFr$	$ELEMENT \sim \uparrow EFr$
[ending : intrinsic]	+ $\uparrow IntrFr$	Part of $ELEMENT \sim \uparrow IntrFr \sim$ Rest of $ELEMENT$
[initiating : intrinsic]	+ $\downarrow IntrFr$	Part of $ELEMENT \sim \downarrow IntrFr \sim$ Rest of $ELEMENT$

Before moving on to exemplify how frames function in the service encounter data collected one further issue needs to be considered. This issue deals with the framing functions as they were presented in Ventola (1983b).

In Ventola (1983b:188-190) it was suggested that one can find in service encounters also boundary markers which signal that the service activity is ended and that the only element to follow is GOODBYE. What is being referred to are the following kind of routine expressions which often form adjacency pairs:

<u>first participant:</u>	<u>second participant:</u>
-thank you very much	-thank you very much
-thank you	-thank you
-thanks	-don't mention it
-ta etc.	-a pleasure etc.

It was suggested that such pairs function both as frames as well as realizing the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element CLOSING.

Now that more work has been done on both SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES as well as BOUNDARY MARKING, it seems that it would be unjustified and theoretically unwise to consider the exchanges similar to thank you - thank you to be realizing both the encounter ending frames as well as the CLOSING element. The following reasons have led to the withdrawal from the position presented in Ventola (1983b).

Firstly, metafunctionally CL seems to differ from frames. Both of them lack the ideational (or more specifically the experiential) function. CL, together with such elements as GREETING and GOODBYE, is interpersonal in nature. Its function is to express the participants' appreciation of the encounter. This was already acknowledged in Ventola (1983b:188). BOUNDARY MARKING realizations, i.e. frames, seem to carry purely a textual function in service encounters, allowing smooth transition from an element (or a subelement) to another.

Secondly, although for the major part the CL element in service encounters is realized by a routine exchange of 'thanks' the element could, however, be expanded and elaborated. The exchange realizing the element CL could be seen to consist of several moves, for example, in the following manner: thanks, I really appreciate your

help. You have given me some useful information. Frames can be iterative, i.e. two frames with a same function may follow one another, but they cannot be elaborated grammatically in the same way as CL can.

Thirdly, CL can also be framed. In Text 8 CL is preceded by a +IFr.

Example 95 (T8):

	1	C: it's just worn out you know
	2	it's sort of faded...leather
S	3	S: uhm
		[4 secs]
+IFr (<u>anyway</u>)	4	C: anyway thanks very much
+CL		

Note that anyway is a +IFr of a particular kind. It cannot occur as a frame for the first element in the conversation. Consider, for example, an interaction beginning with the following: SB: *S: anyway can I help you. It always seems to sum up what has gone before and then indicates 'it's time to move on to the next element'.

Finally, it seems that the BOUNDARY MARKING system network operates on the same plane as SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES, the genre plane. Therefore, theoretically, frames cannot realize selections on the same plane. Naturally as an element of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE of a text CL will tell us about the evident ending of the encounter. CL is best considered to be realized directly by the choices on the lexico-grammatical stratum. Setting up separate encounter boundary markers for the same function as CL seems now unnecessary. BOUNDARY MARKING options and their realizations, the frames, are best seen to have a role to play in the dynamic representation of genres, i.e. how interactants move from one option to the other in the dynamic flowchart representation of service encounters when realizing the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE of a text.

To summarize the presentation of BOUNDARY MARKING and frames in this section one can say that as a whole discourse boundaries and frames have received relatively little attention. It is generally accepted that frames function as signposts of interactional development for participants, but there is no clear understanding at which points they are used, how often they are used and for what purposes. Above

some suggestions have been made in regard to the points where frames seem to be used in service encounters. However, quantitative studies of their frequency and studies of their exact functions are yet to be conducted. In the last section of this chapter a detailed study of the functioning of frames in two service encounter text extracts will be provided. This will hopefully illustrate sufficiently that frames are not simply fillers but play an important role in how service is provided in the service encounter genre and therefore are well worth serious study.

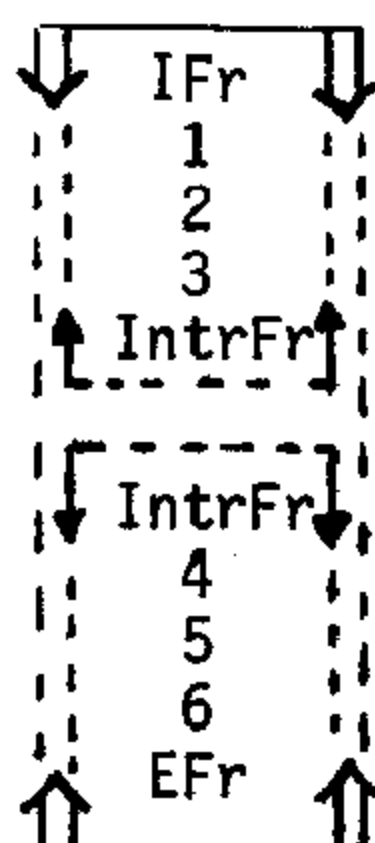
8.5 CONJUNCTION, BOUNDARY MARKING and SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE

In this last section extracts of two texts, Texts 9 and 10, will be analyzed in greater detail for CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING. The purpose is to show how the realized SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES of texts can partly be discovered by looking at the realizations of BOUNDARY MARKING choices. The systems of BOUNDARY MARKING, which operate on the genre plane, seem to be realized specifically through internal CONJUNCTION choices on the discourse stratum and through some frames realized as major or minor clauses on the lexicogrammatical level. Also REFERENCE systems seem to realize BOUNDARY MARKING options, but these will not be discussed in this connection. In the text extracts that will be given below internal conjunctions and frames realized by clauses seem to mark quite distinctly the realizations of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element SERVICE.

Before starting a presentation of BOUNDARY MARKING realizations the way in which they are to be represented in the analyses of texts has to be decided. As seen earlier in this chapter, the realizations of CONJUNCTION options are represented in a reticulum. Conjunctions and their ranges are indicated by arrows, so using arrows also for frames might be confusing. Nevertheless, with frames it is important that their directionality is indicated, as discussed in the section above. Therefore the frames are suggested to be represented by inserting the following notations for frames in the vertical listing of the messages in a reticulum:

↓ IFr ↓	[INITIATING : NON-INTRINSIC]
↑ IntrFr ↑	[ENDING : INTRINSIC]
↓ IntrFr ↓	[INITIATING : INTRINSIC]
↑ EFr ↑	[ENDING : NON-INTRINSIC]

The range of the frames could be represented in the following manner:



But perhaps at this stage of investigation (and also due to the length of elements) only the frames will be inserted in the message line and the range is left unmarked.

The extract from Text 9 will be presented first (see below Fig. 42 and for the whole text the Appendix). Again only the explicit conjunctions and frames will be considered. Lines 8 to 45 are taken to realize two SERVICE elements, S II and S III (S I is considered to be realized in the text by the lines preceding line 8, see the Appendix and Ventola 1983b). Text 9 does not, in fact, include any conjunctions but the structures of the elements S II and S III are considered to be very explicitly indicated by the frames realized in the text, as will be shown shortly. Line 8, C: could you give us the... respective charges please realizes two Needs, the train fares inquiry and the bus fares inquiry (see the looping back to Need in the flow-chart in Chapter IV). Line 8 could be interpreted as a 'branched' structure: 'I want to know X and (I want to know) Y'. Thus S II is considered to be realized by lines 8-31 and S III by lines 8-13 and 32-45. As can be seen, there is no ↓IFr marking the beginning of the shared Need of S II and S III on line 8. Once C establishes in S I that he is in the right place for inquiring about the train and

INTERNAL	EXTERNAL	SS	Text 9
		SB	1 S: can I help you 2 C: yes
		S I	3 I'd like to...just- 4 is this is this the right place for erm booking...erm...(laugh) 5 I'm just getting all confused (laugh) 6 is, this the right place for booking...rail or erm...bus fares to...er...Adelaide
8		S II: 8-31	7 S: yeah
9		Need: 8-10	8 C: could you give us the...[<u>respective</u> charges please
10			9 S: [the fares]
11		Specif. of Need: 11-13	10 C: yes
12			[17 secs - S goes to get some brochures]
13			11 C: that'd be return
			12 S: yeah
			13 C: yeah
			[4 secs - S is looking for the information]
			14 S: right
		Compliance: 15-21	15 the...train would be a hundred and six dollars
			return
			16 C: uhuh
			17 S: oh hang on...
			18 Canberra
			[2 secs - S is looking at the brochures]
			19 S: (which one) [S mumbles to herself]
			[3 secs - S is still checking the information]
			20 S: eighty...six dollars forty...return [by train
			21 C: [uhuh]
		Addition ₁ to Compl.: 22-26	22 that's second class is it /
			23 S: yes
			24 economy
			25 C: uhuh

8

9

10

11

12

13

↑ IntrFr(14) ↑

15

16

17

18

19

20

21

22

23

24

25

INTERNAL	EXTERNAL	SS	Text 9 (continued)
26 27 28 29 EFr(30)↑ EFr(31)↑ IFr(32)↓ 33 34 IntrFr(35)↑ 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 EFr(43)↑ EFr(44)↑ EFr(45)↑		Add.2 to Compl.: 27-29 S III: 8-13;32-45 Need: 8-13 Specif.2 of Need: 33-34 Compliance: 36-42	26 S: yeah 27 first class would be....about a hundred and forty-three dollars 28 C: uh 29 S: seventy-one seventy one way 30 C: okay 31 S: that's train [2secs - S takes the other brochures] 32 S: bus [6 secs - S's leafing through the brochures] 33 S: it depends which way you go 34 C: shortest 35 S: right.... 36 via Griffith.... 37 that's gone up isn't it ↑ [to S2 or to herself] [3 secs] 38 S: you can go either way 39 via Griffith is cheaper 40 C: huh 41 S: it's a hundred and three dollars eighty return 42 via Melbourne is a hundred and twenty-eight dollars eighty return 43 C: okay 44 that could be a good idea [to work from 45 S: okay ↑ 46 C: thanks very much 47 S: do you want these ↑ 48 C: erm....yeah 49 all right

Fig. 42. BOUNDARY MARKING in Two SERVICE Elements in Text 9.

the bus fares, he launches into the inquiries.

The first frame is realized on line 14 by a $\uparrow$ IntrFr:

8 C: could you give us the...respective charges
please
9 S: the fares
10 C: yes
[17 secs - S gets some brochures]
11 C: that'd be return
12 S: yeah
13 C: yeah
[4 secs - S is leafing through the brochures]
 $\uparrow$ IntrFr (right) 14 S: right

This $\uparrow$ IntrFr right points backwards to the Specification of Need realized on lines 11-13 and could be paraphrased as 'now I have all the information I need about your Need; therefore next I can start complying to it'.

S goes on about the train fares until line 29.

29 S: seventy-one seventy one way
 $\uparrow$ Efr (30) 30 C: okay
 $\uparrow$ Efr (31) 31 S: that's train

Line 30, C's okay indicates a boundary between S II and S III from C's point of view. This $\uparrow$ Efr is paraphrasable as 'I now know all I need to know about the train fares; you do not have to continue further'. Line 31, S's that's train is also a $\uparrow$ Efr, but from S's point of view. This frame, realized by a major clause, is paraphrasable as 'that's all the information I can give you about the train fares'.

The Need of the element S III, the bus fares inquiry, has been realized on lines 8-13, as mentioned before. So S can launch into the Compliance of this Need. The boundary between the Need (already realized) and the Compliance to come is signalled by a $\uparrow$ Ifr bus on line 32.

31 S: that's train
S II: [6 secs - S takes the other brochures]
S III: $\uparrow$ Ifr (32) 32 S: bus

But, although S has indicated by this $\uparrow$ Ifr, realized by a minor clause bus, that the Compliance concerning the bus fares is to begin she has to backtrack, as she realizes that she does not in fact know enough

about C's Need. In other words, there is a possibility of taking two routes by bus to Adelaide and S does not know which of the routes C wants to take. Therefore a Specification of Need is necessary, lines 33-34:

Specification	33 S: it depends which way you go
of Need 2	34 C: shortest
↑IntrFr (35)	35 S: right
	36 via Griffith...etc.

The ↑IntrFr right on line 35 indicates that everything is now clear, as far as C's choice of route is concerned, and S can now go on providing the information about the bus fares. This goes on until line 41.

Compliance	42 S: via Melbourne is a 128,80 return
↑EFr (43)	43 C: okay
↑EFr (44)	44 that could be a good idea <u>to work from</u>
↑EFr (45)	45 S: okay ↗

On line 43 a ↑EFr okay occurs. This marks the end of S's Compliance. But this frame is followed by yet another ↑EFr by C realized by a major clause that could be a good idea to work from on line 44. The frame on line 44 is simply a reiteration of the frame on line 43, i.e. they are functionally equivalent. The latter frame is a rephrasing of the meaning of okay: C has now obtained the information he came to ask for and thus S III can now end as far as he is concerned. Line 44 does not add anything to the Compliance experientially; its function is purely textual and therefore it is simply functioning as a reiterated ↑EFr.

S, on her part, is also ready to end the element, but wants to give a last chance to C to open up the element again, in case something has been left unclear. This is done by the frame okay ↗, a ↑EFr on line 45. This frame is rephrasable as 'I am also ready to end the element, but if you want me to add something to what I have explained to you, you'd better speak up now'. C however does not see the reopening of the element to be necessary and goes on to the next element, CLOSING thanks very much on line 46 (at the same time, however, S starts the element GOODS HANDOVER with d'you want these ↗ on line 47, see the Appendix).

Summarizing the analysis then, the use of frames in this extract

from Text 9 seems to clearly demarcate the boundary between the SERVICE elements S II and S III. Moreover, the frames also seem to indicate the ending of S III. Finally, frames also seem to indicate where the Specifications of Need in both S II and S III elements end.

The extract from Text 10 also projects a fairly clearly realized SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE. But its SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE is seen to differ from the extract from Text 9 in the respect that only one SERVICE (lines 3-58) seems to be realized in comparison to the two SERVICES in Text 9. What will in fact be suggested, on the basis of the analysis presented in Fig. 43 below, is that in Text 9 there are two 'branched' SERVICE elements, whereas in Text 10 there is one SERVICE element part of which is 'split'. A closer view of what actually is going on in Text 10 is necessary. The analysis of the extract from Text 10 is presented on the pages to follow (for the whole text see the Appendix).

Text 10 starts as follows:

- 1 S: can I help you
- 2 C: yes please
- 3 I'd like some uh information on fares to
England at first

The Need of the SERVICE element in this extract from Text 10 is expressed on line 3. On this line there is an explicit internal temporal conjunction at first, which realizes the options [initiating: non-intrinsic] in the BOUNDARY MARKING system network. One can already conclude from this that C has at least two Needs - the second of which is in fact realized on line 60: C: now another thing I was interested in's children's fares. Thus the range of this conjunction at first can be seen to be reaching up to line 57, lines 58 and 59 being ending frames. Lines 4-6 are an expression of situational organization and once that is done the Compliance may start.

- 4 S: uhm...would you like to come and take a seat
- 5 and I'll just explain it all to you
- 6 C: okay
[3 secs - S and C go to C's desk and sit down
facing each other]
- 7 S: we've got them all on one brochure now
- 8 the very cheapest fare is an advanced purchase
airfare...which is the one which is laid out
here

INTERNAL	EXTERNAL	SS	Text 10
mp. at first(3) 1 2 3 add. and(5) 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 IntrFr(14) IntrFr(15) 16 17a 17b 17c 17d (59)		SB: 1-2	1 S: can I help you 2 C yes please 3 I'd like some uh information on fares to England... (at first)
		S: 3-59 Need:3 Compl.:4-57 Compl.A: 8-13 Add.₁ to Compl.A: 16-28	4 S: uhm...would you like to come and take a seat and I'll just explain it all to you 5 C: okay [3 secs - S & C go to S's desk and sit down facing each other] 7 S: we've got them all on one brochure now.... the very cheapest fare is an advanced purchase air- fare...which is the one which is laid out here 9 C: here / [C looks at the brochure that S has put in front of her] 10 S: yes 11 it depends when you're going over and when you're coming back 12 see 13 you simply read down that side and then across that way 14 C: right... 15 right 16 S: the idea with the advanced purchase you must have firm bookings over and back... 17a although you must pay no later than forty-five days before you travel 17b you must pay within seven days of booking 18 C: right 17c S: which means if you booked today to travel at the end of this year... 17d you pay seven days from today's date...

INTERNAL	EXTERNAL	SS	Text 10 (continued)
(3) →	19 → temp. → when(19)		19 S: when you've paid your money...
(8) →	20 →		20 it's very difficult to get it back
	21 →		21 C: yeah
	22 →		22 S: if you cancel out between...the time you actually
	23 →		get your ticket...and that forty-five day time
	24 →		limit...
	25 →		23 you've incur-
	26 →		24 cancellation fee is seventy dollars
	27 →		25 C: <u>uhm</u>
	28 →		26 S: <u>inside</u> the forty-five days...there is a hundred
	29 →		percent non-refundable
	30 →		27 it also applies after you start to travel...
	31 →		28 there is an insurance that can cover you against...
	32a →		illness or whatever...
	32b →		29 so that takes care of the advance purchase one...
	32c →		30 this one here is an excursion return
	32d →		31 it allows stopovers
	33 →		32a this one doesn't...
	34 →		32b which means if you wanted to go over
	35 →		32c and you did not buy it in advance
	36 →		32d for example you want to go in a couple of week's
	37 →		time
	38 →		33 C: right
	39 →		34 yeah
			35 <u>no</u>
			36 (I'm ())
			32e S: <u>this is the sort of fare-</u>
			37 yeah
			32f that's the sort of fare you're looking at...
			38 it's flexible
			39 it's broken after the seasons and months

Compl.B: 30-41

(59) →

INTERNAL	EXTERNAL	SS	Text 10 (continued)
(3)			
	40 41 42 43 ↑IntrFr(42)↑		40 S: all you have to do is nominate the month you want 41 you don't have to specify any day 42 C: right
	44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 ↓IntrFr(42)↓	Add. ₂ to Compl.A: 43-57	43 can you er-with the er advance purchase you can mix seasons can't you 44 S: oh yes 45 C: there is a low and high 46 S: well that's why it's- 47 C: it's a single fare each way 48 S: uhm 49 yes 50 see 51 what they've done in fact is...put all the half combinations together
comp. ↓ in fact(51)	52 53 54 55 56 conseq. ↓ so(56)		52 C: right 53 S: see 54 you simply look out the date you want to go... read across and the day you want to come back 55 C: right
	57 58 59 60 ↑EFr(58) ↑EFr(59) ↑IFr(now)+60↑		56 S: so you can get a combination of 'n off-peak shoulder peak off-peak or whatever 57 C: right 58 okay 59 S: that gives you it all worked out 60 C: now another thing I was interested in's children's fares

Fig. 43. BOUNDARY MARKING in a SERVICE Element in Text 10.

S takes out a brochure and starts explaining the fares to C. But whereas fares for C represents one Need, i.e. C is not expected to know that there are different types of fares, fares for S represents a variety of fares. In other words, S has a more delicate FIELD orientation to fares to England than C does. Therefore she faces an immediate problem of how to present the fares? The fares are presented in a brochure (see line 7), but S also intends to go through the information on the brochure on the fares with C just to make sure that C understands how the brochure works. S decides to start with the advanced purchase airfares (line 8). Line 8 orients already solely to the advanced purchase fares (cf. line 7). It seems then that after line 7 the Compliance to the Need 'fares to England' splits. The first part of the split Compliance starts on line 8, as shown above. The second part of the split Compliance will start on line 30, S: this one here is an excursion return. These split Compliance parts are labelled 'Compliance A' and 'Compliance B' respectively. Line 7, we've got them all on one brochure now, could in fact be considered as some kind of an introduction for the splitting of the Compliance. Notice, however, that it does introduce a new participant to the discourse, the brochure, and therefore it must be considered to be a significant part of the interaction.

Compliance A flows until on lines 14 and 15 one finds C's first reactions to it, right...right:

- 13 S: you simply read down that side and then
across that way
14 C: right...
15 right
16 S: the idea with the advanced purchase you must
have firm bookings over and back etc.

As the item right so often functions as a frame, one has to stop here and consider its function here. At the exchange rank on the discourse stratum 14 and 15 are seen to function as K2f-moves. But could they also function as frames realizing BOUNDARY MARKING systems on a higher plane? Right can function in texts both as a †IntrFr or a †EFr. Which function is more appropriate here, if right on lines 14 and 15 is interpreted as a frame? It seems that seeing the lines 14 and 15 as frames is justifiable. One can well

imagine that a Compliance consisted simply of the lines 8-13 in real life situations. Undeniably, one would get the impression that S is not being very helpful, but real life observation in travel agencies during the data collection showed that servers in travel agencies do often simply hand the customers brochures telling them to have a look at them and then come back to the counter or to the office. So right on lines 14 and 15 could be a $\uparrow$ EFr.

But as can be seen, Compliance A continues on to line 16 and beyond. This would imply that right on lines 14 and 15 functions in a $\uparrow$ IntrFr function. It seems that the only way to solve the problem of interpretation here is to see the two right items here as potentially $\uparrow$ EFrS, but as they are not followed by a $\uparrow$ EFr by S (signalling S's agreement on completing the element), but rather by an Addition to Compliance A (16-28), one has to look at this framing instance more dynamically. In other words, when such a frame as right in the Compliance A part of SERVICE is not followed by a reciprocal frame by the other interactant it must be considered to be a frame between the Compliance and Addition to Compliance ($\uparrow$ IntrFr). This interpretation has to be, however, supported by evidence from the other discourse system realizations as well. Here there are, for example, no breaks in reference chains. The focus of talk on line 16 and beyond is still the advance purchase airfare. On line 18 another right appears.

- 17a S: although you must pay no later than 45 days
before you travel
- 17b you must pay within seven days of booking
- 18 C: right
- 17c S: which means if you booked today etc.

Is this also a frame? It is less likely because it occurs within a single clause complex structure (see Halliday in press a).

The next important line from the point of view of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE realization is line 29.

- 28 S: there is an insurance that can cover you
against...illness or whatever
- $\uparrow$ IntrFr (29) 29 so that takes care of the advanced purchase one...
- 30 this one here is an excursion return

As can be seen, there is an internal consequential so starting the message on line 29. This conjunction seems to be realizing the

BOUNDARY MARKING option [ending : non-intrinsic], as it seems to refer back to line 8, to the splitting of the Compliance to part A which deals with the advance purchase airfares. But not only does the conjunction so indicate the boundary, the rest of the line seems to carry simply the framing function as well: that takes care of the advance purchase one. In the reticulum this line as a whole is seen as a $\uparrow$ IntrFr for a split Compliance A. This coding is not completely satisfactory, but until such split phenomena are studied in more detail no special frame coding has been developed. In a way this frame resembles more a $\uparrow$ EFr than a $\uparrow$ IntrFr. It has been said above that element completion is interactive work. Both of the participants must have come to a fair conclusion that this is the end of the element. Here such a conclusion cannot have been reached: firstly, because S has implied on line 7 that the brochure she has given to C as a Compliance involves more than one type of fare and only one fare has been discussed so far and, secondly, because C does not know where the boundary would be as she is not an 'expert' (does not know how many different types of fares there are).

Line 30, this one here is an excursion return, could again be taken as a frame, except for its experiential content in an excursion return, which introduces a new participant to the text (once REFERENCE systems are considered in connection with BOUNDARY MARKING, it is very likely that such reference realizations as this one here can quite justifiably be interpreted to be realizations of BOUNDARY MARKING options). From this line onwards the second part of the split compliance, Compliance B, starts unfolding (lines 30-42).

The first possible frame judging by form only occurs on line 33 right, but, as above, it is in the middle of a clause complex and thus is not seen to be a frame.

```

31  S: it allows stopovers
32a  this one doesn't...
32b  which means if you wanted to go over
32c  and you did not buy it in advance
32d  for example you want to go in a couple of week's
      time
33  C: right
34      yeah
35      no
36      (           )

```


The next right appears on line 42:

	41	S: you don't have to specify any day
↑IntrFr (42)	42	C: <u>right</u>
	43	can you er-with the er advance purchase you can mix seasons can't you

This can be seen functioning as a frame because it seems to indicate that C has understood what S has explained to her about the excursion fares. C seems to take over the speaker turn now, line 43, by requesting an Addition to Compliance, but strangely enough the Addition is to Compliance A rather than to Compliance B. This Addition goes on until line 55.

During this Addition there appear two rights whose possible functioning as frames has to be checked.

	51	S: what they have done in fact is put all the half combinations together
	52	C: <u>right</u>
	53	S: <u>see</u>
	54	<u>you</u> simply look out the date you want to go... read across and the day you want to come back
	55	C: <u>right</u>
	56	S: so you can get a combination of etc.

Both the right on line 52 and the one on line 55 seem to function as K2f-moves to the preceding K1-moves and they are explicitly elicited by see that precedes the K1-moves in a clause complex. The right on line 55 appears in the middle of an external consequential conjunctive relationship and is therefore less likely to be functioning as a frame. Neither of the rights then can be seen to be functioning as ↑EFr.

The text continues:

		56	S: so you can get a combination of 'n off-peak shoulder peak <u>off-peak or whatever</u>
		57	C: <u>right</u>
	↑EFr (58)	58	<u>okay</u>
S I:	↑EFr (59)	59	S: that gives you it all worked out
S II:	↓IFr (now) + Need of S I	60	C: now another thing I was interested in's children's fares

Right in line 57 could function as a frame, but where right and okay occur in the same speaker-turn it will be okay that will be seen to function as ↑EFr, whereas right is then seen to function as a K2f-move to the preceding move. Line 59 is experientially 'empty' and is thus

begins as indicated by †IFr now. Note how it is marked for the succession of C's Needs, another thing (cf. at first line 3).

The analysis of conjunctions and frames has shown how they function as indicators of the realization of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements in the extract from Text 10. The picture projected by the analysis can best be summarized by the following figure:

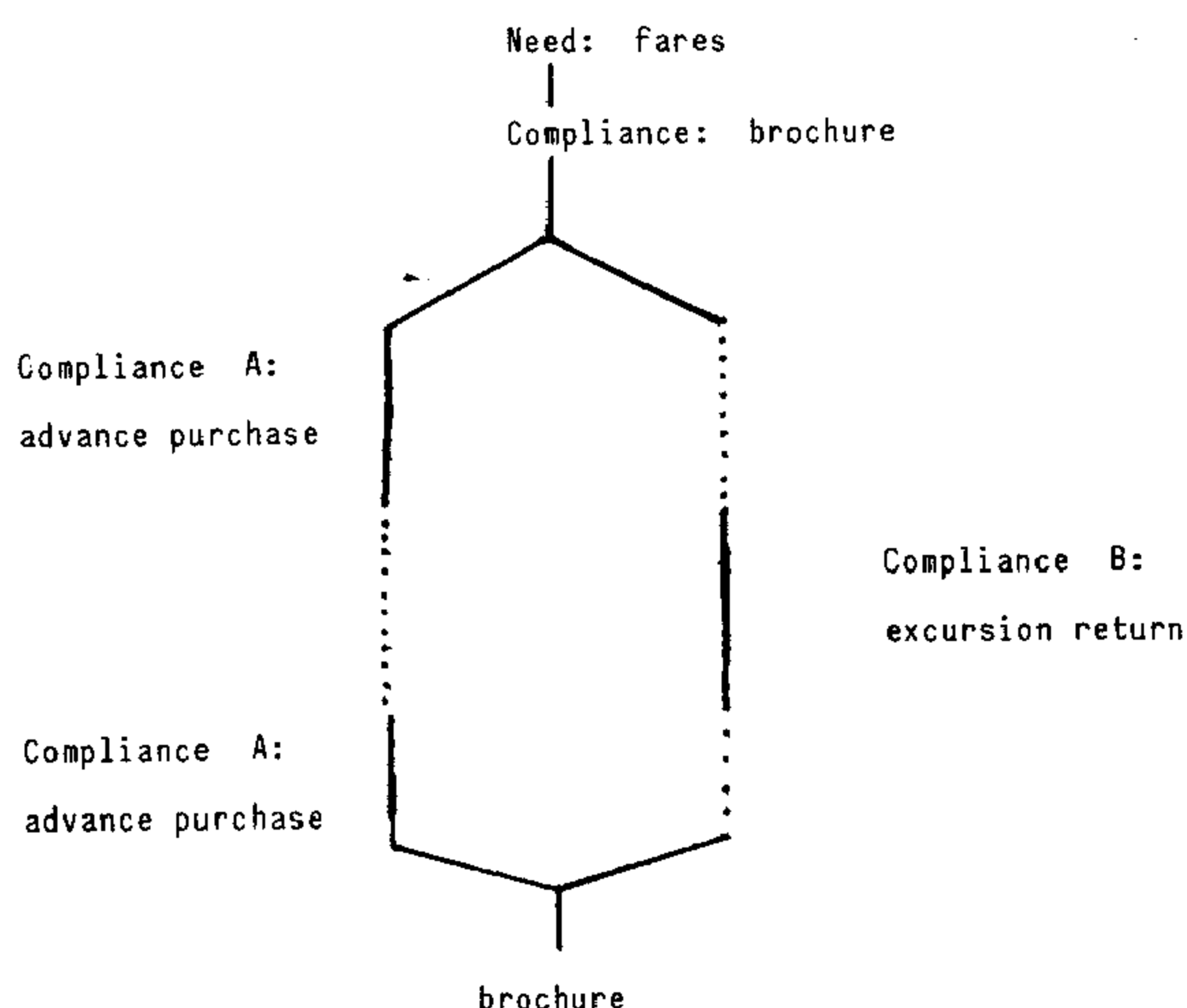
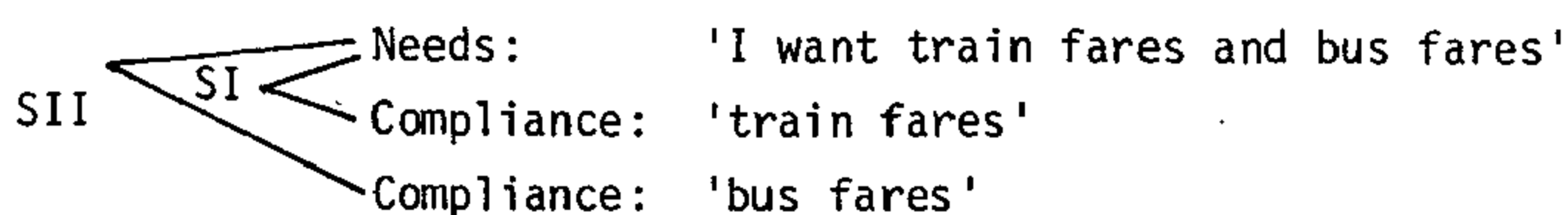


Fig. 44. A Split Compliance in a SERVICE Element in Text 10

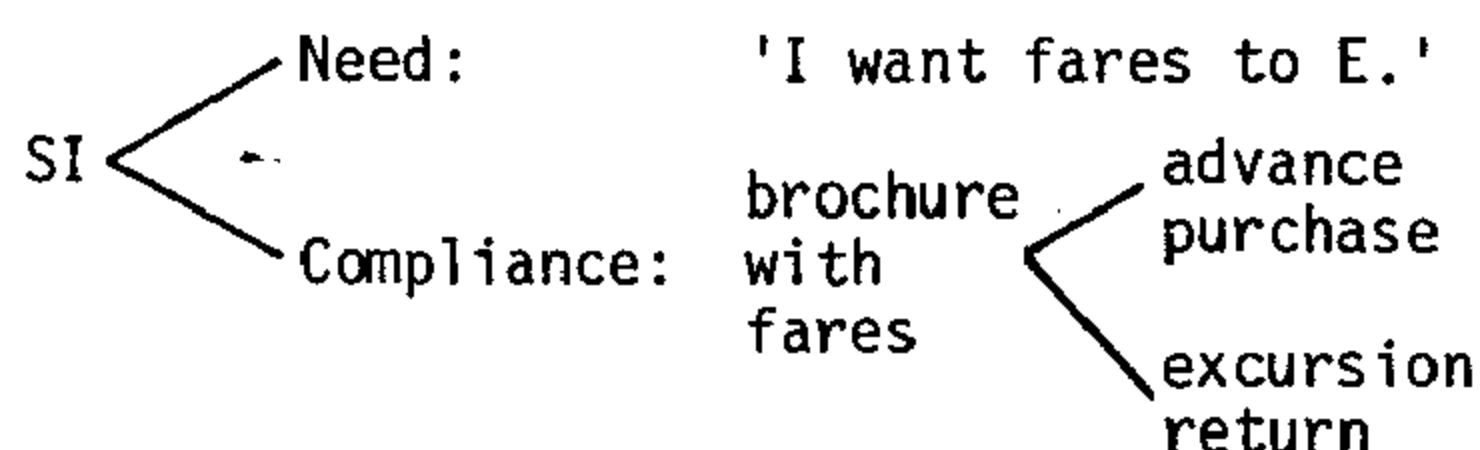
It is important to notice how before the Compliance splits, its focus is the brochure (line 7: we've got them all on one brochure now) and when the splits join up again the focus is once again on the brochure (line 59: that gives you it all worked out). It seems fair then to suggest that the Compliance to C's Need is in fact the brochure, but part of the act of giving the brochure to the customer is the act of explaining what the brochure entails. But in order to explain the information in the brochure the server is forced to split the Compliance because language is linear and she cannot explain what is on the brochure all at once.

When contrasting the extracts analyzed from Text 9 and Text 10 it seems that in Text 9 one is dealing with two SERVICES which are branched, whereas in Text 10 one is dealing with one SERVICE which is subsequently split:

Text 9:



Text 10:



An answer to the question of why such branching and splitting happens in the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements cannot be provided in the context of this study. Further work needs to be done in this area and not only in service encounters but other genres as well. Finding such answers involves studies on how interactants approach various types of interactive tasks in different genres.

8.6 Summary

This chapter has dealt with the CONJUNCTION and the BOUNDARY MARKING system networks and their realizations in texts as well as with their relationship to the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES on the genre plane. After the initial discussion and illustrations of CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING two text extracts were analyzed. These extracts project very different kinds of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE realization which is indicated in texts by the various internal conjunctive relationships and the use of various types of frames, both of which seem to realize BOUNDARY MARKING options. However, further research is urgently needed to discover more about how the dynamics of genre influences also the BOUNDARY MARKING realizations.

CHAPTER IX: A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW OF DISCOURSE SYSTEMS AND THEIR REALIZATION

The purpose of this last chapter is to offer a more comprehensive view of how the discourse systems discussed in detail in the previous chapters operate in texts, complementing each other while structuring a text in generic terms. Complete analyses of three texts will be given, each demonstrating the operation of discourse systems in a text belonging to a different register. The analyses of texts are expected to throw some light on their realization on the genre level, i.e. how from the point of view of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE realization each text seems to belong to the genre of service encounters. Furthermore, the analyses should also show what sets these three texts apart from one another, i.e. why the texts are seen to belong to different registers. The discussion will start with a post office text, Text 4, followed by a shop text, Text 5 and finally a travel agency text, Text 11.

9.1 Text 4 - A Post Office Text

Text 4 is a conversation which took place in a post office between the post official (S) and the customer (C). Below a mere transcription of the text with some situational explanations is given.

TEXT 4 - post office:

S: yes please [C turns to S]
C: uhm could you tell me how much it costs to post those please
[C hands over three letters]
[6 secs - S weighs one of the letters]
S: one's forty-five
[5 secs - S weighs the other letters]
S: air mai- air mail to Japan ↗
C: uhuh
[10 secs - S looks up the price]
S: both forty cents each
[2 secs]
S: it's a dollar twenty-five altogether thank you
[15 secs - S gets the stamps for the letters]
S: there we are [S hands over the stamps]
C: thank you [C gives S a ten-dollar note]
S: one twenty-five [said when receiving the money]
C: do I have to post these
S: I'll take care of them
C: okay

[11 secs - S gets the change]
S: one twenty-five dollar thirty sixty eighty two dollars
and three...five and five's ten thank you very much
C: thank you

If a person after having listened to the tape or having read the transcription of the tape was asked to describe what it was about the following kind of description would probably emerge:

A customer has entered the post office and when it is her turn she hands some letters to the post official. The latter weighs them and then tells the customer how much the letters will cost. The customer and the post official exchange the money and the stamps. The customer makes an enquiry about the posting procedure. Then the post official gives the customer her change, she thanks her and leaves.

The description above roughly captures the activity sequence in the text. But how is language used to realize that activity sequence? What enables a listener to a tape or a reader of the transcript to give a descriptive account such as that illustrated above? Hopefully analyses in the following subsections will provide answers to these questions.

9.1.1 Text 4 and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE

Since verbal interaction between the customer and the post official in Text 4 is what first draws the attention of the listener to the tape or the reader of the transcript, it seems natural that one will start to look for evidence for the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE organization of Text 4 in the ways exchanges between C and S are constructed, i.e. in the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE organization. Text 4 seems to be an example of a fairly short, ritualistic type of interaction. Thus, one can hypothesize that the structures of exchanges and the elements of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE would correspond fairly closely to one another. In other words, one may expect that the boundaries of an exchange may coincide with the boundaries of a SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element. This seems to be the case at least at the beginning of Text 4:

1 $\begin{cases} \text{Att} \\ \text{Ratt} \end{cases}$

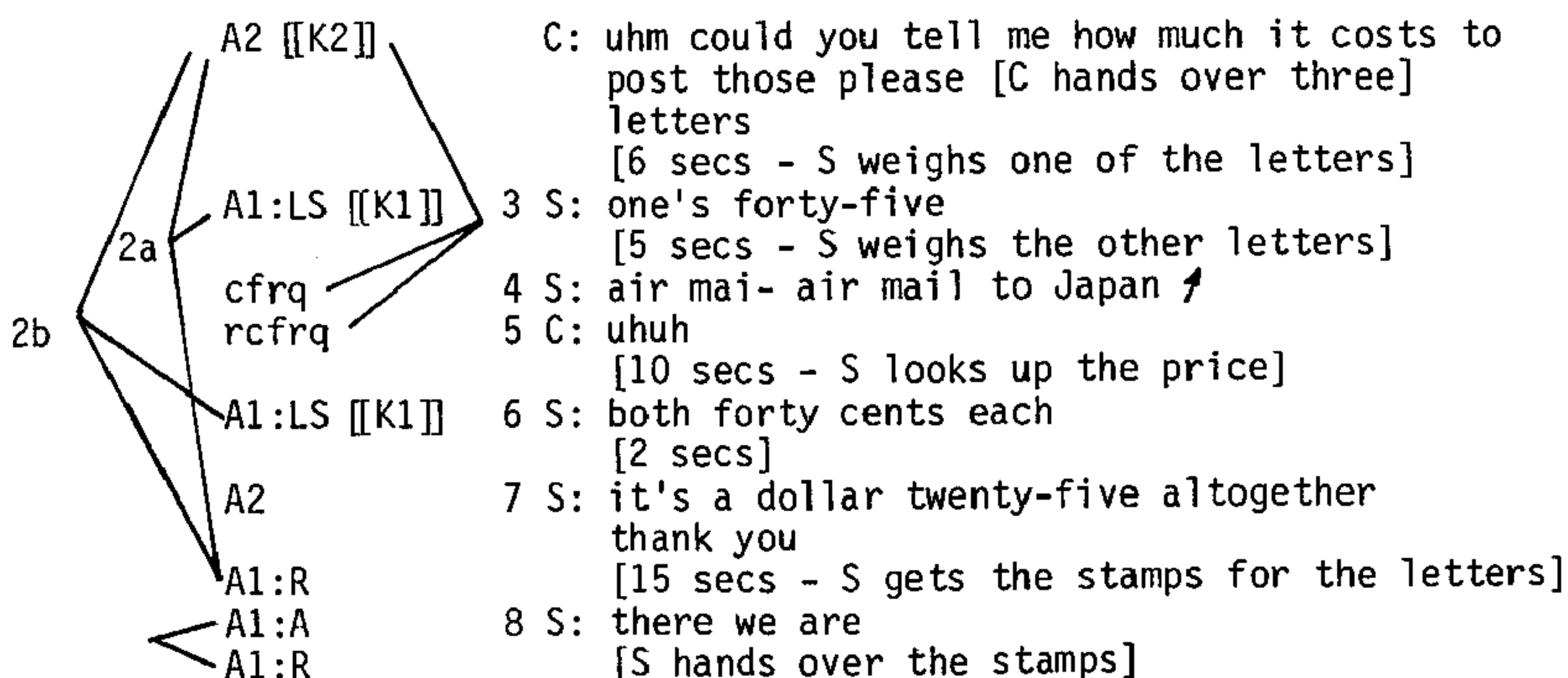
1 S: yes please
[C turns to S]

Exchange 1, i.e. an Attention-move and a Response to Attention-move, seem to realize a SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element ATTENDANCE-ALLOCATION.

Next, the element SERVICE seems to begin when C presents her Need: uhm could you tell me how much it costs to post those please [C hands over three letters]. This Need seems to be complied with by S when she says one's forty-five and both forty cents each and then proceeds to get the stamps for C. If we were to slightly change the exact wordings used by C and S we would have an action-oriented exchange consisting of the following moves (see the discussion presented in Chapter V on CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE):

$\begin{cases} \text{A2} \\ \text{A1:LS} \\ \text{A1:R} \end{cases}$ C: will you give me stamps for these three letters please
S: one's 45 and the others're 40 cents each
[S gives the stamps of the designated values to C]

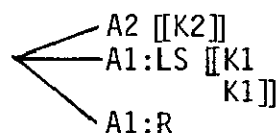
But, as can be seen from Text 4 given earlier, this is not at all what happens. The exchange of goods-&-services above is much too idealized and text-bookish (similar, neatly constructed exchanges can be found in abundance in any textbooks teaching English as a foreign language). One could say that the modified exchange above captures what is going on synoptically in the SERVICE element of Text 4. What happens dynamically is presented below:



It seems that we are indeed dealing with an action-oriented exchange: C asks for goods and S gets the goods asked for. This

exchange realizes the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element SERVICE in Text 4. It runs from line 2 to the non-verbal action after line 7 (note, however, that line 7 does not play a part in this action-oriented exchange - what its role is will be discussed below). But this action-oriented exchange has some particular features. Firstly, it is a split exchange (see the discussion in section 5.3.4). The splitting of the exchange is intertwined with the second feature of this action-oriented exchange, namely that it also involves a linguistic service (see section 5.3.5). On line 2, C makes a request of two kinds. On the one hand, C requests information: how much does it cost to send these letters to x?. But, on the other hand, C also requests goods-&-services: please give me appropriate stamps for these letters!. Line 2 is considered to be a rankshifted K2-move functioning as an A2-move in an action-oriented exchange. Line 3 one's 45 and line 6 both 40 cents each seem to provide an answer to the requesting of information, whereas S's non-verbal action after line 7 seems to provide an appropriate action to the requesting of goods-&-services.

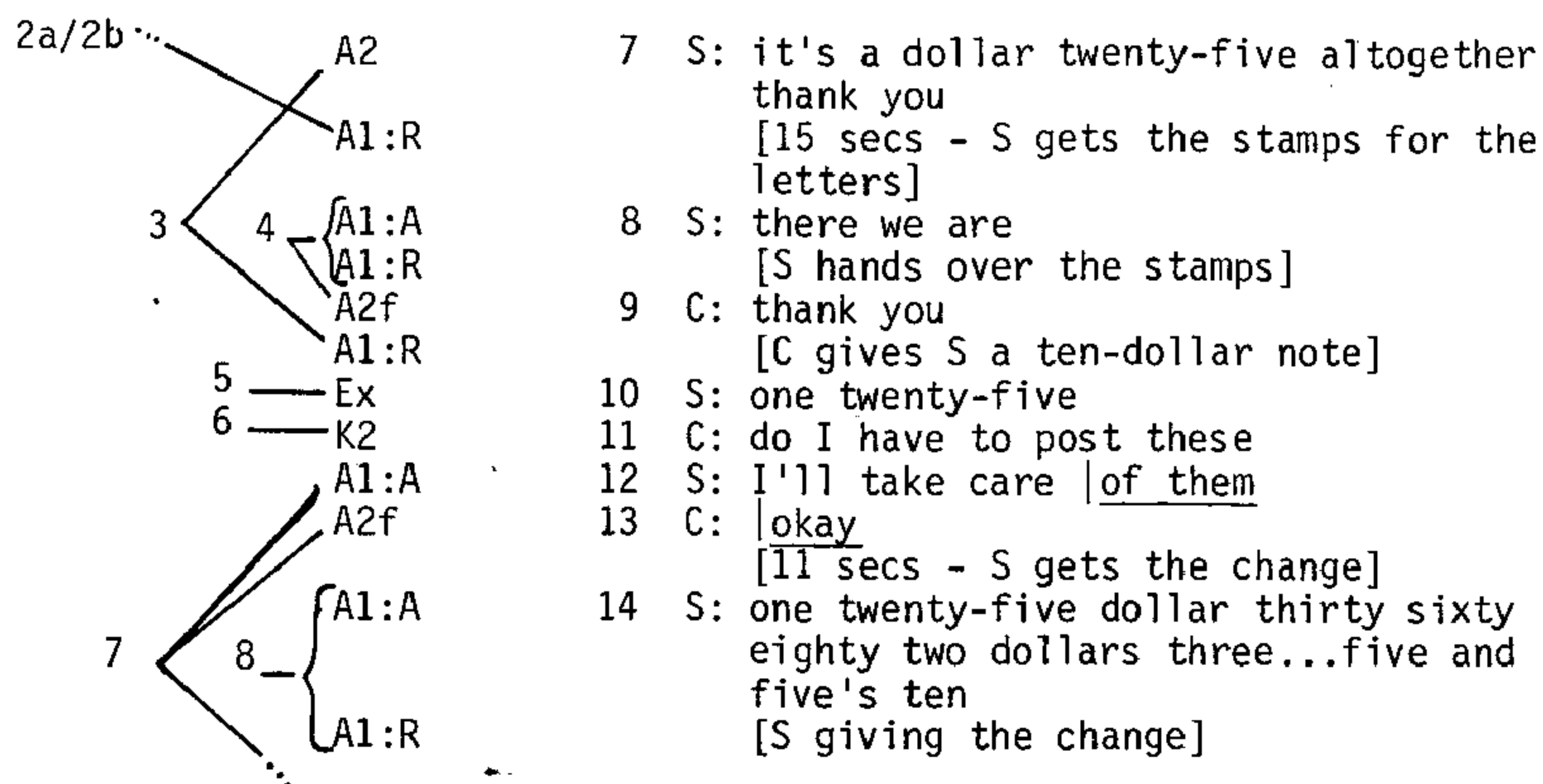
But the rankshifting of knowledge-oriented moves into the action-oriented exchange does not necessarily cause the splitting of the exchange. One could, for example, have a rankshifted exchange that looks like this:



Here the linguistic service, A1:LS, is made up of two rankshifted K1-moves which stand in a clause complex relationship to one another. We are now getting closer to the real cause of the splitting of Exchange 2 in Text 4. The A1:LS-moves in Exchange 2, lines 3 and 4, cannot stand in a clause complex relationship because they are separated from one another by a third characteristic of this action-oriented exchange, namely by the SUSPENDING moves of cfrq and rcfrq S: air mai- air mail to Japan / - C: uhuh (lines 4 and 5) (see section 5.3.1 of Chapter V). These dynamic moves demand more information concerning the part of C's Need which deals with 'the other two letters'. These moves have the function of verifying the correct interpretation of the written addresses on the envelopes (the 'written' MODE realizations of C's

Need). This requesting of confirmation prevents S constructing her A1:LS-moves as a clause complex consisting of rankshifted K1-moves. The sequence of cfrq ^ rcfrq is the real cause of the splitting of Exchange 2.

The activity in Text 4 seems to change its nature after the A1:R-move, i.e. after the non-verbal realization of S actually getting the stamps that C requested. It seems that on line 8, S: there we are, we already have the beginning of the element GOODS HANDOVER. But within the just analyzed Exchange 2, which realizes the SERVICE element in Text 4, there is one move that was left totally unanalyzed in Exchange 2. This is line 7, S: it's a dollar twenty-five altogether thank you. It is an A2-move whereby S requests C to pay for the stamps S will provide for her. This instance is an excellent example of the dynamic realization of interaction in service encounters. Our synoptic view of service encounter interaction may be that first the element SERVICE takes place, then PAY or GOODS HANDOVER follows. But what happens dynamically is that S already tells C in advance what her purchases will cost her, even before actually getting the stamps. In this way, while S gets the stamps, C can take out her money and will be ready to give it to S. No time is being wasted on either side. The dynamic linguistic realization reflects the principle of 'work efficiency'. Such principles may tamper with our synoptic views of sequential organization of exchanges or of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements. What we find in Text 4, in fact, is that the realization of the element PAY is dispersed. The realizations partly of SERVICE (A1:R-move) and partly of GOODS HANDOVER and POSTING intervenes with the realization of PAY in Text 4, as shown below (p.394). As the exchange analysis shows, PAY is realized by Exchanges 3, 5 and 8. Exchange 3 starts with an A2-move where S requests C for the payment (line 7) while the element SERVICE is still being realized, i.e. S gets the stamps after requesting for the payment. When S tells C how much C's purchases will cost before getting the goods to C, C has time to take out the money for the purchases. But as long as S is occupied with the getting of the stamps, making an A1:R-move, C cannot hand the money over to S. When S finally turns back to C after getting the stamps, she cannot receive the money, because she has the stamps in



her hands. So, before S can take the money offered by C a GOODS HANDOVER must take place. This is realized by Exchange 4, i.e. A1:A by S, a simultaneous A1:R-move by S and A2f by C. After the GH has taken place the realization of PAY may continue: C gives the money to S by making as A1:R-move. Exchange 5 is S's reminder to herself of the cost of C's purchase and it helps S to sort out how much change she has to give to C.

When S is about to turn to get the change for C, C starts another element, POSTING, which thus interferes with the realization of PAY. One is tempted to interpret line 11, C's do I have to post these, as an incongruent way of saying 'will you post these letters for me please'. This temptation is supported by the typical action-oriented exchange A2f-move that follows on line 13, okay. S's response, I'll take care of them (line 12), also seems to suggest that S has interpreted C's move as an A2-move, in which case it could be coded as a rankshifted K2-move, A2 [[K2]]. Line 11 does not, however, seem to comply to the 'please-criterion' so typical of A2-moves carrying the speech function of command either congruently or incongruently. Therefore, it is felt that the more conservative coding is best here. In other words, lines 11 and 12 are considered to belong to separate exchanges. Exchange 6 is an incomplete one, as in terms of speech function the question is never answered; instead S offers to do something for C in Exchange 7. This exchange is a postponed action-exchange and thus the actual move carrying out the action, A1:R,

appears only after the closing of the encounter. Thus, POSTING is also realized discontinuously.

CLOSING is realized directly on the lexicogrammatical stratum by minor clauses and therefore is not seen to play a role in the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE analysis. Fig. 45 (p.396) captures the full CONVERSATIONAL analysis of Text 4, relating it to the plane of genre as well as to the stratum below the discourse stratum, the lexico-grammar.

When one looks at the realization of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE in Text 4 and tries to relate it to the hypothesized SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements of the service encounters on the semiotic plane of genre, what is immediately noticeable is the dynamic character of the text realization. Moves in an exchange realizing part of an element may be realized simultaneously, like in Exchanges 3 and 8 where the A1:A-move is simultaneous with A1:R-move (as indicated by the braces).

Moreover, when one considers the overlapping in the exchange realizations of the SERVICE and PAY elements and, furthermore, 'the exchange embeddings' of GOODS HANDOVER and partly of POSTING within PAY, one cannot but conclude that the exchange structures give a new understanding of the realizational sequencing of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements. In other words, one cannot say that once the exchanges realizing a particular element are over, then the exchanges realizing another element may start. Rather, the exchanges realizing different elements are frequently intertwined and intermingled. A move of one exchange realizing a SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element X may be in real time followed by a move of another exchange realizing a SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element Y. One can only say that the dynamic realization of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements of the service encounter genre is even more dynamic than represented by the flowchart given in Chapter IV. In other words, the flowchart remains very much a model representing 'the typical' in the dynamic realization, not what is happening dynamically in every single text. But on the whole, one can say that the general realizational sequence stated for the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements of the service encounter genre in the flowchart is seen to have also been generated in Text 4 and is represented in the exchange structure realizations of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE. That is, Exchange

Grammar:	Speech Function:	Exchange:	SS:	TEXT 4 (post office)
minor NV	c]	1 Att Ratt	AA: 1	1 S: yes please [C turns to S]
p-inter.	q	2a	S: 2a,2b	2 C: uhm could you tell me how much it costs to post those please [C hands over three letters] [6 secs - S weighs one of the letters]
decl.	rsq	2b		3 S: one's forty-five [5 secs - S weighs the other letters]
minor minor	-	cfrq rcfrq		4 S: air mai- air mail to Japan 5 C: uhuh [10 secs - S looks up the price]
decl.:ell.	rsq	A1:LS [K1]		6 S: both forty cents each [2 secs]
decl.	s	A2	P: 3,5,8	7 S: it's a dollar twenty-five altogether thank you
NV	-	A1:R	S	[15 secs - S gets the stamps for the letters]
decl.	o	A1:A		8 S: there we are
NV	-	A1:R	GH: 4	[S hands over the stamps]
minor	-	A2F		9 C: thank you
NV	-	A1:R	P	[C gives a ten-dollar note to S]
minor	s	Ex		10 S: one twenty-five [said when receiving the money]
p-inter.	q	6(incompl) K2	POSTING:	11 C: do I have to post these
decl.	o	A1:A		12 S: I'll take care [of them
minor	-	A2F	6,7.	13 C: okay [11 secs - S gets the change]
decl	o	A1:A	P	14 S: dollar twenty-five dollar thirty sixty eighty two dollars three...five and five's ten
NV	-	A1:R		[S gives the change to C]
minor	-	-	CL:	15 S: thank you very much
minor	-	...(A1:R)	POSTING	16 C: thank you

5. Text and CONVERSA - S

E.

1 realizing ATTENDANCE-ALLOCATION appears before Exchange 2 which realizes SERVICE. SERVICE, realized by Exchange 2, is almost completed before PAY is started in Exchange 3. What cannot be predicted is that PAY is realized as discontinuous Exchanges 3, 5 and 8. The interrupting exchanges are Exchange 4, realizing GOODS HANDOVER, and Exchanges 6 and 7, realizing POSTING.

What the analysis has shown is that the exchanges do not always seem to be sequentially organized so that first one exchange is realized and then the second and the third etc. This leads to the conclusion that the boundaries of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements overlap. Nevertheless, it does seem that CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE portions Text 4 into exchanges which can then be correlated with the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements on the genre plane. The interrelation that emerges can be pictured in the following way:

<u>SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE:</u>	<u>Text 4:</u>	<u>CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE:</u>
AA	1 + NV	- Exch 1
S	2-6 + NV	- Exch 2
P	7 + NV + 10 + 14 + NV	- Exch 3, 5, 8
GH	8 + NV + 9	- Exch 4
POSTING	11-13 + NV	- Exch 6, 7
CL	15-16	-

Fig. 46. Correlation between SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE in Text 4

The only element not being shown in the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE organization is CLOSING. The lexicogrammatical realizations on lines 15-16 are correlated directly with the genre plane. The 'chunking' presented above is functional in nature on the genre plane in terms of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements. These elements will set Text 4 apart from other texts belonging to some other genres, e.g. recipes, classroom interaction, interviews etc. It now remains to be discovered whether such chunking of Text 4 into functional SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements will also be supported by the realizations of other discourse systems.

9.1.2 Text 4 and LEXICAL COHESION

A LEXICAL COHESION analysis of Text 4 has already been presented in Chapter VI, but is reproduced as Fig. 47 (p.399) for easy reference. When one considers the correlation between LEXICAL COHESION and CONVERSATIONAL ANALYSIS one can, first of all, say that the element AA will not naturally be reflected in the LEXICAL COHESION analyses. Items to which its verbal realization yes please (1) can be related through lexical relations hardly ever appear more than once in the service encounter texts.

When one looks at the hypothesized S element, lines 2-6 + NV-action, again there is not much that LEXICAL COHESION can tell us about the realization of this element. There appear only a few indexical items such as post in C's Need, uhm could you tell me how much it costs to post those please (2), and in S's Specification of Need, air mai- air mail to Japan ↗ (4) that betray what the boundaries of the element S are. Mostly this has to do with the fact that the participants in the text have been realized by REFERENCE system choices. The second occurrence of the item post is in the posited element POSTING. The distance between the repetitions of the item seems to suggest their interpretation as signals for different elements. The major lexical string of 'rates' seems to be the one that can most reliably be correlated with the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE organization. Eleven lexical items out of fourteen appear in the realization range of the element P in Text 4.

In Text 4 LEXICAL COHESION strings do not appear to signal very clearly the realization of the hypothesized SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE. Primarily, the strings reflect the realization of P. Some support is also found for the realization of S. But for the realization of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements AA, GH, POSTING and CL none or only very little support can be found from the LEXICAL COHESION analysis.

9.1.3 Text 4 and REFERENCE

What about REFERENCE systems and structures in Text 4 then? Do the generated reference chains give any support for the chunking of text into the given SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements?

'rates'	'indexical activities'	SS	TEXT 4 (post office)
COST (2) non-tax. FORTY-FIVE (3) ant. FORTY CENTS (6) ant. DOLLAR TWENTY-FIVE (7) rep. ONE TWENTY-FIVE (10) DOLLAR TWENTY-FIVE (14) ant. DOLLAR THIRTY (14) ant. SIXTY (14) ant. EIGHTY (14) ant. TWO DOLLARS (14) ant. THREE (14) ant. FIVE (14) rep. FIVE (14) ant. TEN (14) ant.	POST (2) non-tax. AIRMAIL (4) rep. POST (11)	AA S P S GH P POSTING P CL	1 S: yes please [C turns to S] 2 C: uhm could you tell me how much it costs to post those please [C hands over three letters] [6 secs - S weighs one of the letters] 3 S: one's forty-five [5 secs - S weighs the other letters] 4 S: air mail - air mail to Japan 5 C: uhuh [10 secs - S looks up the price] 6 S: both forty cents each [2 secs] 7 S: it's a dollar twenty-five altogether thank you [15 secs - S gets the stamps for the letters] 8 S: there we are [S hands over the stamps] 9 C: thank you [C gives a ten-dollar note to S] 10 S: one twenty-five [said when receiving the money] 11 C: do I have to post these 12 S: I'll take care of them 13 C: okay [11 secs - S gets the change] 14 S: dollar twenty-five dollar thirty sixty eighty two dollars three...five and five's ten [S gives the change to C] 15 S: thank you very much 16 C: thank you

Fig. 47. Text 4 and LEXICAL COHESION.

As Fig. 48 (p.401) shows, the first reference item appears on line 2. So no support for the realization of AA is obtainable from the REFERENCE analysis. The AA yes please is simply not realized by REFERENCE systems. Some support for the realization of S, however, can be found through the consideration of REFERENCE realizations.

Firstly, as the analysis in Fig. 48 shows, in C's Need uhm could you tell me how much it costs to post those please (2) the following reference items appear: you, me and those. It in (2) is a structural item and does not refer to any participant. All the above mentioned reference items are exophoric. All of them also represent the first items in reference chains. You refers to S and me refers to C. Neither S nor C are being referred to for the second time during the element S. How then can they possibly indicate anything about the realization of S? As items in the chains tracking down participants S and C they do not. But the fact that they both appear in C's Need may be taken to represent the interactive organization of the Need. That is S, namely you, is requested to do a service to C, namely me. What is being suggested then is that the interaction between the items in particular reference chains may also function as an indicator of the realization of the particular part of the social process.

What about the reference item those in (2) then? Those refers exophorically to the letters in the S element. As the letters will be referred to later on, those is the first item in the reference chain 'letters'. It is interesting to see, however, how letters will be referred to later on in the hypothesized S element. The first reference to the letters is in (3), S: one's forty-five, where one is related to those through a redundancy reference relationship (see Chapter VII, section 7.3). The letters are being referred to again in (6), S: both forty cents each, where both refers first to those and then each in turn refers to both. What is interesting then is that the reference items one, both and each do not seem to belong to the same reference chains. One refers only to one of the participants represented in those. Both cannot refer to one. Both must necessarily be seen to refer also to some of the participants represented by the item those. The reference chains seem to split in the Compliance part of S in the same way as Exchange 2 in the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE

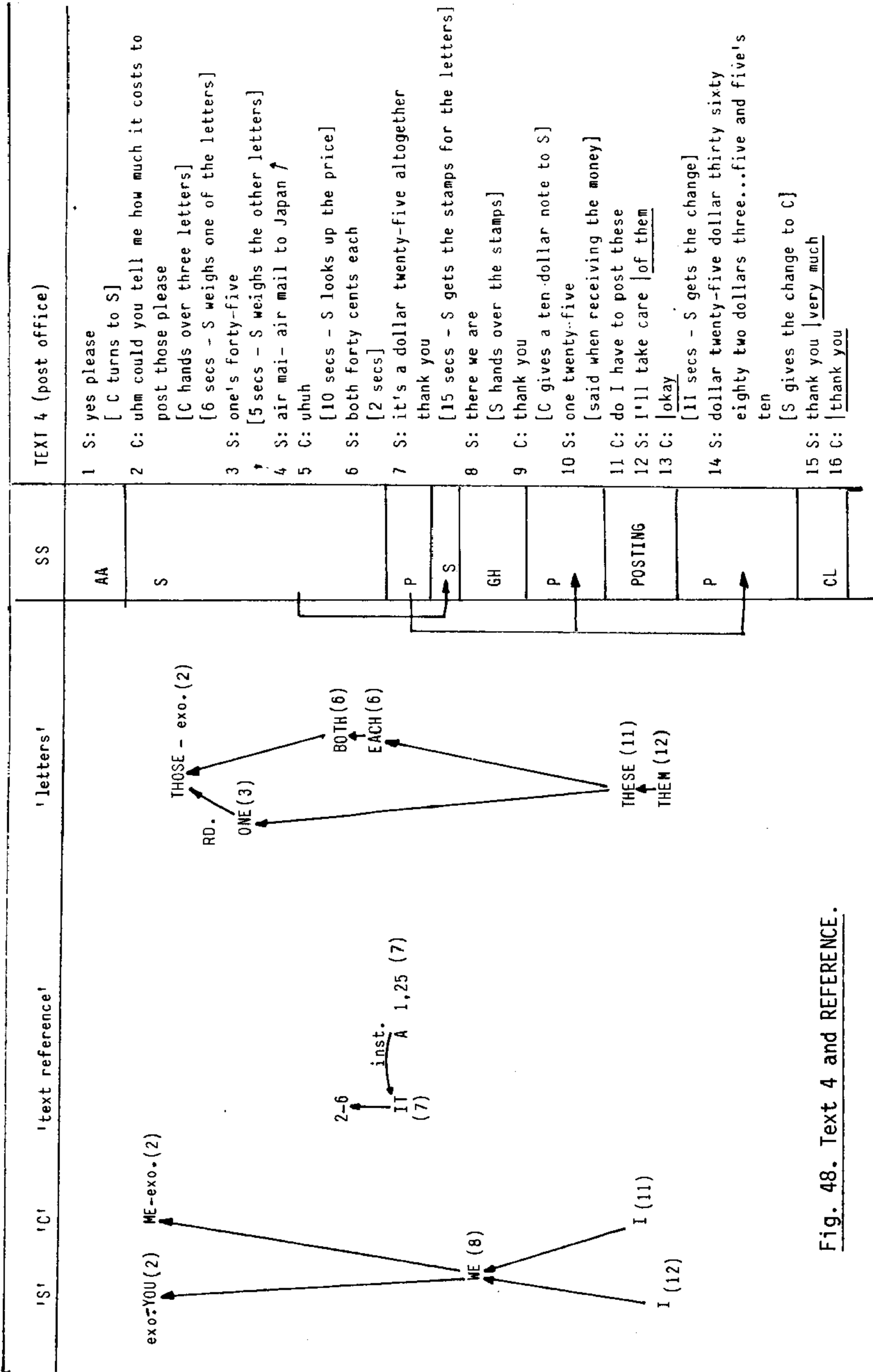


Fig. 48. Text 4 and REFERENCE.

analysis was shown to split. Such a splitting seems to indicate quite reliably where the Compliance part of the S element in Text 4 is realized.

The participants 'letters' are being referred to again later on in the text in C's do I have to post these (11) and in S's I'll take care of them (12). Notice that the 'letters' are being treated again as one in these and them. The letter-chain seems to join up again. This is natural as in the Compliance the post official may treat letters individually or in lots, but in POSTING the letters are usually treated as a lot. That is, they are dropped into the mail bag all at the same time. Thus, the occurrence of these items in the part of the text where the element POSTING was hypothesized to be realized offers evidence of the realization of POSTING. Also, the fact that the reference items these (11) and them are used to refer to the letters as a group rather than as individual letters seems to signal the realization of the element POSTING. Finally, when one looks at the chains tracking down participants S and C, in (11) I referring to C and in (12) I referring to the participant S occur. The fact that both of the participants C and S are being referred to again during the element POSTING once more reflects the interactive organization of this particular element.

The three elements that have not so far been discussed in the context of REFERENCE are P, GH and CL. P, first of all, can be partly located by a typical text-reference (see Chapter VII). On line 7 it in S's it's a dollar twenty-five altogether thank you refers to the whole S element. Line 7 could be paraphrased: 'the service that I am going to do for your benefit, the getting of the stamps, will cost you, the customer, one dollar twenty-five'. The element P is also partly detectable through the instantial reference relationship between it and a dollar twenty-five. The realization of the element GH is probably best reflected by the joining of the S-chain and the C-chain in the reference item we in (8) by S: there we are. It is paraphrasable as 'you, the customer asked me to get you some goods, which I, the server, am now handing over to you'. Finally, as far as REFERENCE and the element CL are concerned, it would first appear that REFERENCE also plays a role in the realization of CL, as such a reference item

as you appears on both lines which are considered to be realizing CL: thank you very much (15) and thank you (16). However, it seems that you in these thanking routines has largely lost its function as a reference item. Therefore you in such routine thanking expressions as those on line 7, 15 and 16 is not considered to contribute anything to the REFERENCE structures in the texts analyzed in this study.

It seems then that reference items in Text 4 reflect the hypothesized chunking of elements S, P, GH and POSTING especially in regard to the types of items in the reference chains and the formation of the chains and their interaction at particular points of text.

9.1.4 Text 4, CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING

Neither CONJUNCTION nor BOUNDARY MARKING in Text 4 seem to be of any help in an attempt to find linguistic evidence for the realization of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements from the discourse systems and the structures generated by these systems on the discourse stratum. There are no explicit conjunctions present in Text 4. The implicit conjunctive relationships will not be analyzed at this stage of the investigation into the realizational relationship between genre and the discourse systems. It is felt that enough support for the link between conjunctive relationships and the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements must first be found from explicit conjunctive relationships realized in texts. Since no frames are realized in Text 4 either, the system of BOUNDARY MARKING and its realizations can offer no help in finding justification for the presented SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE chunking.

9.2 Text 5 - A Shop Text

A young customer, approximately between fifteen and twenty years of age, walks into a souvenir shop with her little brother. The server is at that moment busy with another customer. So the customer and her little brother walk to the section of the shop where they can see the mobiles that are on display at the show window. When the server is free again she walks up to the customer and her little brother and starts a conversation. The interaction is almost totally between the server and the customer. Only once the little brother

intervenes by addressing his sister. Text 5 is fairly long and therefore it will not be reproduced in this context. But the full transcript is presented in the Appendix.

When Text 4 was analyzed the readers were taken step by step through the text. They were shown how various discourse systems were realized as discourse structures in the text and how these structures point to the semiotic organization of the text in terms of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE realization on the genre plane. Such a step-by-step procedure unfortunately tends to be time- and space-consuming, especially as the texts get longer. Therefore, below it has been seen necessary to reduce the degree of detailed description during the explication of the texts. The full analyses of the texts will, however, appear in each section and will frequently be referred to. The sequence of the analyses of Text 5 will follow the sequence presented for Text 4. That is, first CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE will be considered. Then the LEXICAL COHESION analysis will follow. REFERENCE will be discussed next. Finally, CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING will end the analyses.

9.2.1 Text 5 and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE

The analysis of Text 5 in terms of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE organization is presented on the following two pages (pp.405-406) as Fig. 49. In some of the elements the ways exchanges are realized in Text 5 can be considered to reflect the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE organization on the genre plane in a very clear way. But for example in the element S such a reflection is not so easily detected due to its length and has to be supported by evidence retrieved from the realizations of the discourse systems, as will be shown later.

The first exchange, Exchange 1, consists of two moves, Att ^ Ratt: S: you're just browsing are you (1) - [C turns to S]. This exchange realizes the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element AA. The verbal realization of the Att-move by S is perhaps less conventional than the Att-move used for example in Text 4, yes please. Nevertheless, the effect of the Att-move in Text 5 is exactly the same as in Text 4: C turns to S and the interaction may begin.

Grammar:	Speech Function:	Exchange:	SS:	TEXT 5 (shop)
decl. NV	s ≠	1 Att Ratt	AA: 1	1 S: you're just browsing are you [C turns to S]
p-inter. decl. minor	q rsq -	2 K2-Fg K1 K2f	S: 2,3,4, 5,6,7, 8,9,10	2 is there anything particular you wanted or- 3 C: I'm just looking at those mobiles 4 S: okay
wh-inter. minor	q ≠ q ≠	1 DA1 DA1 =2		5 hm which one did you er...would you like to see out.... 6 any, particular one there? [the mobiles are at the show window]
decl.ell. ≠ minor decl. NV	c - roc -	3 A2 cf A1:A A1:R*	11,12, 13,14	7 C: the diver 8 S: the diver... 9 I'll take that one out [9 secs - S bends down to get the mobile from the box on the floor, but cannot find the right one]
decl. NV	o -	4 A1:A A1:R		10 S: I'll take one out of the window...for you [5 secs - S takes the mobile out]
decl. decl.	s s	5 K1 6 K1		11 S: this is the one [S puts the mobile on the counter] 12 he just goes round really...like that [S gives the mobile a push]
plg wh-inter. decl. ell.	- q rsq	7 cf K2 K1		13 C: hm... 14 how much is it 15 S: four fifty [5 secs - C keeps looking at the mobile]
plg decl. decl. decl. decl.	- s s s q	8 Ex 9 K1 K1 K1		16 C: er...hm 17 S: all of them are four fifty except the small rocky one 18 that's three fifty
decl. ≠	q	1 K2 =2 x3		19 and the others are bigger 20 C: you've only got the golfer the tennis player and the diver 21 S: yes
decl.ell	rsq	10 K1		

Grammar:	Speech Function:	Exchange:	SS:	TEXT 5 (continued)
decl.	s	11 — K1		22 S: uh there is a soccer player there [2 secs - S turns around to look for it]
decl.	s	12 — K1		23 S: (there it is) [2 secs - S keeps looking for more mobiles]
minor	s	13 — Ex		24 S: no
decl.	s	14 — K1		25 there's one soccer player the- up there [4 secs - C keeps looking at the mobiles]
decl.	s	15 — A2	R: 15, 16	26 C: we'll take him [the diver]
imp.	c	16 — A2		27 B: have him [C's little brother; said to C]
minor	roc	17 — A1:A		28 S: okay
NV	-	18 — A1:R		[32 secs - S packs the mobile]
decl.	o	19 — A1:A	GH: 17	29 S: there we are
NV	-	20 — A1:R		[S handing over the packet]
NV	-	21 — A1:R		[C hands over a ten-dollar note]
minor	-	22 — A2f	P: 18, 19, 20	30 S: thank you
minor	s	23 — Ex		31 four dollars fifty [9 secs - S operates the cash register and takes out the change]
decl.	o	24 — A1:A		32 S: five dollars six eight and two is ten
NV	-	25 — A1:R		[S is giving the change to C]
minor	-	26 — A2f	CL	33 thanks very much
minor	-	27 — A2f	P	34 C: good [C and B collect their things and leave]

Fig. 49. Text 5 and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE.

The next element realized is S. It starts with Exchange 1 and finishes with Exchange 14. Since so many exchanges are involved how does one know that these exchanges are exactly the exchanges realizing the element S? In Chapter V it was said that the basic activity conducted in the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element S is the expression of C's Need and S's Compliance to this Need. The Need and the Compliance is mostly realized by a nuclear exchange. Often, however, Needs need Specifications of Need and Compliances, when not sufficient, are followed by Additions to Compliance. Such Specifications and Additions may at the exchange rank be realized by their own exchanges, although frequently they are also realized by the dynamic systems in CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, namely SUSPENDING, ABORTING and ELUCIDATING systems (see section 5.3.1 in Chapter V). So, if Specifications and Additions are considered as well, the number of exchanges realizing the element S have already increased. Furthermore, the number can be increased by having an introductory exchange to the nuclear exchange. This seems to be what is happening in Text 5.

	K2-Fg	2 S: is there anything particular you wanted or-
	K1	3 C: I'm just looking at those mobiles
	K2f	4 S: okay

The general area of C's Need is being established by Exchange 2.

The nuclear exchange where the specific Need is being stated is in the following exchange, in Exchange 3.

	DA1	1	5 S: hm which one did you er-...would you like to see out...
	DA1	=2	6 any particular one there ♣ [the mobiles are at the show window]
			[2 secs]
	A2	7	C: the diver
	cf	8	S: the diver
	A1:A	9	I'll take that one out
			[9 secs - S bends down to get the mobile from the box on the floor but cannot find the right one]
	A1:R*		

Lines 5 and 6 function both as DA1-moves in Exchange 3 as they stand in a clause complex relationship to one another (1 =2). On line 8 with an A1:A-move S makes a promise to get what C has asked for in the A2-move on line 7. But as can be seen, and as is shown by the asterisk *, S is unsuccessful in carrying out the A1:R-move. After searching

for nine seconds, she has to make a new promise to C, S: I'll take one out of the window for you. This time the A1:R-move that follows is successful. The finding of the mobile is realized by a separate exchange from Exchange 3, namely by Exchange 4 consisting of the above mentioned moves: A1:A (10) and A1:R (non-verbal). One could easily think that Exchange 4 is in fact part of Exchange 3, especially since the A1:R-move in Exchange 3 was unsuccessful. However, after a pause of nine seconds the moves in Exchange 4 can hardly be considered to be moves of the same exchange as the moves in Exchange 3. Therefore Exchange 4 is considered to be an exchange on its own right.

In short, Exchanges 3 and 4 realize the Need and the Compliance of the S element in Text 5. But the text continues:

5 — K1	11 S: this is the one
6 — K1	12 he just goes round really...like that etc.

The exchanges from line 11 onwards, Exchanges 5 to 14, are considered to be Additions to Compliance (note that, except for Exchanges 8 and 13 which consist of Ex-moves, they are knowledge-oriented exchanges, which is typical of Additions, see Chapter V section 5.4). Another interpretation of these exchanges would be that such additions function as a separate SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element, SALES PITCH, typical of shop-register. In this case line 11 could be interpreted as a kind of a frame marking the border line of the two elements. It is here, however, felt that because the data sample is so small, there is not enough justification for distinguishing such an element. A more extensive body of data from shop encounters only is needed in order to establish whether a more delicate choice of this type exists in service encounters whose FIELD orientation is 'shop'.

The element RESOLUTION is realized by Exchanges 15 and 16 on lines 26-28. Exchange 16 is C's little brother trying to influence C to buy the same mobile that C has already decided to get herself. Thus in fact B's exhortation comes slightly late.

S proceeds to pack the mobile. Once it is packed she hands it over to C. The GH element is realized by Exchange 17, which is a typical action-oriented exchange.

17	{	A1:A A1:R	29	S: there we are dear [S handing over the packet]

As indicated by braces, the A1:A-move and the A1:R-move are simultaneously realized.

The element P is realized by three exchanges, Exchanges 18, 19 and 20. As C already knows the price of the mobile, since it came up during one of the Additions to Compliance, no pay request is needed. C simply hands a note to S.

18	{	A1:R A2f		
19	—	Ex	30	S: thank you
			31	four dollars fifty [9 secs - S operates the cash register and takes out the change]
20	{	A1:A A1:R - A2f	32	S: five dollars six eight and two is ten [S is giving the change to C]
			33	thanks very <u>much</u>
			34	C: <u>good</u>

Exchange 18 realizes part of the PAY element, i.e. handing over the money. As the sum given was not exact, S needs to give change to C. In Exchange 19 S first reminds herself how much the purchase was. This exchange is directed to S herself and helps her to sort out how much change she is to give to C. The actual giving out of the change is realized by Exchange 20.

The last element, CL is not realized in exchange structure terms at all. As can be seen above, it is realized while P, from C's point of view, is still going on (see line 33). Since C still has to make the follow-up move, A2f, to the previous exchange, she eventually ends up not responding to S's thanks very much.

Now that the discourse structures generated by the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE systems have been presented and discussed in detail one can ask the following question: how reliably can one state that the Exchange(s) so and so represent the realizations of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element such and such in Text 5? Text 5 is longer than Text 4. It also involves more exchanges, and the typical patterns may not be so easily found. It appears, for example, that the hypothesized element S in particular involves so many exchanges that CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE does not seem to help much when one tries to establish the boundaries for S. But even though the boundaries of an exchange and

an element do not coincide, certain conclusions can be drawn about the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element boundaries by looking at whether the exchanges in the text follow the typical realizations.

For example, there is a marked difference in the type of exchanges realized at the boundaries of elements. The AA element was realized by [attention-orienting] moves in Exchange 1, whereas the beginning of the S element was realized by Exchange 2 involving [knowledge-oriented] moves. This shift in the functions of the moves indicates that the exchanges realize different SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements. Furthermore, the end of S, that is the last Addition to Compliance, is realized by a [knowledge-oriented] move. However, the moves in the following exchange, Exchange 15, are [action-oriented] and the whole exchange together with Exchange 16 realizes the element R. The S element on the whole follows a pattern in which the nuclear exchange, typically an action-oriented exchange, can be preceded by a knowledge-oriented exchange (Introduction to Need) and, furthermore, the nuclear exchange can be followed by knowledge-oriented exchanges (Additions to Compliance).

GH and P elements also follow the typical patterns of realizations as far as exchanges are concerned. Exchange 17 involves two moves which thus realize GH by signalling the handover verbally and by simultaneously handing over the goods. The P element, on the other hand, has to be realized by two exchanges if the money given for the purchase has not been exact. This is the case in Text 5. As was seen Exchange 18 realizes the handing over of the money in P and Exchange 10 realizes the handing over of the change in P. Exchange 19, S's reminder of the total sum of the purchase, is also typically included in the realization of P in service encounters.

Thus, all in all, the ways exchanges are manifested and the ways they are sequenced in Text 5 seem to be as expected with respect to the various SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements in the context of the service encounter genre. It can therefore be said that CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE offers support to the following kind of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE distribution in Text 5:

<u>SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE:</u>	<u>Text 5:</u>	<u>CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE:</u>
AA -	1 + NV	- Exch 1
S -	2-25	- Exch 2-14
R -	26-28	- Exch 15-16
GH -	29 + NV	- Exch 17
P -	NV + 30-32 + NV + 34	- Exch 18-20
CL -	33	-

Fig. 50. Correlation between SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE in Text 5

Naturally, however, support for such a SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE must also be found in the structures generated by other discourse systems.

9.2.2 Text 5 and LEXICAL COHESION

In the LEXICAL COHESION analysis of Text 5, which is presented in Fig. 51 (pp.412-413), the major lexical strings that emerge are those of 'search', referring to the C's and S's search for the mobile, 'item to be purchased', of 'prices', referring to the prices of mobiles on display, and finally of 'size', referring to the various sizes of the mobiles. Let us consider the 'search' string first.

When looking at the lexical strings displayed in Fig. 51 below, it seems first of all that the 'search' string seems to extend from the element AA to the element S and even further to the element R (lines 1-27). Therefore, since its range seems to extend over three different elements, one might conclude that this string is not of any help in establishing the boundaries of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements in Text 5. But when one follows the items included in this string one gets a relatively clear picture of the activity sequence taking place during those three elements of AA, S and R. The 'search' string includes the items browse (1), look (3), see (5), take out (9) take out (10), take in the sense 'buy' (26) and have in the sense 'buy' (27). The activity sequence can be expressed as follows: 'the customer browses around - she then looks at some mobiles - she asks to see a mobile - the server takes the mobile out - the customer decides to take it, i.e. to buy it'. It is possible to relate the different kinds of processes that establish the activity sequence to the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements that mark Text 5 belonging to the genre of service encounters. For

'size'	'prices'	'mobiles'	'search'	SS	TEXT 5 (shop)
			BROWSE (1)	AA	1 S: you're just browsing are you [C turns to S]
			syn. LOOK (3)	S	2 is there anything particular you wanted or-
			syn. SEE (5)		3 C: I'm just looking at those mobiles
			non-tax.: activity expectancy TAKE OUT (9)		4 S: okay
			rep. TAKE OUT (10)		5 hm which one did you er...would you like to see out...
			non-tax.: activity expectancy		6 any particular one there? [the mobiles are at the show window]
			rep. TAKE OUT (9)		[2 secs]
			non-tax.: activity expectancy		7 C: the diver
			rep. TAKE OUT (10)		8 S: the diver...
			non-tax.: activity expectancy		9 I'll take that one out
			rep. TAKE OUT (10)		[9 secs - S bends down to get the mobile from the box on the floor, but cannot find the right one]
			non-tax.: activity expectancy		10 S: I'll take one out of the window...for you
			rep. TAKE OUT (10)		[5 secs - S takes the mobile out]
			non-tax.: activity expectancy		11 S: this is the one [S puts the mobile on the counter]
			rep. TAKE OUT (10)		12 he just goes round really...like that [S gives the mobile a push]
			non-tax.: activity expectancy		13 C: hm...
			rep. TAKE OUT (10)		14 how much is it
			non-tax.: activity expectancy		15 S: four fifty
			rep. TAKE OUT (10)		[5 secs - C keeps looking at the mobile]
			non-tax.: activity expectancy		16 C: er...hm
			rep. TAKE OUT (10)		17 S: all of them are four fifty except the small rocky on
			non-tax.: activity expectancy		18 that's three fifty
			rep. TAKE OUT (10)		19 and the others are bigger
			non-tax.: activity expectancy		20 C: you've only got the golfer the tennis player and the diver
			rep. TAKE OUT (10)		21 S: yes

'prices'	'mobiles'	'search'	SS	TEXT 5 (continued)
	co-hyp. SOCCER-PLAYER (22)		S	22 S: uh there is a soccer player there [2 secs - S turns around to look for it]
	rep. SOCCER-PLAYER (25)	non- tax.: act.exp.		23 S: (there it is) [2 secs - S keeps looking for more mobiles]
		TAKE (26) syn. ('buy')	R	24 S: no 25 there's one soccer player the- up there [4 secs - C keeps looking at the mobiles]
ant.		HAVE (27) ('buy')		26 C: we'll take him [the diver] 27 B: have him [C's little brother; said to C] 28 S: okay [32 secs - S packs the mobile]
			GH	29 S: there we are [S handing over the packet] [C hands over a ten-dollar note]
FOUR-DOLLARS-FIFTY (31)			P	30 S: thank you 31 four dollars fifty [9 secs - S operates the cash register and takes out the change]
ant. FIVE-DOLLARS (32)				32 S: five dollars six eight and two is ten [S is giving the change to C]
ant-SIX (32)				33 thanks very <u>much</u>
ant-EIGHT (32)			CL	34 C: <u>good</u> [C and B collect their things and leave]
ant-TWO (32)			P	
ant-TEN (32)				

Fig. 51. Text 5 and LEXICAL COHESION.

example, the lexical item take out seems to have something to do with S's Compliance. Let us follow this logic from one item in the 'search' string to another and see whether the items themselves function as indicators of certain SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements.

The activity sequence starts with the item browse on line 1 S: you're just browsing are you. The function of the use of the lexical item browse from S's point of view is to establish whether or not C needs her help. In other words, it establishes C's attention to S and thus signals the realization of the element AA. The next item in the activity sequence of 'search' is look on line 3, C: I'm just looking at those mobiles. This process, although synonymous with browse, is however at a more delicate level considered to be more specific than browse. It also is part of the experiential structure Process ^Medium (look ^mobile), expressing that C has indeed a specific Need in mind and she is not just browsing. But she is not yet quite sure which of the mobiles interests her most. Once the interest is expressed the server can start complying: I'll take that one out (line 9). The lexical item take out enters the 'search' string twice, as it is repeated on line 10. These items function as indicators of the realization of S's Compliance to C's Need. Then there is a long gap until the next cohesive items in this string appear. These are the items take and have in (26) and (27). C's we'll take him and B's have him. Both of these items indicate a change in the activity - C wants to buy the mobile. What is being realized is the RESOLUTION to purchase the item discussed in the element S. The groupings of the lexical items in this first string allow one to draw the conclusion that browse functions as an indicator of the realization of AA. However, look and see point to the realization of Need in S, whereas take out indicates that the Compliance of S is taking place. Finally, take and have, which both have the experiential lexical structure of Process ^Medium - take ^mobile and have ^mobile, seem to represent the on-going realization of the element R in lexical terms.

The 'item to be purchased' string begins with an indexical item mobile, C: I'm just looking at those mobiles (line 3), as can be seen in Fig. 51. But then the string splits into two. Only mobiles (line 3) and the description of what they do, go-round (12) and rocky (17),

can strictly speaking be seen to belong to the register of 'shopping'. Items like diver (7, 8), golfer (20) etc. seem to suggest quite a different FIELD orientation for the text - that of 'sport' and not that of 'souvenirs' or 'presents' bought in a shop. But through instantial lexical relationships with the item mobiles (3) the FIELD of 'sport' is brought into the FIELD of 'shopping' to establish the different types of mobiles sold in souvenir shops (instantial relationships between lexical items are largely responsible for the fact that quite unexpected FIELD realizations may occur in texts). An illustration of how the FIELD of 'sports' combines with the FIELD of 'shopping' via the items bought in shops can be illustrated with the following partial FIELD network:

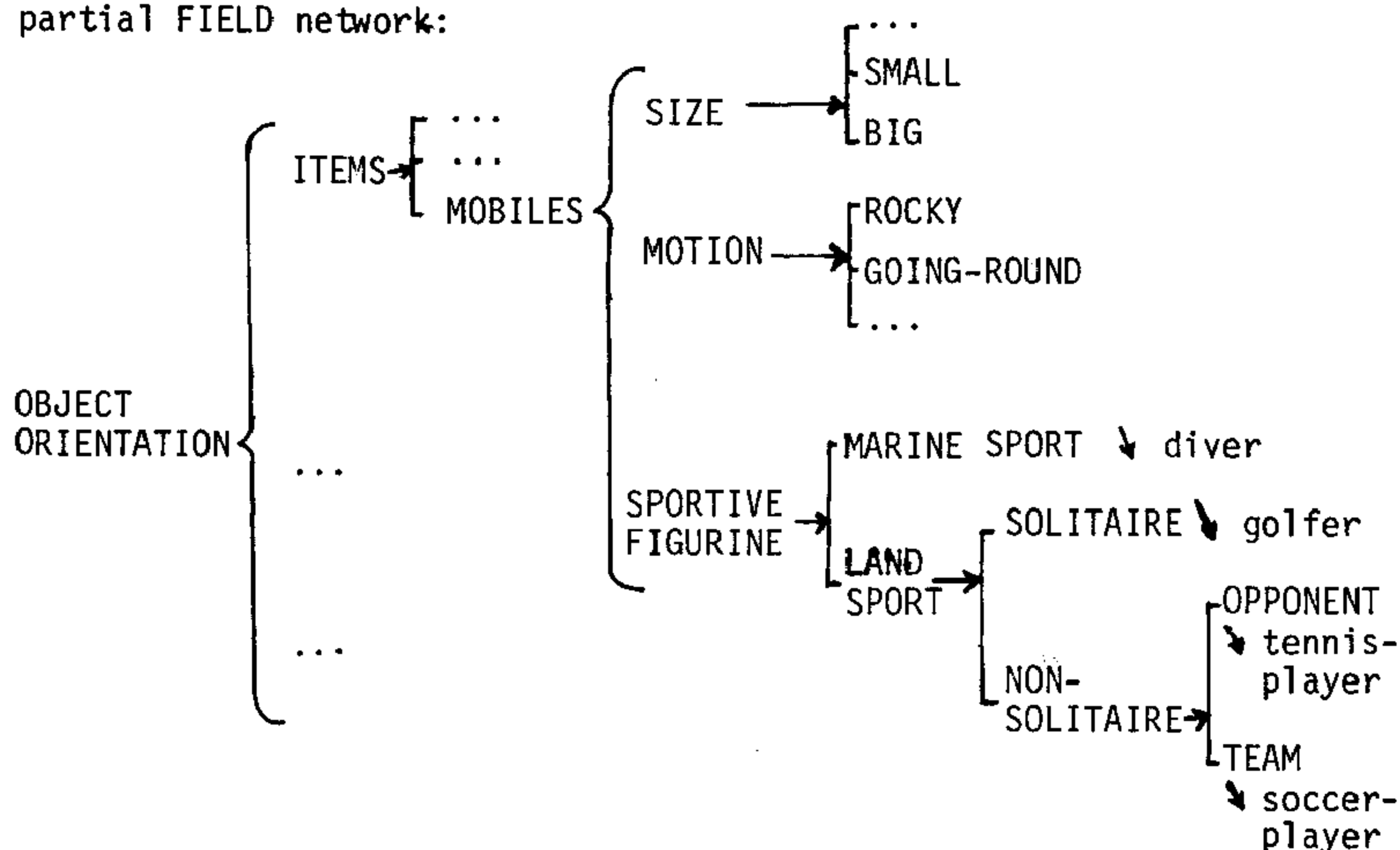


Fig. 52. A Partial Network Representing the Infiltration of the FIELD 'Sport' into the FIELD 'Shopping'

The fact that the string 'item to be purchased' begins where the element S was hypothesized to begin, on line 3, and finishes where the element S was hypothesized to end, on line 25, is probably convincing enough evidence of the realization of S on lines from 3 to 25. Once the Need and the Compliance have been realized it is no longer necessary to refer to the item with which both the Need and the Compliance dealt. This is also the case with the element S and the item the element S is concerned with in Text 5.

The last significant string is the 'prices' string. It extends from line 15 to line 32, thus spanning four SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements, namely part of S, R, GH and P. However, one notices immediately that no items belonging to this string appear at units where R and GH were hypothesized to be realized. The strings simply extend over these units, since in the analysis the principle is followed that the item should be united to the last preceding item in the text. More precisely, the items in the 'prices' string seem to appear in the Compliance part of the element S, and then, after a long gap, in the element P. It is not surprising that Compliance would include lexical items expressing 'prices'. Often customers ask what various items that the server is showing to them cost. Therefore the items four-fifty (15), four-fifty (17) and three-fifty (18) signal the realization of the Compliance part of S. The long gap between the 'prices' items in the Compliance part of S and in the element P, seems to indicate that these two groupings of the lexical items in the 'prices' string show realizations of different SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements. The first grouping refers to the realization of S, as already mentioned, and the latter grouping refers to the realization of the element P.

What the lexical strings in Text 5 then seem to verify is the realizations of elements AA, S, R and P. The only elements whose realizations are not supported by the LEXICAL COHESION analysis of Text 5 are GH and CL. That no support for GH is found comes as no surprise since it is largely realized non-verbally. CL, on the other hand, is only realized by S, so the lexical item appearing on line 33, thanks very much, cannot naturally cohere with anything else in Text 5.

9.2.3 Text 5 and REFERENCE

What then of reference chains? Can they tell us something about the correlation of the REFERENCE choices in Text 5 and the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE organization of Text 5? As the analysis in Fig. 53 (pp.417-418) shows, the reference chains established in Text 5 are: 'mobiles', 'window', 'C' and 'S'. These chains track down the major participants in Text 5. All of the chains extend almost throughout the text. Such long reference chains indicate that participants play an important

'C'	'S'	'mobiles'	'window'	SS	TEXT 5 (shop)
YOU(1)-exoph. YOU(2) I (3)		THOSE (3) -exo. WHICH ONE (5) (any particular one)(6)		AA	1 S: you're just browsing are you [C turns to S]
		RD. RD. RD.		S	2 is there anything particular you wanted or- 3 C: I'm just looking at those mobiles 4 S: okay
		THE(diver)(7) THE(diver)(8) THAT ONE (9)	RD. RD. RD.		5 hm which one did you er...would you like to see out.... 6 any particular one there [the mobiles are at the show window] [2 secs]
		inst. THE ONE(11) THIS(11) HE(12) IT(14)	RD. RD. RD.		7 C: the diver 8 S: the diver.... 9 I'll take that one out [9 secs - S bends down to get the mobile from the box on the floor, but cannot find the right one]
		ALL OF THEM (17) THE OTHERS(19) BIGGER (19) THE (golfer) (20) THE (golfer) (20)	RD. RD. RD.		10 S: I'll take one out of the window...for you [5 secs - S takes the mobile out] 11 S: this is the one [S puts the mobile on the counter] 12 he just goes round really...like that [S gives the mobile a push] 13 C: hm... 14 how much is it 15 S: four fifty [5 secs - C keeps looking at the mobile]
		THE(diver)(20)			16 C: er...hm 17 S: all of them are four fifty except the small, rocky one 18 that's three fifty 19 and the others are bigger 20 C: you've only got the golfer the tennis player and the diver 21 S: yes

'C'	'S'	'mobiles'	'window'	SS	TEXT 5 (continued)
(10) → (20) → (B) → WE (26) → WE (29) →		(14) → HIM (26) → HIM (27) →	(10) → THERE (22) → THERE (23) → THERE (25) →		22 S: uh there is a soccer player there [2 secs - S turns around to look for it] 23 S: (there it is) [2 secs - S keeps looking for more mobiles] 24 S: no 25 there's one soccer player the- up there [4 secs - C keeps looking at the mobiles] 26 C: we'll take him [the diver] 27 B: have him [C's little brother; said to C] 28 S: okay [32 secs - S packs the mobile] 29 S: there we are [S handing over the packet] [C hands over a ten-dollar note] 30 S: thank you 31 four dollars fifty [9 secs - S operates the cash register and takes out the change] 32 S: five dollars six eight and two is ten [S is giving the change to C] 33 thanks very <u>much</u> 34 C: <u>good</u> [C and B collect their things and leave]
				R	
				GH	
				P	
				CL	
				P	

Fig. 53. Text 5 and REFERENCE.

role in several SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements. Therefore reference chains would not seem to reflect the realized text structure at all. But on closer inspection certain conclusions about the generic structuring of the text can be drawn in terms of recognizing the elements S, R and GH. However this does not apply to such an extent to the other elements, AA , P and CL.

The 'mobiles' chain, first of all, extends from line 3 to line 25, thus ranging from the element S to the following R element. The chain starts with an exophoric item those (mobiles), referring to the items on display in the show window. It is this item that marks the beginning of the element S, the beginning of the Need of S. But as C does not want to buy all of the mobiles on display, the item to be purchased has to be referred to more specifically. S in fact tries to help C to restrict the possibilities to one particular item by saying: S: any particular one there ↑ (line 6).

Any particular one involves two kinds of phoric systems (see Chapter VII, section 7.3). Any in the nominal group is a [presenting] whereas one is a [redundancy] reference item. When the actual limitation of the item to be purchased is made, i.e. C decides to ask for the diver (line 7), the in the diver refers endophorically to the any on line 6. But the diver is more 'remotely' related to those (mobiles) in (3) through a redundancy reference item one in the nominal group any particular one. Note that the following items in the reference chain 'mobiles' refer to the participant 'diver' as a type, not as a particular token from the group of mobiles on show. The token diver is established through an instantial relationship on line 11, S: that's the one. Here the one is the type and that is the token. In other words, what S is saying could be paraphrased as 'the mobile that I have just put in front of you is the type of mobile that you wanted'.

If the Compliance to C's Need is considered to be carried out by the action of getting the mobile out, then the description of what the mobile that has been taken out actually is capable of doing must be considered an Addition to Compliance. The shift is distinctly marked by this shift from type to token established through an instantial reference relationship. Later on in the element S other types of

mobiles are being referred to again, as C is trying to make up her mind whether she should take the token presented to her or whether she would prefer another type (see the analysis in Fig. 53). The diver as a token is not referred to until in R, where C decides to buy it: C: we'll have him (26). Him (26) refers back to it on line 14. Since the gap between the reference items in the 'mobiles' chain is quite long as far as their realization in the elements S and R are concerned, it can justifiably be said that the items occurring in this chain up to line 22 signal the realization of S, whereas the items occurring on lines 26 and 27 mark the realization of the element R. Once the decision about the purchase is made it is not necessary to refer to the item to be purchased again.

The reference chain labelled 'window' tracks down the location of the mobiles only during the element S. There appearing on line 2, S: is there anything particular you wanted or-, is naturally structural and thus does not track down a participant. The first there in (25) is also structural but there is also a second one which refers to the 'window' as a participant: S: there's one soccer player up- up there.

The element GH is reflected in the reference chains on line 29 in item we in S's there we are dear. It is this joining of 'S' and 'C'-chains that appears to point to the realization of GH in the service encounter genre. The second last element as well as the last element, i.e. P and CL, are not signalled in any way by the reference chains.

As the analysis above has shown, some justification for the hypothesized chunking of Text 5 into SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements can be found through REFERENCE structures, but REFERENCE realizations alone do not explicitly project the generic organization of Text 5.

9.2.4 Text 5, CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING

The analysis of CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING realizations are presented in Fig. 54 below (pp.421-422). However, not much of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE organization of Text 5 can be discovered in terms of these analyses. There is only one explicit conjunction in the whole text. This is an external additive conjunction and, which links the

INTERNAL	EXTERNAL	SS	TEXT 5 (shop)
continuity \ just(1)	— 1	AA	1 S: you're just browsing are you [C turns to S]
cont. \ just(3)	2 — 3 ↑ IntrFr (4) ↓	S	2 is there anything particular you wanted or— 3 C: I'm just looking at those mobiles 4 S: okay 5 hm which one did you er... would you like to see out.. 6 any particular one there ? [the mobiles are at the show window] [2 secs]
	7		7 C: the diver
	8		8 S: the diver...
	9		9 I'll take that one out [9 secs - S bends down to get the mobile from the box on the floor, but cannot find the right one]
	10		10 S: I'll take one out of the window... for you [5 secs - S takes the mobile out]
cont. \ just(12)	11 — 12		11 S: this is the one [S puts the mobile on the counter] 12 he just goes round really... like that [S gives the mobile a push]
	13		13 C: hm...
	14		14 how much is it
	15		15 S: four fifty [5 secs - C keeps looking at the mobile]
	16		16 C: er... hm
	17		17 S: all of them are four fifty except the small _{little} rocky or
	18		18 that's three fifty
	add. \ and(19)		19 and the others are bigger
	19		20 C: you've only got the golfer the tennis player and the diver
	20		21 S: yes
	21		

INTERNAL	EXTERNAL	SS	TEXT 5 (continued)
22			22 S: uh there is a soccer player there [2 secs - S turns around to look for it]
23			23 S: (there it is) [2 secs - S keeps looking for more mobiles]
24			24 S: no
25			25 there's one soccer player the- up there [4 secs - C keeps looking at the mobiles]
26			26 C: we'll take him [the diver]
27		R	27 B: have him [C's little brother; said to C]
28			28 S: okay [32 secs - S packs the mobile]
29		GH	29 S: there we are [S handing over the packet]
30			30 S: thank you [C hands over a ten-dollar note]
31		P	31 four dollars fifty [9 secs - S operates the cash register and takes out the change]
32			32 S: five dollars six eight and two is ten [S is giving the change to C]
33		CL	33 thanks very much
34		P	34 C: good [C and B collect their things and leave]

Fig. 54. Text 5, CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING.

conjunctive unit that's three fifty (18) and and the others are bigger (19) to one another. The other items appearing in the Text 5 reticulum are the CONTINUITY items just (lines 1, 3 and 12). They hardly tell us anything about the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE organization.

Only one frame, okay (4), appears in Text 5. It carries the function of $\uparrow$ IntrFr. It appears to signal the intrinsic boundary between the Need and the Compliance of the S element. But once again the dynamics of interaction intervene. When S actually starts to comply, she notices that she does not yet know which of the mobiles C wants. So S has to 'backtrack' and ask for a Specification of Need: S: hm which one did you er- would you like to see out (line 5) any particular one there (line 6). The second okay in the text on line 28 is hardly a frame, although it occurs at the end of the posited R element. It is more likely that it simply carries the function of an A1:A-move.

As the analysis of CONJUNCTION AND BOUNDARY MARKING has shown, no conclusions concerning any of the hypothesized SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements can be drawn. These systems do not seem to play an important role in Text 5 at all. Probably the shortness of the encounter explains this fact best. The shorter the text, the more obvious is the organization of the text in terms of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE and its realization.

9.3 Text 11 - A Travel Agency Text

Text 11 involves two participants, a customer and a travel agent. The customer enters the agency where three travel agents are working. He looks around trying to decide which agent to approach for help. The server working behind a long counter solves the customer's problem by calling out to him. So the customer turns to him. The customer wants to travel from Canberra to Sydney by bus. But he soon finds out that the bus timetables do not suit his schedule at all. He then makes some inquiries about the flights to Sydney and finally finds a suitable flight. The customer and the travel agent proceed to make a booking on that flight. This involves writing out some personal information about the customer on the tickets. The agent proceeds to elicit this

information. Having received all the necessary information, and before actually handing the ticket over to the customer, the travel agent must make a confirmation for the booking. This is done by making a telephone call to another travel agent handling reservations in the head office. When the flight has been confirmed, the agent explains the information about the flight times to the customer as well as advises him how to get to the airport. Finally, the customer pays for his ticket, thanks the agent for the ticket and the change and leaves.

Above was given a rough description of the activities taking place in Text 11, the transcript of which can be found in the Appendix. Again the question arises: what is it that allows one to give such an account of Text 11? An observer who is also at the same time present in the agency can naturally give such a description of the interaction taking place in the situation. But any reader of the transcript may give a similar account by drawing conclusions from the linguistic realizations in the text. The linguistic realizations betray the social process which is unfolding. In other words, the linguistic items in Text 11 indicate its semiotic organization. Below I shall demonstrate how the organization of the linguistic items on the discourse stratum portrays the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE organization of Text 11 through the structures generated by such discourse systems as CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, LEXICAL COHESION, REFERENCE, COHESION and finally through frames which realize the BOUNDARY MARKING system options on the genre plane.

9.3.1 Text 11 and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE

The exchange structures generated by the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE choices in Text 11 are presented in the analysis in Fig. 55, which runs from pp.425-428. A very detailed commentary on each exchange and its moves realized in Text 11 is not possible due to limitations of space. Thus, the discussion will mainly concentrate on highlighting how the realized exchanges in Text 11 reflect the generic organization of the text in terms of how the exchanges function in the text.

Grammar:	Speech Function:	Exchange:	SS:	Text 11 (travel agency) 1)
minor NV	cl -	1 Att 2 Ratt	AA: 1	1 S: yes ↑ [C turns to S]
p-inter. decl.:ell.	o ao	2 DA1 A2	SB: 2	2 S: can I help you 3 C: yes
p-inter. decl.:ell. decl. decl. decl.	q rsq s s s	3 K2 K1 K1 K1 K1 K1	S I: 3,4,5	4 are there buses that go to Sydney uh...about midday 5 S: no 6 there's only Ansett 'n Pioneer 7 they have the uh main...control 8 they're the only ones that operate...
decl.	s	9 K1		9 and that section they leave at 7:30 in the morning and at 5:30 in the afternoon
plg. minor decl. decl. decl.	- - s s s	10 K2f K1f 11 K1 K1 K1		10 C: uhuh 11 S: yeah...
minor minor minor decl.	- - - s	12 K1 K1 K1 K2f K2f K1f		12 Greyhound do operate 13 but they can't carry you 14 they've no traffic rights Canberra Sydney
plg.	-	15 K1 (a+b) cf K1		15 C: yeah 16 I see 17 S: yeah
wh-inter. minor minor minor decl.	q - - - rsq	18 K2 cf clfy rcly K1	S II: 6,7,8	18a it's only if you're going interstate 18b then <u>they</u> can they could carry you 19 C: <u>uhuh</u> 18c S: if you're going through to Brisbane 20 C: what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow 21 S: tomorrow... 22 er morning or afternoon now ? 23 C: uh midmorning early afternoon 24 S: uh well you've got a 9:30 and 10:15...and a 10:55. and nothing then until 3:40 tomorrow [4 secs]

Grammar:	Speech Function:	Exchange:	SS:	Text 11 (travel agency) 2)
minor decl. decl. decl. p-inter. decl.:ell. decl. decl. minor decl. wh-inter. decl.:ell.	ex s s s q rsq s s - s q rsq	7 — EX 8 — K1 1 +2 =3 9 — A2 [K2] — A1:LS [K1] 1 =2 K1 x3 A2f 10 — A2 — A1:R [K2] K1 10a 10b — K2 K1 10c — K2 ch 10d — K2 K1 cf K1 cf 10e — K2 K1 10f — K2 K1 cf	S II	25 C: 10:55 [C mumbles to himself] 26 S: we normally have one at ten past one 27 but it's out earlier tomorrow 28 it's 10:55 29 C: is there any economies on the 10:55 then please 30 S: yeah 31 there's no problem there 32 we can put you on 33 C okay 34 I'll book it now thanks 35 S: what's the surname then 36 C: uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name] [3 secs - S writes the name down] 37 S: what's your initial Mr. Jones 38 C: A 39 S: what's your phone number at home here in Canberra 40 C: I haven't got one 41 S: got an address / 42 C: sixty-five... [Linfield Street] 43 S: [hm] [5 secs - S writes the information down] 44 C: Gilmore 45 S: Gilmore [2 secs - S writes it down] 46 S: uhm... just a single one way only 47 C: that's right 48 S: okay 49 cash cheque bankcard / 50 C: cash 51 S: cash
wh-inter. decl.:ell. wh-inter. decl. p-inter. minor plg. minor minor minor decl. minor minor minor minor minor	q rsq q s q s - s - q s - q rsq -		<u>S III:</u> 9 <u>BOOKING:</u> 10 (1 a-f)	

Grammar:	Speech Function:	Exchange:	SS:	Text 11 (travel agency) 3)
	[not analyzed for CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE]		CONFIRMA- TION OF BOOKING:	[26 secs - S picks up to call the reservations and dials] 52 C: hello...hello...hello [S hangs up] [16 secs - S dials again] 53 C: yes 54 er Tom White Marsden here Christine... 55 could you sell me please one economy four ou six [the flight no.] Canberra Sydney tomorrow Friday eight February please [9 secs] 56 it's slow is it / [5 secs] 57 no 58 it's single one way only... 59 the name Jones 60 that's J for John O, N, E, S 61 Mr. A for Allen [6 secs] 62 no no phone number 63 only an address 64 it's sixty-five Linfield Court 65 C: Street 66 S: er Lin- Linfield Street sorry 67 Linfield Street in Gilmore [11 secs] 68 and the ticket number seven eight ou three eight two three [20 secs - S rips the ticket receipt from the ticket book] 69 okay 70 that's it then 71 thanks very much then...

Grammar:	Speech Function:	Exchange:	SS:	Text 11 (travel agency) 4)
minor	-	11 ——— K1	CONF. OF BOOKING	72 S: righteo
decl.	s	1		73 ta
minor	s	=2		[S hangs up and turns to C]
minor	-	+3		74 yes
minor	s	+4		75 that's okay Mr. Jones
			TICKET EXPLANATION:	76 10:55 Canberra Sydney tomorrow
			11	77 C: okay
				78 S: into Sydney 11:30
minor	s	K1 (a+b) cf		79a and if you're catching a bus into the city
minor	-			79b it's ten past ten
NV	-		GH: 12	80 C: ten past ten
minor	-	12 A1:R A2f		[S gives the ticket to C]
minor	-	A2		81 C: thank you very much
NV	c	13 A1:R A2f	P: 13,14	82 S: thirty-six dollars ninety
minor	-			[C gives two twenty-dollar notes to S]
decl.	s	14 A1:A A1:R A2f		83 S: thanks very much
NV	-			[2 secs - S gets the change]
minor	-			84 S: thirty-six ninety thirty-seven three is forty
				[S is giving the change to C]
				85 C: thanks very much
			CL: -	86 S: thanks very much ta
				[4 secs - C collects his things]
minor	-			87 C: thanks a lot
				[C leaves; C offers his service to another customer]

Fig. 55. Text 11 and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE.

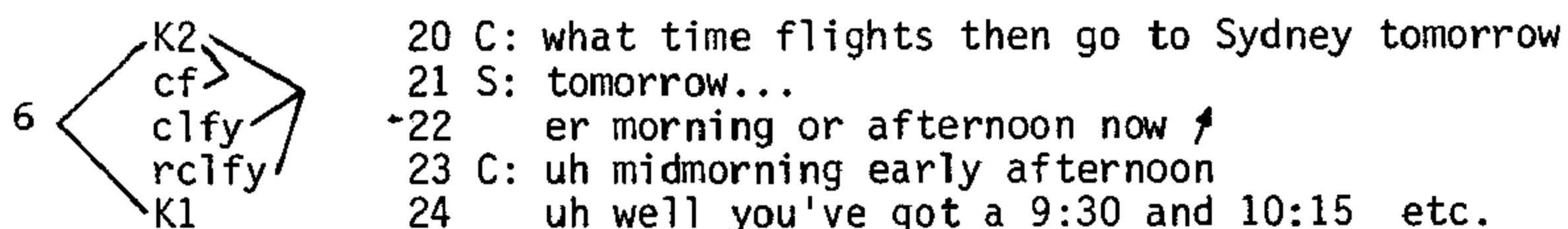
To begin with, the moves in Exchange 1 seem to carry an [attention-orienting] function and are seen to be realizing the element AA: S: yes ↑ - [C turns to S]. On line 2 the activity seems to change - S offers his services to C - S: can I help you (2) - C: yes (3). Such an offer of service and its acceptance can be related to the function of the generic element SB. As already pointed out in Chapter V, if SB is realized by an exchange starting with a DA1-move can I help you, the move where the service that is being offered is actually carried out must be considered to involve the whole text. That is, the whole text is considered to function as an A1:R-move to C's A2 move, yes (3).

The next line, 6's are there buses that go to Sydney uh...about midday (4), signals a change in the activity again. S seems to be the initiator of Exchange 3 (4-11). His move seems to demand something of S. In this case Exchange 3 involves a demand of information. In other words, it is a knowledge-oriented exchange. S provides a service to C by telling him about the bus operations from Sydney to Canberra. Exchange 3 is then the nuclear exchange of the element SERVICE in Text 11 (this S is S I, as will be shown shortly). But note that the following exchanges, Exchanges 4 (12-17) and 5 (181-18c) also seem to deal with the giving of information about the buses. Both Exchanges 4 and 5 are initiated by S with K1-moves. In the discussion presented in Chapter V it was stated that if S wants to add something to the Compliance that he has given to C's Need, he has to do so by offering additional information, by making a K1-move. If C, on the other hand, wants S to add something to the presented Compliance, C has to do so by requesting additional information, by making a K2-move. It seems, then, that Exchanges 4 and 5 are appropriately interpreted as Additions to Compliance. This conclusion can only be drawn from the fact that both Exchanges 4 and 5 follow a nuclear exchange and that they are started with S's K1-moves. But other discourse systems such as LEXICAL COHESION and REFERENCE must support this interpretation as well. In other words, in order to interpret Exchanges 3, 4 and 5 as all belonging to the same S element, lexical strings must portray that the same FIELD selection applies in all three exchanges. Similarly, reference chains must show some continuity in tracking down the same participants in these exchanges. If this is the case, then it can

quite confidently be said that Exchanges 3, 4 and 5 realize the same S element. Whether this is so will be shown during the later analyses in this chapter.

At this point it is worthwhile to draw attention to the rather lengthy realization of each above-mentioned exchange. Both Exchange 3 and Exchange 4 involve clause complexes in their K1-moves. In Exchange 5, on the other hand, the K1-move is interrupted by a dynamic move, cf-move uhuh on line 19.

Exchange 5 is followed by Exchange 6:



Exchange 6 begins with a K2-move by C. It has just been said above that if C makes a [knowledge-oriented] K2-move after a Compliance to a Need has been presented, it is interpreted as an Addition to Compliance. But is this exchange a further addition to the Compliance presented in the nuclear Exchange 3 concerned with the bus timetables? When the experiential content of Exchange 6 is considered it is immediately obvious that the content of Exchange 3 does not match up with the content of Exchange 6. The former is about the bus timetables, the latter about the flight schedule. The FIELD orientation seems to have changed in Text 11 at Exchange 6. It seems that the FIELD network capturing the options of means of transport has been re-entered, since none of the bus options suited the customer.

A change in FIELD usually functions as a signal for transition from one SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element to another. But can such a change in FIELD orientation be detected from CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE realizations? The answer to this question must be negative. As far as the structure itself of Exchange 6 is concerned, it could just as well function as an Addition to Compliance to the nuclear Exchange 3 presented earlier. It is here that the realizations of the other systems on the discourse stratum help us to decide what the function of Exchange 6 is in relation to the generic structure of the text. As will be shown shortly, both LEXICAL COHESION and REFERENCE structures

will indicate a major break in the development of the activity sequence at the point where Exchange 6 is realized in Text 11. The analyses of the above-mentioned structures are capable of capturing the change in the FIELD orientation and the change in the participants being referred to in Exchange 6. Thus when such findings are considered simultaneously with the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE realizations, it must be concluded that Exchange 6 is a nuclear exchange of a second SERVICE element, S II, in Text 11. To recapitulate then, S I is realized by Exchanges 3, 4 and 5 (4-19), whereas S II begins to unfold on line 20 where Exchange 6 begins.

How far does SII extend? It seems to involve the above mentioned Exchange 6 and the following Exchanges 7 and 8. But after Exchange 8 the activity changes from [knowledge-oriented] exchange to an [action-oriented] exchange. Exchange 9 is about the seating situation in a particular flight to Sydney. C seems to want more information on line 29.

9		A2 [[K2]]	29	C: is there any economies on the 10:55
				then please
		A1:LS [[K1]]	1 30	S: yeah
		K1 =2 31	there's no problem there	
		K1]] x3 32	we can put you on	
		A2f	33	C: okay

As signalled by please on line 29, this move is a K2-move which has been rankshifted to function as an A2-move requiring a 'linguistic service' as a response. Also C's okay on line 33, being a typical A2f-move to [action-oriented] exchanges, seems to point to the [action-oriented] function of this exchange. The linguistic service, i.e. the promise about providing a seat for C on the flight, is performed by moves on lines 30-32. Due to this change in the nature of activity in the text it is plausible that Exchange 9 starts a new element, SERVICE III. In fact, it turns out to be the only, and thus the nuclear, exchange in this element, since after Exchange 9 the activity seems to change again. Naturally, further support has to be found for distinguishing Exchange 9 as S III by other discourse system structures in Text 11.

Once it has been established that there is a seat for C on the 10:55 flight it is up to C to decide whether he wants to get onto that

10	$\begin{array}{l} \text{A2} \\ \text{A1:R} \end{array} \begin{array}{l} \text{K2} \\ \text{K1} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{l} \vdots \\ \text{K1} \end{array}$	34 C: I'll book it now thanks 35 S: what's the surname then 36 C: uh J,O,N,E,S

C's A2-move is a specific request to S to proceed with the booking, which S does, as can be seen on line 35. S starts to ask for information needed for the ticket. While eliciting this information S proceeds to write the information down onto the ticket. It appears, then, that the several K2 ^ K1 exchanges which follow C's A2-move make up the activity of the element BOOKING. But how is one to treat this in terms of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE? The exchanges 10a-10f (lines 35-51) elicit such information as C's identity, a way to contact him, whether he intends to buy a single or a return ticket and how he intends to pay for his purchase. These exchanges are best treated as rankshifted exchanges which function as a whole as an A1:R-move (the writing out of the ticket) and respond to C's A2-move on line 34. The BOOKING element thus involves the moves on lines 34-51. Since such an element is typical only of service encounters where the FIELD choice is 'travel', the BOOKING element is seen to be generated in the flowchart representation by a sideprogramme (see Chapter IV section 4.5.2).

The next element is CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING and it is realized on lines 52-73. This element cannot be analyzed here as only one party, namely S, has been recorded. C seldom plays a part in the realization of this element, except for such minor matters as those exemplified on lines 64-66. This element is, however, linguistically very interesting. Firstly, the TENOR choices have changed for this element: now the travel agent addresses another travel agent. This change in TENOR is also clearly marked linguistically. Note, for example, that S speaks about flight 406 (55) instead of referring to the time of the departure of the flight, 10:55, as he did when talking to C (28). All the information S gives to the reservations agent is more 'telegraphic' than when talking to C. One could say that here is an example of a 'simplified', 'restricted' or 'insiders' register. The information in this element seems to reflect in its organization the substructure of the element BOOKING as it is realized in Exchanges 10a-10f. Certainly this element is well worth a closer study, but such a study has not

The next and the last of the register specific elements generated by sideprogrammes in the flowchart is TICKET EXPLANATION. This element is realized by Exchange 11, which is a [knowledge-oriented] exchange initiated by S.

11	—	K1	1	75	S: that's okay Mr. Jones
		K1	=2	76	10:55 Canberra Sydney tomorrow
		-		77	C: okay
		K1	+3	78	S: into Sydney 11:30
		K1	+4	79a	and if you're catching a bus in the city
				79b	it's ten past ten

Here the K1-moves on lines 75 and 76 stand in a clause complex relationship to one another (1 =2). C thinks that S has finished and utters okay (77). This okay is interpreted to be a frame and thus it does not play a role in the exchange structure. Another alternative would be to interpret the whole exchange as a linguistic service (A1:LS), which then can have okay as a follow-up move, A2f. But as can be seen, S has not in fact finished. The extending K1-moves on lines 78 and 79 are seen as part of the clause complex initiated on line 75. Since the clause complex continues after okay, its interpretation as a frame seems more plausible than its interpretation as an A2f-move. The fact that a frame may interrupt a speaker's construction of a move is another example of the dynamic aspect of interaction at work in service encounters.

After Exchange 11 the activity changes once again. S hands the ticket over to C. C acknowledges this handover by saying thank you very much (81). The non-verbal action and its verbal acknowledgement seem to make up an [action-oriented] exchange consisting of moves A1:R ^ A2f. Thus Exchange 12 realizes the element GH. On line 82 S makes a request for payment: S: thirty-six dollars ninety, an A2-move. The move is followed by C's action of handing over some money to S, an A1:R-move, and S acknowledging this handover, an A2f-move. These moves make up Exchange 13. The following exchange, Exchange 14, captures the activity of handing of the change to C and is made up of moves A1:A ^ A1:R ^ A2f. The activities captured in Exchanges 13 and 14 are related to the realization of element P on the genre plane. The last lines in Text 11, S's thanks very much ta (86) and C's thanks a lot (87) do not have an exchange structure. They are considered to be lexiconal.

Following the discussion on CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE realizations above, the exchange structures seem to suggest for Text 11 the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements listed in Fig. 56 below.

<u>SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE:</u>	<u>Text 11:</u>	<u>CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE:</u>
AA	- 1 + NV	- Exch 1
SB	- 2-3	- Exch 2
S I	- 4-19	- Exch 3, 4, 5
S II	- 20-28	- Exch 6, 7, 8
S III	- 29-33	- Exch 9
BOOKING	- 34-51	- Exch 10
CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING	- 52-73	- -
TICKET EXPLANATION	- 74-80	- Exch 11
GH	- NV + 81	- Exch 12
P	- 82 + NV + 83-84 + NV + 85	- Exch 13, 14
CL	- 86-87	- -

Fig. 56. Correlation between SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE and CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE in Text 11

Whether other discourse system realizations support this generic structure will be seen below.

9.3.2 Text 11 and LEXICAL COHESION

A LEXICAL COHESION analysis of Text 11 is presented as Fig. 57 (pp.435-438). As can be seen in this figure, the lexical strings are long and seem to extend across several of the hypothesized elements. Therefore, again, just looking at how far the lexical strings extend will not help much in relating the strings to the generic structuring of Text 11. But if one considers not only the length, but also the density and the types of items appearing in the strings, certain conclusions may be drawn from the lexical structure of this text which will then support the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE given above.

As the lexical strings do not begin until on line 4 no support for the two first hypothesized elements AA and SB is to be found in lexical structures. But on this line four major lexical strings begin. These strings are labelled 'transport', 'transport activities', 'destination' and 'section of day'. The first S element, S I, was hypothesized to extend from line 4 to line 19. It seems that the 'transport' string offers the clearest evidence for taking these lines

'section of day'	'destination'	'transport activities'	'transport'	SS	Text 11 (travel agency) 1)
				AA	1 S: yes ? [C turns to S]
				SB	2 S: can I help you
				S I	3 C: yes
MIDDAY(4)	SYDNEY(4)	GO(4)	BUSES(4) hyp.		4 are there buses that go to Sydney uh....about midday
meronym			ANSETT(6) co-hyp.		5 S: no,
			PIONEER(6)		6 there's only Ansett 'n Pioneer
SECTION(9)			inst.		7 they have the uh main...control
mer-MORNING(9)			7:30(9)		8 they're the only ones that operate...
co-mer. AFTERNOON(9)			co-hyp.		9 and that section they leave at 7:30 in the morning and at 5:30 in the afternoon
			5:30(9)		10 C: uhuh
			co-hyp.		11 S: yeah...
			GREYHOUND(12)		12 Greyhound do operate
	CANBERRA(14)	OPERATE(12)	non-tax.		13 but they can't carry you
	co-hyp.	CARRY(13)	TRAFFIC		14 they've no traffic rights Canberra Sydney
	SYDNEY(14)		RIGHTS(14)		15 C: yeah
					16 I see
					17 S: yeah
					18a it's only if you're going interstate
	INTERSTATE(18a)	GO(18a)			18b then [they can they could carry you
	hyp.	CARRY(18b)			19 C: uhuh
	BRISBANE(18c)	GO(18c)	co-		18c S: if you're going through to Brisbane
	co-hyp.	rep.	hyp.		20 C: what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow
	SYDNEY(20)	GO(20)	FLIGHTS(20)		21 S: tomorrow...
TOMORROW(20)					22 er morning or afternoon now ?
rep. TOMORROW(21)			inst.		23 C: uh midmorning early afternoon
hyp. MORNING(22)			(24)9:30 co-hyp.		24 S: uh well you've got a 9:30 and 10:15....and a 10:55...
co-hyp. AFTERNOON(22)			(24)10:15 co-hyp.		and nothing then until 3:40 tomorrow
co-mer. MIDMORNING(23)			(24)10:55 co-hyp.		[4 secs]
co-mer. AFTERNOON(23)			(24)3:40 co-hyp.		
hyp. TOMORROW (24)			co-hyp.		
rep.			syn.		

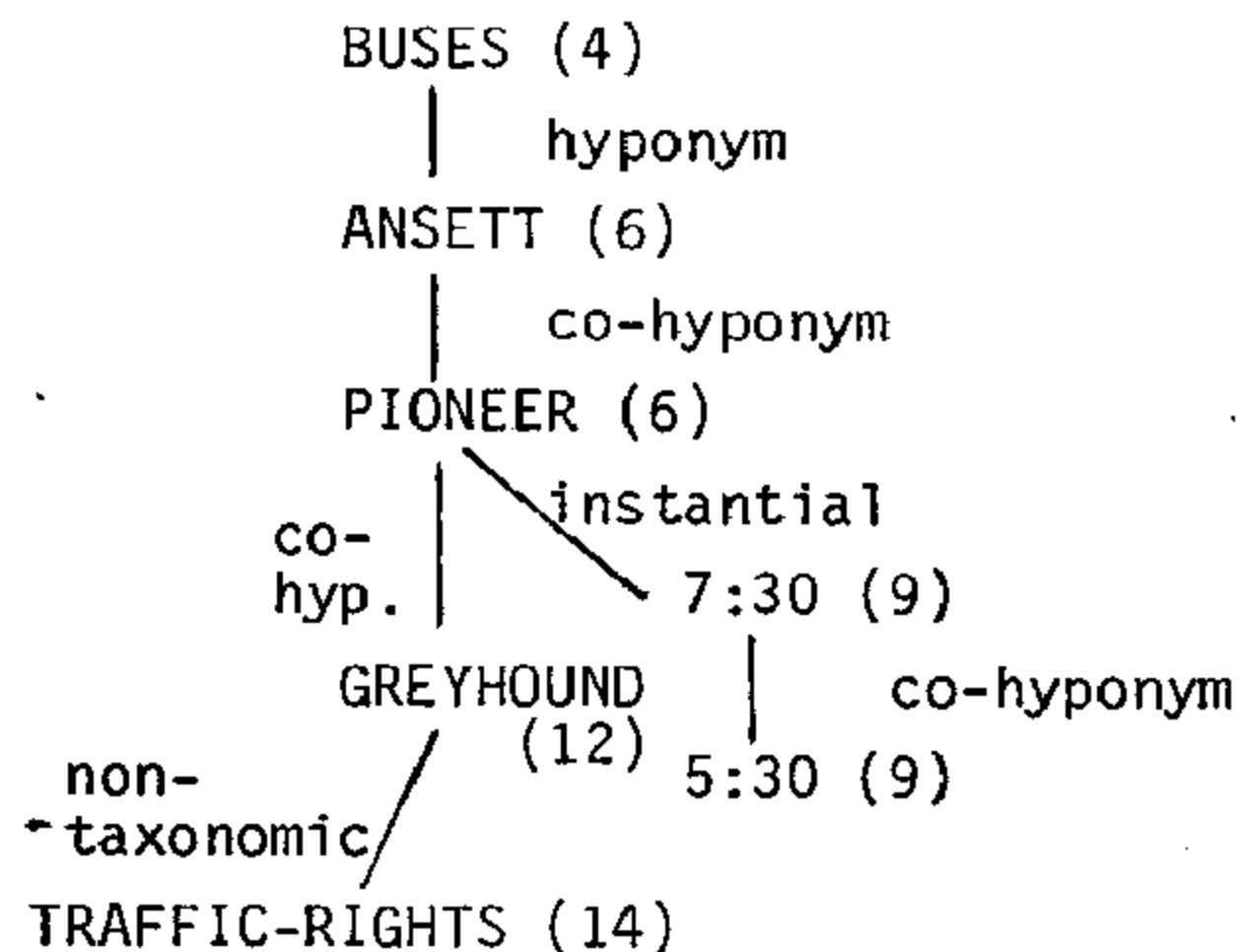
'name' 'phone' 'address'	'method of pay'	'section of day'	'desti- nation'	'transp. activ.'	'trans- part'	SS	Text 11 (travel agency) 2)
URNAME(35) inst. JONES(36)	rep.	(24)	(20)	(20)	(24)	S II	25 C: 10:55 [C mumbles to himself] 26 S: we normally have one at ten past one 27 but it's out earlier tomorrow 28 it's 10:55 29 C: is there any economies on the 10:55 then please 30 S: yeah 31 there's no problem there 32 we can put you on 33 C okay 34 I'll book it now thanks 35 S: what's the surname then 36 C: uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name] [3 secs - S writes the name down] 37 S: what's your initial Mr. Jones 38 C: A 39 S: what's your phone number at home here in Canberra 40 C: I haven't got one 41 S: got an address 42 C: sixty-five... Linfield Street 43 S: hm [5 secs - S writes the information down] 44 C: Gilmore 45 S: Gilmore [2 secs - S writes it down] 46 S: uhm...just a single one way only 47 C: that's right 48 S: okay 49 cash cheque bankcard 50 C: cash 51 S: cash
INITIAL(37) inst. A (38)	co- hyp.			non-tax: nuclear ECONOMIES (29)	10:55 non- tax: nucl. BOOK(34)	S III	
PHONE NUMBER (39)			CANBERRA (39)	hyp.		BOOKING	
ADDRESS(41) inst. 65 L.ST.(42) co-mer. GILMORE(44) co-mer. GILMORE(45)							
rep.				SINGLE- ONE-WAY(46)			
rep.				non- tax: nucl.	non- tax: nucl.		
rep.				rep.	rep.		

'name'	'phone'	'address'	'section of day'	'desti- nation'	'trans- port'	'trans- port'	SS	Text 11 (travel agency) 3)
(37)	(39)	(41)	(27)	(39)	(46)	(34)		[26 secs - S picks up to call the reservations and dials]
				rep.	non- tax: nucl.	non- tax: nucl. 406		52 C: hello...hello...hello [S hangs up]
							CONF.	[16 secs - S dials again]
							OF	53 C: yes
							BOOKING	54 er Tom White Marsden here Christine...
								55 could you sell me please one economy four ou six
								[the flight no.] Canberra Sydney tomorrow
								Friday eight February please
								[9 secs]
								56 it's slow is it /
								[5 secs]
								57 no
								58 it's single one way only...
								59 the name Jones
								60 that's J for John O, N, E, S
								61 Mr. A for Allen
								[6 secs]
								62 no no phone number
								63 only an address
								64 it's sixty-five Linfield Court
								65 C: Street
								66 S: er Lin- Linfield Street sorry
								67 Linfield Street in Gilmore
								[11 secs]
								68 and the ticket number seven eight ou three eight
								two three
								[20 secs - S rips the ticket receipt from the
								ticket book]
								69 okay
								70 that's it then
								71 thanks very much then...

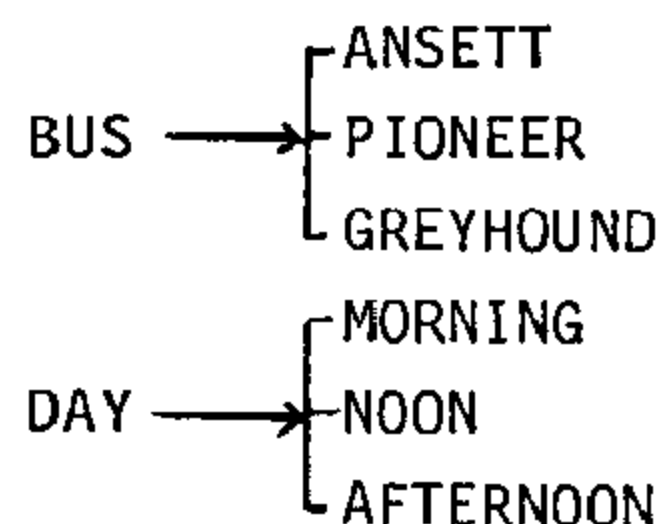
'price'	'airport bus'	'section of day'	'destination'	'trans- port'	SS	Text 11 (travel agency) 4)
(4)	(55)	(55)	(55)	(55)	CONF. OF BOOKING	72 S: righteo 73 ta [S hangs up and turns to C] 74 yes 75 that's okay Mr. Jones 76 10:55 Canberra Sydney tomorrow 77 C: okay 78 S: into Sydney 11:30
					TICKET EXPL.	79a and if you're catching a bus into the city 79b it's ten past ten 80 C: ten past ten [S gives the ticket to C] 81 C: thank you very much 82 S: thirty-six dollars ninety [C gives two twenty-dollar notes to S] 83 S: thanks very much [2 secs - S gets the change] 84 S: thirty-six ninety thirty-seven three is forty [S is giving the change to C] 85 C: [thanks very much 86 S: [thanks very much ta [4 secs - C collects his things] 87 C: thanks a lot [C leaves; C offers his service to another customer]
					GH	
					P	
					CL	

Fig. 57. Text 11 and LEXICAL COHESION.

as S I. As can be seen, the element starts with an indexical element buses (4). The picture that emerges is of the following kind:



The item buses (4) introduces the FIELD orientation in the element. The subsequent items Ansett, Pioneer and Greyhound all stand in a co-hyponym relationship to one another and of course are all hyponyms of buses. But since the lexical item appearing in the text is always taken back to the last item with which it stands in a lexically cohesive relationship, Ansett links with buses whereas Pioneer links with Ansett etc. The items 7:30 and 5:30 in (9) are included in the transport string, although strictly speaking they are Qualifiers. But they can also be interpreted to stand for particular buses. In other words, it is considered that 'an Ansett bus at 7:30' is equal to 'a 7:30 Ansett bus'. This would mean that the following features from the two systems below are chosen [Ansett : morning]. The meaning is realized instantially by any of the Ansett buses that fit into that time sector, a 7:30 bus being one of them:



When the types of buses have been established, they do not appear in the text again.

The next item that appears in the lexical string 'transport' is flights (20). This seems to be related not to traffic-rights (14) and not to Greyhound (12), but back to buses (4) as a co-hyponym of buses. The fact that it relates back to buses seems to indicate a shift in the text. A new FIELD orientation has taken place and this chosen new FIELD orientation is equal to buses as means of transport. This justifies the chunking presented in Fig. 57, where line 20, C's what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow begins a new element, S II. Again we find an instantially related lexical item following flights. This time the instantial item a 9:30 is related to flights. This item is followed by several of its co-hyponyms as the agent goes through all the possible flights that the customer could take. The introduction of flights goes on until line 28 and this is where S II ends.

Once the selection of the means of transport is made it becomes less necessary to use the lexical items referring to it. This is the case in the lexical string 'transport'. The 10:55 flight occasionally appears in the string but less frequently. The fact that it is repeated on line 29, C's is there any economies on the 10:55 then please may indicate the transition from S II to S III. This element is concerned with goods-&-services rather than information. Therefore it is not surprising that the items that occurred so frequently in the 'transport' string and also in the 'transport activities' string stop occurring.

The BOOKING element is clearly reflected in the lexical structure of Text 11 by the short strings 'name', 'phone', 'address' and 'method of pay'. The strings 'name', 'phone' and 'address' are replayed in the strings during the element CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING. TICKET EXPLANATION seems to recapitulate the information negotiated in the previous S elements in its lexical string sections. The element P is clearly represented in Text 11 by a separate string 'price', whereas GH is not represented in the lexical strings at all. As in the two other texts analyzed before, CL is not represented in the LEXICAL COHESION structures in Text 11.

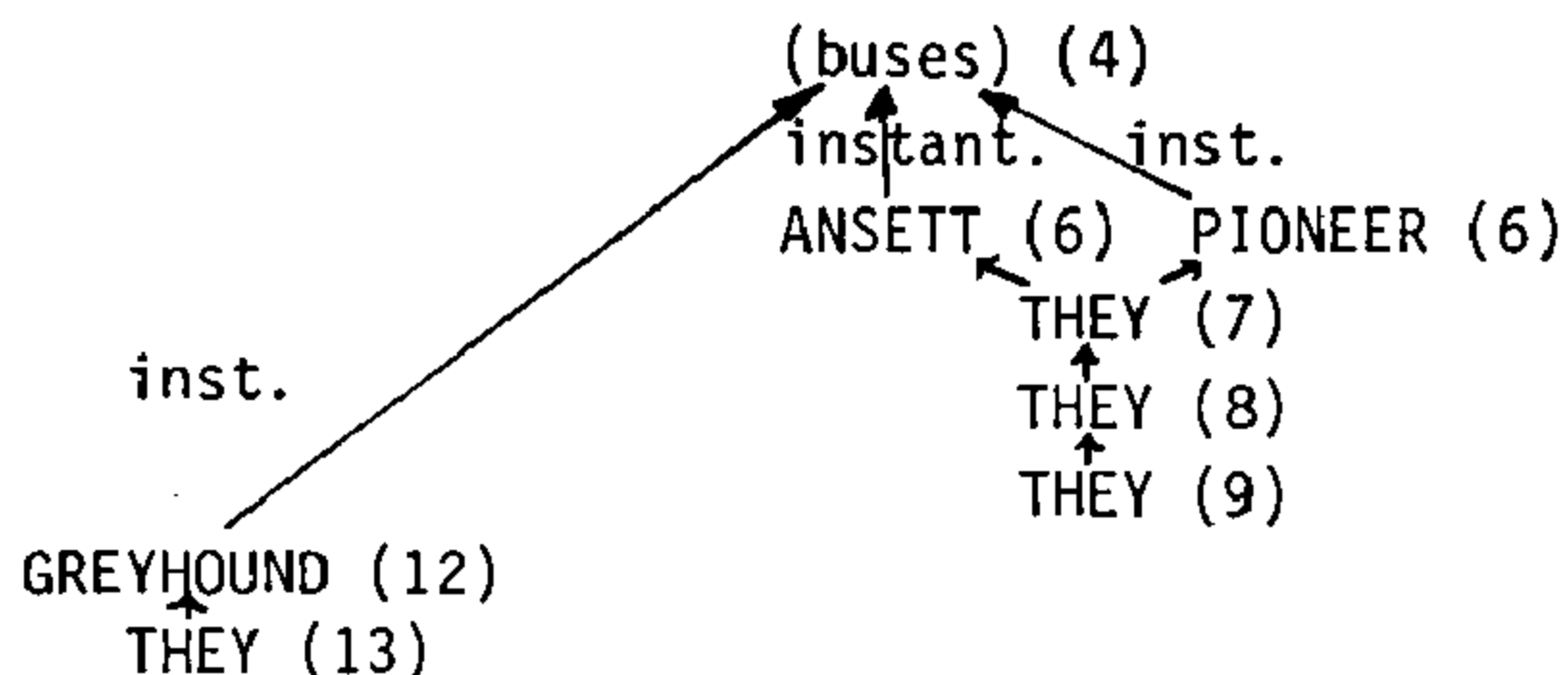
In summing up the discussion on LEXICAL COHESION and SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE relations one can say that in Text 11 the elements most clearly distinguished through the analyses of lexical structures are

9.3.3 Text 11 and REFERENCE

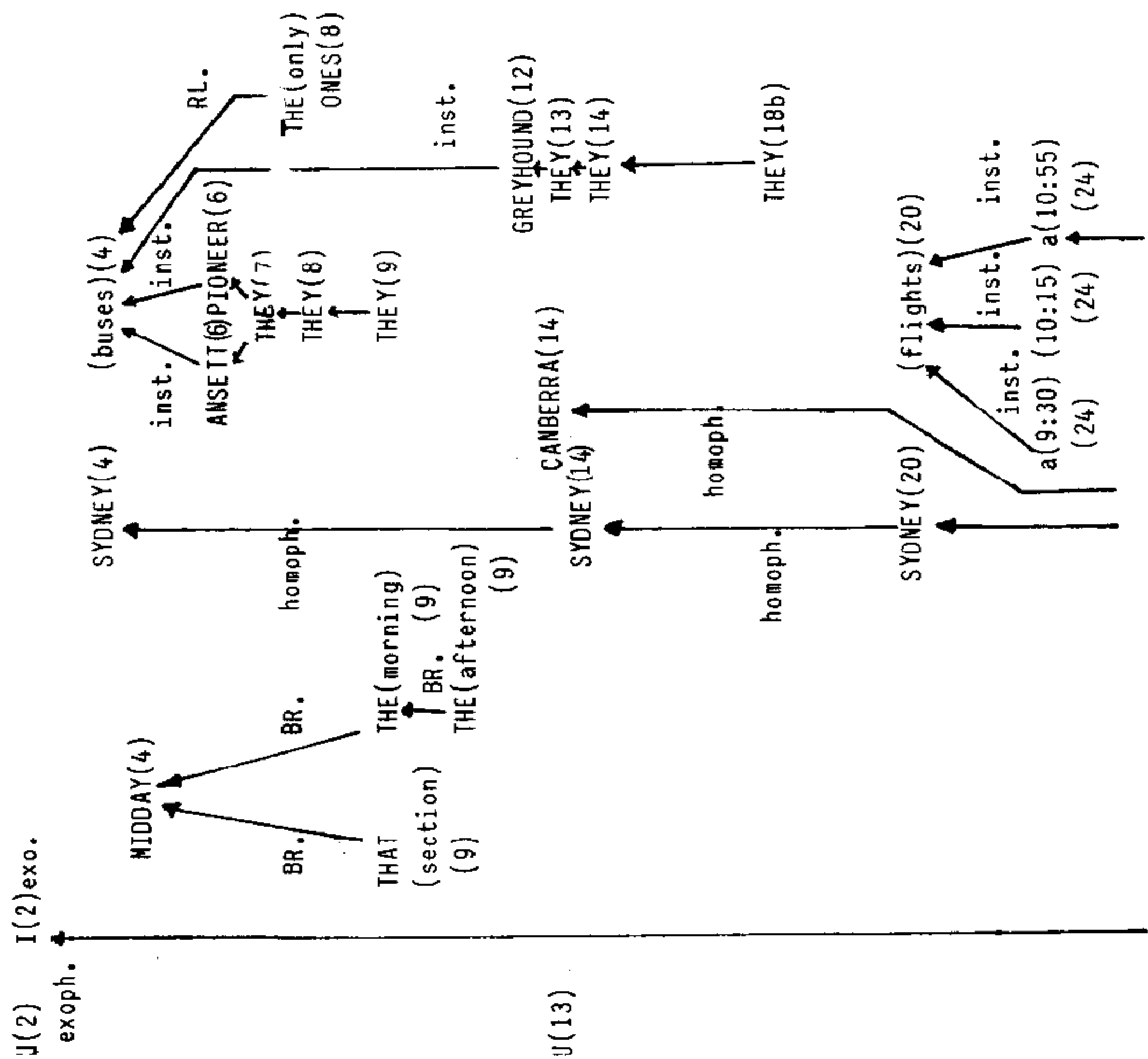
It is now time to consider whether REFERENCE choices in Text 11 in any way support the previously given SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE. The reference chains in Text 11 will be presented as Fig. 58 (pp.442-445).

As can be expected no reference items appear during the hypothesized realization of AA. So REFERENCE structures are of no assistance in recognizing this element in the text. On line 2 two exophoric reference items appear, I and you in S's can I help you. These items represent the beginning of two reference chains, one tracking down the participant 'S' and the other the participant 'C'. The next reference items in these chains appear quite late in the text. On line 26 in S's we normally have one at ten past one the we refers back to I (2) in the 'S' chain. The you in S's we can put you on (32) refers back to you in (2). There are, however, occurrences of you before line 32, e.g. on line 13 in S's they can't carry you and on line 18a in S's it's only if you're going interstate etc. These you items are considered to realize generalized REFERENCE (see Fig. 37 in section 7.3.1). As far as the realization of the element SB is concerned, the fact that the items I referring to S and the item you referring to C occur on the same line can be taken as a signal of the realization of SB at this point in Text 11. In other words, such interaction between two reference chains tracking down major participants may be considered significant from the point of view of generic structuring of texts.

The element S I seems to be reflected in the realization of REFERENCE choices in Text 11 quite clearly. On line 4 a presenting reference item buses appears. From then onwards buses seems to be implied on several occasions through instantial relationships, as is shown below.



'C'	'S'	'time'	'places'	'transport'	SS	Text 11 (travel agency) 1)
U(2) exoph.	I(2)exo.				AA	1 S: yes / [C turns to S]
					SB	2 S: can I help you 3 C: yes
					S I	4 are there buses that go to Sydney uh...about midday 5 S: no, 6 there's only Ansett 'n Pioneer 7 they have the uh main...control 8 they're the only ones that operate.... 9 and that section they leave at 7:30 in the morning and at 5:30 in the afternoon 10 C: uhuh 11 S: yeah.... 12 Greyhound do operate 13 but they can't carry you 14 they've no traffic rights Canberra Sydney 15 C: yeah 16 I see 17 S: yeah 18a it's only if you're going interstate 18b then <u>they can</u> they could carry you 19 C: uhuh 18c S: if you're going through to Brisbane 20 C: what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow 21 S: tomorrow... 22 er morning or afternoon now / 23 C: uh midmorning early afternoon 24 S: uh well you've got a 9:30 and 10:15...and a 10:55... and nothing then until 3:40 tomorrow [4 secs]
					S II	



'S'	'ticket'	'places'	'transport'	SS	Text 11 (travel agency) 2)
3) (2) WE (26) ANY (economics) (29) U (32) WE (32) (34) BR. THE (35) (surname) inst. JONES (36) "R (37) OUR (39) I (40)		(20) (Sydney) homoph. CANNBERRA (39) homoph.	(24) (one) (26) IT (27) IT (28) THE (10:55) (29)	S II S III BOOKING	25 C: 10:55 [C mumbles to himself] 26 S: we normally have one at ten past one 27 but it's out earlier tomorrow 28 it's 10:55 29 C: is there any economies on the 10:55 then please 30 S: yeah 31 there's no problem there 32 we can put you on 33 C okay 34 I'll book it now thanks 35 S: what's the surname then 36 C: uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name] [3 secs - S writes the name down] 37 S: what's your initial Mr. Jones 38 C: A 39 S: what's your phone number at home here in Canberra 40 C: I haven't got one 41 S: got an address 42 C: sixty-five... Linfield Street 43 S: hm [5 secs - S writes the information down] 44 C: Gilmore 45 S: Gilmore [2 secs - S writes it down] 46 S: uhm... just a single one way only 47 C: that's right 48 S: okay 49 cash cheque bankcard 50 C: cash 51 S: cash

46
↑
THAT (47)

'places'	SS	Text 11 (travel agency) 3)
(20) (39) (Sydney) (Canberra) CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING not analyzed for REFERENCE	CONF. OF BOOKING	[26 secs - S picks up to call the reservations and dials] 52 C: hello...hello...hello [S hangs up] [16 secs - S dials again] 53 C: yes 54 er Tom White Marsden here Christine... 55 could you sell me please one economy four ou six [the flight no.] Canberra Sydney tomorrow Friday eight February please [9 secs] 56 it's slow is it / [5 secs] 57 no 58 it's single one way only... 59 the name Jones 60 that's J for John O, M, E, S 61 Mr. A for Allen [6 secs] 62 no no phone number 63 only an address 64 it's sixty-five Linfield Court 65 C: Street 66 S: er lin- Linfield Street sorry 67 Linfield Street in Gilmore [11 secs] 68 and the ticket number seven eight ou three eight two three [20 secs - S rips the ticket receipt from the ticket book] 69 okay 70 that's it then 71 thanks very much then...

'C'	'places'	'airport bus'	SS	Text 11 (travel agency) 4)
(40)	(20) (Sydney)	(39) (Canberra)	CONF. OF BOOKING	72 S: righteo 73 ta [S hangs up and turns to C]
MR. JONES(75)	homoph.	SYDNEY(76) CANBERRA(76)	TICKET EXPL.	74 yes 75 that's okay Mr. Jones 76 10:55 Canberra Sydney tomorrow 77 C: okay 78 S: into Sydney 11:30
YOU(79a)	homoph.	SYDNEY(78)		79a and if you're catching a bus into the city 79b it's ten past ten 80 C: ten past ten [S gives the ticket to C]
		(a bus)(79a) IT(79b)	GH	81 C: thank you very much 82 S: thirty-six dollars ninety [C gives two twenty-dollar notes to S]
			P	83 S: thanks very much [2 secs - S gets the change] 84 S: thirty-six ninety thirty-seven three is forty [S is giving the change to C]
				85 C: [thanks very much 86 S: [thanks very much ta [4 secs - C collects his things]
			CL	87 C: thanks a lot [C leaves; C offers his service to another customer]

Fig. 58. Text 11 and REFERENCE.

What seems to be interesting in the way participants are being referred to on lines 4-14, which the picture above represents, is that the formation of the reference chains reflects the internal organization of the element S. The items Ansett (6), Pioneer (6), they (7), they (8) and they (9) seem to represent the nuclear exchange of S I (the follow-up moves are naturally not represented in the reference chains). The reference items Greyhound (12), they (13) and they (14) seem to represent the first Addition to Compliance. If one considers the presenting reference item buses (4) as the beginning of the reference chain and follows what is the last item in the chain thus formed, one will find that it is they on line 18c. This refers to the Greyhound buses, which in turn refer to buses on line 4 through an instantial reference relationship. Following through the reference chain in question until its end will indicate that the extent of the chain coincides with the hypothesized element boundaries for S I.

Further support for the realization of S I on lines 4-19 is obtained by looking at the 'time' chain. It clearly reflects the nuclear exchange of S I. The items in the 'place' chain, i.e. such homophoric references as Sydney (4) and Canberra (14), do not assist in locating any of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements. For example, they seem to play a role in all three S elements. This is understandable when one thinks of the activity going on: as long as the transport methods are being negotiated, destinations also need to be referred to constantly.

The S II has been hypothesized to be taking place on lines 20-28. As can be seen on line 20, a new reference chain starts there with a presenting group (flights). This presenting group is being referred to by several instantial items involving presenting reference - a 9:30, (a) 10:15 (this is here considered a presenting group with a elided; cf. 3:40 which is treated as time-Adjunct) and a 10:55. These instantial relationships are not very unlike the ones above: buses = Ansett, Pioneer, Greyhound. Again it seems that S II involves an Addition to Compliance. This Addition is reflected by a separate chain starting with a presenting group (one) (line 26). Note that the flight in question turns out to be the same flight as the one listed out by S before, the 10:55 flight.

S III (lines 29-33) does not seem to be supported by the evidence retrieved from reference chains. As can be seen, the 'flights' chain seems to extend to S III, the 10:55 (line 29). On the other hand, however, there is a new presenting group, any economies (29), which is then being referred to later on. Also, there is a change from generalized reference you in S I and S II to the reference to the individual participating in the interaction. The you on line 32 refers to C and is not generalized. One could consider these changes as supports for recognizing the realization of S III as lines 29-33, but admittedly the evidence is less strong than for the two previous Services. An alternative procedure would be that S III be treated as an Addition to S II. But, as already shown above, CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE analysis supports distinguishing it as a separate element. Also, CONJUNCTION analysis (see below) seems to suggest that S III in fact is a separate SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element in Text 11.

BOOKING (34-51) seems to be characterized by the increased density of reference items in the C-chain. C has to be referred to, as personal information about him is being elicited (bridging and instantial relationships: the surname (34), initial (36; presenting), phone number (38; presenting) and an address (40; presenting). Such increase in density of reference items in the 'C' chain seems to reliably reflect the realization of BOOKING.

The element CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING (52-73) is not analyzed for REFERENCE, as it is between the two travel agents. The travel agent at the other end of the line would not be familiar with the information presented so far in the text, so reference structure is expected to be realized quite differently from the rest of the text (presenting reference being frequent, as the confirmation agent needs to be introduced to the participants).

The element TICKET EXPLANATION (74-80) seems to be characterized by the items Mr. Jones (75) and you (79) occurring again in the C-chain and the homophoric references to the places, Canberra (76), the city (79), Sydney (76, 78), as well as with a short new reference chain of a city bus (line 79).

The reference chains in the text end after TICKET EXPLANATION,

9.3.4 Text 11, CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING

The CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING choice realizations have proven so far least indicative of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE in the previous texts analyzed. This may have something to do with the length of the text as well as with the fact that both post office and shop interactions seem more routinized and context dependent than the travel agency interactions. Thus one expects that conjunctions and frames might play a slightly more important role in indicating the on-going activity sequence in the generic structure of Text 11. This indeed seems to be the case at least as far as some of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements hypothesized for Text 11 are concerned. The conjunctions and the frames found in Text 11 are presented in a reticulum in Fig. 59 (pp.449-452).

The first conjunctive relationship that can be related to the generic structure of Text 11 appears on line 20: S: what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow. The internal consequential conjunction then ranges back as far as line 4, i.e. the beginning of S I. This suggests then that S II is seen as a consequence of the preceding S I. The situation could be paraphrasable as 'the departure times for buses that you presented in S I are unsuitable for me - consequently I must proceed to ask you about other means of transport, namely flights'.

Within S II there are two frames: now in S's er morning or afternoon now / (22) and well in S's uh well you've got a 9:30 and 10:15 etc. Now is a ∇ IntrFr marking the beginning of the Specification of Need in S II. Also well is a ∇ IntrFr but it signals the initiation of the Compliance in S II.

On line 29 we can find a second internal consequential conjunction then in C's is there any economies on the 10:55 then please. This time the range of then extends over the total S II, i.e. back to line 20. S III is thus seen as a consequence of S II. This is plausible as C's line 29 could be paraphrasable as 'you have listed all the flights for me - consequently I shall choose one of the flights if there is any seat available on that flight'.

The next internal consequential conjunction then appears on line 35, S's what's the surname then. The range of the conjunction mentioned

INTERNAL	EXTERNAL	SS	Text 11 (travel agency) 1)
cont. only cont. only cont. only nseq. then	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18a 18b 19 18c 20 21 22 23	AA SB S I	1 S: yes [C turns to S]
			2 S: can I help you 3 C: yes
			4 are there buses that go to Sydney uh...about midday 5 S: no 6 there's only Ansett 'n Pioneer 7 they have the uh main...control 8 they're the only ones that operate...
			9 and that section they leave at 7:30 in the morning and at 5:30 in the afternoon 10 C: uhuh 11 S: yeah... 12 Greyhound do operate 13 but they can't carry you 14 they've no traffic rights Canberra Sydney 15 C: yeah 16 I see 17 S: yeah 18a it's only if you're going interstate 18b then they can they could carry you 19 C: uhuh 18c S: if you're going through to Brisbane 20 C: what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow 21 S: tomorrow... 22 er morning or afternoon now 23 C: uh midmorning early afternoon 24 S: uh well you've got a 9:30 and 10:15...and a 10:55...and nothing then until 3:40 tomorrow [4 secs]
			S II

INTERNAL	EXTERNAL	SS	Text 11 (travel agency) 2)
(20)	25	S II	25 C: 10:55 [C mumbles to himself]
	26		26 S: we normally have one at ten past one
	27		27 but it's out earlier tomorrow
	28		28 it's 10:55
nseq. then	29	S III	29 C: is there any economies on the 10:55 then please
	30		30 S: yeah
	31		31 there's no problem there
	32		32 we can put you on
	33		33 C okay
	34		34 I'll book it now thanks
conseq. then	35	BOOKING	35 S: what's the surname then
	36		36 C: uh J, O, N, E, S [C spells his name] [3 secs - S writes the name down]
	37		37 S: what's your initial Mr. Jones
	38		38 C: A
	39		39 S: what's your phone number at home here in Canberra
	40		40 C: I haven't got one
	41		41 S: got an address /
	42		42 C: sixty-five... Linfield Street
	43		43 S: hm [5 secs - S writes the information down]
	44		44 C: Gilmore
	45		45 S: Gilmore
	46		46 S: uhm... just a single one way only
cont. just	47		47 C: that's right
	48		48 S: okay
	49		49 cash cheque bankcard
	50		50 C: cash
	51		51 S: cash

INTERNAL	EXTERNAL	SS	Text 11 (travel agency) 3)
CONF. OF BOOKING not analyzed for CONJ. & BOUNDARY MARKING 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71	CONF. OF BOOKING	52 C: hello...hello...hello [S hangs up] 53 C: yes 54 er Tom White Marsden here Christine... 55 could you sell me please one economy four ou six [the flight no.] Canberra Sydney tomorrow Friday eight February please 56 it's slow is it / 57 no 58 it's single one way only... 59 the name Jones 60 that's J for John O, N, E, S 61 Mr. A for Allen 62 no no phone number 63 only an address 64 it's sixty-five Linfield Court 65 C: Street 66 S: er Lin- Linfield Street sorry 67 Linfield Street in Gilmore 68 and the ticket number seven eight ou three eight two three [20 secs - S rips the ticket receipt from the ticket book] 69 okay 70 that's it then 71 thanks very much then....	[26 secs - S picks up to call the reservations and dials] [16 secs - S dials again] [9 secs] [5 secs] [11 secs]

INTERNAL	EXTERNAL	SS	Text 11 (travel agency) 4)
72	IFr(74) ↓	CONF. OF BOOKING	72 S: righteo
73			73 ta
74	IFr(77) ↑	TICKET EXPL.	[S hangs up and turns to C]
75			74 yes
76	add. and		75 that's okay Mr. Jones
77			76 10:55 Canberra Sydney tomorrow
78	conseq. if		77 C: okay
79a			78 S: into Sydney 11:30
79b	GH		79a and if you're catching a bus into the city
80			79b it's ten past ten
81	P		80 C: ten past ten
82			[S gives the ticket to C]
83			81 C: thank you very much
84			82 S: thirty-six dollars ninety
85	CL		[C gives two twenty-dollar notes to S]
86			83 S: thanks very much
87			[2 secs - S gets the change]
			84 S: thirty-six ninety thirty-seven three is forty
			[S is giving the change to C]
			85 C: thanks very much
			86 S: thanks very much ta
			[4 secs - C collects his things]
			87 C: thanks a lot
			[C leaves; C offers his service to another customer]

Fig. 59. Text 11, CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING.

is the previous utterance by C: I'll book it now thanks (34). This then conjunction does not coincide with the posited element boundaries. But it does coincide with the boundary of the rankshifted part of the [action-oriented] exchange (A1:R involving lines 35-51) and its antecedent, the A2-move. Inside this rankshifted part of BOOKING there appears one frame, okay (48). This frame is a $\uparrow$ IntrFr marking the end of one of the stages of giving information needed for making a booking onto the flight.

After BOOKING the element CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING occurs. This element is not analyzed for CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING realizations since it does not involve C as a participant (except where he offers a correction to S, line 65).

The beginning of the next element TICKET EXPLANATION is clearly marked by a $\uparrow$ IFr realized by a lexical item yes (74). The interpretation of yes as a frame seems plausible because nothing has preceded to which it could otherwise respond. Its responding function can hardly be seen to reach back as far as C's I'll book it now thanks (34), for which it would not be an appropriate answer. A second frame during this element appears on line 77, C's okay. The function of this okay was already discussed in the section dealing with exchange structures. There two interpretations were suggested for okay. Either it functions as an $\uparrow$ EFr, which has initiated too early for C, or it functions as an A2f-move, if the whole exchange is interpreted as involving a linguistic service.

To recapitulate, it can be concluded that the conjunctions and the frames realized in Text 11 give support only to the chunking of the following elements, S I and S II. The boundaries of these elements are indicated explicitly by internal consequential conjunction then. Evidence retrieved from CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING analyses for all the other SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements hypothesized remains scarce.

9.4 A Summarizing Overview of the Analyses

The purpose of this last chapter has been twofold. Firstly, it has brought together the analyses of discourse structures generated by the systems of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, LEXICAL COHESION, REFERENCE,

CONJUNCTION and, on the genre plane, BOUNDARY MARKING. When the discourse systems were introduced in Chapters V-VIII, they were illustrated by various texts and text extracts from the data collected. In this last chapter, however, a text from each register chosen for this study - postal, shopping and travel - was analyzed for the structures that the discourse systems had generated for that particular text. It was expected that each of the discourse structures in its own way reflected the semiotic organization of the text on the genre plane. In other words, it was anticipated that each type of analysis would project the same SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE realized in the text. What the analyses conducted on Texts 4, 5 and 11 have very clearly demonstrated is that no analysis alone, i.e. none of the discourse structures by itself, is able to project all the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements realized in any of the texts.

CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE seems to be the most powerful tool for detecting SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE realizations in texts. This comes as no surprise since interaction, i.e. exchanging messages, is the main feature of service encounters. But even CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE does not project all the elements. It cannot, for example, project the realization of the element CL, since this element is realized directly on the lexicogrammatical level. CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING realizations, on the other hand, unexpectedly appear to be the least revealing as far as SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE realizations are concerned. It is probably helpful to summarize text by text what discourse systems and structures best help us to recognize the realized SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements in the analyzed texts. This can most economically be done by tabularizing the results presented in the previous sections of this chapter. In Table 12 below (p.455), in addition to the usual abbreviations for SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements, the following notations will also be used: BNG (BOOKING), CFR (CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING) TEX (TICKET EXPLANATION), PNG (POSTING), CS (CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE), LX (LEXICAL COHESION), RF (REFERENCE), CJ (CONJUNCTION) (BOUNDARY MARKING will not be discussed, as the analyses showed that it is not significantly expressive of the generic organization; it seems to mark the internal structure within the elements more than the boundaries between the elements in the texts analyzed). Whenever one of the analysis abbreviations is put within parentheses in the table it means that a

little, but not significant, evidence has been found in the realizations of that discourse system for the generic structuring of a text.

	AA	SB	SI	SII	SIII	R	BNG	CFR	TEX	PNG	GH	P	CL
T4	CS		CS LX RF							CS RF	CS (RF)	CS LX (RF)	
T5	CS (LX)		CS LX RF			CS (LX) RF					CS (RF)	CS LX	
T11	CS	CS (RF)	CS LX RF CJ	CS LX RF CJ	CS (RF)		CS LX	LX*	CS RF		CS	CS LX	

* no analyses of CS, RF and CJ was made for CFR.

Table 12. A Summary of the Correlations of Discourse Structures and the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE Realizations in the Analyzed Texts

As can be seen from the table, the same type of discourse systems generate structures which realize the same SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements across the texts. For example, the P elements are largely realized by CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE and LEXICAL COHESION realizations whereas the S elements are realized by structures generated by CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, LEXICAL COHESION and REFERENCE. It can thus be concluded that some evidence has been found for the consistent realization of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements through the systems on the discourse stratum, even in such a small sample as represented by the analyzed texts. But none of the discourse systems will be able to reflect the generic structures realized in texts alone. The analyses are complementary to one another.

The second purpose of this chapter has been to bring together what has been said in the theoretical part of this study, especially in Chapter IV. What is being referred to here is that the analyses should also project how texts are at the same time alike and how they are different. In other words, the discourse system realizations should project the fact that all three texts analyzed belong to one and the

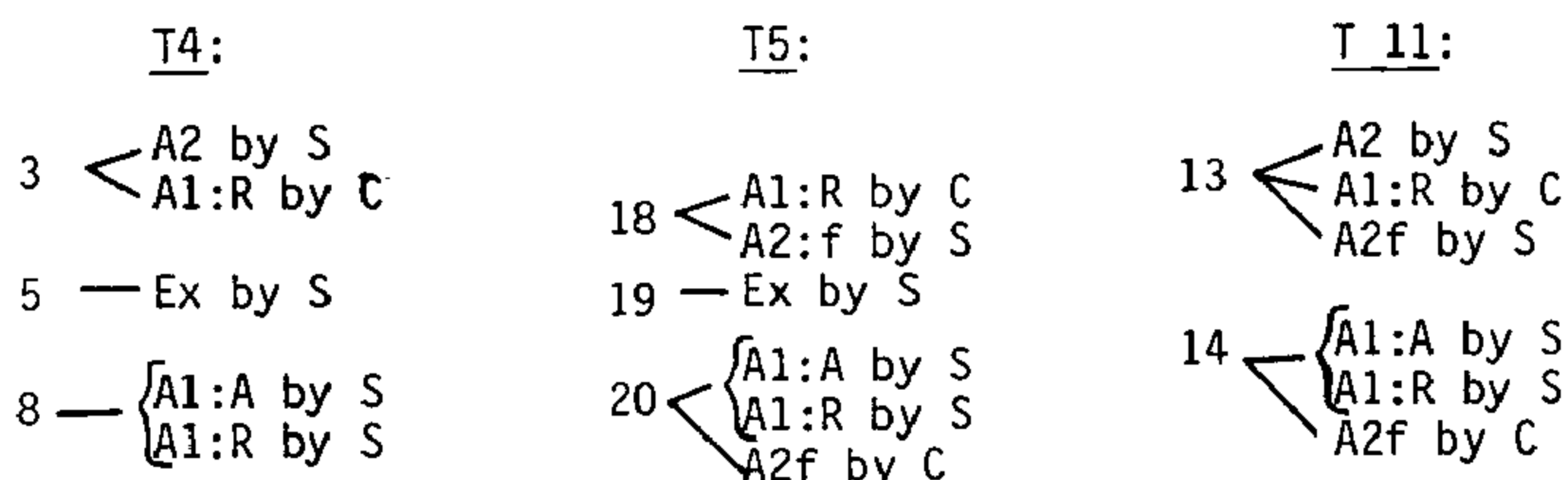
same genre, that of service encounters, but at the same time each text represents texts belonging to different registers. Are these factors reflected in the analyses? Let us start answering this question by considering what in the three texts is 'the same'.

First of all, it cannot be purely accidental that in all three texts one can recognize activity sequences that greatly resemble one another. For example, all of the texts start when a person walks into an 'institution', looks around and waits until another person present in the same physical environment calls out to him. Having heard this call, the first person turns to the caller and addresses him. The first person then proceeds to request the second person to do something for him either verbally or non-verbally. Such a description could be continued but it is probably best to shift back to the technical terminology used previously in the study. Thus all the three analyzed texts appear to include the following SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements: AA, S, GH, P and CL. It seems impossible that Texts 4, 5 and 11 would purely by chance include chunks which can functionally be described as the same elements (although their linguistic realizations may naturally vary from one another). Rather it seems that these functional elements are generated by the same synoptic and dynamic systems on the genre plane.

The synoptic view of these texts is that the elements AA, S, GH, P and CL are all realizations of selections of certain features in the genre network describing options involved in service encounters. The dynamic view is that in some of these texts some elements may be occurring more than once. In Text 11, for example, the element S is recursively realized as S I, S II and S III. This fact is accounted for by the dynamic representation of the service encounter genre. In other words, in the flowchart representation of the flow of interaction in service encounters, the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE element S is generated anew three times by looping back to the beginning of the generation procedure of the element S. The flowchart representation also accounts for the fact that in some texts elements occur which could have but were not also realized in the other texts. For example, the element SB could also have occurred in Text 5 and perhaps, although this is less likely, in Text 4, but in fact it only appears in Text 11. Further, the element R could also have occurred in Texts 4 and 11 if the customers

had had a choice of goods in the same sense as in Text 5. So, the 'sameness' in the texts is captured on the genre plane by the fact that texts seem to follow, to a certain degree, the same social process, i.e. the same organization of SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements.

The 'sameness' in the texts is also captured in their realizations on the discourse stratum. It cannot be a coincidence that, for example, the element P seems to be realized by exchanges which involve such striking similarities in the ways they are constructed of moves, as illustrated below:



Exchanges 3/T 4, 18/T 5 and 13/T 11 all capture the activity of the customer handing over the money for the payment of the purchased goods. In spite of the individual variation in the exchanges, i.e. inclusions and exclusions of A2- and A2f-moves, what is common in all of the texts is the A1:R-move by S. This move is necessary if payment is to take place. It could be the only move realizing P, if the sum given had been exact. But often exchanges like 5/T 4 and 19/T 5 occur. These are exchanges directed mainly to the server himself. Their function is to help the server to keep in mind how much the total sum for the purchase was, as well as to sort out how much change he needs to give to the customer. If 'giving of change' is involved what is however, necessary is an exchange, which involves at least an A1:R-move. This time the person making this move is the server, i.e. the server gives the change to the customer. As the realized exchanges above illustrate, this move mostly has a simultaneous accompaniment, an A1:A by S. It is appropriate that the giving of the change is at the same time acknowledged verbally as well.

Similarities in the realization of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE can also be found in other elements across the texts analyzed. GH is realized by the move A1:R by S in all of the texts. In AA the Att-moves

by S are always followed by Ratt-moves by C. Even in the element S, whose realization varies perhaps most across the texts as far as exchanges are concerned, similarities in the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE realizations can be found. All S elements realized in the three texts seem to involve a nuclear exchange where the customer expresses his Need and the server provides a Compliance to this Need. In this sense all three texts are the same. Variation in the S elements mostly results from the fact that sometimes Needs require specifying and sometimes additional information or goods-&-services are needed for Compliances.

How texts are the same in terms of REFERENCE is not so readily stated. But when one looks at the reference chains in all of the texts, there are two chains which seem to track down the same participants in the whole corpus. These are the server and the customer in 'S' and in 'C' chains. In all of the texts there is also one indexical chain that can typically be related to the realization of the S elements in the text analyzed. For example in Text 4 it is the 'letters' chain, in Text 5 the 'mobiles' chain and in Text 11 the 'transport' chain. The fact that each text includes such an indexical reference chain can be considered a feature of the 'sameness' in the texts.

Similarly, to state what is the 'same' in terms of LEXICAL COHESION seems harder. Again, however, the texts appear to include some lexical strings, the items of which concentrate on the lines where the SERVICE element/s is/are realized, thus helping us locate this/these element/s, e.g. 'indexical activities' in Text 4, 'mobiles' in Text 5 and 'transport' in Text 11. Furthermore, all the texts include a lexical string 'prices'. The items in that string appear, mostly where P is realized in the texts.

Certain conclusions about the similarities of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE realizations can, thus, also be drawn from the REFERENCE and LEXICAL COHESION structures. CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING, however, do not seem to play a significant role in defining either the 'sameness' or 'difference' in the analyzed texts.

What then makes the three texts different and how are they different? The answer to the first part of the question is to be found

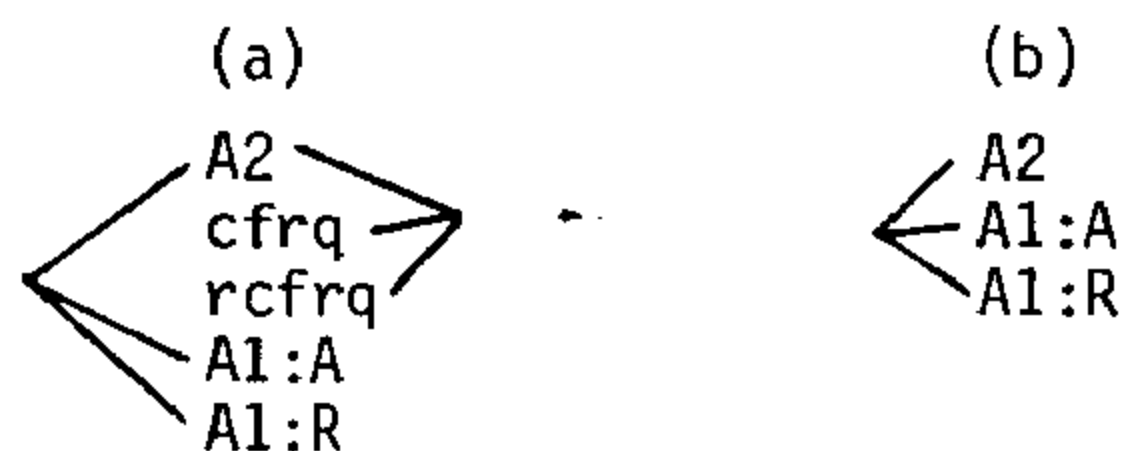
in the organization of the semiotic planes. The genre plane determines the sequential and functional nature of the social process and this is realized in the texts as SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES. But the genre networks can autonomously determine the elements in the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES only to a certain degree. Once more delicate distinctions are to be made, the genre plane has to 'negotiate' with the register plane. In other words, there are in the texts SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements whose generation is influenced by selections in the networks on the register plane. For example, if a FIELD choice 'posting' has been made, then a further, more delicate selection opens up on the genre plane. The generation of such an element as POSTING in Text 4 becomes possible. Synoptically such an element represents an increase in delicacy in the network, whereas dynamically such an element is generated by stepping from the main social process flowchart into a relevant sideprogramme. As can be seen in Text 11, if the FIELD option 'travel' is selected, then the realization of such elements as BOOKING, CONFIRMATION OF BOOKING and TICKET EXPLANATION becomes possible. But note that one can always opt out from realizing these elements by skipping over them in the flowchart. The inclusion of these FIELD specific elements has made at least Text 4 and Text 11 different from Text 5 and from one another (naturally certain TENOR or MODE choice selections may also result in the generation of some register specific elements in texts).

But the analyzed texts are also different in their realizations on the discourse stratum in the ways discourse systems in turn realize the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES of the texts. CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE will be considered first. The differences that have to do with the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE realizations are due to 'exchange structure potential'. One can speak of synoptic as well as of dynamic potential in connection with exchanges.

Firstly, by 'synoptic' it is meant that each exchange may include one or more moves according to the structural formula presented in Chapter V: ((DX1) X2) X1 (X2f) (X2f) (this is a modified version of the formula presented in Berry 1981b, 1981c). If the exchange only includes one move it has to be the X1-move. Thus, for example, paying for the purchase can be realized only by the customer's A1:R-move in some texts. In other texts, the server actually requests the payment

by making an A2-move which is then followed by an A1:R-move by the customer, as discussed earlier already in this section. Thus, synoptically differently constructed exchanges may realize exactly the same semiotic functions in texts.

Secondly, dynamic potential may greatly contribute to the 'individual' characteristics of texts. Dynamic potential refers to the dynamic systems of SUSPENDING, ABORTING and ELUCIDATING discussed in Chapter V in section 5.3.1. Let us consider two exchanges with the following structures:



In Exchange (a) the action cannot proceed beyond the A2-move until a dynamic exchange of $cfrq \wedge rcfrq$ has taken place. But once it has taken place Exchange (a) cannot, in functional terms, be considered to differ from Exchange (b). Its realization is different, but its function is the same. Such dynamic interferences make Texts 4, 5 and 11 look different in their realizations of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE.

REFERENCE systems also seem to contribute to the fact that Texts 4, 5 and 11 are perceived to be 'different'. Some of the participants seem to be shared in all of the texts, namely S and C. But each text seems to also include particular indexical reference chains which appear to play a role only in the text belonging to a specific register. For example, in Text 4 the reference chain 'letters' seems to be typical of the chosen 'postal' FIELD option. In Text 5 the 'mobile' chain tracks down participants which are relevant only in the context where the chosen FIELD option is that of 'shopping'. In Text 11 the items included in the 'transport' chain seem typical for the selection of the FIELD option 'travel'.

The texts analyzed also have LEXICAL COHESION structures, i.e. lexical strings, that differentiate them from each other. In other words, some of the lexical strings and the items in the strings reflect particular register choices. For example, it is not typical that such

items as post and airmail in Text 4 would appear in Text 5, where the FIELD selected is that of 'shopping'. Similarly, it would be rare to have a 'transport' string with such items as buses - Ansett - Pioneer - Greyhound etc. appearing in a text such as Text 4 which has selected the FIELD option 'postal'. It could only appear if, for example, a new stamp series capturing all the bus operators in Australia is issued for sale by Australia Post.

The differences that certain FIELD selections in texts also bring to the LEXICAL COHESION realizations of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements can be demonstrated by looking at the lexical strings in the realization of the element P in the three texts analyzed:

<u>T 4:</u>	<u>T 5:</u>	<u>T 11:</u>
dollar-twenty-five	four-dollars-fifty	thirty-six-dollars-ninety
one-twenty-five	five-dollars	thirty-six-ninety
dollar-twenty-five	six	thirty-seven
dollar-forty	eight	three
sixty	two	forty
eighty	ten	
two-dollars		
three		
five		
five		
ten		

At first sight these lexical strings seem to be exactly equivalent, in spite of their instantial meanings and the fact that some strings include more items than others. There is, however, a difference in the meanings the strings capture. The difference is best seen when comparing the string in Text 11 to the strings in the other two texts. Text 11 captures 'prices' that are noticeably higher than those in the Text 4 and Text 5 strings. This difference has to do with the FIELD choices. If 'travel' is chosen the 'prices' expressed by the lexical strings can be in thousands of dollars (for overseas trips). If 'shopping' is chosen, and more delicately 'souvenir/gift shopping', the items in the 'prices' string may amount up to a hundred, but even that is considered quite exceptional. Finally, if 'postal' is chosen, then one rarely finds items over tens of dollars. The principle is

illustrated clearly in the realizations of P in Texts 4, 5 and 11. The items forming the 'price' string in Text 4 are smaller than those in Text 5 which in turn are smaller than those in Text 11. LEXICAL COHESION structures determined by variation in FIELD orientation make Texts 4, 5 and 11 quite different from one another.

To recapitulate then, when the structures generated by CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, LEXICAL COHESION, REFERENCE and less so by CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING are considered altogether, the analyses project the generic organization of the three texts in terms of the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES realized. The only element that the analyses of discourse systems cannot capture is the element CL, since this element is realized directly by lexis on the lexicogrammatical stratum. In addition to capturing the realized SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES of texts one can make statements about the 'sameness' and the 'uniqueness' of the texts by comparing the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES and their realizations on the discourse stratum.

CONCLUSION

This study, as first noted in the introduction, has grown out of an interest in overall, global text structures. What perhaps has not so explicitly been stated in the study is what led to such an interest in the first place. The experience of having first learnt foreign languages through formal teaching, but having then used them for living in foreign cultures made me first aware of the mismatch between those linguistic behavioural patterns learnt through formal learning and the linguistic behavioural patterns being demanded in actual social situations. Later when involved in foreign language teaching, the same mismatch of what is being taught to the foreigner and what is being demanded of him was apparent once again. But the mismatch seemed to be at a different level now. It seemed that the native speaker interaction dialogues in textbooks, used for giving behavioural models to foreign students, were not representing actual native speaker linguistic behaviour in all of the dynamic variation it was observed to have in actual social situations. The textbook dialogues representing native speaker interaction seemed in some places to be too formal, too grammatical, not taking enough notice, for example of such dynamic features as confirmations, challenges, repairs etc. so common in spontaneous conversation. Moreover, the model dialogues seemed to represent an idealized sequence of events, not corresponding to the variety of organization of social events and their linguistic realizations found in foreign societies. Only occasionally were students given linguistic models of behaviour for such situations where something actually went wrong and the activity sequence needed some remedies. The model dialogues in textbooks appeared not to be very well equipped to cope with variation in linguistic behavioural patterns observed in actual social situations.

This being the case, it was considered that perhaps linguistic theory might be able to assist applied linguistic theory in defining and capturing the linguistic variation in actual social situations so that it could be used for language teaching. Once defined and described, the natural, native linguistic patterns could be modified for applied

situations. But there remained the problem of which linguistic theory to turn to.

Obviously the Chomskyan linguistic theory was not going to be of much help, since it is interested in the ideal speaker-hearer's behaviour rather than in the behaviour of members of existing speech communities. One could consider the pragmatic speech act theories. These theories are interested in what people do with language, what functions sentences or utterances carry. Also, contextual considerations seem at least to a certain degree to be a feature of these theories, i.e. if the circumstances for a sentence change its meaning may also change. But at the same time these theories appear to be too limited. Firstly, they are too sentence based. Only the function of one sentence at the time is considered. Interactants do not, however, behave linguistically in sentences in social situations. Rather, they create texts. Secondly, pragmatic theories do not relate pragmatic behaviour systematically to grammatical behaviour. As noted in passing in Chapter V, speech function realizations are not grammatically constrained in pragmatics. Thirdly, the contextual considerations used by pragmatic theories are interpretative, rather than predictive. That is, context is used retrospectively to explain why something that has been said has such and such a function. This is opposed to the view that if certain contextual circumstances exist certain linguistic behaviour can with a certain probability be expected.

'Foreigner-talk' studies were also considered as a possible source of help. Foreigner-talk (FT) refers to the study of native speaker - non-native speaker interaction and it aims to characterize the speech that native speakers use when talking to foreigners or when talking about them (see e.g. Ferguson 1971, 1975; Meisel 1975). Foreigner talk has often been labelled a 'simplified register', because it has been found that, up to a certain degree, native speakers tend to simplify the grammatical complexities in their speech when talking to foreigners, e.g. leaving out articles and copulas, repeating, using simpler lexical items etc. Parallel to FT-studies exist studies of 'broken language' (BL). The term BL refers to the foreigner's use of the target language. It studies the effect of interference of the foreigner's native language on his learning the linguistic patterns

in the target language (see e.g. Meisel 1975; HPD 1975a, 1975b, 1978; Ferguson and DeBose 1977; Klein and Dittmar 1979).

Why are FT/BL-studies considered to help applied linguistics in teaching foreign students more 'socially realistic' linguistic patterns and to improve textbook dialogues into also capturing the natural native speaker variation occurring in social situations? One can assume that since FT-studies investigate a 'simplified register' somehow these studies must have developed a methodology which captures what the 'natural, not simplified native registers' are. Similarly, it can be assumed that BL-studies could tell one something about how the linguistic behaviour of foreigners is different from that of native speakers and, furthermore, that such studies would be based on comparative studies of foreigners' and native speakers' behaviour in actual situations. But the methodology of research and the results that FT/BL-studies have to offer for applied linguistics are disappointing.

Firstly, the type of data used in these studies can hardly be considered to assist foreigners in carrying out in a foreign language social activities typical of the culture they might be visiting or in which they might live either permanently or temporarily. For example, FT-studies have used elicited written data instead of data recorded in actual social situations (see Ferguson 1975). Native speakers (mostly university students) have been asked to report how they would talk to a foreigner. FT-studies, have also studied how 'talking to foreigners' is represented in literature. These kind of studies are naturally interesting in their own right, but it is believed that they do not assist textbook writers in applied linguistics. Later studies (see e.g. Hatch et al. 1978; Long 1980, 1981, 1983; Freed 1981; Snow et al. 1981; Varonis and Gass 1983) have used interview and quasi-laboratory task situations to study native-foreigner interaction. The only studies which actually study native-foreigner interaction in situations involving social activities have been based on observations of interaction in these situations, not on recordings of interaction (see Becker et al. 1978). The following questions arise: In comparison to what is FT simplified?, In comparison to what is BL broken?

Moreover, the linguistic features that have been analyzed in FT-studies have mainly been features recognized on the lexico-grammatical stratum. FT seems to be characterized by deviations from the grammatical patterns described in standard grammars (e.g. deletions of subject pronouns, articles, copulas, possessive pronouns, word order differences etc.). Lately, however, some attention has been paid to discourse features, such as clarifications, corrections, comprehension checks etc. (see e.g. Hatch et al. 1978; Freed 1981; Long 1983; cf. the dynamic systems in Chapter V section 5.3.1). But neither the grammatical features nor the discourse features are related systematically to each other.

Furthermore, the grammatical features and the discourse features of FT/BL are not related to the contexts where language is being used. In other words, there may be contexts where simplified speech is also used quite normally by native speakers when speaking to other native speakers. The study of context has largely been neglected in the FT/BL-studies so far.

It appears that FT should be checked not against 'standard grammars', but against what could be called 'situational grammars' - the term is a technical term invented here to capture how native speakers use language for communication when contextual factors and demands are also taken into consideration. Once 'situational grammars' have been established, i.e. what the linguistic behavioural patterns in certain situation types are, then one can also establish how native speakers use a particular 'situational grammar' differently when speaking to a foreigner than when speaking to a native speaker. Telling what the BL-features are will also become easier. The foreigner's use of the 'situational grammar' can be contrasted with the native's use of the 'situational grammar'. Finally, one can compare 'the situational grammar' of the target language (the language being learnt by the foreigner) to the 'situational grammar' of the source language (the language being spoken as mother tongue by the foreigner). Thus one could not only explain the learner's errors but also teach and 'warn' the learner of the differences in the two cultures as far as the linguistic behaviour in this situation type which 'the situational grammar' describes is concerned. In other words, the learner will be

able to predict what kind of linguistic behaviour will be required of him whenever he gets involved in a situation belonging to this particular situation type. To summarize then, 'situational grammars' would be used

- (1) to characterize the target language native speaker interaction in particular situation types,
- (2) to describe FT in the same situation types,
- (3) to describe BL in the same situation types, and
- (4) for contrasting the source language native speaker interaction in the same situation type with the target language native speaker interaction.

The linguistic theory which was held to be most suitable for writing 'situational grammars' was the systemic-functional theory. Based on the early contextual theories of Malinowski and Firth and on the work on register by the early systemic theorists, it has a strong contextual orientation where context and language are systematically related to one another. Furthermore, its most recent developments in the area of overall, global text structures seemed most promising for capturing the four descriptive aims listed above. The post office, shop and travel agency interactions which represent service encounters with which most members of a society have to frequently deal were taken as a starting point for setting up 'situational grammars', or rather using systemic terminology, genre and register descriptions. Although data to study points (2), (3) and (4) have also been collected, with Finnish as the source language, this study has concentrated only on point (1), namely on writing a genre description of the above-mentioned service encounters. Why the extensions of the study to points (2), (3) and (4) have not been made has largely to do with the fact that the theory of genre and register is still very much a developing theory, as this study has illustrated. However, points (2), (3) and (4) are the directions that future studies conducted in the area are seen to take naturally.

As mentioned above, point (1) set out to describe post office, shop and travel agency interactions from the point of view of their text structure patterns, i.e. their semiotic organization on the genre plane as well as the linguistic realizations of this organization. What

the study has achieved is theoretically as well as descriptively to account for variation on the plane of genre both from the synoptic as well as from the dynamic point of view. That is, synoptically, post office, shop and travel agency texts belong to the genre of service encounters, because they have selected for the same features in the network representing the options for genre agnateness. The agnateness of these text types is manifested in their SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE realizations which are detectable in the texts through the analyses of the realized linguistic patterns on the language strata. Dynamically, when each text belonging to the genre of service encounters is generated, the realized SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES may vary, since the text is being created by following the options in the flowchart which represents the dynamic text-generation procedure.

Even though this study has primarily dealt with the semiotic plane of genre and its linguistic realizations, the realizational plane of genre, register, has also been taken into account. The flowchart representation explains the variation in SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES which are related to FIELD selections by allowing such elements as POSTING and BOOKING, for example, to be generated by sideprogramming. What the effect of TENOR and MODEL register selections on the genre plane are has not, however, been studied at all. Such studies are, nevertheless, seen as a necessary part of the future extensions of this study. TENOR choices, i.e. social relationships between interactants, are just as likely to influence the unfolding of the social process, the genre, as FIELD choices are. Foreign language learners especially should be aware of changes in the expected activity sequences which result from certain TENOR choices. Similarly, MODE selections influence the unfolding of the social process and should also be urgently studied. It is not at all the same if we choose to realize a genre through such MODE selections as face-to-face interaction vs. letter vs. telephone. All these MODE selections have their particular consequences for the linguistic realizations in texts and, thus such changes must also systematically be considered in applied linguistics. Some tentative FIELD networks have been presented in this study. They are, however, intuitive rather than based on careful linguistic analyses and will have to be reworked. Networks representing FIELD, MODE and TENOR

choices have to be developed in future studies for service encounters as well as for other major genres which capture the various types of social interaction in a speech community.

The analyses that have been conducted in the latter part of the study have shown that there are systematic correlations between the semiotic organization of a text and its linguistic realizations. In the context of this study it was only possible to look at the correspondences between the SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements and their realizations by discourse systems, i.e. how genre is realized on the discourse stratum of the language plane (vs. how it is realized on the lexicogrammatical and phonological strata). SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE realizations were found to be identifiable in the texts from resemblances in their realizations of CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE, LEXICAL COHESION, REFERENCE and less so by CONJUNCTION and BOUNDARY MARKING system options. These systematic correspondences between discourse realizations and SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE realizations, when combined with the dynamic generation procedure, can be used for predictive language teaching in applied contexts. The following method, for example, may be applied. The students are made aware of what the elements in the main social process flowchart are, how they can be sequenced and what kind of elements can be generated by side sequences. Then assuming typical FIELD, MODE and TENOR choices, element by element the students are instructed in the typical discourse and lexicogrammatical system choice realizations. CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE is probably the most important of the systems if face-to-face interaction is to be taught, since it involves the systems that generate exchanges of messages between participants. By modifying FIELD, MODE and TENOR choice selections students are sensitized to the demands the register plane places on linguistic realizations. Students will be practising 'linguistic fine-tuning' to agnate social situations.

When such applications to language teaching are made of the systematic realizational correspondences between the planes of genre, register and language, i.e. between SCHEMATIC STRUCTURES, FIELD, MODE and TENOR selections and their linguistic realizations on the strata of discourse, lexicogrammar and phonology, it is important that all the planes and the strata have been studied fully. Therefore immediate

applications of the present study to language teaching can be dangerous. In this study only the genre plane and its realization on the discourse stratum of the language plane have been studied extensively. How the relationship between genre and register is realized linguistically has been discussed, but its systematic representation has to be done in future work. Similarly, it has not been possible to look at how genres are realized lexicogrammatically (or even phonologically). In other words, the question of whether SCHEMATIC STRUCTURE elements also have typical lexicogrammatical system realizations has to be answered. This involves a study of at least TRANSITIVITY, MOOD and THEME system realizations at clause rank. It is for these reasons that the applications of this study to foreign language teaching are not seen to be straightforward, but rather have to be done stage by stage and with great caution.

For the description of the genre of service encounters, a relatively large corpus of data was collected, but only twelve texts were included for the more detailed linguistic study, mainly due to limitations of time. It can be considered that the texts analyzed represent the rest of the data collected but not used, because this additional data was continuously used to check and support the hypotheses set up. No statistical quantification has been done for the variables in the analyses. Ultimately, however, quantification must be seen as an essential part of the procedure of defining what the genres are and how they are related from another. This is largely because genre as well as register characteristics are 'more or less statements'. However, quantification proved difficult at this stage of the investigation. This was due to discourse units realizing the genre options being constructed so dynamically. The possibility of quantification has perhaps become closer now that the way the discourse units are constructed dynamically is understood better. For example, in exchange structures generated by CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE it is now easier to distinguish those moves which are generated synoptically and those which are generated dynamically (some quantification on travel agency talk has been carried out by Coupland 1983; his discourse variables, however, differ markedly from the ones presented in this study).

study can also be extended. The difference between the synoptic view and the dynamic view and the representation of each has been elaborated to different degrees for each plane and for each stratum of the language plane. The synoptic description of the phonological, lexicogrammatical and discourse systems and the structures they generate has been carried out extensively within systemic theory. The synoptics of the register and the genre planes are hardly described at all. In this study, the dynamic description has only been carried out more extensively for the genre plane, and partly also for the generation of exchange structures by the CONVERSATIONAL STRUCTURE system choices on the discourse stratum (Martin in press). But all the other planes and the strata lack dynamic descriptions.

For the major part this thesis has put forward arguments for the dynamic representation of genres. The synoptic representations of the genre plane still remains at a very tentative level (see Martin in press) and thus needs to be checked. The networks will most likely have to be redrawn in future work. The synoptic and dynamic perspectives are seen to be complementary on all planes. It is important that a text is not only considered as a finished product, as something that an analyst works with. A text must also be considered as a process, as something the unfolding of which the interactants involved have to continuously negotiate during its creation.

The last point that needs to be emphasized in these concluding remarks is the importance of genre studies to the understanding of different cultures and social systems. Cultures are reflected in the ways members of a society behave linguistically in various types of social situations. The concept of genre is a concept through which individuals' language behaviour can be related to the cultural systems existing in a society. The service encounter genre represents a very fundamental type of interaction in any society. One can say that we live in part by service encounters. We may not buy stamps or gifts nor organize to travel somewhere every day of our lives, but a day hardly goes by during which we do not engage ourselves in one of the service encounters agnate to the ones mentioned above. A study that sets out to understand the linguistic mechanisms realizing social systems and ideologies of a society is one which aims to show how people get on linguistically with one another in their everyday lives, achieving what

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allen, W.S. 1956. 'Structure and System in the Abaza Verbal Complex', Transactions of the Philological Society, 127-176.
- Allwood, J.S., L.-G. Anderson and O. Dahl. 1977. Logic in Linguistics. Cambridge: C.U.P.
- Austin, J.L. 1962/75: How to Do Things with Words. Second Edition. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard U.P.
- Bachmann, C. and A. Cohen-Solal. 1980. 'Un Yemenite Dans une Poste', Études de Linguistique Appliquée, 37, 80-96.
- Barnickel, K.-D. 1982. Sprachliche Varianten des Englischen-Register und Stile (Hueber Hochschulreihe 45/11). München: Max Hueber Verlag.
- Basso, K.H. 1970. 'To Give up on Words: Silence in Western Apache Culture'. In P.P. Giglioli (ed.), Language and Social Context. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 67-86.
- Bauer, L. 1983. English Word-Formation. Cambridge: C.U.P.
- Bazell, C.E., J.C. Catford, M.A.K. Halliday and R.H. Robins (eds.). 1966. In Memory of J.R. Firth. London: Longman.
- de Beaugrande, R. and W. Dressler. 1981. Introduction to Text Linguistics. London-New York: Longman.
- Becker, A., N. Dittmar and W. Klein. 1978. 'Sprachliche und Soziale Determinanten im kommunikativen Verhalten ausländischer Arbeiter'. In U. Quasthoff (ed.), Sprachstruktur-Sozialstruktur. Königstein/TS: Scriptor Verlag, 158-192.
- Benson, J.D. and W.S. Greaves. 1981. 'Field of Discourse: Theory and Application', Applied Linguistics, 2, 1, 45-55.
- Bernstein, B.B. 1970/72. 'Social Class, Language and Socialization'. In P.P. Giglioli (ed.), Language and Social Context. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 157-178.
- Bernstein, B. 1971. Class, Codes and Control Vol. 1: Theoretical Studies towards a Sociology of Language. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Berry, Margaret. 1975. Introduction to Systemic Linguistics. Vol. 1. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd.
- Berry, Margaret. 1977. Introduction to Systemic Linguistics. Vol. 2. London: B.T. Batsford Ltd.

- Berry, M. 1980. 'They're All out of Step except Our Johnny: A Discussion of Motivation (or the Lack of It) in Systemic Linguistics', Dept. of English Studies, The University of Nottingham: mimeo.
- Berry, M. 1981a. 'Systemic Linguistics and Discourse Analysis: A Multi-Layered Approach to Exchange Structure'. In M. Coulthard and M. Montgomery (eds.), Studies in Discourse Analysis. London-Boston-Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 120-145.
- Berry, M. 1981b. 'Polarity, Ellipticity and Propositional Development, Their Relevance to the Well-formedness of an Exchange', Nottingham Linguistic Circular, 10, 1, 36-63.
- Berry, M. 1981c. 'Towards Layers of Exchange Structure for Directive Exchanges', Network, No. 2, 23-32.
- Berry, M. forthcoming. 'Review Article: M.A.K. Halliday (1978) Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning', Nottingham Linguistic Circular.
- Bloomfield, L. 1933. Language. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd.
- Bouveresse, J. 1974. 'Interview'. In H. Parrett (ed.), Discussing Language. The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 301-403.
- Bowker, D. 1983. An Analysis of The Language Used in a Student Travel Office. The University of Reading: Unpublished M.A. Thesis, MAAL Project 1.
- Brazil, D.C. 1975. Discourse Intonation (Discourse Analysis Monograph, 1). Birmingham: English Language Research.
- Brazil, D.C., R.M. Coulthard and C.M. Johns. 1980. Discourse Intonation and Language Teaching. London: Longman.
- Brekke, H.E. 1972. Semantik. München: Wilhelm Fink Verlag.
- Brown, R. and A. Gilman. 1960/72. 'The Pronouns of Power and Solidarity'. In P.P. Giglioli (ed.), Language and Social Context. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 252-282.
- Burton, D. 1980. Dialogue and Discourse. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Butler, C.S. 1979. 'Recent Developments in Systemic Linguistics', Language Teaching and Linguistics: Abstracts, 12, 2, 71-89.
- Catford, J.C. 1965. A Linguistic Theory of Translation. London: O.U.P.
- Chomsky, N. 1957. Syntactic Structures. The Hague: Mouton.
- Chomsky, Noam. 1965. Aspects of the Theory of Syntax. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press.

- Chomsky, N. 1968/72. Language and Mind. Enlarged Edition. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.
- Chomsky, N. 1976. Reflections on Language. London: Temple Smith.
- Chomsky, N. 1977. Essays on Form and Interpretation. New York: North Holland.
- Chomsky, N. 1981. Lectures on Government and Binding. Dordrecht: Foris Publications.
- Chrystal, D. and D. Davy. 1969. Investigating English Style. London: Longman.
- Churchill, L. and S. Gray. 1974. 'Beyond Ethnography: A Conversational Analysis of Auctions'. In R. Fasold and R. Shuy (eds.), Studies in Language Variation. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown U.P., 209-225.
- Clark, H.H. and E.V. Clark. 1977. Psychology and Language. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc.
- Coulthard, M. 1977. An Introduction to Discourse Analysis. London: Longman.
- Coulthard, M. and M. Montgomery (eds.). 1981. Studies in Discourse Analysis. London-Boston-Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Coupland, N. 1983. 'Patterns of Encounter Management: Further Arguments for Discourse Variables', Language in Society, 12, 459-476.
- van Dijk, T.A. 1972. Some Aspects of Text Grammars. The Hague: Mouton.
- van Dijk, T.A. 1977. Text and Context. Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse. London: Longman.
- van Dijk, T.A. 1980. Macrostructures: An Interdisciplinary Study of Global Structures in Discourse, Interaction and Cognition. Hillsdale, N.Y.: L. Erlbaum Ass.
- van Dijk, T.A. 1981. Studies in the Pragmatics of Discourse. The Hague: Mouton.
- Dillon, G.L. 1977. Introduction to Contemporary Linguistic Sciences. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Dittmar, N. and E. Thielecke. 1979. 'Der Niederschlag von Erfahrungen ausländischer Arbeiter mit dem institutionellen Kontext des Arbeitsplatzes in Erzählungen'. In H.-G. Söffner (ed.), Interpretative Verfahren in den Sozial- und Textwissenschaften. München, 65-103.
- Dore, J. 1977. '"Oh Them Sheriff": A Pragmatic Analysis of Children's Res questions'. In S. Ervin-Tripp and C. Mitchell-

- Dressler, W. 1972. Einführung in die Textlinguistik. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Duncan, S. 1974. 'On the Structure of Speaker-Auditor Interaction during Speaking Turns', Language in Society, 3, 2, 161-180.
- Edmonson, W. 1981. Spoken Discourse: A Model for Analysis. London-New York: Longman.
- Eggins, S. 1982. The Primary School Description Study: A Quantitative Analysis of Variation in Texts. Dept. of Linguistics, The University of Sydney: Unpublished B.A. (Honours) Thesis.
- Ehlich, K. and J. Rehbein. 1972. 'Zur Konstitution pragmatischer Einheiten in einer Institution: Das Speise Restaurant'. In D. Wunderlich (ed.), Linguistische Pragmatik. Frankfurt: Athenäum, 209-254.
- Ellis, J. 1966. 'On Contextual Meaning'. In C.E. Bazell, J.C. Catford, M.A.K. Halliday and R.H. Robins (eds.), In Memory of J.R. Firth. London: Longman, 79-95.
- Ellis, J. forthcoming. The Contrastive Analysis of Language Registers. Tübingen: Narr.
- Ellis, J. and J. Ure. 1969. 'Language Varieties: Register'. In A.R. Meetham (ed.), Encyclopedia of Linguistics: Information and Control. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 251-259.
- Enkvist, N.E., J. Spencer and M.J. Gregory. 1964. Linguistics and Style. London: O.U.P.
- Fawcett, R. 1980. Cognitive Linguistics and Social Interaction: Towards an Integrated Model of a Systemic Functional Grammar and the Other Components of a Communicating Mind (Exeter Linguistic Series 3). Heidelberg: Julius Groos.
- Ferguson, C.A. 1971. 'Absence of Copula and the Notion of Simplicity'. In D. Hymes (ed.), Pidginization and Creolization of Languages. Cambridge: C.U.P., 141-150.
- Ferguson, C.A. 1975. 'Toward a Characterization of English Foreigner Talk', Anthropological Linguistics, 17, 1, 1-14.
- Ferguson, C.A. and C.E. DeBose. 1977. 'Simplified Registers, Broken Language, Pidginization'. In A. Valdman (ed.), Pidgin and Creole Linguistics. Bloomington: Indiana U.P., 99-125.
- Firth, J.R. 1935/57. 'The Technique of Semantics'. In J.R. Firth, Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951. London: O.U.P., 7-33.
- Firth, J.R. 1950/57. 'Personality and Language in Society'. In J.R. Firth, Papers in Linguistics 1934-1951. London: O.U.P., 177-189.
- Firth, J.R. 1951/57. 'Modes of Meaning'. In J.R. Firth, Papers in

- Firth, J.R. 1957a/68. 'Ethnographic Analysis and Language with Reference to Malinowski's Views'. In F.R. Palmer (ed.), Selected Papers of J.R. Firth 1952-59. London-Harlow: Longmans Green and Co., Ltd., 136-167.
- Firth, J.R. 1957b/68. 'A Synopsis of Linguistic Theory, 1930-1955'. In F.R. Palmer (ed.), Selected Papers of J.R. Firth 1952-59. London-Harlow: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 168-205.
- Firth, J.R. 1968. 'Linguistic Analysis as a Study of Meaning'. In F.R. Palmer (ed.), Selected Papers of J.R. Firth 1952-59. London-Harlow: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 12-26.
- Fowler, R., B. Hodge, G. Kress and T. Trew (eds.). 1979. Language and Control. London-Boston-Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Freed, B.F. 1981. 'Foreigner Talk, Baby Talk, Native Talk', International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 28, 19-39.
- Gazdar, G. 1979. Pragmatics. New York: Academic Press.
- Goffman, E. 1963. Behavior in Public Places: Notes on the Social Organization of Gatherings. New York: The Free Press of Glencoe.
- Goffman, E. 1976. 'Replies and Responses', Language in Society, 5, 257-313.
- Gregory, M.J. 1967. 'Aspects of Varieties Differentiation', Journal of Linguistics, 3, 177-198.
- Gregory, M.J. 1982. 'The Nature and Use of Metafunctions in Systemic Theory: Current Concerns', The Eighth LACUS Forum. Columbia, South Carolina: Hornblam Press, 67-74.
- Gregory, M.J. and S. Carroll. 1978. Language and Situation: Language Varieties and their Social Contexts. London-Henley-Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Grice, H.P. 1975. 'Logic and Conversation'. In P. Cole and J.L. Morgan (eds.), Syntax and Semantics III: Speech Acts. New York: Academic Press, 41-58.
- Grosz, B.J. 1982. 'Discourse Analysis'. In R. Kittredge and J. Lehrberger (eds.), Sublanguage. Studies of Language in Restricted Semantic Domains. Berlin-New York: de Gruyter, 138-174.
- Gutwinsky, W. 1976. Cohesion in Literary Texts. A Study of Some Grammatical and Lexical Features of English Discourse (Janua Linguarum Series, 204). The Hague-Paris: Mouton.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1956/76. 'Grammatical Categories in Modern Chinese: An Early Sketch of the Theory'. In G. Kress (ed.), Halliday: System and Function in Language. London: O.U.P., 36-51.

- Halliday, M.A.K. 1959. The Language of the Chinese 'Secret History of the Mongols' (Publications of The Philological Society, XVII). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1961. 'Categories of the Theory of Grammar', Word, 17, 3, 241-292.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1963/76. 'Chain and Choice in Language'. In G. Kress (ed.), Halliday: System and Function in Language. London: O.U.P., 84-87.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1964/81. 'Syntax and The Consumer'. In M.A.K. Halliday and J.R. Martin (eds.), Readings in Systemic Linguistics. London: Batsford Academic, 21-28.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1965/81. 'Types of Structure'. In M.A.K. Halliday and J.R. Martin (eds.), Readings in Systemic Linguistics. London: Batsford Academic, 29-41.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1966a. 'General Linguistics and its Application to Language Teaching'. In A. McIntosh and M.A.K. Halliday (eds.), Patterns of Language. Papers in General, Descriptive and Applied Linguistics. London: Longman, 1-41.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1966b. 'Lexis as a Linguistic Level'. In C.E. Bazell, J.C. Catford, M.A.K. Halliday and R.H. Robins (eds.), In Memory of J.R. Firth. London: Longman, 148-162.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1966/76. 'Deep Grammar: System as Semantic Choice'. In G. Kress (ed.), Halliday: System and Function in Language. London: O.U.P., 88-98.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1967. Intonation and Grammar in British English (Janua Linguarum: Series Practica XLVIII). The Hague-Paris: Mouton.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1967-68. 'Notes on Transitivity and Theme in English' (Parts 1-3), Journal of Linguistics, 3, 37-81, 199-244; 4, 179-215.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1969/81. 'Structure'. In M.A.K. Halliday and J.R. Martin (eds.), Readings in Systemic Linguistics. London: Batsford Academic, 122-131.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1970. A Course in Spoken English: Intonation. London: O.U.P.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1973. Explorations in the Functions of Language. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1974. 'Interview'. In H. Parrett (ed.), Discussing Language. The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 81-120.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1975. Learning How to Mean. London: Edward Arnold.

- Halliday, M.A.K. 1977. 'Text as Semantic Choice in Social Contexts'. In T.A. van Dijk and J.S. Petöfi (eds.), Grammars and Descriptions (Studies in Text Theory and Text Analysis). Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 176-225.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1978. Language as Social Semiotic. The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. 1979. 'Modes of Meaning and Modes of Expression: Types of Grammatical Structure, and their Determination by Different Semantic Functions'. In D.J. Allerton, E. Carney and D. Holdcraft (eds.), Function and Context in Linguistic Analysis. A Festschrift for William Haas. London-New York-Melbourne: C.U.P., 57-79.
- Halliday, M.A.K. in press a. An Introduction to Functional Grammar. London-Melbourne: Edward Arnold Ltd.
- Halliday, M.A.K. in press b. 'Language as Code and Language as Behaviour: A Systemic-Functional Interpretation of the Nature and Ontogenesis of Dialogue'. In M.A.K. Halliday and R.P. Fawcett (eds.), New Developments in Systemic Linguistics. London: Batsford.
- Halliday, M.A.K. in prep. The Meaning of Modern English.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and R. Hasan. 1976. Cohesion in English. London: Longman.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and R. Hasan. 1980. 'Text and Context: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective', Sophia Linguistica. (Working Papers in Linguistics), 6, 4-91.
- Halliday, M.A.K., A. McIntosh and P. Stevens. 1964. The Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching. London: Longman.
- Halliday, M.A.K. and J.R. Martin (eds.). 1981. Readings in Systemic Linguistics. London: Batsford Academic.
- Hasan, R. 1973. 'Code, Register and Social Dialect'. In B. Bernstein (ed.), Class, Codes and Control. Vol. 2: Applied Studies towards a Sociology of Language. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 253-292.
- Hasan, R. 1978. 'Text in the Systemic-Functional Model'. In W. Dressler (ed.), Current Trends in Textlinguistics. Berlin-New York: Walter de Gruyter, 228-246.
- Hasan, R. 1979. 'On the Notion of Text'. In J.S. Petöfi (ed.), Text vs. Sentence: Basic Questions of Textlinguistics (Papers in Textlinguistics 20, 2). Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 369-390.
- Hasan, R. 1984. 'Coherence and Cohesive Harmony'. In J. Flood (ed.), Understanding Comprehension. Newark, Delaware:

- Hasan, R. in press. 'Meaning, Context and Text - Fifty Years after Malinowski'. In J.D. Benson and W.S. Greaves (eds.), Systemic Perspectives on Discourse: Selected Theoretical Papers from the 9th International Systemic Workshop. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.
- Hatch, E., R. Shapira and J. Gough. 1978. '"Foreigner-Talk" Discourse', ITL: Review of Applied Linguistics, 1978, 39-60.
- Hawkins, P. 1977. Social Class, the Nominal Group and Verbal Strategies. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd.
- Henrici, A. 1965/81. 'Some Notes on the Systemic Generation of a Paradigm of the English Clause'. In M.A.K. Halliday and J.R. Martin (eds.), Readings in Systemic Linguistics. London: Batsford Academic, 74-98.
- HPD-Heidelberger Forschungsprojekt 'Pidgin-Deutsch'. 1978. 'The Acquisition of German Syntax by Foreign Migrant Workers'. In D. Sankoff (ed.), Linguistic Variation. Models and Methods. New York-San Francisco-London: Academic Press, 1-22.
- HPD-Heidelberger Forschungsprojekt 'Pidgin-Deutsch'. 1975a. Sprache und Kommunikation ausländischer Arbeiter. Analyse, Berichte, Materialien. Kronsberg/TS: Scriptor.
- HPD-Heidelberger Forschungsprojekt 'Pidgin-Deutsch'. 1975b. 'Zur Sprache ausländischer Arbeiter: Syntaktische Analysen und Aspekte des kommunikativen Verhaltens', Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik, 5, 18, 78-121.
- Huddleston, R.D. 1966/81. 'Systemic Features and their Realization'. In M.A.K. Halliday and J.R. Martin (eds.), Readings in Systemic Linguistics. London: Batsford Academic, 58-73.
- Hudson, R.A. 1974/81. 'Systemic Generative Grammar'. In M.A.K. Halliday and J.R. Martin (eds.), Readings in Systemic Linguistics. London: Batsford Academic, 190-218.
- Hurme, P. and M. Valo. 1979. Speech Sciences at the University of Jyväskylä. Jyväskylä: The University of Jyväskylä, Dept. of Phonetics and Linguistics.
- Hymes, D.H. 1962/74. 'The Ethnography of Speaking'. In B.G. Blount (ed.), Language, Culture and Society. Cambridge, Mass.: Winthrop, 189-223.
- Hymes, D.H. 1964/72. 'Toward Ethnographies of Communication: The Analysis of Communicative Events'. In P.P. Giglioli (ed.), Language and Social Context. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 21-44.
- Hymes, D.H. 1971. 'Sociolinguistics and the Ethnography of Speaking'. In E. Ardener (ed.), Social Anthropology and Language. London: Tavistock Publications, 47-93.

- Hymes, D.H. 1971/72. 'On Communicative Competence'. In J.B. Pride and J. Holmes (eds.), Sociolinguistics. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 269-293.
- Jefferson, G. 1972. 'Side Sequences'. In D. Sudnow (ed.), Studies in Social Interaction. New York: The Free Press, 294-338.
- Kachru, B.B. 1980. 'Socially Realistic Linguistics: The Firthian Tradition', Studies in the Linguistic Sciences, 10, 1, 85-111.
- Kamp, H. 1978. 'Semantics versus Pragmatics'. In F. Guenther and S.J. Schmidt (eds.), Formal Semantics and Pragmatics for Natural Languages. Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publ., 255-287.
- Katz, J.J. and J.A. Fodor. 1963/64. 'The Structure of a Semantic Theory'. In J.A. Fodor and J.J. Katz (eds.), The Structure of Language. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 379-418.
- Keenan, E.O. 1974. 'The Universality of Conversational Implicatures'. In R. Fasold and R. Shuy (eds.), Studies in Language Variation. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown U.P., 255-268.
- Kempson, R.M. 1975. Presupposition and the Delimitation of Semantics. Cambridge: C.U.P.
- Klein, W. and N. Dittmar. 1979. Developing Grammars. The Acquisition of German Syntax by Foreign Workers. Berlin-Heidelberg-New York: Springer Verlag.
- Kress, G. (ed.). 1976. Halliday: System and Function in Language. London: O.U.P.
- Kress, G. and R. Hodge. 1979. Language as Ideology. London-Boston-Henley: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Labov, W. 1970/72. 'The Study of Language in its Social Context'. In P.P. Giglioli (ed.), Language and Social Context. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 283-307.
- Labov, W. 1972. Language in the Inner City. Philadelphia: The University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labov, W. and J. Waletzky. 1967. 'Narrative Analysis'. In J.P. Helm (ed.), Essays on the Verbal and Visual Arts. Proceedings of the 1966 Spring Meetings of the American Ethnological Society. Seattle: The University of Washington Press, 12-44.
- Labov, W. and D. Fanshel. 1977. Therapeutic Discourse. Psychotherapy as Conversation. New York-San Francisco-London: Academic Press.
- Lakoff, G. 1974. 'Interview'. In H. Parrett (ed.), Discussing Language. The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 151-178.
- Lakoff, G. and J.R. Ross. 1976. 'Is Deep Structure Necessary?'. In J.D. McCawley (ed.), Syntax and Semantics, Vol. 7. New York:

- Langendoen, D.T. 1968. The London School of Linguistics: A Study of the Linguistic Theories of B. Malinowski and J.R. Firth (Research Monograph No. 46). Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press.
- Leech, Geoffrey. 1974. Semantics. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd.
- Leech, G. 1974/81. Semantics. Second Edition. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Linde, C. and W. Labov. 1975. 'Spatial Networks as a Site for the Study of Language and Thought', Language, 51, 4, 924-939.
- Long, M.H. 1980. Input, Interaction, and Second Language Acquisition. The University of California: Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis.
- Long, M.H. 1981. 'Input, Interaction, and Second Language Acquisition'. In H. Winitz (ed.), Native Language and Foreign Language Acquisition. Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences, 379, 259-278.
- Long, M.H. 1983. 'Linguistic and Conversational Adjustments to Non-Native Speakers', Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 5, 2.
- Lyons, J. 1966. 'Firth's Theory of Meaning'. In C.E. Bazell, J.C. Catford, M.A.K. Halliday and R.H. Robins (eds.), In Memory of J.R. Firth. London: Longman, 288-302.
- Lyons, J. 1968. Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics. Cambridge: C.U.P.
- Lyons, J. 1977. Semantics, Vols. 1 and 2. Cambridge: C.U.P.
- Malcolm, K. in press. 'Different Approaches to the Description of Casual Conversation'. The Tenth LACUS Forum. Columbia, South Carolina: Hornbeam Press.
- Malinowski, B. 1923. 'The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages'. Supplement I in C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards (eds.), The Meaning of Meaning. Tenth Edition. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 296-336.
- Malinowski, B. 1935/66. The Language of Magic and Gardening. (Coral Gardens and their Magic), Vol. II. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd.
- Martin, J.R. 1979. 'CONJUNCTION and Conversational Structure', Dept. of Linguistics, The University of Sydney: mimeo.
- Martin, J.R. 1980. 'Reference as Semantic Choice', Dept. of Linguistics, The University of Sydney: mimeo.
- Martin, J.R. 1981a. 'How Many Speech Acts?', University of East Anglia Papers in Linguistics, 14-15, 52-77.

- Martin, J.R. 1981b. 'CONJUNCTION and CONTINUITY in Tagalog'. In M.A.K. Halliday and J.R. Martin (eds.), Readings in Systemic Linguistics. London: Batsford Academic, 310-336.
- Martin, J.R. 1981c. 'Lexical Cohesion', Dept. of Linguistics, The University of Sydney: mimeo.
- Martin, J.R. 1981d. 'Three Kinds of Phoricity in English Text', Dept. of Linguistics, The University of Sydney: mimeo.
- Martin, J.R. 1982. 'Review of Geoffrey Sampson, Schools of Linguistics: Competition and Evolution', Australian Journal of Linguistics, 2, 1, 97-116.
- Martin, J.R. 1983a. 'Conjunction: The Logic of English Text'. In J.S. Petöfi and E. Sözer (eds.), Micro and Macro Connexity of Texts (Papers in Textlinguistics, Vol. 45). Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1-72.
- Martin, J.R. 1983b. 'Participant Identification in English, Tagalog and Kâte', Australian Journal of Linguistics, 3, 1, 45-74.
- Martin, J.R. 1983c. 'Grammatical Conspiracies in Tagalog: Family, Face and Fate - With Reference to Benjamin Lee Whorf', Dept. of Linguistics, The University of Sydney: mimeo.
- Martin, J.R. 1983d. 'The Development of Register'. In R.O. Freedle and J. Fine (eds.), Developmental Issues in Discourse (Advances in Discourse Processes X). Norwood, N.J.: Ablex, 1-39.
- Martin, J.R. in press. 'Process and Text: Two Aspects of Human Semiosis'. In J.D. Benson and W.S. Greaves (eds.), Systemic Perspectives on Discourse: Selected Theoretical Papers from the 9th International Systemic Workshop. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex.
- Martin, J.R. forthcoming. 'Functional Components in a Grammar: A Review of Deployable Recognition Criteria', submitted to Nottingham Linguistic Circular: Special Issue on Systemic Linguistics.
- Martin, J.R. in prep. English Text: System and Structure (to be published by Pinter).
- Martin, J.R. and J. Rothery. 1980. Writing Project: Report 1980. Working Papers in Linguistics 1. Sydney: Dept. of Linguistics, The University of Sydney.
- Martin, J.R. and J. Rothery. 1981. Writing Project: Report 1981. Working Papers in Linguistics 2. Sydney: Dept. of Linguistics, The University of Sydney.
- Martin, J.R. and G. Plum (eds.). in prep. English Context: Register and Genre.
- Matthews, P.H. 1979. Generative Grammar and Linguistic Competence.

- McCawley, J.D. 1974. 'Interview'. In H. Parrett (ed.), Discussing Language. The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 249-277.
- Meisel, J. 1975. 'Ausländer Deutsch und Deutsch Ausländischer Arbeiter. Zur möglichen Entstehung eines Pidgins in der BRD', Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik, 5, 18, 9-53.
- Merritt, M. 1974. 'The Playback: An Instance of Variation in Discourse'. In R. Fasold and R. Shuy (eds.), Studies in Language Variation. Washington, D.C.: Georgetown U.P., 198-208.
- Merritt, H. 1976. 'On Questions Following Questions in Service Encounters', Language in Society, 5, 315-357.
- Mitchell, T.F. 1957/75. 'The Language of Buying and Selling in Cyrenaica: A Situational Statement'. In T.F. Mitchell, Principles of Firthian Linguistics. London: Longman, 167-200.
- Mitchell, T.F. 1971/75. 'Linguistic "Goings-On": Collocations and Other Lexical Matters Arising on the Syntagmatic Record'. In T.F. Mitchell, Principles of Firthian Linguistics. London: Longman, 99-136.
- Mitchell, T.F. 1975. Principles of Firthian Linguistics. London: Longman.
- Monaghan, James. 1979. The Neo-Firthian Tradition and its Contribution to General Linguistics. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- Morgan, J.L. 1977. 'Linguistics: The Relation of Pragmatics to Semantics and Syntax', Annual Review of Anthropology, 6, 57-67.
- Morris, C.W. 1946. Signs, Language and Behaviour. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Muir, J. 1972. A Modern Approach to English Grammar. London: Batsford.
- Newmeyer, F.J. 1980. Linguistic Theory in America. New York: Academic Press.
- Oyelaran, O.O. 1967. 'Aspects of Linguistic Theory in Firthian Linguistics', Word, 23, 428-452.
- Painter, C. in press. Into the Mother Tongue: A Case Study in Early Language Development. London: F. Pinter.
- Palmer, F.R. 1976. Semantics. A New Outline. Cambridge-London-New York-Melbourne: C.U.P.
- Petöfi, J. 1971. Transformationsgrammatiken und eine ko-textuelle Texttheorie. Frankfurt: Athenäum.
- Petöfi, J. and H. Rieser. 1974. Probleme der modelltheoretischen Interpretation von Texten. Hamburg: Buske.

- Plum, G. 1981. 'Variability as an Inherent Aspect of the Linguistic System', Dept. of Linguistics, The University of Sydney: mimeo.
- Plum, G. 1984. 'Field in Contextual Theory: A Proposal for its Systemic Representation', Dept. of Linguistics, The University of Sydney: mimeo.
- Poynton, C. forthcoming. 'Names as Vocatives: Forms and Functions', submitted to Nottingham Linguistic Circular, Special Issue on Systemic Linguistics.
- Reid, T.B.W. 1956. 'Linguistics, Structuralism and Philology', Archivum Linguisticum, 8, 28-37.
- Robins, R.H. 1961. 'John Rupert Firth', Language, 37, 2, 191-200.
- Robins, R.H. 1963. 'General Linguistics in Great Britain 1930-1960'. In C. Mohrmann, F. Norman and A. Sommerfelt (eds.), Trends in Modern Linguistics. Utrecht-Antwerp: Spectrum, 11-37.
- Rochester, S.R. and J.R. Martin 1979. Crazy Talk: A Study of the Discourse of Schizophrenic Speakers. (Cognition and Language: A Series in Psycholinguistics). New York: Plenum.
- Rothery, J. 1979. 'Towards a Theoretical Basis for Implementing English Syllabuses'. In F. Christie and J. Rothery, Language in Teacher Education: Child Language Development and English Language Studies, Applied Linguistics Association of Australia, Occasional Papers, 3, 11-22.
- Saario, A. 1980. 'Interactional Activities in Discourse between Native and Finnish Speakers of English'. In K. Sajavaara and J. Lehtonen (eds.), Papers in Discourse and Contrastive Discourse Analysis (Jyväskylä Contrastive Studies 5), 57-82.
- Sacks, H., E.A. Schegloff and G. Jefferson. 1974. 'A Simplest Systematics for the Organization of Turn-taking for Conversation', Language, 50, 4, 696-735.
- Sampson, G. 1980. Schools of Linguistics: Competition and Evolution. London: Hutchinson.
- Schegloff, E.A. 1968/72. 'Sequencing in Conversational Openings'. In J. Laver and S. Hutcheson (eds.), Communication in Face-to-face Interaction. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 374-405.
- Schegloff, E.A. 1972. 'Notes on a Conversational Practice: Formulating Place'. In D. Sudnow (ed.), Studies in Social Interaction. New York: The Free Press, 75-119.
- Schegloff, E. and H. Sacks. 1973/74. 'Opening Up Closings'. In Roy Turner (ed.), Ethnomethodology. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 233-264.

- Searle, J.R. 1965/72. 'What is a Speech Act'. In P.P. Giglioli (ed.), Language and Social Context. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd., 136-154.
- Searle, J.R. 1969. Speech Acts. An Essay in the Philosophy of Language. London: C.U.P.
- Searle, J.R. 1974. 'Chomsky's Revolution in Linguistics'. In G. Harman (ed.), On Noam Chomsky: Critical Essays. New York: Anchor Press, 2-33.
- Searle, J.R. 1979. Expression and Meaning. Cambridge: C.U.P.
- Sinclair, J. McH. 1966. 'Beginning the Study of Lexis'. In C.E. Bazell, J.C. Catford, M.A.K. Halliday and R.H. Robins (eds.), In Memory of J.R. Firth. London: Longman, 410-430.
- Sinclair, J. McH. 1972. A Course in Spoken English: Grammar. London: O.U.P.
- Sinclair, J. McH., S. Jones and R. Daley. 1970. English Lexical Studies. (OSTI Report on Project C/LP/08). Birmingham: Dept. of English, The University of Birmingham.
- Sinclair, J. McH. and R.M. Coulthard. 1975. Towards an Analysis of Discourse. London: O.U.P.
- Snow, C., R. van Eden and P. Muysken. 1981. 'The Interactional Origins of FT: Municipal Employees and Foreign Workers', International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 28, 81-99.
- Talking Shop: Demands on Language. 1978. Sydney: Film Australia.
- Turner, G.J. 1973. 'Social Class and Children's Language of Control at Age Five and Age Seven'. In B. Bernstein (ed.), Class Codes and Control. Vol. 2: Applied Studies Towards a Sociology of Language. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 135-201.
- Ure, J. 1971. 'Lexical Density and Register Differentiation'. In G.E. Perren and J.L.M. Trim (eds.), Applications of Linguistics: Selected Papers of the Second International Congress of Applied Linguistics Cambridge 1969. Cambridge: C.U.P., 443-452.
- Ure, J. and J. Ellis. 1977. 'Register in Descriptive Linguistics and Linguistic Sociology'. In O. Uribe-Villas (ed.), Issues in Sociolinguistics. The Hague-Paris-New York: Mouton, 197-243.
- Valokorpi, P. 1980. 'Kinesics in Discourse between Native and Finnish Speakers of English'. In K. Sajavaara and J. Lehtonen (eds.), Papers in Discourse and Contrastive Discourse Analysis (Jyväskylä Contrastive Studies 5), 83-108.
- Varonis, E.M. and S. Gass. 1983. '"Target Language" Input from Non-Native Speakers', a paper presented at TESOL '83, Toronto.

- Ventola, E.M. 1977. On the Structure and Management of Casual Conversations. Dept. of English and Linguistics, Macquarie University: Unpublished M.A. Thesis.
- Ventola, E.M. 1978. A Study of Conversational Strategies in English and Finnish. Dept. of English, The University of Jyväskylä: Unpublished M.A. Thesis.
- Ventola, E.M. 1979. 'The Structure of Casual Conversations in English', Journal of Pragmatics, 3, 267-298.
- Ventola, E.M. 1980. 'Conversation Management from a Contrastive Point of View'. In K. Sajavaara and J. Lehtonen (eds.), Papers in Discourse and Contrastive Discourse Analysis (Jyväskylä Contrastive Studies 5), 83-108.
- Ventola, E.M. 1981. 'Flow Chart: A Tactic Pattern for the Realization of the Schematic Structure of Service Encounters', Dept. of English, The University of Jyväskylä: mimeo.
- Ventola, E.M. 1983a. 'Contrasting Schematic Structures in Service Encounters', Applied Linguistics, 4, 3, 242-258.
- Ventola, E.M. 1983b. 'Interactive Play of Signalling Discourse Element Boundaries in Service Encounters', Grazer Linguistische Studien, 20, 171-192.
- Ventola, E.M. in press. 'Orientation to Social Semiotics in Foreign Language Teaching', Applied Linguistics, 5, 3.
- Ventola, E.M. forthcoming. 'The Dynamics of Genre', submitted to Nottingham Linguistic Circular: Special Issue on Systemic Linguistics.
- Wells, G. 1981. Learning Through Interaction. Cambridge: C.U.P.
- Whorf, B.L. 1940a/56. 'Science and Linguistics'. In J.B. Carroll (ed.), Language, Thought and Reality. New York-London: The M.I.T. Press and John Wiley and Sons, 207-219.
- Whorf, B.J. 1941a/56. 'The Relation of Habitual Thought and Behaviour to Language'. In J.B. Carroll (ed.), Language, Thought and Reality. New York-London: The M.I.T. Press and John Wiley and Sons, 134-159.
- Whorf, B.L. 1941b/56. 'Languages and Logic'. In J.B. Carroll (ed.), Language, Thought and Reality. New York-London: The M.I.T. Press and John Wiley and Sons, 233-245.
- Worsley, Peter. 1970. Introducing Sociology. Harmondsworth: Penguin Education.
- Zimmerman, D.H. and C. West. 1975/78. 'Sex Roles, Interruptions, and Silences in Conversation'. In M.A. Lourie and N.F. Conklin (eds.), A P1 Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House,

APPENDIX

Transcription Key:

S	= Server
C	= Customer
[3 secs]	= a pause lasting three seconds
[S hangs up]	= non-verbal activity
<u>yes</u>	
<u>and</u> then	= simultaneous speech marked by and it's extent marked by the underlining; if simultaneous speech follows simultaneous speech then is used for the latter simultaneous speech
/	= rising tone (usually tone 2)
...	= a pause less than a second
(yes)	= the likely wording
()	= the wording not possible to transcribe
on the-	= the speaker does not finish his utterance

TEXT 1 -- post office

S yes please [C steps forward]
C can I have these two like that [hands over two letters]
S yes
 [3 secs - S weighs one letter]
S one's forty-five
 [3 secs - S weighs the other letter]
S one's twenty-five
C and have you got...the...first day covers of...
S yes
C (Anzac)
 [2 secs]
S how many would you like
C four please
S two of each
C what have you got
S uh there's two different designs on the-
 [5 secs - S shows C the covers]
C I'll take two of each
S uhum
 [6 secs - S gets the stamps for the letters and the covers]
S right...that's a dollar seventy thank you
 [10 secs - S puts the covers into a bag; C gets out the money]
S here we are
 [2 secs - S hands over the stamps and the covers; C hands the money
 to S]
C |thank you
S |thank you
 [5 secs - S gets the change]
S dollar seventy that's two four and one's five |thank you very much
C |thank you
 [2 secs - C reaches for the letters]
S they'll be right I'll fix those up in a moment
C okay
 [C leaves]

TEXT 2 - post office

S yes sir
 [C steps closer]

C a padded postal bag please

S which one

C which one...one for a thing about-...oh dear
 [2 secs]

S what is it | just a parcel ↗

C | it's a uh uh it's it's a tape... der-

S what- a single tape by itself ↗

C yeah

S right it'll fit in the twenty

C no it's it's a bigger tape than that

S well what about the | twenty-five

C | I guess I'm gonna have to look at the- it might be a bit narrow
 I'm gonna have | to look at the thirty-

S | yeah well...there are only-

C yeah yeah | right

S | all right that's easy if you don't like that you'll have to have
 a thirty-five

C I'll have to have a thirty-five-cent one won't I ↗

S no choice

C right
 [7 secs - S gets the bag and hands it over to C; C counts his coins]

C ()...good...exactly [C is giving the money to S]

S good | thank you very much

C | thank you very much

TEXT 3 - post office

S yes please

C uh can I have a jiffy bag for that please
[hands over a packet]

S uhuh

[3 secs - S gets the bag]

S it should fit into the thirty-five I think

C oh right

[2 secs - S puts the packet into the bag]

S where's it going

C Adelaide

[3 secs - S weighs the bag]

S hm that's eighty cents surface mail or a dollar twenty air mail

C when will it get there by surface mail

S whereabouts is it going in Adelaide

C uhm Barossa Valley ↗

S uh that's outside and you might as well send it surface mail because
its-...it'll be there Monday...or Tuesday...either way...b'cause it'll
go to Adelaide and it goes up by road or by train to the Barossa

C yeah okay

S okay ↗

C so it's eighty

S uhuh plus thirty-five for the bag

[10 secs - S gets the stamps and staples the bag; C gets out her money]

C (six eight)

[S hands the goods to C]

S one dollar fifteen altogether thank you

C there's the eighty

[4 secs - C is counting her coins]

C there's twenty-five (laugh) emptying all my-[C gives 25 cents to S]

S it's all right I don't care how it comes...as long as it comes

C (her' y're) [hands over the rest of the sum]

S thanks

[1 sec - S counts the money and C takes the bag]

C thanks very much

S when you've addressed it just bring it back to me and i'll post it
for you

C okay

TEXT 4 - post office

S yes please [C turns to S]
C uhm could you tell me how much it costs to post those please
 [C hands over three letters]
 [6 secs - S weighs one of the letters]
S one's forty-five
 [5 secs - S weighs the other letters]
S air mai- air mail to Japan /
C uhuh
 [10 secs - S looks up the price]
S both forty cents each
 [2 secs]
S it's a dollar twenty-five altogether thank you
 [15 secs - S gets the stamps for the letters]
S there we are [S hands over the stamps]
C thank you [C gives S a ten-dollar note]
S one twenty-five [said when receiving the money]
C do I have to post these
S I'll take care of them
C okay
 [11 secs - S gets the change]
S one twenty-five dollar thirty sixty eighty two dollars and three...
 five and five's ten [S gives the change to C] thank you very much
C thank you

TEXT 5 - shop

[C walks into the shop with her little brother; they walk to the section where there are mobiles; S walks up to them and starts the conversation]

S you're just browsing are you [C turns to S][taken down as notes]
 is there anything particular you wanted or-

C I'm just looking at those mobiles

S okay uhm...which one did you er...would you like to see out...
 any particular one there?[the mobiles are at the show window]
 [2 secs]

C the diver

S the diver... I'll take that one out
 [9 secs - S bends down to get the mobile from the box on the floor,
 but cannot find the right one]

S I'll take one out the window...for you
 [5 secs - S takes the mobile out]

S this is the one [S puts the mobile on the counter] he just goes round
 really...like that [S gives the mobile a push]

C hm...how much is it

S four fifty
 [5 secs - C keeps looking at the mobile]

C er...hm

S all of them are four fifty except the small little rocky one that's
 three fifty and the others are bigger

C you've only got the golfer the tennis player and the diver

S yes uh there is a soccer player there
 [2 secs - S turns around to look for it]

S (there it is)
 [2 secs - S keeps looking for more mobiles]

S no there's one soccer player the- up there
 [4 secs - C keeps looking at the mobiles]

C we'll take him [the diver]

B have him [C's little brother; said to C]

S okay
 [32 secs - S packs the mobile]

S there we are [S handing over the packet; C hands over a ten-dollar note]

S thank you four dollars fifty
 [9 secs - S operates the cash register and takes out the change]

S five dollars six eight and two is ten thanks very much

C good [C and B collect their things and leave]

TEXT 6 - shop

[C walks into the shop; S is first engaged with other customers, but when she finishes with them she walks up to C; in the meantime C has been looking around]

S I presume you've looked around so you probably know what you're looking for

C yeah

[7 secs - C is looking at small coin purses]

C |how much-

S |those are nintey-five the little |plastic ones and beaded ones are seventy-five

C |yeah

C I wanted to erm-

[22 secs - C continues looking]

C it's very hard to buy...

S beg your pardon ?

C very hard to buy a purse for a boy that's not sissy

S yes it is |but that's all right though

C |erm...that's for the-

S yes

C that wasn't what I came in looking for

S no well...what did you really want was there something |else you-

C |no I was just looking for something for my mother ||and...I still haven't

S ||erm

S what age is the boy

C pardon

S |what-

C |no it's for my mother

S yeah but what age is the boy

C oh...that's for him [C is carrying something that she has chosen already]

S yeah he's only a young child is he ?

C eight

S yes 'cause there's little wallets up there but they're a dollar fifty did you see those ?

C no

[5 secs - S takes the wallets out]

S there again you might feel they're a little bit too er old but that little |one here

C |oh no he's he's not up to those yet
S no no oh we'll leave it at that
[8 secs - S wraps up the goods; C looks at the pins at the counter]
C how much are the pins
S they're two dollars fifty
[4 secs - S hands over the goods; C hands S a note]
S three eighty-five then...that was right / I think I made it ninety-five
[S has recorded 3,85, but the purchase was in fact 3.95, so she
operates the cash register again for the remaining 10 cents]
S sorry about that
C that's all right
S ninety five there we are [S hands C the change] |thanks very much
C |thank you _
S good
[C takes her goods and leaves]

TEXT 7 - shop

[C walks into the shop and starts the interaction; both C and S are looking at the jewelry hanging on the wall while talking]

C I'm looking for something that will go with this dress just around the neck but it can be sort of grey blue couldn't it I don't think I shall find it so don't waste your time on me too much

S what sort of-

C you know the sort of- if I happened to see one that sort of colour... [C points to a piece of jewelry] that's the type of thing only in the wrong colour that's awfully nice actually

S what if I could find something like that in that colour

C I think even milder a colour would do (dear)

S a cream a cream would do I think cream would be the nearest-

C a cream would do you think do you how much are they

[7 secs - C points to a piece of jewelry; S looks up its price]

S two dollars fifty you can try it on

C I don't think it would be really-

[4 secs - C keeps looking]

C yes

S I'll see if we couldn't find an off-white-...how about a string of... off-white pearls...would that be better that might be better [S shows the pearls to C]

C hm I don't like that I think I'm too old for that honestly

[2 secs - C tries them on]

C no I think not (mumbles)

S (they go with that even better)

C I got one I tell you...a very nice thing through you I got a very nice... thing of this sort [C points to a piece of jewelry] only dark... that I though I'd just try

S like that [S starts looking for a similar piece that C had pointed at] erm

[2 secs]

S what-

[4 secs - S shows C a piece of jewelry]

C well that's what I was looking at that sort of things's quite nice... sort of ivory colour but er it's not the- oh sorry [C apologizes for being in S's way while she is putting the piece back] I think it wants the grey or the blue although that isn't bad

S what about grey [S shows another piece of jewelry to C]

C that's awfully expensive isn't it

S two dollars thirty

C oh I...I see I misread the-

S what about this one in grey [S shows yet another piece to C]

C I think I'll leave it and think about it

S hm okay...fine [but S continues searching]

C thank you

S what about that one [S shows again a piece of jewelry to C]
[5 secs - S takes the piece off the wall]

S they'd be too long
[2 secs - C tries the piece on]

C that's the sort of colour-

S that's a nice colour

C that's the colour

S that's a nice contrast

C yes

S but they'd be too long

C oh that- you see it has to be darker

S but it wouldn't actually ()

C you wouldn't have that small would you

S no

C and it couldn't easily be made small could it I don't think so

S I'll have a look
[4 secs]

C I don't think so really

S I'll ask Izar [= the jeweler]

[5 secs]

S perhaps it's a matter of Izar taking a few off

C yes

S that lifts the dress

C it does that's nice

S it lifts the dress

C yes...I'll think about that

S okay

C I might get my husband he might think it's not so good

S righteo (laugh)

C thank you
[C leaves the shop]

TEXT 8 - shop

[C walks into the shop and goes towards the display shelves; S walks up to her and opens the conversation]

S can I help you [taken down as notes]

C I was just wondering if you have any wallets for men [taken down as notes]

S no they're mostly souvenir ones see ?

C oh I see | yeah

S | they're the plain ones there

[5 secs - C starts looking at the wallets pointed out by S]

C they're all the same style are they ?

S there are a few...different ones there

[29 secs - S looks on while C examines the wallets]

C er my husband's got one that's got er...partitions for all the credit cards you know ?

S it's those proper ones...yeah we have some of those

[1 sec]

C I'd like to see them

S uhum

[29 secs - S gets the other wallets out to show C]

C oh no uh these have er sort of got this this-

S uhm

C it's lots like that

S uhm

C only they're running along like that

S uhm

C they're you know of leather actually it was an American one (I think it) () I haven't seen them out here really it's just worn out you know it's sort of faded...leather

S uhm

[4 secs]

C anyway thanks very much

[C leaves the shop]

TEXT 9 - travel agency

[C and C2 enter the travel agency; before S starts serving them their permission to record the conversation was asked; then S approaches the couple; C does all the talking]

S can I help you [taken down as notes]

C yes [taken down as notes] I'd like to...just- is this is this the right place for erm booking...erm...(laugh)- I'm just getting all confused (laugh) is this the right place for booking...rail or erm... bus fares to...er...Adelaide

S yeah

C could you give us the...respective charges please

S the fares

C yes

[17 secs - S goes to get some brochures]

C that'd be return

S yeah

C yeah

[4 secs - S is looking for the information in the brochures]

S right the...train would be a hundred and six dollars return

C uhuh

S oh hang on...Canberra

[2 secs - S is looking at the brochures]

S (which one)

[3 secs - S is still checking the information in the brochures]

S eighty...six dollars forty...return...by train

C uhuh that's second class is it

S yes economy

C uhuh

S yeah first class would be...about a hundred and forty-three dollars

C uhm

S seventy-one seventy one way

C okay

S that's train

[2 secs - S takes the other brochures]

S bus

[6 secs - S leafing through the brochures to find the right place]

S it depends which way you go

C shortest

S right...via Griffith...that's gone up isn't it [said either to another travel agent or to herself]

[3 secs]

S you can go either way via Griffith is cheaper

C |uhuh

S |it's a hundred and three dollars eighty return via Melbourne is a hundred and twenty-eight dollars eighty return

C okay that could be a good idea |to work from

S |okay ↑

C ||thanks very much

S ||do you want these ↑

C erm...yeah all right |thanks

S |I'll give you those

C ||thank you

S ||and then the rates're on them

C |right

S |and it's got departure times and days and everything

C good

S ||okay ↑

C ||thanks very much

S right bye bye

TEXT 10 - travel agency

S can I help you

C yes please I'd like some uh information on fares to England...(at first)

S uhm... would you like to come and take a seat and I'll just explain it all to you

C okay

[3 secs - S and C go to S's desk and sit down facing each other]

S we've got them all on one brochure now...the very cheapest fare is an advanced purchase airfare...which is the one which is laid out here

C here ? [C looks at the brochure that S has put in front of her]

S yes...it depends when you're going over and when you're coming back see you simply read down that side and then across that way

C rihgt...right

S the idea with the advanced purchase...you must have firm bookings over and back...although you must pay no later than forty-five days before you travel you must pay within seven days of booking

C right

S which means if you booked today to travel at the end of this year... you pay seven days from today's date...when you've paid your money... it's very difficult to get it back

C yeah

S if you cancel out between...the time you actually get your ticket... and that forty-five-day time limit...you've incur- cancellation fee is seventy dollars

C |uhm

S |inside the forty-five days...there's a hundred percent non-refundable... it also applies after you start to travel...there is an insurance that can cover you against...illness or whatever...so that takes care of the advanced purchase one... this one here is an excursion return it allows stopovers this one doesn't...which means if you wanted to go over and you did not buy it in advance for example you want to go in a couple of week's time

C right yeah |no I'm ()

S |this this is the sort of fare- yeah that's the sort of fare you're looking at...it's flexible it's broken after the seasons and months all you have to do is nominate the month you want you don't have to specify any day

C right can you er- with the er advanced purchase you can mix seasons can't you |there's a low and high

S |oh yes

S well that's ||why it's-

C ||it's a single fare |each way

S |uhm

S yes see what they've done in fact is...put all the half combinations together

C right

S see you simply look out the date you want to go...read across and the day you want to come back

C right

S so you can get a combination of 'n off-peak shoulder peak off-peak or whatever

C right okay

S that gives you it all worked out

C now another thing I was interested in's children's fares

S well children are not eligible for the advanced purchase children go at half of this fare

C half of the excursion fare

S half of the excursion air fare

C is that applicable to the advanced purchase one too ?

S no children they just are not eligible for it it's got all the main points set out down here ?

C what what if if if the adult travels at advanced purchase though what happens to the children (laugh)

S no the child- we we book you altogether on the one booking

C will still travel at excursion fare

C yeah

S when we come to writing out the ticket yours is costed out differently from the child...just like on the domestic one we will book you all together and then we'll write you as an adult and a child as a half fare

C right it's half of the excursion fare

S half of the excursion so you're looking at this one how many children have you got

C well two and a...baby about |()

S two and a baby in other words you're looking at one full fare for two children they're both half...so say if you wanted to go...say across in September...and back in December...you'd be looking at for yourself... a thousand and seventeen...and if you're going here across in September ...and back in December...with the two children...you're looking at sixteen hundred...and sixteen [S is demonstrating how the fares table works]

C right

S so they're the two together and that's the fare

C now...what happens to the children under what is it three years or

C something (I don't know)
S uh no it's-
C this is a baby of about er-
S right
C uh well he'll probably be about six months... eight and a half months
S it depends-
S zero to two years- two years and over are half fare
C right
S so zero to two's ten percent of the excursion air fare
C ten percent of the excursion
S yes so you'd be looking at a hundred and sixty
C right
S or whatever ^{it} it was we worked out
C okay fine
[2 secs]
C okay...thank you very much that was all I was after
S okay ↑
[2 secs - C collects the brochure and her things]
S good thank you
[C leaves]

TEXT 11 - travel agency

S yes[^] [C turns to S] can I help you [taken down as notes]

C yes are there buses that go to Sydney uh...about midday

S no there's only Ansett 'n Pioneer they have the uh main...control
they're the only ones that operate...and that section they leave at
7:30 in the morning and at 5:30 in the afternoon

C uhuh

S yeah...Greyhound do operate but they can't carry you they've no
traffic rights Canberra Sydney

C yeah I see

S yeah it's only if you're going interstate then they can they could
carry you if you're going through to Brisbane

C uhuh

C what time flights then go to Sydney tomorrow

S tomorrow...er morning or afternoon now [^]

C uh midmorning early afternoon

S uh well you've got a 9:30 and 10:15...and a 10:55...and nothing then
until 3:40 tomorrow

 [4 secs]

C 10:55 [C mumbles to himself]

S we normally have one at ten past one but it's out earlier tomorrow
it's 10:55

C is there any economies on the 10:55 then please

S yeah there's no problem there we can put you on

C okay I'll book it now thanks

S what's the surname then

C uh J O N E S [C spells out the letters in his name]
[3 secs - S writes the name down]

S what's your initial Mr. Jones

C A

S what's your phone number at home here in Canberra

C I haven't got one

S got an address [^]

C sixty-five...Linfield Street

S hm
[5 secs - S writes the information down]

C Gilmore [= the suburb]

S Gilmore
[2 secs - S writes it down]

S uhm...just a single one way only
C that's right
S okay cash cheque bankcard
C cash
S cash
[26 secs - C picks up the phone to call the reservations and dials]
S hello...hello...hello [S hangs up]
[16 secs - C dials again]
C yes er Chris White Marsden here Christine...could you sell me please
one economy four ou six [the flight number] Canberra Sydney tomorrow
Friday eight February please [9 secs] it's slow is it ↑ [5 secs] no
it's single one way only...the name Jones...that's J for John O
N E S [S spells out the letters]...Mr. A for Allen [6 secs] no
no phone number only an address...it's 65 Linfield Court
C Street
S er Lin- Linfield Street sorry...Linfield Street in Gilmore [11 secs]
and the ticket number seven eight ou three eight two three [20 secs -
S rips the ticket receipt from the ticket book] okay that's it then
thanks very much then righteo ta [S hangs up]
S yes that's okay Mr. Jones 10:55 Canberra Sydney tomorrow
C okay
S into Sydney 11:30 and if you're catching a bus in the city it's ten
past ten
C ten past ten
[S gives the ticket to C]
C thank you very much
S thirty six dollars ninety
[C gives two twenty-dollar notes to S]
S thanks very much
[2 secs - S gets the change]
S thirty-six ninety thirty-seven three is forty
C thank you very much
S thank you very much ta
[4 secs - C collects his things]
C thanks a lot
[C leaves; S offers his service to another customer]

TEXT 12 - travel agency

S how can we help you

C yes well I want to...rebook to Brisbane...on the seventeenth...please...
and I'd like to get on the...one ten p.m. [hands over his ticket]

• [4 secs]

S do you have a phone number here in Canberra or-

C oh yes there is one (mumbles)

S what's the surname of the people you're staying with

C Durton

S D [S starts to spell]

C D U R T O N [C spells the name] 128 Cavalry Crescent
[21 secs - S looks up the number in the phone book]

S D U R T O N [S spells the name again]

C yeah

S yes there's only one listed for Crown Street Curtin

C oh no that's not the- they've- well they've had it on for...oh for
about six to nine months now

S oh...no this phone book is...uh fifteen months old now...you don't
have it on a piece of paper or anything now do you ?

C no it's...it's double eight something or other couldn't tell you
what the rest of it is

S oooh [starts dialing]

C eight double five or something like that

S right let's see...so what was that...Cavalry Crecent

C yeah Cavalry Crecent one twenty-eight
[50 secs - S puts the receiver down and dials again]

S yes could you please check a number for Durton D U R T O N Cavalry
Crecent...it's a new listing...oh about six to nine months [25 secs-
S waits] good thank you very much...bye [S hangs up]

S two eight double six three six sound familiar ?

C uhum (laugh)
[15 secs - S dials for the reservations]

S Nick it's Barb from Marsden here...could I have one economy connection
please Canberra through to Brisbane...seventeen of February...one ten
connection...four ou six four five four I think...one way only for
surname Durton D for David U R T O N...initials B M mister...
Canberra home two eight double six three six...no...and the ticket
number...eight double two five...six zero four...oh well fine thanks
how're you...no I'm uh-...yes I'm a I'm a slacker...uhm...yes I-...
good okay thanks very much...right bye [S hangs up]

S all confirmed...you're on one ten arriving to Sydney at one forty-five...and then two ou five out of Sydney arriving two twenty into Brisbane local time

C okay |thank you very much

S |thanks very much Mr. Durton