

Chapter 5 Power as Redundancy versus Power as Morphogenesis

5.0 Introduction

The previous chapter, Chapter 4, furnished the ethnographic background of the planning project which is the focus of the description that follows. Chapter 6 will look at both semiotic analysis as well as planning practice from a more general perspective and reason about the implications of this study for both.

In this Chapter, I will apply the tools discussed in Chapter 2 and those proposed in Chapter 3 to the details of the project. This comprises a logogenetic analysis of the talk during the meetings, as well as a broader diachronic analysis of the becoming of the PDP report and of the architectural designs and specifications. My focal point in the first part of this chapter will be on redundancy and morphogenesis, and the main questions I ask are:

- i. how do meanings remain 'static' or redundant?
- ii. how do meanings morphogenesise? what kinds of 'work' are required for morphogenesis?
- iii. how does morphogenesis involve re-semiotisation?

This first part of the chapter (Section 5.1) will flesh out the trajectory of meaning as proposed in Figure 3.11 (Section 3.6).

The second part of this chapter (Section 5.2) will address schismogenesis, and the main questions I ask there are:

- i. how do meanings diverge (dialogise)?
- ii. how does such divergence manifest itself semiotically?

This part of the chapter focuses on the conflict that develops between the junior planner and the officials in the course of the third meeting in the absence of the senior planner (Ian Forbes).

The third part of this chapter (Section 5.3) looks at the re-semiotisation of meaning from talk to built structure.

5.1 Logogenetic Analysis of the Planning Meetings

My basis of description of the meeting talk is logogenetic, or interactionally dynamic: I ask, how are particular resources motivated by what happens dynamically during the meetings, and how do those resources characterise positionings. My interpretation of what constitutes logogenetic analysis needs qualification, however, because it diverges from what it

standardly means in systemic functional descriptions (e.g. Sefton 1995; Matthiessen in prep.).

The literature defines logogenesis as follows:

there is the time frame of the act of meaning itself: the instantial construction of meaning in the form of a text. This is a stochastic process in which the potential for creating meaning is continually modified in the light of what has gone before; certain options are restricted or disfavoured, while others are emprobabled or opened up. We shall refer to this as the logogenetic time frame, using logo(s) in its original sense of 'text', or 'disourse' (Halliday & Matthiessen in press)

Here the emphasis is on how meanings that have been made will affect those that *can* be made. In other words, what has been meant will constrain to some degree what will be meant.

The potential of meaning as the potential instantiated in text is known as logogenesis (Sefton & Matthiessen 1994 mimeo)

Here again the theoretical presumption is *that*, not *how*, past meanings constrain future meanings. In practice, this has translated into kinds of 'logogenetic analysis' which have presented meaning making as a more or less linear process, unfolding into the future on the basis of textual, contextual and behavioural 'states' (M. O'Donnell 1990; Sefton 1995) and forms of recursive instantiation (Bateman 1989; Matthiessen & Bateman 1992; Matthiessen in prep.). These views of meaning making do not take seriously the possibility that meaning is not simply progressively but also retroactively construed (T. Taylor & Cameron 1987: 103).

A linear/recursive view on logogenesis becomes problematic when considering those instances during the meetings where questions were asked to which the answers were not immediately forthcoming; where questions were not unproblematically 'questions' but also needed to be seen as displays of attention-setting, and where questions were repeatedly answered in prosodically amplified form over a considerable number of turns, *by the original asker himself* (see the analysis of meeting 1 in Section 5.1.1 below). These issues clearly show that logogenesis cannot be a matter of subsequent meaning 'states', but requires a more dynamic and hermeneutic 'sense-making' (Messer, Sass &

Woolfolk 1990; Sass 1990). Meaning, then, does not inhere in the words of a single speaker or set of states, but is collaboratively and ongoingly defined and redefined:

the constitution of acts by different individuals across different turns ... and recipient negotiation of what an act will eventually be seen to demonstrate that situations exist in which actions emerge not from the speaker alone in a single turn, but rather are collaboratively defined through the process of interaction in which recipients play a very active role. (Goodwin & Duranti 1992: 18)

Thus, rather than analysing the interactions linearly (as modelled in Sefton 1995, Sefton & Matthiessen mimeo, Matthiessen in prep.) I will look at 'meaning' in a dynamic (depending on how interactionists construe the importance of certain moves) and interpretative light. This interpretation will be guided by the (meta)redundancies among lexicogrammatical, semantic, and broader processual drifts of interaction.

My focus on 'drifts' places what is said or not said within the context of what the interaction as a whole moves towards and eventually produces as *recognisable* and *recognised* outcome. Interactional moves may thus be either constructive or morphogenic, or deconstructive or schismogenic (or destructive or violent, but that is beyond the scope of this thesis).

One consequence of this approach is that I need to both pay close attention to minor developments in the talk and signal how these developments link in to the broader picture. This makes for quite a laborious and space-consuming analysis. My view is that such sustained analysis is required, however, to make sociological sense of the data.

5.1.1 Analysing the Planning Meetings

The meetings I will mainly focus on are the first and the third, and to a lesser extent the fourth. This selective choice is motivated by the general focus of the meetings in question: meeting 1, as the opening meeting, concentrates on the history of the project and focuses on the planner's task; meeting 3 brings out a conflict that arises between the officials and the junior female planner in the form of a contestation over the amount of attention that should be paid to user-related issues; meeting 4, finally, represents the first step towards 'wrapping up' the PDP stage of the project by moving

towards getting participants to 'sign off' the document which the planners are producing.

Each meeting lasted for approximately one and a half to two hours (see transcripts in Appendices A & B). My initial intention was to replicate Eggins' 1990 analysis of a dinner conversation and readjust her system of move types to formal talk. As I went through the data, however, it became clear that moves could not be defined on the basis of the more or less immediately surrounding talk, and that move complexes could span a hundred moves or more (cf. Stubbs 1983; see below). I abandoned this strategy and searched for a different way of making sense of these data.

As I went through the standard systemic functional lexicogrammatical (i.e. TRANSITIVITY, MOOD, THEME, MODALITY, and abstraction) and discourse semantic (i.e. lexical strings, social actor representation, turn taking, phase) analyses, it became clear that not one analysis was going to reveal much in itself, but that 'syndromes' of complexes of (transitive, modal, thematic, lexical, discursive, phasal) features needed to be taken into account to properly 'get at' the various dynamics that were operating through the interactions. It is for that reason that I decided to work towards what I call 'dynamic maps' which list varieties of features that contribute towards such dynamics.

These dynamic maps, presented towards the end of each analytical 'pass' through the data, set out the predominant features and dynamics that were evident during each phase of the meeting. 'Phase' here is a technical term and draws on the work of Michael Gregory:

Phase can be thought of as a very delicate statement of register realisation because particular fields, modes, personal and functional tenors of discourse are actualised by particular selections from the functional systems. (Gregory 1995: 204)

I interpreted this to mean that any shift in any one of the metafunctions heralds a new phase. Moreover, phase is an extremely flexible notion, and can be made to respond to any level of change, and thus can be made to operate at any level of analysis.

5.1.1.1 Planning Meeting 1

My analytical aim in Sections 5.1.1.1-3 is to show how institutional stasis and genesis ('classification') is embedded within and merely another aspect of ongoing interaction ('framing'). I will first address the contributions made by the AHS official (this Section and Section 5.1.1.2) and address the architect-planner's contributions in section 5.1.1.3. I will summarise these analyses in Section 5.1.2.

I briefly touched on the AHS official's talk in Chapter 3. There I argued that his contribution could be characterised as drawing on a limited set of values, with his talk constituting their realisations, or their tokens (Section 3.3). One of those values which I referred to was 'restraining cost'. I will follow through his adherence to this 'value' in more detail in what follows.

The AHS official (here initialled 'JC') initiates Phase 1 of meeting 1.

extract 1

[Meeting 1, Phase 1]

JC- Let me talk about the budget, I'm not sure David ehm Chesterman is aware of this issue, but I'm not sure about those others that might be Ehm, this project has a long history and we worked with the ah Wilde & Woollard, and in fact with Chesterman-Willis in the past and we came up with a design which at that stage the Department of Health couldn't afford and had no cash flow for so they put it on hold, ehm, and that's the last report I think that was done which was the 4th of August at a total of 3.652 million.

The significance of the cost issue for the official is clear from his desire to address it first up. The whole of phase 1, moreover, comprises over 89 moves (I am using Eggins' [1990:173] refinement of Halliday's [1967c: 30] original definition of 'move': "each tone group produced by a single speaker within a single turn at talk represents one move, provided that the tone group boundaries are co-terminous with grammatical constituent boundaries"). This stands in contrast to phases 6 or 9 (meeting 1), for example, which consist of four and three moves respectively.

The issue of cost reappears in phase 3 on initiation of the architect planner (the subtleties underpinning this will be elaborated in section 5.1.1.3 below). Towards the end of this phase, after letting the others control the topic for a while, the AHS official puts his view:

extract 2

[meeting 1, phase 3]

JC- When we were originally talking about it we were talking about a [...] fully documented job and vetting down every design issue and then the builder priced it and then, that way, ehm, the procedure now is to get this thing as quick as possible now that the department has set aside this money and decision was made to do it, DDC, which is basically, that level, not a three-dimensional solution, a good clinical two-dimensional solution, and then a specification on the finishes and whatever that was necessary, ehm, and vetting down all the engineering issues that are necessary, and then just throwing it to the builders to emh price it ...

An important 'theme' here is efficiency: 'the procedure now is to get this thing as quick as possible now that the department has set aside this money and decision was made to do it'. (I will comment on this move's lexicogrammar below.)

As the next extract shows, the architect-planner's attempt to shift the focus of the meeting towards the issue of the users' needs and preferences with regard to the changes of the mental hospital (the psychiatrist, manager and nurses) (phase 7) is interpreted by the official as deserving a reply that resets the focus onto cost (phase 8).

The architect-planner is trying to establish the extent to which the official 'feels' the users need to be involved in the production of the PDP. This might seem to suggest he does not know to what extent users are to be involved, but it becomes clear later on in the meeting that the architect-planner is very aware of the governmental guidelines that prescribe user consultation, and that he cannot afford to ignore the users due to their power of veto, and that he therefore has to co-opt the official into accepting the users' input; his question therefore is rather an 'elicitation', a display of attention-setting (see section 5.1.1.3).

As the extract shows, the official is not too taken with the idea to consult widely with the users and risk delaying implementation of the project. The official interrupts the architect-planner and reduces the user-issue to a financial concern:

extract 3

[meeting 1, phase 7]

IF- Do you have any sense at this point of which side of the fence we're sitting on or ...

[phase 8]

JC- Oh look I probably should ask that, ehm, originally this this Waratah House stands alone now and that is looked and people were looking at the deficiencies of that building and saying that they were enormous, and they looked at a different site altogether, you

might remember [to second architect], and it was talking about building totally new, actually in that stage it was a 40-bed unit, on a completely green-field site, and that was priced, and that was the first hurdle we had ... the department said "look we can't afford that, you have to go back and use, surely you've got a 20-bed unit there, it's got some value, might have some deficiencies but it's got some value", so I guess to answer what you're saying is, we're constrained by the cost plan, which really says "there's a building that's gotta have some value, sure you're going from a 20-bed unit to a 30-bed unit, but we want you to build some on and renovate the existing and make do with that", so I don't know how many options you can get out of when you have a constraint to say you've gotta use the existing building

The answer to Forbes' question, when it finally comes (after about 20 moves into this turn), is indirect in that it merely *implies* that user consultation will negatively affect the cost plan: 'so I guess to answer what you're saying is, we're constrained by the cost plan'.

The architect-planner must now be conscious that the official sees user consultation as a potential risk and finds himself in a position from where he has to justify their involvement and consultation. Before he can finish ('we need to have ... [approval from the users]') the official interrupts and again steers the talk towards the issue of cost:

extract 4

[meeting 1, phase 9]

IF- And so ... yeah, then we would look at whether or not there's other genuine ways of configuring it, but what I'm saying is that I, well, we don't really want to go through a process of prolonging that exercise, but we do need to have ...

[phase 10]

JC- Proof

'Proof' sets up a lexical link to an earlier exchange in phase 1, where the official insists that the PDP must 'prove' that the project requires either the 2.8 million budgetted for or anything more than that in view of the necessity to re-price everything:

extract 5

[meeting 1, phase 1]

JC- [No], no, it's a whole new ballgame. All we have at the moment, in the Capital Works Program is 2.8 million, and we've got to prove

IF- That we need 3 something

JC We've got to prove whatever we need.

During phase 12 the official manages a joke which again foregrounds his concern with keeping user involvement to a minimum due to the risk of a cost blow-out:

extract 6

[meeting 1, phase 12]

JC- [to second architect] Yeah they're options, and then you can get them costed and then you can say "hey we can't afford them, this is the best one" [hahaha]

When, towards the end of the meeting, the architect-planner jokes about the users possibly wanting 'twice as much', the official takes the opportunity to express again his concern (phases 15/16; the acting project manager¹ is initialised 'MD'):

extract 7

[meeting 1, phase 15]

IF- There's nothing that anybody has said in the last little while that would indicate there's anything changed. Ok. Alright.

[phase 16]

MD- That will suddenly crop up when we get them to off sign the schematic ...

IF- What you're likely to find is that they'll want twice as much [laughter]

JC- Well there is a [?] there is a [?], I mean at first they wanted a 50-bed unit and the number of mental health people in the area demonstrated using their own formula "that's what we need!"

MD- That's why [the

JC- [But they've only] given us money for 30

The official's reluctance to involve the users is largely realised cryptotypically (i.e. without semantic explicitness). In the following extract (phase 11/12), having been under subtle but continued pressure from the architect-planner to accept the user's involvement, he becomes more direct, using an 'inclusive we' and a high value modulation ('have got to') ([AT] is the Dept. of Health official who has the final say on whether the PDP proposal will be accepted):

extract 8

[meeting 1, phase 11]

IF- [Ok] no, there wasn't, I was just think..., all I'm trying to do now is to get an assessment of how much time and energy we're going to put into this PDP thing, and and how much

JC- The people in there, look you've probably worked with [AT] have you...?

IF- Oh yeah, [AT]'s very positive about the plan

JC- Yeah, and she's very conscious as well that in a lot of ..., spending a lot of effort on other options is going to be jumping through a hurdle with no fruitful value,

[phase 12]

we've got to perhaps write a page on a couple of other options and then leave it ...

IF- Ok

¹ The project manager who is down for this project is due back in the week after this meeting. MD stepped in as acting project manager.

According to the AHS official, talking to users is ‘jumping through a hurdle with no fruitful value’. So, he says, ‘we’ve got to perhaps write a page on a couple of other options and then leave it’.

The AHS official’s predicament consists in his not wanting to be inappropriately direct which contrasts with his desire to make his convictions (values) prevail. Having placed his values beyond negotiation (as already identified Value), he is left with only the possibility of variation in the realisation of its tokens (the identifying Token). It appears that this interactive strategy - placing certain values beyond negotiation - ‘encoding’ one’s interactive tokens - has consequences for both perceived and actual positioning.

The AHS official realises a ‘deep’ concern about the financial limitations he sees placed upon the project in a cryptotypic and prosodic way (Section 3.1). These realisations vary in authoritativeness and explicitness, and, as will become clear when discussing the architect-planner’s contributions, these variations constitute shifts in meaning, but not in underlying value. In brief, and foreshadowing the discussion a little, the official initially realises his positioning in a self-confident way (meeting 1, phase 1: ‘Let me talk about the Budget’), while later on he finds his authority compromised. Being confronted with the architect-planner’s insistence on user involvement, the official brings to bear increasingly objectified modulations (meeting 1, phase 4: ‘there’s a fair amount of detail required’). This, in the light of redundant patternings, signals an increasingly authoritative realisation of must-ness. Phases 6, 7 and 8 show a degree of tension, because the architect-planner keeps harping on user consultation: there are interruptions, silences, and rapid shifts in ideational focus.

When it becomes clear the architect-planner is not abandoning his view that the users need to be involved, the official mobilises first humour (phase 12; see above), then intimacy (phase 13: ‘do it quick, come up with what we agreed’), legitimation (phase 14: ‘we wouldn’t be at this stage to ...’), and more solidarity (phase 15: ‘it’s very hard here ...’) to try and win sympathy for his economic rationalist view. In essence, though, this view does not change in any sense. In Chapter 3, I proposed to label the official’s an ‘encoding positioning’, highlighting its concern with a non-flexible, monologic intertext. Figure 5.1 (reproduced from Section 3.3) summarises this.

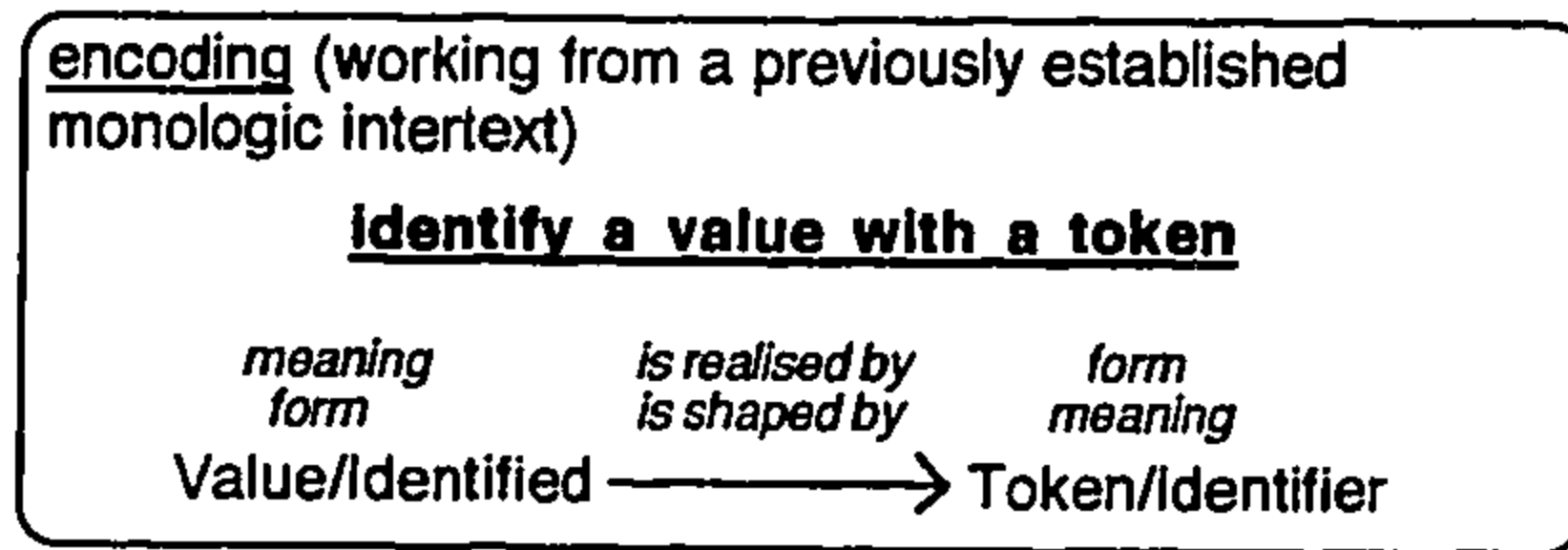


Figure 5.1: Representing the AHS official's positioning practice

Overall, the confident stance with which the official begins the meeting dwindles. During the final phases of the meeting he produces a confusing range of positionings, some ultra-authoritarian (phase 15: 'we ought to reiterate that') and some merely reacting to others' turns (phase 16: 'but they've only given us money for 30 [beds]'). This confusion concerns the range of tokens which the official mobilises for the realisation of his non-negotiable value: cost is of prime importance. He does not modify his original stance, however: 'this stage of the project needs to happen quickly and without too much time wasted on user consultation'. The official works off a previously determined value: he puts his tokens at risk, but not his values or 'betokened' (cf. Matthiessen & Nesbitt 1996: 65).

5.1.1.2 The Official's Construction of the Social Universe

The notion of 'a value which the official places beyond negotiation' suggests itself on the basis of how the official constructs his social universe. This, again, is done semantically, but also cryptotypically: his positioning comprises patterns redounding with the semantic space set out in Section 5.1.1.1. In this Section I will address two such redundancies: his lexicogrammatical-semantic positioning of 'the departmentals' and that of 'the users'.

The official's positioning of his superiors is closely tied in with the issue of cost restraint. It is they (his superiors) who are quoted directly, and thus made 'modally responsible' (Halliday 1985/94: 76; Martin 1992: 461; Mülhhausler & Harré 1990: 36) for the projected value (with the AHS official as the 'primary projector' of his superiors as 'secondary projector'). Their modal responsibility is enhanced by the AHS official's use of 'they' when referring to his departmental superiors (such as [AT] already encountered above). The phoricity implicit in the use of 'they' enhances the presence, the closeness, of those referred to (when compared to the impersonal references used for the 'users'):

extract 9

[meeting 1, phase 1]

JC- ... now that they've finished a couple of other projects they've told that they have money to finance our project, however, in the interim ehm, they had about 14 projects right across (when I say they I mean the Department of Health) had about 14 projects right across the state for mental health and they had about 15 million dollars or something and they said ...

'They' clearly represents an important point of reference for the AHS official: 'they' occurs seven times in this short extract. Not only does he give 'the departmentals' phoric prominence, he also positions them as worthy of direct quotes or 'locutions' (Halliday 1985/94: 220):

extract 10

[same turn]

...and they said "look we can't afford them all" and they gave the cost frames that were available for those projects to another quantity surveyor firm ...

[same turn]

...they said "well the building design is very costly because it's the zig-zag and a lot of external walls, and you know that's all very costly", and I said "well look, it's not a million dollars costlier!" Eh, and they said "well we cannot afford it you'll have to build it to that".

Somewhat later in phase 1 (meeting 1):

extract 11

[meeting 1, phase 1]

JC- But we certainly don't have to bill to 2.8, but with a lot of projects they say "you know you've got 4 million, so you got to design to that", we don't have that constraint on us yet, although eh, we're told it's not a Rolls Royce solution either...

In phase 8 (meeting 1), the AHS official again quotes 'them' directly, as well as their cost plan:

extract 12

JC- ... and that was the first hurdle we had ... the department said "look we can't afford that, you have to go back and use, surely you've got a 20-bed unit there, it's got some value, might have some deficiencies but it's got some value", so I guess to answer what you're saying is, we're constrained by the cost plan, which really says "there's a building that's gotta have some value, sure you're going from a 20-bed unit to a 30-bed unit, but we want you to build some on and renovate the existing and make do with that"...

And again in phase 15 (meeting 1):

extract 13

JC- ... they keep wanting capital works not only to do more buildings, and therefore they get seriously challenged on this one, “you don’t get a new building, you can renovate that one or rent that one down the road or whatever” ...

Apart from these locutions, ‘they’ also occurs with indirect quotes or ‘ideas’ (Halliday 1985/94: 220):

extract 14

[meeting 1, phase 1]

They’re now saying something quite different, that they’ve 2.8 million dollars in their budget that’s approved for the project, and they recognize that we’ve got to do, go through the proper process: PDP, look at the options, come up with the the solution that fits it clinically with whatever it needs, and a cost plan will be developed, and then it will be set at that. Now I think I think they hope they can get it for 2.7, but I’m telling everyday I run into to them that that was a 1992 price and then they keep saying “well we’ll work it out and we’ll approve whatever it is ...”

Ideas produce the original wording (the ‘said’) as meaning. In the case of verbal processes this does not necessarily involve any major assumptions, but in the case of mental processes (‘they hope they can get it for 2.7’) this suggests the speaker presumes to have access to the minds of those reported on (cf. Iedema et al [1995: 295] on the use of mental processes, voice and institutional status). The AHS official is construing a high degree of solidarity between himself and ‘the departmentals’, i.e. a virtual ‘we’.

While ideas orient us towards the speaking subject (the AHS official), locutions orient towards the quoted subject (his superiors). In ideas, “the deictic orientation in the projected clause is that of the Speaker of the projecting one” (Thibault 1991a: 47), in this case the AHS official. In locutions “the deictic orientation in the projected clause is that of the Sayer” (Thibault 1991a: 47), in this case ‘the departmentals’. The AHS official’s extensive use of locutions suggests his intention to render ‘the departmentals’ as more “immediate and lifelike” (Thibault 1991a: 47). “This effect is enhanced by the deictic orientation” (Thibault 1991a: 47). The AHS official’s superiors are construed as a ‘real life force’.

Considering the construction of his superiors from the lexical end, it becomes evident that ‘the departmentals’ are either spatialised (as ‘the Department’; ‘the Area’; using Theo van Leeuwen’s Social Actor Representation analysis; van Leeuwen 1993) or pronominalised as ‘they’ or ‘we’. This lexicogrammatical positioning inevitably involves extensive thematisation, which

rhetorically results in positioning 'they' as Given (Halliday 1993d: 60).

By contrast, the *users* are positioned very differently (cf. Davies & Harré 1990 on 'discursive positioning'). They occur in thematic position only rarely, and are often 'pushed back' into embedded clauses:

'and there's a chap there now called [KC] who's acting Director'; 'planning meetings where the clinicians will be present'

or Circumstantials:

'we have that security of knowledge through [FL]'.

Moreover, they are referred to mainly in generic ('those people'), institutional ('the doctors'), or other ways which emphasise the institutional (i.e. formal, impersonal, distanced) nature of the relation. Apart from being nominated on two occasions ('[FL]', 'a chap called [KC]'), the users are circumstantialised ('recovery of those people'), functionalised ('director of nurses', 'the doctors', 'doctor Bill Andrews'), or generified ('other people in the unit') - all of which are distancing devices.

In terms of Transitivity, the AHS official 'positions' the users during the first meeting once as Sayer ('doctors said'); once as Senser ('they love it'), four times as Carrier ('the doctor is consistent'; 'doctor Bill Andrews was critical'; '[elided Subject] very interested'; '[elided Subject] very much along ...'); twice as Actor ('he's moved on'; '[FL] has circulated that plan'); once as Goal ('he may/may not get the job'), and once as Existent ('a chap called [KC] who...').

Thus, the semiotic space which the users are accorded is distant (because institutional and functional), restricted (because occurring much less frequently in the talk than 'the departmentals'), and static (because predominately relational-attributive).

Thibault talks about this kind of marginalisation of a voice as its 'disarticulation'. In this view, the users are disarticulated from their own position and rearticulated into a hegemonic discourse:

Thus a monologic articulation enacts a global foreclosure whereby opposing positioned-practices and their textual voicings are disarticulated from their 'own' position and rearticulated to the hegemonic principle. (Thibault 1991a: 213)

This detailing of semiotic space created by the AHS official for these two participant groups is necessary for when I address the architect-planner's discursive strategies below. These will turn out to be highly dynamic, in that they 'play off against' the talk produced by the AHS official in extremely subtle ways: "a dialogic contextualisation can articulate [a] plurality of positioned-practices and voices to destabilise monologic closure" (Thibault 1991: 213). This is what the next section will address.

5.1.1.3 The Architect-Planner as Morphogenic Catalyst

In this section I will focus on the architect-planner as the morphogenic catalyst: it is his responsibility to move the planning project along from a variety of possibly opposed views on what should happen towards a 'consensus'. The analysis will be detailed, and it will at the same time cover considerable stretches of talk. This is because morphogenesis is a process which is intertwined with the ordinary circumstances in which it occurs and through which it works. In other words, it is 'epigenetic' in the sense that it passes along broadly predetermined developmental routes under the influence of circumstance and chance (cf. Edelman 1992: 23; Lemke 1993: 257). This means, again, that my description will have to stay very close to the actual dynamics of the talk. For this reason, I will restrict myself to an exposition of the morphogenic dynamics in meeting 1, and then address the issue of morphogenesis as it relates to the project as whole at higher levels of abstraction and in less analytical detail in Section 5.3.

Above I showed that the AHS official approaches bureaucratic interaction with a given value or 'betokened', being only prepared to put his tokens (i.e. that value's realisations) 'at risk'. This was further brought out by how he construes his semiotic universe: 'the departmentals' are tangible Sayers whose presence is simulated through the use of direct quotes or locutions and phoricity, and the ultimate users of the building are an opaque collective of merely functionally relevant entities. To capture this positioning strategy, I labelled the AHS official an 'encoder'.

To argue that the architect-planner is an 'decoder', I need to show that he operates not with values as Given/Identified, but with 'what is there in front of him', i.e. Tokens as Given/Identified. That is, he takes the voices (tokens) of the various stakeholders as his starting point, or more accurately as his 'Identified in search of an Identifier'.

I also need to show that he is ultimately capable of successfully decoding those tokens in terms of a value or 'betokened'. In other words, I need to show that he is capable of generating metaphors or 'formulations' of what is said (Garfinkel & Sacks 1970: 350; Wittgenstein 1953: §75). These should 'satisfy' (or 'satisfice') all the stakeholders (the departmentals, the AHS official, the users, the governmental guidelines, as well as the architect who operates with architectural and technological constraints). Whereas the AHS official works with only one static intertext (projected through the voice of 'the departmentals'), the architect-planner finds himself at the centre of a number of intertexts.

First, there are Dept. of Health planning guidelines, or the *Process of Facility Planning* (see Chapter 4). Other relevant governmental regulations are the mental hospital building regulations, and committee reports that have been granted legal status (e.g. the Burdekin report, which stipulates numbers of toilets, minimum room sizes, etc.). Then there are the AHS official's bureaucratic intertexts: cost and efficiency. The acting project manager's intertext is that of project organisation. The architect planner's most immediate intertexts are his own design and technological discourses, as well as his reputation as effective 'planner' ensuring future consultancies. The users' intertexts revolve around preferences, needs and wants, mostly deriving from an intimate knowledge of the daily requirements of their jobs and from insight into the consequences for the way their institutional space is organised. The following diagram (Figure 5.2) portrays the various stakeholder voices and their intertexts.

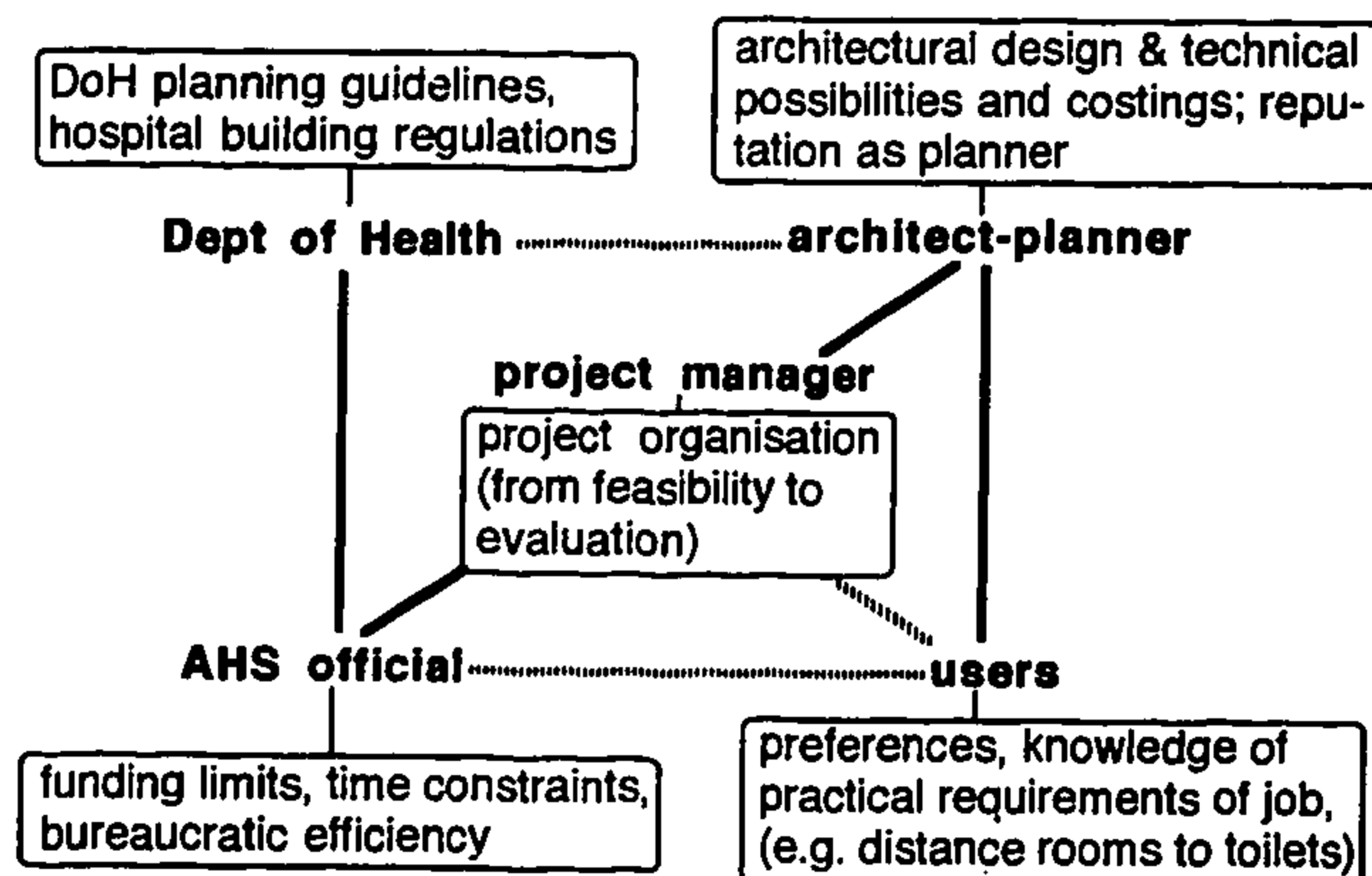


Figure 5.2: Stakeholder voices and intertexts

The thick lines in the diagram represent relatively high levels of interaction and attention between 'voices'. The shaded lines represent more tentative levels of interaction and attention. So, the architect-planner communicates with the acting project manager, the AHS official, and the users, but has little contact with the Dept. of Health. The users communicate predominantly via the architect-planner (and the junior planner; meeting 2), and much less with the acting project manager and the AHS official. This construes a hierarchy of communication: who communicates with who, who represents who, and whose intertexts are foregrounded (or given attention; Forester 1993a: 42) and whose are not.

During a large part of the meeting the architect-planner positions himself as 'asker'. His questions aim to elicit the voices, and through them the intertexts, of the stakeholders in the project. He does not orient himself purely ideationally, but also manipulates talk interpersonally. As Forbes told me privately,

they [stakeholders] don't know the longer term implications of what it is they're saying, in many cases, so those are things I can do, make sure that's happening in meetings, and there's people that are contrary, who just don't really understand, and they make a lot of noise, um, and you just have to balance the people that are making a lot of noise, you know, empty vessels make a lot of noise, um, and the ones who really may not be saying something but have substance, try to get those people to say what they have to say (Ian Forbes, 9/2/95, interview at UNSW School of Health Services Management, prior to the planning project)

An important part of the architect-planner's task, then, is to co-opt stakeholders into 'the game': 'to get people to say what they have to say'. In semiotic terms, co-option means 'being given space to voice one's intertext(s)'.

Intertextuality has been defined as what links texts "which share a common thematic system" and which belong to a particular kind of social activity (Lemke 1985b: 281; also Coward & Ellis 1977: 52; Threadgold 1991: 75; Thibault 1991a: 124). Voice, following Thibault, is the textual realisation of specific intertexts.

I define voice as the textual realisations of specific intersections of heteroglossic varieties and semantic registers, seen as instantiations of some still wider system of heteroglossic relations in the social semiotic system (Thibault 1991a: 43)

Thus, it is the architect-planner's task to detect what deserves attention in view of the possibility of it becoming a stumbling block later on in the project.

so I listen to hear whether or not comments are being made by nurses that make sense or sound like they're raising a legitimate concern, in other words if it's a matter of spatial separation, or if there's something that I know will become a problem if it isn't dealt with, or there is a set of choices perhaps, you know between, you can run it one way or another ... so if one of those triggers, like you hear somebody saying 'yeah but what about the something', and all the people are saying forget it forget it, we're not worrying about that, I know that's a problem, it's gonna be a problem later on, if it isn't resolved now, if we don't come to terms dealing with this particular thing, ... then what I'll do is say right, I'll have to make a note of that and bring it up again ... (Ian Forbes, interview 9/2/95)

It is up to the architect-planner to weave stakeholder interests together into his report, the PDP, keeping track of what people bring up and of what might become a 'road block'.

how well are you able to see the hurdles ... the road blocks that people, well the difficulty people are having, they will give you cues, say things about what it is that is a problem (Ian Forbes, interview 9/2/95).

The architect-planner is therefore not primarily concerned with the ideational contents of those various interests, but with their potential for becoming an (interpersonal) 'road block', and this depends on the risk of certain people losing the sense that their voice is being heard, on how much attention they will eventually command, and on the perceived seriousness of the issues they raise.

The architect-planner's task, then, is to assess how much attention needs to be accorded to the various voices and to see how they (as tokens) can be interwoven into a coherent and socially acceptable formulation ('betokened'; 'value'). As will have become clear, the issue of 'giving attention to' may be more of an interpersonal than an ideational matter.

well first of all it's fairly important to understand who has the power in the system, other words, who's gonna be somebody we really have to get approval from, not because of the title but cause of the way they exercise power in the group, other words, quite often in hospital planning exercises um you'll find that there are key individuals who may not be carrying a label, but who are in fact significant in terms of their peer group and it's very important to listen to the conversation and see who it is they're referring to ... (Ian Forbes, interview 9/2/95)

I will now offer a dynamic description of the architect-planner's positioning throughout meeting 1. He starts by eliciting the voice and intertext(s) of the main player present: the AHS official. He does this by exploring the state of play of the project's budget:

extract 15

[meeting 1, phase 1]

IF- Do you, does that mean we get a base year with some inflation or something, [or]

JC- [No], no, it's a whole new ballgame. All we have at the moment, in the Capital Works Program is 2.8 million, and we've got to prove

In the next extract (phase 2) the architect-planner first elicits reactions to the issue of 'the users'. But rather than positioning them in the discourse as specific given entities, he refers to them in a very tentative way: 'some other players' (indefinite generic noun), 'different people' (indefinite generic noun), 'the medical side of the thing' (metaphorisation), constructing them not as Given but as New information (i.e. as receiving the 'tonic'), inviting negotiation.

extract 16

[meeting 1, phase 2]

IF- Now can I can I just John can I just ask a couple of things, one is that, at least try and fill in some gaps in history here, ehm, there are some other players now, in the game, is that right, in 1992 there were different people, I'm talking about the medical side of the thing, eh, ...

JC- Yeah, the key to [that]

IF- [Um, do we] have any knowledge about their feelings with respect to the current plans and stuff like that

JC- They love the current plan

IF- Ah! [That's ... eh positive]

JC- [Huhuh, ehm,] the director of nurses, sorry the Nursing Unit Manager is consistent

IF- So she is she was involved ...

JC- Nonono, he he

IF- He, sorry,

The architect-planner initiates phase 3 with yet another question, this time again to do with the costing issue:

extract 17

[meeting 1, phase 3]

IF- OK, so that was the fir... the second question is do you guys, David or anybody, have an idea of whether or not um the difference between 92, we've been through a recession and all kinds of funny things, so we're looking at a lot of increasing cost for the same thing?

After listening to a reply from the builder-supplier (one turn), the architect-planner continues with the cost issue:

extract 18
[meeting 1, phase 3]
IF- Because I'm just wondering how much the dollar thing is going to be an issue because if we, if we go off on a tangent and develop all sorts of medical justifications and directions and strategies in mental health and then suddenly find we're talking a million dollars difference we you know, we're really shooting up a dead [tree, but]

He initiates phase 4, shifting the focus from costing to the nature of the PDP:

extract 19
[meeting 1, phase 4]
IF- So the documentation post-PDP ehm is to very much like a developed design stage, is that really what it's about?

And he initiates phase 6 (which consists of this turn and one in response from the AHS official: 'Hmm') again asking for clarification about his role in the project:

extract 20
[meeting 1, phase 6]
IF- Could I ask then I guess basically what is going to happen with this exercise it's gonna be David Chesterman and Ian who are going to do the architectural part of it, I'm really coming in specifically to pin down the PDP part of that

So far, the architect-planner has alternated questions regarding costing (phase 1 and 3), with questions regarding his task and the nature of the PDP (phase 4 and 6), with questions regarding the users (phase 2 and 7). This interweaving of issues reflects his sense that, on the one hand, the issue of user consultation is a sticking point (see extract 3 above), while on the other hand attention to user issues cannot be decided in advance: it will have to depend on the degree to which the users are going to demand attention. Hence, the architect-planner weaves in and out of the potential problem area of user involvement. The tension that is at stake here becomes evident from phase 7 onwards.

In my analysis, phase 7 is a crucial part of the meeting. It represents the beginning of a stretch of tension which culminates with the planner taking control and the AHS official realising that his voice is being repositioned from the dominant to merely one among others. As I will show, the 'conflict', cryptotypic as is its realisation, stretches across the next seven phases (from phase 8 to phase 15). The way in which this 'conflict' unfolds is crucial to

appreciating the architect-planner's positioning strategy, as well as his skill as morphogenic catalyst. I place 'conflict' in scare quotes because of its cryptotypicality: it is not enacted 'congruently' through lexicogrammatical or semantic interpersonal resources (i.e. Mood, or Appraisal; cf. Martin in press b/c), but incongruently, drawing on textual resources (who initiates what phase, who speaks during what phase) and ideational resources (what intertexts are mobilised and exploited; cf. Kress 1995: 130). Non-lexical interpersonal (i.e. discourse-semantic) resources like non-supportive interruption, silence, legitimation (involving logical relations), and laughter also provide important resources.

Not having pushed his earlier question too far (meeting 1, phase 2: 'there were some other players now, in the game, is that right ... I'm talking about the medical side of thing'), the architect-planner comes back to the issue of 'users' to gain a better sense of the AHS official's view on the desirability of their involvement. In the initiating turn (of phase 7) cited below, the architect-planner achieves a myriad of things. He begins his repositioning of the AHS official; he opens the talk up to another official voice, that of the government guideline (as specified in the *Process of Facility Planning*, see Chapter 4); he builds a growing prosody of references to 'the users', while at the same time signalling he is asking, not stating, and thereby managing to keep the official on side.

At the start of his turn (extract 21 below) the architect-planner refers to 'the users' metaphorically: 'how much you feel we need to revisit old sites as it were'. This interrogative clause achieves two things. First, the users are metaphorised as 'old sites' and their discursive presence is therefore initially blunted. Second, the AHS official's authority is subtly being reconstituted from one which is grounded in 'knowledge' (meeting 1, phase 2: 'If- Ehm, do we have any knowledge about their feelings with respect to the current plan and stuff like that ...') to one based on what we 'feel'.

Also, the architect-planner signals the importance of his 'question' cryptotypically: his length of turn at talk is greater than at any previous occasion during the meeting. The significance of this turn also lies in the *grammatical* 'levelling' of those present at the meeting ('you') and the users: 'there is a series of users who may want an opportunity who may want to look at it again, you may not want 'em to do that, but that may be the opportunity we've got'. Both those present ('you') and the users are now positioned as Sensors engaged in a mental process of emotion ('want'; cf. Halliday 1973: 120 on the agentive nature of the Phenomenon and

hence the 'passiveness' of the Senser-Medium). Moreover, stakeholders are now positioned within Affect (Martin in press b/c): 'everybody is basically happy', 'John is anxious'. The architect-planner himself, by contrast, is not a Senser but Possessor of a nominalised mental process: he has a sense' of things. While these details may seem arbitrary, I see them as part of the prosody that he is setting up, through which he gradually establishes his authority and ultimately takes the reins by deciding that 'we'll touch all bases' (see below).

extract 21

[meeting 1, phase 7]

IF- Although obviously there's an overlap, so I'm really interested in knowing from you people how much you feel we need to revisit old sites as it were, ehm, the PDP would have to be, at least technically, in accordance with the guideline, the project ... process guideline [?] , and it calls for things like "three options" and, you know, all that sort of stuff, I guess what I need to know is, to what extent ... ehm, I mean there were options looked at presumably, at that time, ehm, to what extent we want to revisit all those things, do we want to go back to users and revisit them, do we want to do this thing sort of in remote mode and roam around for comment, I mean just to what extent do you guys feel we need to ..., I mean there are two sides to the argument, one is that ehm there is a series of users who may want an opportunity who may want to look at it again, you may not want 'em to do that, but that may be the opportunity we've got, in which case we'll then go through a fairly genuine process of looking at it, if there's a sense that ehm everybody is basically happy with it and they're trying to kind of patch it up and get it into line with the agreements and then press on, which I have a sense is at least what John is anxious to do

JC- hm

IF- Do you have any sense at this point of which side of the fence we're sitting on or ...

The whole of phase 7 may be characterised as a 'macro-question' realised by means of declaratives ('I'm really interested in knowing ...', 'I guess what I need to know is ...') as well as interrogatives ('do we want to go back to the users', 'do we want to do this thing in sort of remote mode'), and driven forward by legitimations drawing on the official regulative intertext ('the PDP would have to be ... in accordance with the guideline'). The architect-planner sets up the situation in terms of two alternatives: either we 'go back to the users', or 'we roam around in remote mode'. When the AHS official responds only tentatively ('hmm'; suggesting displeasure if read retrospectively from phase 8), the architect-planner rewords the alternatives more metaphorically ('do you have any sense at this point which side of the fence we're sitting on or ...').

The AHS official's response (phase 8) makes clear which side of the fence *he* is sitting on, and which side he hopes Forbes will sit on, too. This response shows how sensitive the AHS official is to any suggestion regarding user consultation. From the inclusive 'we's' above (phase 1: 'All we have at the moment in the Capital Works program is 2.8. million', 'But we certainly don't have to bill to 2.8', 'we don't have that constraint on us yet', 'we're told it's not a Rolls Royce solution either', and so on), the AHS official moves to a distinct 'I', insisting that the asking of this question falls within his responsibility. This setting of professional boundaries I take to be the first explicit sign of tension:

extract 22

[phase 8]

JC- Oh look I probably should ask that, ehm, originally this this Waratah House stands alone now and that is looked and people were looking at the deficiencies of that building and saying that they were enormous, and they looked at a different site altogether, you might remember Ian (Brodie), and it was talking about building totally new, actually in that stage it was a 40-bed unit, on a completely green-field site, and that was priced, and that was the first hurdle we had ... the department said "look we can't afford that, you have to go back and use, surely you've got a 20-bed unit there, it's got some value, might have some deficiencies but it's got some value", so I guess to answer what you're saying is, we're constrained by the cost plan, which really says "there's a building that's gotta have some value, sure you're going from a 20-bed unit to a 30-bed unit, but we want you to build some and renovate the existing and make do with that", so I don't know how many options you can get out of when you have a constraint to say you've gotta use the existing [building]

The AHS official prefaces his answer to the architect-planner's question with information about the history of the project ('that was priced, and that was the first hurdle we had...'). Then the AHS official invokes the department, using a lengthy locution. It is only after this considerable amount of legitimation that he answers the original question: 'so I guess to answer what you're saying is, we're constrained by the cost plan'. This indirectness is in keeping with the AHS official's talk in general: it is the Dept. of Health that is construed as holding power, and he does so only indirectly as their mediator.

The AHS official hears the architect-planner as meaning that the project could be 'thrown wide open to involve the users'. It is this interpretation he sets up to argue against: we are constrained cost-wise, so we can't make up for all the deficiencies of the building and we have to restrict its number of beds. The architect-planner accepts this much:

extract 23
 [meeting 1, phase 8]
 IF- [No] that's true, now I think there's a difference between 'do we build on this side or somewhere else', we've gone past that point, [we're now talking about using the existing building]
 JC- [they've basically told us to use that site]
 IF- So, in terms of the guideline, what we would have to do then is demonstrate that of a number of ways of configuring an addition to an existing building that is the best one
 JC- Yeah
 IF- We'd also have to look at the no-build option, which they always put into these things, which basically says 'can we do nothing and get away with it', and we would fairly quickly answer that's not on ?- ...

The tension is also evident from the increasing number of non-supportive overlaps and from the increased amount of talk overlapping (marked with the square brackets in the extracts). The AHS official's 'they've basically told us to use that site' totally overlaps with the architect-planner's 'we're now talking about using the existing building'.

But Forbes is not allowing the tension to become overt conflict. Instead, he mobilises resources to subtly persuade the AHS official to take note of the legality of his concern with user consultation. First, he drops the issue of user consultation and reverts to the issue of the government guideline, eliciting a non-overlapping 'yeah' from the AHS official. The 'guideline' is an 'instrument of symbolic control' (Iedema 1994/6: 70) and here it forms part of an 'Appeal to Institutional Entity' (Iedema 1994/6: 70). This appeal is mobilised to signal to the AHS official that there are levels of authority above him, and that the architect-planner knows how to use them. The reference to the guideline (the *Process of Facility Planning*) therefore constitutes an Appeal justifying an implicit Command: 'accept that there is to be a degree of user consultation'.

The architect-planner showed his awareness of the governmental intertext earlier in the meeting:

extract 24
 [meeting 1, phase 4]
 MD- Well it's almost to a sort of D.A. stage plus a bit, isn't it in a way
 IB- Yeah
 IF- Well OK D.A. stage is ..., I'm just going on the original call for tenders which was put out by PWD, or whoever was involved, and it did list a set of things in there which we were to comply with

But in phase 8 he uses this intertext against the AHS official, 'forcing him into submission' to a yet higher authority. This is evident from the how the talk further unfolds in extract 23:

extract 23b

JC- Yeah

IF- We'd also have to look at the no-build option, which they always put into these things, which basically says 'can we do nothing and get away with it', and we would fairly quickly answer that's not on ?- ...

The architect-planner knows that the guidelines prescribe consideration of the 'no-build option', and uses this to signal to the AHS official that he *might be* prepared to recommend that the project not go ahead at all. In view of the AHS official's institutional prerogatives (wanting to be seen as an effective bureaucrat), this constitutes a challenge - but one which he cannot counter.

Immediately softening the blow, however, the architect-planner acknowledges that 'we don't want to go through a process of prolonging the exercise':

extract 25

[meeting 1, phase 8]

?- ...

IF- And so ... yeah, then we would look at whether or not there's other genuine ways of configuring it,

[phase 9]

but what I'm saying is that I, well, we don't really want to go through a process of prolonging that exercise, but we do need to have ...

[phase 10]

JC- Proof

Admitting that, he still insists that 'we do need to have' ... - and, based on his previous talk, he could only have been going to refer to 'user consultation'. But the AHS official interrupts with 'Proof'. The implications of this turn have been discussed above. Rather than allow the architect-planner to finish his sentence, the official jumps in and redirects the talk towards the issue of cost (see extract 4 and 5 and their interpretation above).

The architect-planner deals as follows with the AHS official's 'resistance':

extract 26

[meeting 1, phase 10]

JC- Proof

IF- Proof well what will happen is, people over in North Sydney are going to look at it and say, "can you convince us that this is still the best way to solve the problem of adding on to an existing building, you know, cost efficient way", and I think that's really what we have to address, now as I said, there are quite specific things we need to do, we need to look at the service implications and since 1992 there has been a strategic master plan or something like that about the mental health services in the area, that has to be looked at I think, Maria did you find anything that was there, I don't know,

[these are things]

JC- [I've, I've] I've got some files in my office

IF- Have you, ok. So we should perhaps gather all that junk together and see what there is.

[phase 11]

We will have to go back to stakeholders, whatever we do, both in the Department I think and in the hospital, and at least run our ideas past, to this stage again

JC- Hmhm.

IF- So we'll have to have some meetings with those people

First, the architect-planner positions the 'people in North-Sydney' (i.e. the official's Dept. of Health superiors) as worthy of locutions, conforming as it were to the voice of the AHS official ('... and say "can you convince us that this is still the best way to solve the problem ..."', and thereby showing awareness of and respect for the official's intertext. He explicitly adds 'and I think that [Tk/Ir]'s really what we have to address [Vl/Id]', which is a motivation-encoding relational process (a concrete Token ['people over in North Sydney say "can you convince us ..."'] realising an abstract Value ['what we have to address']; cf. Davidse 1996b: 122). This encoding anchors the official's intertext within that which is being construed by the architect-planner: the planner now assumes the position of authority by stating what 'we have to address'.

The diagram below (Figure 5.3) schematises the way in which the architect-planner weaves in and out of the 'tension zone' (i.e. the issue of user consultation), and ends up straddling all three ideational columns. The AHS official occupies turns mainly in the third column. The increases in font size and the bold index the 'genesis' of the architect-planner's positioning or voice.

This positioning genesis is also evident lexicogrammatically. Considering the whole of the meeting, the architect-planner shifts from predominantly existentials (or 'middle' processes [cf. Davidse 1992b: 121ff, 1992c: 95]: 'there are some other players now', 'there were different people', 'there's a better drawing somewhere') and decoding relational processes earlier in the meeting ('the second question is do you guys, David or anybody, have an idea whether or not um the difference ...', 'the dollar thing is going to be an issue', 'the documentation post-PDP um is to very

much like a developed design stage', 'is that really what it's about') to a set of lexicogrammatical resources comprising modulation, encodings, and declaratives, together constructing authority.

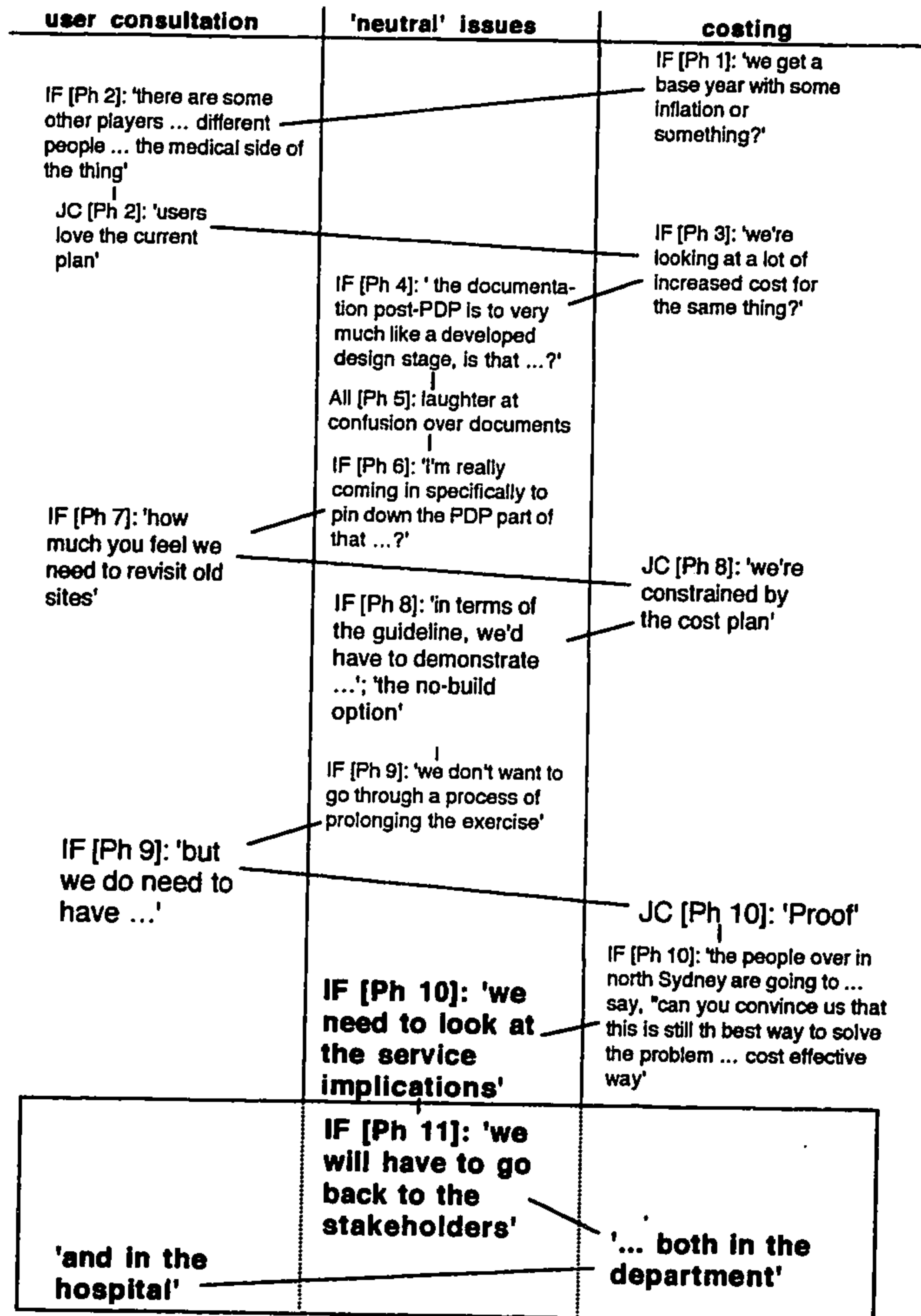


Figure 5.3: Schematising the architect-planner's interactional strategy

This change in positioning means, first, that the architect-planner does not realise 'redundancy' (the consistent and unchanging realisation of a positioning), as does the AHS official (whose range of resources remains within both ideational [cost] and interpersonal [modulation] boundaries).

Also, the architect-planner acknowledges the legitimacy of intertexts other than that of the official and of his immediate superiors. He brings in the government guideline intertext: 'there are quite specific things we need to do, we need to look at the service implications and since 1992 there has been a strategic master plan or something like that about the mental health services in the area, that has to be looked at I think'. The shift from 'need to' (mental process of emotion; Matthiessen mimeo: 208) to 'have to' as modulation signals an increase in 'objectiveness' (see Halliday 1970: 202 on 'modulation-compulsion'; or Butler 1987: 130 on 'have to' as 'general obligation') and therefore a decrease in negotiability. There are other signs as well of Forbes' gradual auto-repositioning and I will elaborate these below.

Forbes also weaves the users into the fabric of his talk:

extract 26b
[phase 11]

We will have to go back to stakeholders, whatever we do, both in the Department I think and in the hospital, and at least run our ideas past, to this stage again

JC- Hmhm.

IF- So we'll have to have some meetings with those people

Significantly, modulation is now packaged not merely as 'have to' but also includes 'will', combining high value must-ness with high value 'prediction' (see Downes 1977: 87 on 'will' as high value command/ prediction; also Iedema 1994/6).

Within the space of these three turns (see extract 26), the architect-planner 'morphs' the various intertexts that (will) claim any stake in the project so far. The following table (Table 5.1) summarises the features that signal this bringing together of intertexts (right hand column) in extract 26.

modality	desired action	object of action	intertext
<i>I think that's really what we have to</i>	<i>address</i>	<i>[what] people over in North Sydney [Dept. of Health superiors] are going to ... say</i>	AHS official's intertext

[table 5.1 cont'd next page]

modality	desired action	object of action	intertext
<i>we need to</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>quite specific things (general)</i>	(general)
<i>we need to</i>	<i>look at</i>	<i>service implications (relevant government reports)</i>	government regulations intertext
<i>that has to I think</i>	<i>be looked at</i>	<i>since 1992 there has been a strategic master plan or something like that about the mental health services in the area</i>	government regulations intertext
<i>we should perhaps</i>	<i>gather and see</i>	<i>all that junk what there is</i>	government regulations intertext
<i>we will have to</i>	<i>go back</i>	<i>to the stakeholders ...</i>	(general)
<i>I think</i>	...	<i>both in the Department</i>	AHS official's intertext
...	...	<i>and in the hospital</i>	users intertext
<i>we'll have to</i>	<i>have</i>	<i>meetings with those people</i>	users intertext (?)

Table 5.1: Architect-planner's 'morphing' of intertexts

Later in the meeting (phase 12), a similar 'morphing' re-occurs but by then at a higher level of abstraction ('we'll hit all the bases required for a PDP'). I will comment on the significance of this below.

The official's response to the architect-planner's morphogenic moves is both resigned ('so ... we'll have to do it out in the open) and self-justificatory ('I mean there's no ...'):

extract 27
[meeting 1, phase 11]
IF- So we'll have to have some meetings with those people
JC- Well in future we'll have planning meetings where the clinicians will be present and PWD will be present and there'll be Department of Health representatives, [so ...], we'll have to do it out in the open, I mean there's no

The architect-planner responds to this by legitimising (and thereby softening) his own insistence, showing just enough deference not to lose the AHS official's goodwill. Interestingly, the underlying reasons which caused the tension in the first place are not ideationalised (JC- 'I mean there's no ...'; IF- 'Ok, no there wasn't ..., I was just think...')!

extract 28

[meeting 1, phase 11]

JC- Well in future we'll have planning meetings where the clinicians will be present and PWD will be present and there'll be Department of Health representatives, [so ...], we'll have to do it out in the open, I mean there's no ...

IF-

[Ok] no, there wasn't, I

was just think..., all I'm trying to do now is to get an assessment of how much time and energy we're going to put into this PDP thing, and and how much ...

The architect-planner justifies his moves on the basis that 'all I'm trying to do now is to get an assessment of how much time and energy we're going to put into this PDP thing'. This move presents what Garfinkel & Sacks 1970: 350 would call a 'formulation'.

The AHS official still does not give up, however. The talk proceeds with him making explicit the views of his immediate Dept. of Health superior, [AT], in support of his own ('she's very conscious as well that [...] spending a lot of effort [...] is going to be jumping through a hurdle with no fruitful value'):

extract 29

[meeting 1, phase 11]

IF- [Ok] no, there wasn't, I was just think..., all I'm trying to do now is to get an assessment of how much time and energy we're going to put into this PDP thing, and and how much

JC- The people in there, look you've probably worked with [AT] have you...?

IF- Oh yeah, [AT]'s very positive about the plan

JC- Yeah, and she's very conscious as well that in a lot of ..., spending a lot of effort on other options is going to be jumping through a hurdle with no fruitful value,

[phase 12]

we've got to perhaps write a page on a couple of other options and then leave it ...

IF- Ok

Whereas the AHS official's discouragement has been ideational up to this point (e.g. 'so I guess to answer your question we're constrained by the cost plan'), he now mobilises what can be read as either Appraisal: Appreciation (i.e. the evaluation of an object: 'spending a lot of effort on other options is fruitless') or Appraisal: Judgment (i.e. the assessment of a person or his/her action: 'doing that is useless'; cf. Martin in press b/c). In the face of the architect-planner's taking the reins (i.e. by encoding what it is 'we will have to do'), the AHS official resorts to increased interpersonalisation. This interpersonalising drift culminates not in aggression, however (the architect-planner is too resilient to ever let it come to that), but in a demand for sympathy in phase 15 (see below).

The official uses the above legitimising reference to 'AT' as springboard for his next move, a straightforward Command (despite the 'we'): 'we've got to perhaps write a page on a couple of other options and then leave it'. The architect-planner does not offer any resistance in the face of this and assents, for now.

What follows is a brief discussion about the various options which the PDP has to present (IF- 'And they're genuine options that that ...'). The AHS official must be feeling more relaxed, and perhaps he even thinks the architect-planner has finally succumbed to his economic rationalist point of view. He shows his relative confidence by resorting to a 'joke':

extract 30

[meeting 1, phase 12]

IB- Yeah! I think we have at least three others ... that we've

JC- Yeah, and

IF- And they're genuine options that that ...

IB- Oh they're genuine options

JC- I mean we looked at going out here [points at map] but there's a ... because of a fall on the ground you know you have to have a suspended slab and at this end it would be 12 meters off the ground

IB- Same this way

JC- Yeah

MD- I would suggest those are the options you need to ...

JC- [to IB] Yeah they're options, and then you can get them costed and then you can say "hey we can't afford them, this is the best one" [hahaha]

IF- Yeah, alright

In the official's ideal world the users are to be presented with their choice of option as a *fait accompli*: 'this is the best one'. But then the architect-planner moves in again, making use of the prevailing bouyant mood (which he used in a similar way earlier on when shifting the talk from phase 6 [about the PDP task] into phase 7, which dealt with the user consultation issue). This again shows the architect-planner's sensitivity to the interpersonal currents working through the meeting, while not allowing himself to be taken up or taken in by them:

extract 31

[meeting 1, phase 12]

JC- [to IB] Yeah they're options, and then you can get them costed and then you can say "hey we can't afford them, this is the best one" [hahaha]

IF- Yeah, alright

IB- You can tell me, Ian, whether they, whether what we ehm described at that stage goes far enough as as a

[inaudible]

[phase 13]

IF- Ok, alright, good, well I think what we'll do is we'll go back and make sure that we hit all the bases that are required for a PDP, where we've got information that exists from the previous exercise that satisfies that process then we'll plug that in, and then I think what we'll do, we'll just, we'll get them all together, maybe the way to do is we'll get everything together, write it up as like we've been doing for economic evaluations, economic evaluations are the other end of the process, having done it you go back and see whether it works, so we'll use that method if you like to sort of revisit the thing, but write it up as though it was done first time ...

Interestingly, it was the AHS official who predominantly realised his talk using the more 'authoritative' encoding relational processes (e.g. 'All we have at the moment [VI/Id] is 2.8 million [Tk/Ir]', 'What we really ought to do [VI/Id] is ask David to go away and read up on square meter rates [Tk/Ir]', 'a fully documented job [Tk/Ir] is what we were talking about [VI/Id]'; cf. Davidse 1992b: 117ff). By now a status inversion has taken place: the architect-planner now dictates what 'will have to' happen, using encodings: 'what we'll do [VI/Id] is we'll go back and make sure that we hit all the bases that are required for a PDP [Tk/Ir]'.

(In the data, encodings tended to co-occur with modulation. The examples provided above show this, as well as several others: [meeting 1, phase 3] MD- 'What you need to do is check this square meterish bit as well'; JC- 'the procedure now is to get this thing as quick as possible now that the department has set aside this money', 'to answer what you're saying {is} we're constrained by the cost plan'. It is on this basis, as well as the evidence provided in Davidse 1992b: 117ff, that I consider the encoding relational as requiring either more work or more power [see Section 3.1].)

In the diagram below (Figure 5.4) I have tried to portray the interactional dynamics of phases 11 to 13 just discussed. It shows how solidarity and authority are dynamically mobilised by both parties, - by the AHS official to limit the discussion to financial and temporal constraints without being inappropriately direct, and by the architect-planner to keep the official on side while repositioning him as one voice among others. The dotted box spans both the column on the left (interpersonal meaning construing solidarity: 'very', 'a lot', 'no fruitful value') and that on the right (implied command: 'don't spend too much time on other options'), indicating a kind of ambivalence on the part of the AHS official (which increases as the meeting moves on; see below). Instead of setting himself up in opposition to this turn, the architect-planner holds back during phase 12, only to finish the AHS official off in phase 13.

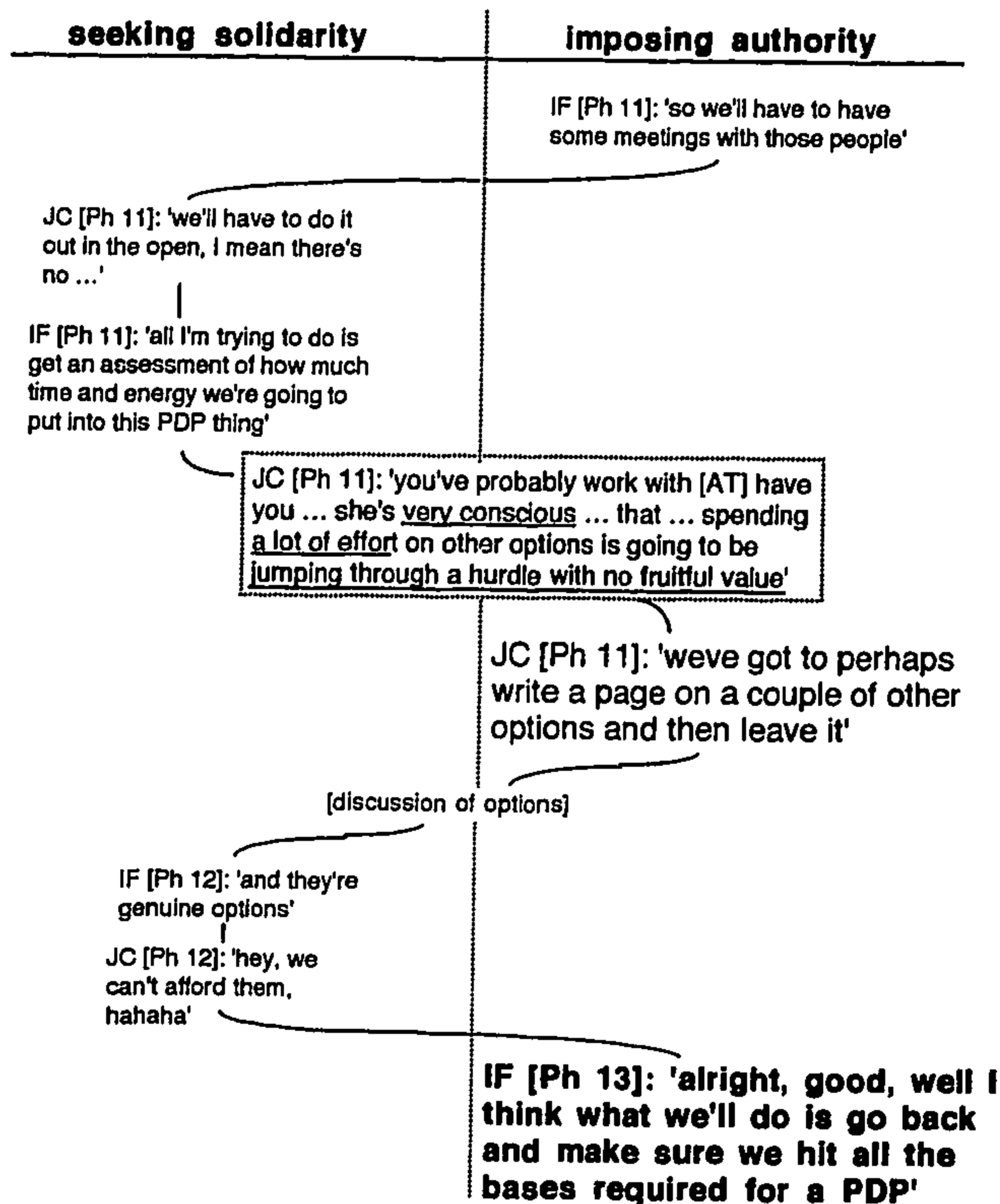


Figure 5.4: Schematising interactional dynamics (phase 11-13)

The architect-planner's last turn in phase 13 consolidates the morphogenic outcome of almost an hour of talk. It is here that he achieves the stranding together of the various discourses through a temporal ordering of the various priorities (Table 5.2) into a new 'formulation'. Its status as 'formulation' is evident from the rise in abstraction achieved by

- i. 'hit all the bases that are required for a PDP' (where 'bases' is both metaphorical and abstract);
- ii. 'information that exists from the previous exercise' (where 'information' abstracts away from particulars);
- iii. 'everything', 'the way to do is' (where 'the way' now nominalises the modulation that is at stake);

- iv. 'economic evaluations' (where the task has now been given a generic name);
- v. 'that method' (where the generic name 'economic evaluation' is further generalised);
- vi. 'it' (where the task has now become 'referrable-to').

The following table (Table 5.2) summarises these aspects.

modality	desired action	object of action	intertext
<i>Ok, alright, good, well I think what we'll</i>	<i>do is we'll go back and make sure that we hit</i>	<i>all the bases that are required for a PDP,</i>	users, government regulations, Dept. of Health people
<i>we'll</i>	<i>plug that in</i>	<i>where we've got information that exists from the previous exercise that satisfies that process then</i>	previously generated information relevant to the project
<i>and then I think what we'll do, we'll just, we'll</i>	<i>get</i>	<i>them all together</i>	all intertexts
<i>maybe the way to do is</i>	<i>we'll get</i>	<i>everything together</i>	all intertexts
<i>...</i>	<i>write [it] up</i>	<i>it, as like we've been doing for economic evaluations</i>	AHS costing intertext?
<i>we'll</i>	<i>use</i>	<i>that method if you like to sort of revisit the thing</i>	signalling predominance of costing intertext?
	<i>but write it up as though it was done first time ...</i>		to suit Dept. of Health preferences?

Table 5.2: Morphing together the various intertexts

Faced with this increasingly abstract morphogenic 'formulation' of the various dialogic intertexts, the AHS official is left with few resources to bolster his monologic position. The following longer extract shows how the AHS official still tries to constrain the architect-planner, but is beginning to realise that the notion of user involvement need not necessarily threaten his own ambitions. Finally, some kind of 'agreement' is reached, realised more through resignation than explicit concurrence.

extract 32

[meeting 1, phase 13]

JC- Basically we have hope that we knock over the PDP within a month

IF- Ok, Ok, now let's see if we can do that

JC- Do it quick and come up with what we agreed generally between ourselves as this is one option, there's an option, there's an option, and there's an option, probably, given the constraint you've got to build in there you've probably only got four options available

IF- That's plenty, three's enough

JC- And we get David to run a eh a a a brief cost plan over each of those so we have this one which'll be quite a developed cost plan, but the others will be probably less so, but they'll quickly demonstrate the cost of those others given you've got the slope we're on and how you've got to eh suspend that slab

[phase 14]

MD- Through that process we'll want a quick review from the user department as to, alright, what's their view on this option and that option

JC- Yeah

MD- There could be other areas where as you say we could go over there but there's a transport problem or there's a some sort of ...

IF- Well yeah I think eh to remain kosher we've got to take them all through the thinking at least, and if there's some flaw in that thinking then there's an opportunity to say something about the project

MD- Yeah

IF- Alright, don't think we want to revisit, we want to revisit is the functional requirements, [in other words] that's

MD- [no, well,] well really in a way that's been fixed, unless I guess something proves to go horribly wrong or if somebody's ...

JC- We wouldn't be at this stage to ...

The AHS official draws on contradictory sets of resources (construing himself as possessor [objectified] of a nominalised mental process [subjectified]: 'we have hope that we knock over the PDP within a month'), as well as on ambiguous resources which can be read as either assuming high authority or as construing high solidarity ('Do it quick and come up with what we agreed generally between ourselves as this is one option, there's an option'). The reference to 'what we agreed generally between ourselves', making use of 'we' and 'ourselves', would suggest the official is trying to construe solidarity rather than power (which could be read into the imperatives 'do', 'come up'). In terms of the preceding talk this is understandable: he has now realised he has lost all influence over the architect-planner's dynamic reformulation of the project (i.e. 'hit all bases').

This interpretation is also underscored by the official's formal justification of the one option he feels should be supported independent of what the users may have to say ('but they'll quickly demonstrate the cost of those others given you've got the slope we're on and how you've got to eh suspend that slab'). (I interpreted institutional legitimation as an interpersonal issue in Iedema 1994/96: 61ff.) The official's concern to justify his position by reference to the possible architectural options is a last

attempt to gain attention and consideration for his view that consulting users is 'without fruitful value'.

When the acting project manager then initiates phase 14 (ignoring the AHS official's plight) he secures Forbes' position. The formulation 'we'll want a quick review from the user department' means the AHS official's game is over (MD- 'Through that process we'll want a quick review from the user department as to, alright, what's their view on this option and that option'). From here on, the AHS official's level of contribution to the talk diminishes considerably (especially during phase 14).

The architect-planner can now afford to soften his stance ('don't think we want to revisit ... the functional requirements'):

extract 32b

[meeting 1, phase 14]

IF- Well yeah I think eh to remain kosher we've got to take them all through the thinking at least, and if there's some flaw in that thinking then there's an opportunity to say something about the project

MD- Yeah

IF- Alright, don't think we want to revisit, we want to revisit is the functional requirements, [in other words] that's

As a final resource, the AHS official resorts to Affect, perhaps in the hope to generate sympathy (viz. 'under-resourced', 'it's very hard').

extract 33

[meeting 1, phase 15]

JC- Well I think if you look in the functional brief you'll find some good paragraphs on that, ehm, there's quite a difference in the Eastern Suburbs where they're well resourced in buildings, and they keep wanting capital works not only to do more buildings, and therefore they get seriously challenged on this one, "you don't get a new building, you can renovate that one or rent that one down the road or whatever", out here where we've been really underresourced in buildings eh it's very hard to expand a service without a building

The architect-planner agrees that in view of that

extract 34

[meeting 1, phase 15]

IF- There's nothing that anybody has said in the last little while that would indicate there's anything changed. Ok. Alright.

Phase 16 signals the passing of the tension. People joke and laugh, and although the official is still trying to set up the users as unpredictable and unreliable entity (JC- 'I mean at first they

wanted a 50-bed unit'), it is clear he has lost the support of the acting project manager (MD- 'you need to very briefly we need to take them through the user side through it'), and the architect-planner wraps the meeting up (disregarding phases 18 and 19, which are about design details) by talking logistics (IF- 'Do you guys have schedule of meetings or whatever'). (The acting project manager initiates this phase (16) and responds to Forbes' previous turn (extract 34).)

extract 35

[meeting 1, phase 16]

MD- That will suddenly crop up when we get them to off sign the schematic ... [?]

IF- What you're likely to find is that they'll want twice as much [laughter]

JC- Well there is a [?] there is a [?], I mean at first they wanted a 50-bed unit and the number of mental health people in the area demonstrated using their own formula "that's what we need!"

MD- That's why [the

JC- [But they've only] given us money for 30

MD- Once you've got those options established from the technical point of view that yes physically you can put something here or there then you need to very briefly we need to take them through the user side through it, as to "here is maybe an option, but, you know, might be running into problems" or something like that, or aesthetic problems, and make sure they have eh vetted into those, cause they can then get their input from the servicing side into those particular eh eh plans

[phase 17]

IF- Well, doesn't sound too bad. Do you guys have schedule of meetings or whatever or should we just have a look at this and come back and talk about dates?

The dynamics of meeting 1 are condensed into the following two tables (Tables 5.3 and 5.4 below). I have only included the contributions from the AHS official and the architect-planner because the meeting really revolves around the negotiation of their positionings of themselves and others. The first, table x, provides an overview of the phases that constitute meeting 1 and their main focus (left column), as well as a brief overview of the dynamics of the meeting (right column). The thick borders around phases 7-15 indicate that part of the meeting where tension occurred.

Phase + ideational focal point	Interpersonal/textual aspects
Phase 1: the Budget	JC initiated (statement)
Phase 2: "other players" (users)	IF initiated (question)
Phase 3: "increased cost?"	IF initiated (question)
Phase 4: PDP, task	[IF shifts from 'pricing' to 'PDP documentation': 'tell us what you expect from us']
Phase 5: formal documentation (instruments of symbolic control)	MD initiated
Phase 6: task negotiation	IF: who's doing what?
Phase 7: users (beginning of tension)	IF bringing up the unpredictable factor, involving the users?
Phase 8: History of Waratah House plans; JC talks about how the DoH decides that the old building needs to be used, and repeats that 'we're constrained by the cost plan'	JC 'misunderstands' IF's question - deliberately? - answers IF only indirectly, implying: no more user consultation, because we've got our financial restrictions; all this becomes 'metaphorical' for "I don't want to say "no" bluntly, so I'll answer you very indirectly"
Phase 9: task negotiation	IF initiates; JC interrupts there where IF would have said 'contact with the users'
Phase 10: options + proof (legitimation);	JC shifts away from users
Phase 11: task, users	IF directs talk back to users ('we'll have to have some meetings with those people')
Phase 12: options	JC rephrasing IF's issue (users) into an issue to do with options
Phase 13: PDP	IF resumes: stipulates that user consultation is going to be part of the exercise, making use of formal 'requirements' as legitimation for his decision!
Phase 14: users	MD initiates, out of sync with JC, bringing the focus squarely back to user consultation
Phase 15: PDP	IF now concerned about making his PDP adhere to formal documentation; only minor remonstrations from JC: 'ought to reiterate'
Phase 16: users	MD: they might want 2x as much; laughter, accommodating JC's fears? 'membering'? JC's opportunity to legitimise his stance; MD again specifies 'very briefly we take the user side through it': rapprochement as 'agreement'
Phase 17: logistics	IF: thing's 'solved': 'well that doesn't sound too bad'
Phase 18: design [mere details]	...
Phase 19: documents [logistics too]	...

Table 5.3: List of phases, ideational foci, and salient interpersonal and textual aspects

In the second table below (Table 5.4), the shaded areas indicate silences: while phase 7 is appropriated by the architect-planner, phase 8 is appropriated by the AHS official, and phase 9 by the architect-planner. As seen, these phases are short, and their staccato shifts are emblematic of the tension that was enacted.

The lexicogrammatical resources listed for each phase are further indicative of their respective positioning: the AHS official starts out with extensions ('and' clause relations, showing little concern with elaboration or enhancement; in Iedema in press I consider

these logico-semantic relations from within an interpersonal framework) and projections, construing himself as mediator of mustness ('we're told ...'). Also listed are those resources used to construe or position the users.

The point of this table is to capture the lexicogrammatical dynamic which is redundant with that which I described mainly in semantic terms above. The phase number is marked in the column on the left.

Ph	AHS official	architect-planner
1	i) projection, extension ii) modulation as 'we're told' iii) knowledge of the past, of the project (encodings)	i) modalisation
2	i) Attrib relations for users [cf SAR: they're categorisable: generic, personal, prof-individual] ii) users 'love'	i) interrogatives ii) metaphoricity ('medical side') iii) existentials, iv) but initiates focus of discussion
3	i) encodings ii) 'let me': challenges IF's direction of focus? iii) modulation "a fully documented job" iv) specifies present procedures v) extension: shows knowledge of past procedure	i) interrogatives ii) cost: placating official? iii) but initiates focus of discussion
4	i) modulation increasingly objective: 'there's a fair amount of detail required'	i) interrogative: queries post-PDP design status ii) 'original call for tenders': invokes authority space beyond official's reportings iii) initiates focus of discussion
5	laughter at confusion about different documents [shared]	
6	i) 'hm'	i) initiates: task definition
7		i) ideationalises questions ii) metaphorises users ('old sites') iii) conjures up other instruments of symbolic control iv) phrases modulation here as want, feel (mentals: eroding official's status) v) intertext: users
8	i) projection: 'dept said' ii) challenges IF's 'role' ('I should ask that') iii) launches into Waratah House history iv) challenges focus: cost, not users! v) intertext: cost	
9		i) implicit 'but': 'we do need to have ...' [interrupted]
10	i) interrupts: 'Proof'	i) brings up 'service implications', 'strategic master plan' ii) reconciles (show the option is the best one, cost effective)
11	i) forced into causal contestation: implicit 'but' [in the future we <u>will</u> have meetings with those people] ii) recourse to DoH official iii) DoH official: 'IF is 'jumping through hurdles'	i) 'we'll have to have some meetings': objective modulation ii) summarises: tone 1, declaratives iii) future 'will'!
12	i) elaborates options ii) attempts to co-opt by saying: 'then you can say they're all too expensive ..'; tries to foreground his views on things (authority, no user consultation)	i) refocuses on options [concedes to official] ii) initiates, but sticks to official's (cost) focus iii) 'genuine' options (giving the process credence)

13	i) interrogative: have you got a copy of ..? ii) 'we have hope to knock over the PDP': nominalised mental iii) 'do it quick'/come up with what we agreed': congruence: seeking solidarity	i) initiates, summarises ii) encoding rel: 'I think what we'll do is .. hit all bases' iii) IF: from ask:er-decoder to stater-encoder
14	i) first: silence ii) 'we wouldn't be at this stage to ..': enhancement-legitimation	i) legitimises (interpersonalises) his user involvement intertext: 'to remain kosher'
15	i) congruent interpersonal meaning: 'it's very hard here' ii) snippets of old positioning: 'we ought to reiterate that' (formal register now that IF has established the agenda and AHS official's cost intertext has been 'superseded') iii) projection: DoH: "You don't get a new building"	i) initiates ii) formal planning instruments: 'demonstrate linkage between the services strategic plan and ..'
16	i) 'first they wanted a 50-bed unit': takes IF's/MD's joking seriously, draws this intertext out into explicit argument ii) 'but they've only given us money for 30': comes back to cost constraint	i) laughter with MD: 'they'll want twice as much (takes on official voice, to reconcile him with what's going on?) (MD initiated)
17	i) rap out a schedule of meetings (follows a.p.'s focus lead)	i) Initiates: logistics ii) as if other matters are resolved?
	[rest of meeting (phases 18 & 19) addresses design issues]	

Table 5.4: Dynamic map of meeting 1

This table (5.4) reduces an hour and a half of interaction involving seven people to an overview of various linguistic resources put into play by only two participants. My justification for this reduction is that the AHS official and the senior planner were the main players: the others present (the acting project manager, the second architect, the secretary, the builder-supplier and myself) were positioned as secondary (they were not primarily responsible for the project's success, except perhaps the acting project manager whose intervention on behalf of the users in phase 16 was crucial to the architect-planner's efforts).

Ian Forbes was there to produce the PDP (the Project Definition Plan), and the AHS official was there to ensure that the project stayed within the limits of financial and practical feasibility. The acting project manager did not play a huge role in this first meeting (except in phase 14), but the actual project manager is more 'important' later on to the extent that he orchestrates meetings, provides an ongoing formulating commentary on what is said in the form of summaries, and organises the Minutes of the Meetings (through his secretary). His contribution becomes especially important during the third meeting and I will comment on it there (Section 5.2).

5.1.2 Redundancy versus Morphogenesis

Section 5.1.1 elaborated the positionings of both the AHS official and the architect-planner in detail. I showed how the AHS official works off a fixed value which is realised as a variety of tokens. I labelled his an 'encoding-positioning'. Then I showed how the architect-planner managed to interweave the official's effectiveness-efficiency intertext with that of the government planning guidelines which prescribe user consultation, and with other kinds of information relevant to the present. I labelled his a 'decoding-positioning'.

In Chapter 3, I argued that an encoding-positioning tends to rely on redundancy, in that it can be characterised by a 'static value' which is realised by a particular set of tokens. In Halliday's terms, this involves a value being named or set up as referential (Halliday 1994 mimeo: 8). In information theory, redundancy is represented as a form of power, in that redundant systems 'drown out noise' (Wilden 1980: 409; Halliday 1994 mimeo: 19; see Chapter 3).

The official's talk shows relatively high levels of redundancy: ideationally speaking, there is his knowledge of the history of the project, his projection of Dept. of Health statements, and his considerable use of encoding relational processes (often involving modulation). Interpersonally speaking, there is his insistence on boundaries, his lengthy turns at talk, and his predominant use of Commands and declaratives. Textually, there is his tendency to interrupt others (non-supportive overlap) and initiate a change in the focus of attention (e.g. phases 8, 10 and 12) in the case of tension. In contrast to this, there is his 'conversational collusion' or what I call 'rheming' with everybody except the architect-planner (manifesting itself as the co-construction of turns; cf. Tannen 1984).

extract 36

[meeting 1, phase 1]

MD- Whatever we do price next time around ...

JC- Whatever we do price at the PDP level, I suspect they will get hold of and won't let us wriggle out from under, I'm sure

extract 37

[meeting 1, phase 3]

IB- No eh ahm, my comments were that ehm, that the budget was cut back and that sort of I got some comment third hand or fourth hand through David Chesterman and others that the wing might be cut back

JC- Could be shortened.

extract 38
[meeting 1, phase 3]
DW- Well that's [the drawing they came up] with I understand
JC- [For that design] Right

extract 39
[meeting 1, phase 3]
MD- Up until
JC- The end of last year
MD- The middle of last year
JC- It suddenly moved around

extract 40
[meeting 1, phase 4]
IF- So the documentation post-PDP ehm is to very much like a
developed design stage, is that really what it's about?
JC- Yes but not fully documented

The following clause-co-construction (already seen above) is not supportive but contesting of course:

extract 41
[meeting 1, phase 9/10]
IF- And so ... yeah, then we would look at whether or not there's
other genuine ways of configuring it,
but what I'm saying is that I, well, we don't really want to go
through a process of prolonging that exercise, but we do need to
have ...
JC- Proof

By the time we reach phase 8, the beginning of the underlying conflict, the AHS official has started to draw on a different set of resources, while still realising the same overall semantics (insisting on institutional boundaries favouring his concern to please his superiors). Initially, his Commands are realised with progressive certainty ('will') and some incongruence ('procedure'). Phase 3, which addresses the background of the project, mobilises predominantly forms of 'general obligation' (Butler 1987: 130) mitigated by the use of 'inclusive we's. The increased sense of discrepancy (phase 8) sees the AHS official drawing increasingly on modulating projections: locutions, as well as on 'demodulations' (terms like 'procedure' and 'constraint', which have ideationalised their modulating impact; cf. Iedema 1994/6: 146ff), on Amplification ('basically', 'really'), and on modulation realised as mental process of emotion ('want').

In sum, the official's positioning in the talk is not shifting from 'giving Commands': what changes are his realisations. The table below (Table 5.5) summarises the various realisations discussed above.

phase	mustness in the AHS official's talk	modulation type
1	<i>we're told it's not a Rolls Royce solution either...</i>	projection: idea
3	<i>What we really ought to do is ask David to go away and read up on <u>today's square meter rates</u></i>	inclusive 'we', ought to as 'general obligation'
3	<i>We gotta prove what we try and</i>	'have got to': 'general obligation'
3	<i><u>the procedure now is to get this thing as quick as possible</u> now that the department has set aside this money and decision was made to do it</i>	'procedure': demodulation (cf. Iedema 1994/6: 146)
3	<i>we won't be involved in the design development,</i>	'will not': mustness as predictive
4	<i>there's [<u>a fair amount of detail required</u>]</i>	echoing IF's objectification
8	<i>Oh look I probably should ask that, ehm</i>	'offer'
8	<i>the department said "look we can't afford that, you have to go back and use, surely ..."</i>	projection: locution; 'you have to': 'general obligation'
8	<i>we want you to build some on</i>	'want': mustness as mental process (emotion)
8	<i>you've got a constraint to say you've gotta use the existing [<u>building</u>]</i>	'constraint': demodulation
8	<i>they've basically told us to use that site</i>	projection: idea (amplified)
11	<i>we'll have to do it out in the open</i>	'will have to': predictive 'general obligation'
12	<i>we've got to perhaps write a page on a couple of other options and then leave it</i>	'we've got to perhaps': modalised 'general obligation'
13	<i>basically we have hope that we knock over the PDP within a month</i>	'have hope': mustness as nominalised mental process
13	<i>do it quick and come up with what we agreed</i>	imperative

Table 5.5: AHS official's range of realisations of modulation

The various redundancies that are evident in the AHS official's talk are summarised in the table below (Table 5.6). The level of phonology has been specified too but I have placed the details of phonological analysis beyond the scope of this thesis.

official context	Field	Tenor	Mode
	• AHS official	• in contact with DoH bureaucracy	• meeting: formal spoken interaction
	ideational	interpersonal	textual
semantics	• knowledge of past, of bureaucratic procedure, of DoH guidelines and requirements (nth degree) • defines new knowledge, (enacts control)	• insists on boundaries (not inviting people, not telling users, etc.) • interrupts when tension arises	• initiates new Phases when challenged
lexico-gram-mar	• encoding identifying relationals to realise the 'importance' of official knowledge • projection of DoH 'statements'	• declaratives • few interrogatives • commands realised progressively incongruently, then more congruently • Appraisal (Appreciation/Judg-ment, Affect)	• rhemes (finishes others' sentences)
[phono-logy]		[• falling tone contours]	[• measured rhythm]

Table 5.6: Overview of AHS official's resources

In Chapter 3 I associated a decoding-positioning with morphogenesis. Here a set of occurring tokens is taken as starting point for the construction of a new value (Halliday 1994 mimeo: 8). The way in which this occurs in meeting 1 was detailed in Section 5.1.1. The table below (Table 5.7) summarises the architect-planner's linguistic resources. It shows how his talk shifts from 'asking questions' to 'stating decisions' (interpersonal), and from 'not knowing task' to 'specifying task'. These semantic shifts are reflected in his lexicogrammatical realisations: his use of decoding relational processes gives way to a predominance of encoding processes; his interrogatives give way to declaratives: information, and finally to declaratives: good & services.

In brief, the architect-planner's resources are much less 'redundant' than those mobilised by the AHS official. They 'develop' from interrogatives and hesitant rhythms to declaratives and falling tone contours. Static redundancy gives way to a *dynamism*. Here the metaphor of 'open system' applies: the planner is open to the various voices that make up the field and can integrate them into a new meta-discourse (viz. the 'formulations' discussed above). He is not concerned with 'drowning out noise'; instead, he is focused on including noise as meaning, or voice, and to consolidate this repositioning through recontextualisation (re-semiotisation).

planner	Field	Tenor	Mode
context	• hired by project manager on the basis of his reputation, paid by government	• approachable, chatty, authoritative ('busy')	• meeting: spoken interaction
	ideational	interpersonal	textual
semantics	• elicits what is expected from him by AHS official • brings in "Process of Facility Planning" and user consultation as intertexts	• asks questions first up • summarises his 'conclusions' • states his decisions	• initiates a good number of phases
lexico-gram-mar	• decodes • metaphorises users • later encodes his summary of the meeting ("So what we'll do is ...")	• interrogatives • declaratives that realise questions • declaratives that realise statements • declaratives that realise commands	• plays ideation off against theme (backgrounds ideationally, but foregrounds as new)
[phono-logy]		[• various tone choices]	[• hesitant rhythms during official's challenge]

Table 5.7: Overview of architect-planner's resources

I see both positioning tactics, the encoding-positioning as well as the decoding-positioning, as strategies of power but operating under very different premises. The encoding-positioning is closed off to new meaning(s), and its power resides in amplification, repetition, without major variation in what constitutes the original code. This positioning is fixed in terms of the values that are its basis.

The decoding-positioning, by contrast, is open and sensitive to new meaning(s). Here, the value, the referred-to, the betokened, is the point of arrival, not the point of departure. As I argue in Chapter 6, bureaucratic power as pure redundancy is necessarily inefficient: without specialised morphogenic agents who, as catalysts, bridge the divide between meaning (the accepted, standard meanings that constitute the [redundant] code of power) and non-meaning or noise ('information without context'; Wilden 1980: 11), bureaucratic power does not have the resilience to maintain hegemony over populations.

The diagram below (Figure 5.5) portrays the situation for this planning project: the AHS official as static/redundant power (power¹), and the architect-planner as morphogenic power (power²). Importantly, power¹ and power² are complementarities: they are inter-dependent. The other positionings indicated in the diagram will be elaborated in Section 5.2 below.

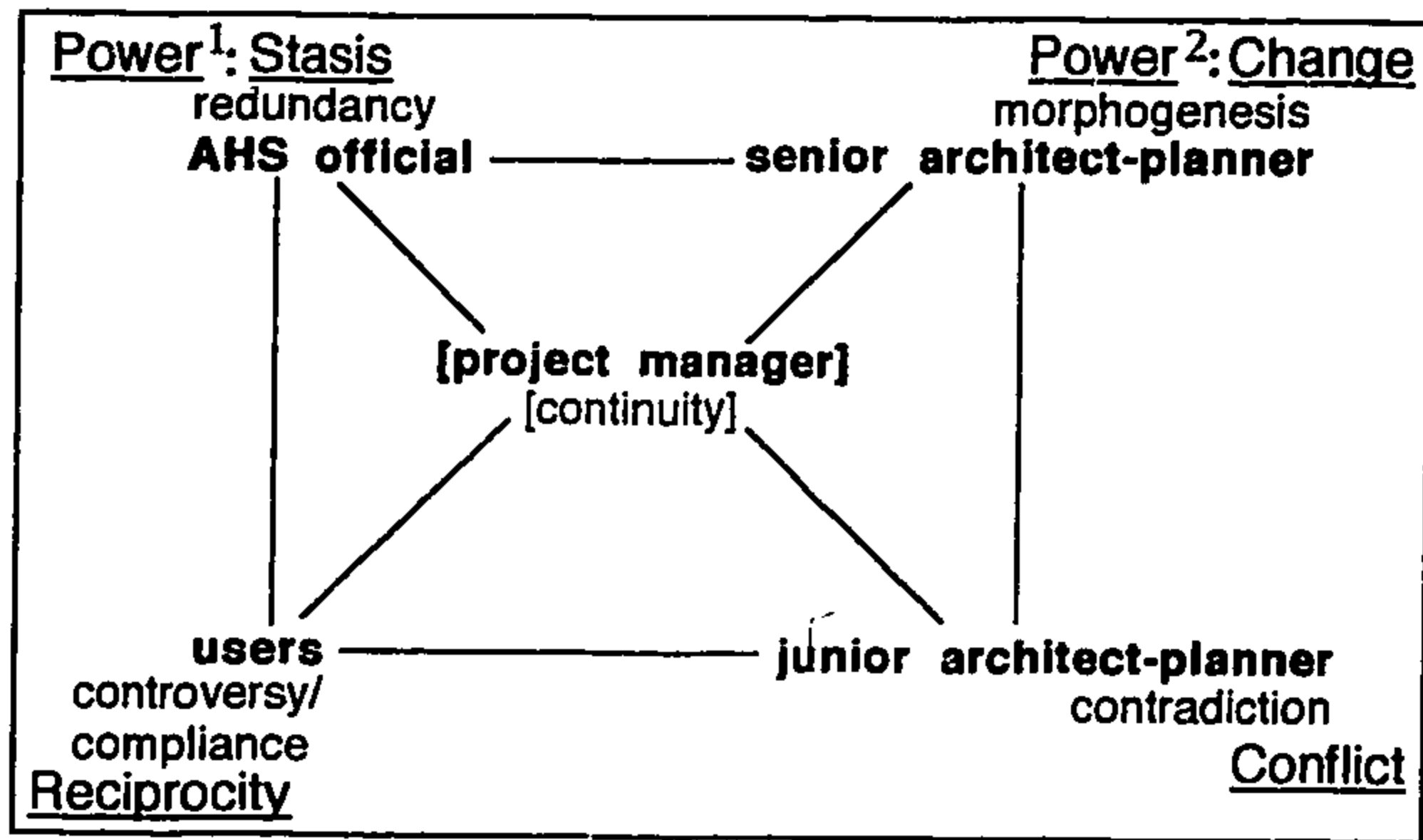


Figure 5.5: Participants' positioning strategies

The next section, section 5.2, will focus on meeting 2 and describe what I have called, after Bateson 1973, 'schismogenesis'.

5.2 Talk and Conflict: Schismogenesis

This section discusses meeting 3 in detail to exemplify what I mean by 'schismogenesis'. Schismogenesis has been described by Bateson as follows.

each group will drive the other into excessive emphasis of the pattern, a process which if not restrained can only lead to more and more extreme rivalry and ultimately to hostility and the breakdown of the whole system. (Bateson 1973: 42)

Bateson distinguishes symmetrical from complementary schismogenesis. The former suggests more or less equal power, and the latter unequal power: "to this category we may refer all those cases in which the behaviour and aspirations of the members of the two groups are fundamentally different" (Bateson 1973: 42). I will argue that meeting 3 is dominated by complementary schismogenesis.

Meeting 3 took place on 15 March 1995, exactly one month after the first meeting. The architect-planner could not attend this third meeting (he was involved in another planning project which required his presence), and the junior planner went for him. This junior planner has extensive experience in the area of planning both in Australia and overseas (Hong Kong, Malaysia), but, as will be seen below, was not fully accepted as replacement for the original architect planner. The fact of the latter's absence may well have played a role in the conflict that developed in meeting 3.

I will focus here on meeting 3 to exemplify what happens discursively as conflict builds up prosodically in the talk. Schismogenesis, I propose, is the inverse of morphogenesis: no agreement is reached; no formulations are possible which dissimulate difference, ideationalise the interpersonal details, and push what was agreed back into the domain of what is taken for granted and therefore left alone. Schismogenesis is the absence of resolution, of a point of rest.

I have shown that morphogenesis 'contracts' in both senses of the term: i.e. i. set a contract up between (presuming consensus), and ii. diminish the interaction in 'size' (something I have alternatively described by using the complementary notions of 'de-differentiation' and 'time-space distancing'; see Section 5.3ff). In this part of the chapter I will show how schismogenesis 'expands' interaction: more 'work' needs to be done before issues can be left

alone, and before some resolution has been achieved (if such is achieved at all).

In my analysis I will proceed in the same way as I did for meeting 1. My focus will be on the main voices in the meeting, and my aim is to describe the relation between these voices and their intertexts. As argued in Chapter 3 and as exemplified in section 5.1, I use the coding-identifying process as metaphor for the description of positioning strategies.

5.2.1 The Becoming of Conflict in Talk

I will again take a logogenetic pass through the talk, focussing on salient contributions. This time though I will have to take the project manager's talk into account as well as that produced by the AHS official, and the junior planner. The project manager in this meeting is JS, MD's (the acting project manager encountered in meeting 1 above) superior. The AHS official (JC) and this project manager (JS) know each other well, and that is evident from the amount of co-constructed talk ('rheming'). JS is also more sensitive to the AHS official's views than was the acting project manager.

Meeting 3 is intended as an opportunity for integration of issues that came up during the meeting between JS, the junior planner and the users which I did not attend and meeting 2, the meeting held between the two planners and the users the day before.

extract 1

[meeting 3, introduction phase]

JS- Ok, the issues for this meeting I think are the issues in the first instance which arise from the user briefing meetings, ehm, there have been two of those, eh, there was one last week which basically I ran with [MP; the junior planner] and [MPD; secretary], and subsequently you have had a further meeting. Now we took some notes in relation to that meeting, which we have somewhere or other

...

MPD- [inaudible]

This integration is not to be 'laborious', however:

extract 2

[meeting 3, introduction phase]

MPD- [inaudible]

JS- What I'd like to do with these is not laboriously go through it at the moment, but after we finish the main meeting I'd like us to set up notes which we can agree on which represent the consolidated position in relation to the upgrading of the brief. I think we said we would endeavour to get hold of the disk for you, ehm

MP- We actually already have a copy already

The integration of these issues is to be left until after the main meeting. It is then that those present are to draw up 'a consolidated position'. As the architect-planner remarked in private:

he [JS, the project manager] was making sure that in fact it was a big message sent to the users saying 'uh you've had your chance now', we're now making a presentation, using his term, making a presentation on what's concluded, uh, we'll hand this thing out as a draft form and you show us minor things you don't like about it and that's it, boom boom finished, he didn't come to that meeting prepared to have a whole bunch of discourse, no way [conversation after meeting 3 (15/3/95) among the architect-planner, the junior planner and the second architect on the way back in the car]

Earlier the architect-planner had already understood from the junior planner that the project manager had not allowed for any length of discussion during the meeting between him, the junior planner, and the users.

He just dominated the meeting basically is what he did, and and made sure the thing kept moving, his whole objective was to keep it moving, keep it moving, don't try and stop anything ... [conversation after meeting 3 (15/3/95)]

The project manager's third turn in meeting 3 underlines this:

**extract 3
[meeting 3, introduction phase]
MP- We actually already have a copy already
JS- Have you? Oh that's fine, Ok, and obviously I think we can then just update that, ehm, but I have said we ought to take that to Wendy McGuirk of the Area, and just make sure there's nothing in that that she disagrees with, or has another view about, since she put together the original document, alright, but I think the first position is to get ourselves where we have a consolidated, a consolidated document.
MP- Yes, Ok, well any comments ...**

In brief, there is no time to be wasted on getting to a consolidated position. From such a point of view, it is not hard to see how the talk that is going to follow delays that objective. The person ultimately held responsible for this delay is the junior planner, and the conflict that develops as a consequence is orchestrated by the male bureaucrats, I will show, to reposition her.

The project manager initially allows the junior planner the space to launch into her summary of 'user comments':

**extract 3
[meeting 3, introduction phase]
JS- ... a consolidated, a consolidated document.**

MP- Yes, Ok, well any comments that came up yesterday, do you want me to bring that up again?

JS- Well, if you think we should discuss them at the moment then yeah, let let let's do it now. I just want to make sure we get everything into, you know, one document

MP- Yeah, I haven't updated my notes from yesterday yet

JS- No, no, perhaps you'd just like to summarise those

The first comment had to do with the problem of security alarms. Buttons on the walls were not considered a possibility, because patients often press them for 'inappropriate' reasons. But portable devices require a system that would be too expensive. While the project manager saw this issue as an engineering issue to be solved through discussion between the architects, the users and the technicians, the architect-planner and the junior planner realised that if cost was going to be an obstacle, the issue might have to be resolved 'structurally', i.e. by making adjustments of some sort to the layout of the building which would facilitate the pinpointing of trouble. The junior planner (MP) initiates phase 1, positioning the users as Sensers ('the users feel ...') and taking on an accusatory tone ('there's no discussion of ...'):

extract 4

[meeting 3, phase 1]

MP- Ehm, the problem issues that may have costing implications, one of them was there's users who feel there's no discussion of their security system if you like,

JS- Hm

MP- Ehm, audio, ehm visual or through their duress alarm system

JS- Right

MP- Which is not very effective as it cannot isolate the site of the alarm, or who uses it, and there has been no [?] as far as I know in the brief in terms of the camera surveillance, I don't know if [?]

JS- Well they have, eh, sorry, my understanding is that there are references certainly in in the upgraded brief we were talking about to where they needed security

In this extract, the junior planner thematises the users ('the users feel', 'they're not happy'), a strategy which she adheres to more or less up until the point of conflict (phase 3, turn 95). I will elaborate on the relevance of this below. Another aspect of her talk is also revealed in this initiating turn: the junior planner's use of negatives ('no discussion', 'not very effective', 'there has been no ...'; later turns in this phase: 'they're not happy' 'won't be satisfactory'). Negatives are sensitive things in the bureaucratic context. In Iedema 1994/6, I exemplify this by showing how a council employee's draft letter to a Minister was subsequently redrafted by her superior into a more positive mode, despite its critical intent. The original draft read:

[council employee draft letter:]

Council is concerned that these policies are having a detrimental effect on health programs to the point that they will no longer be able to cope with the demand or provide adequate and effective services.

Council draws the Minister's attention to the impact on other services arising from changes within this portfolio and would appreciate advice as to what action the Minister plans to address these problems. (from ledema 1994/6: 18)

The employee's superior (having complained about her 'lack of writing skills') rewrote this as follows:

[council branch manager redraft:]

Council wishes to ensure that residents are provided with services which meet their needs and seeks your assurance that the services within your control will continue to offer appropriate support. (from ledema 1994/6: 19)

From this (and analysis of a number of similar texts) it became clear that 'talking up the hierarchy' disprefers negation. Those in higher bureaucratic positions are not merely generally statified (i.e. not addressed as doers of processes, but as possessors of nominalised processes), but also 'positified' - addressed in predominantly positive terms. It is on this basis that I argue that the junior planner's use of negatives (in a variety of realisations) contributes to the schismogenic drift of the talk.

Another feature of the junior planner's talk worth commenting on is her apparent 'ambivalence'. On the one hand, she initiates phases (and thereby (re-)sets the focus of attention; cf. Stubbs 1983: 184's 'prefaces'; also Stubbs 1973/4); she uses encoding relational processes ('one of the issues was there's users who feel ...'), and she accesses Appraisal ('not very effective', 'not very happy'), all of which are devices which, in the bureaucratic context, index a degree of authority. On the other hand, however, and in contradiction with this, she uses very short follow-up turns ('Ok', 'Right', 'Right uh ...').

extract 5

[meeting 3, phase 1, turns 14-22]

MP- Which is not very effective as it cannot isolate the site of the alarm, or who uses it, and there has been no [?] as far as I know in the brief in terms of the camera surveillance, I don't know if [?]

JS- Well they have, eh, sorry, my understanding is that there are references certainly in in the upgraded brief we were talking about to where they needed security

MP- OK

JS- I agree it was all a bit wishy-washy, ehm but certainly there was some some notation of some of the areas that they needed surveillance
MP- Right
JS- And I would think that we will just have to develop that into a brief which is suitable for instructing a builder.
MP- Ok, so we thought we should talk to the eh electrical engineer to find out [how ...
JS- [Ya, by all means, by all means, yeah]
MP- Right, uh ...

She also uses Questions ('it's included in a specific section of the brief then', 'to go into a design brief that comes with the PDP?'), positioning herself as 'non-knower':

extract 6
[meeting 3, phase 1, turns 29-35]
MP- It's included in a specific section of the brief then
JC- It is, and I really think that your sub-consultants ought to be talking to the users, and your sub-consultants ought to be preparing a brief, so that eventually it can go in a design brief
MP- To go into a design brief that comes with the PDP?
JC- [No no no]
JS- [No no no]
JC- No no, the tender document
MP- the tender document, ok

All of these contribute to an ambiguous positioning. While the architect-planner was able to dynamically work his way from a clearly non-authoritative to a decisively authoritative positioning in meeting 1, the junior planner seems caught in contradiction: she is realising contradictory positionings right from the start of the meeting.

The project manager's and AHS official's responses to this represent a contrasting prosody, or what I will call, after Bateson (and Tannen 1984, 1993), a progressive schismogenic differentiation involving unequal power. The term differentiation is apt here: difference proliferates rather than abating and being stowed away in morphogenic 'formulations'. This proliferation is also evident from the amount of talk devoted to each issue: a third of the whole meeting, or 106 turns out of a total of 273 turns, is spent on the first three issues constituting three phases, up until the culmination of conflict in turn 94 in phase 3. From then on, and after the junior planner has been 'silenced', issues are dealt with at a quicker pace: the remainder of the meeting consists of 13 phases.

The first aspect of this schismogenetic prosody is that the number of non-supportive interruptions of the junior planner's talk by the

male bureaucrats rises steadily during this part of the meeting. This is evident especially in the course of phase 3. I will comment on this in more detail below.

The second aspect of this schismogenic prosody is the increased use by both the project manager and the AHS official of kinds of modulation. The project manager starts the meeting with (introduction phase, turn 3) 'I'd like us to set up notes which we can agree on'. This is modulation realised as a mental process of emotion. This is followed by (introduction phase, turn 5) 'and obviously I think we can then just update that': modulation realised as mitigated ('just') ability ('can') which is further modalised ('I think') as well as modified by an (interpersonal) engagement adjunct 'obviously' (cf. Martin in press b/c). In other words, the project manager spends a lot of interpersonal effort on realising his mustness, i.e. he does a lot of interpersonal 'work' (cf. Brown and Levinson 1988: 143).

Later in that same turn (5, introduction phase) the following modulations are used: 'we ought to take that to Wendy McQuirk ... and just make sure', where the more 'general obligation' modulation 'ought to' is compensated for by the inclusive 'we' and the elision of the Subject altogether in the second item. Authority is suggested however by means of a (modalised) encoding: 'I think the first position [Vl/Id] is to get ourselves where we have a consolidated document [Tk/Ir]'. Care is taken though so far to mitigate these realisations of modulation by means of modalisation ('I think') and inclusion ('we').

By turn 23 (phase 1), the project manager produces the following:

extract 7

[meeting 3, phase 1, turn 23]

JS- I mean sorry just just to be quite clear on this, ehm, I would anticipate that briefs such as this would simply describe those areas that it needs to have surveillance and what sort and then it would be up to the design team to particularly the electrical engineer to construct a security brief, which would become part of the tender documents

Here the project manager uses a mental process of cognition ('I would anticipate that ...') in conjunction with a modalised and 'prepositionalised' kind of modulation ('it would be up to ...'). The shift from emotion ('like') to cognition ('anticipate') is significant (cf. Thibault 1993: 140, who cites Harré on the distinction between 'consciousness as experiencing something' [emotion] and 'consciousness as knowing that one is experiencing something' [cognition]; also Matthiessen 1993: 201). This mental process of

cognition involves projection, and therefore contains not a phenomenon but a meta-phenomenon. The meta-phenomenon introduces a different order of reality (Halliday 1985/94: 249; the significance of this difference will be further elaborated below).

By turn 36 (phase 1), the project manager produces the following modulations:

extract 8

[meeting 3, phase 1, turn 36]

JS- There has to be, sorry, there has to be even though it's a DNC (?) tender and what have you, there has to be sufficient performance, information, obviously, that the builder can price and provide what we want, so for instance if eh, if we wanted to specify any of the equipments or particular types of camera or things like that, ehm, it might be the right thing to do, but otherwise it would be a performance specification which will simply you know expand what we're trying to achieve.

This extract contains three instances of '(there) has to be': an existential middle clause (Davidse 1992c) which elides agency but which also ideationalises the mustness to a degree ('has to') and thereby institutionalises it. The inclusive 'we' as well as the mental processes of emotion have been replaced by more forceful realisations of mustness. As I will show, this pattern of gradual 'amplification' of mustness will continue throughout phases 2 and 3, shifting across various areas of the grammar.

Also part of this side of the schismogenic prosody described so far are the contributions by the AHS official. During phase 1 his turns either elaborate or extend those of the project manager. His first contribution comes at turn 28 (phase 1):

extract 9

[meeting 3, phase 1, turn 28]

JC- Just to pick up what [JS] was saying. Ehm, there's probably no point in talking to the site engineer, as what we need is a statement from the users on those areas that need constant surveillance, camera surveillance, duress surveillance or, you know that type of thing

Modulation is realised here as 'there's probably no point in talking to the site engineer', an implied command, and as 'we need', a mental process of emotion. In turn 30 the AHS official says:

extract 10

[meeting 3, phase 1, turn 30]

JC- It is, and I really think that your sub-consultants ought to be talking to the users, and your sub-consultants ought to be preparing a brief, so that eventually it can go in a design brief

'I really think that your sub-consultants ought to be talking to the users' is an amplified modalisation ('I really think') projecting 'general obligation' ('ought to'). This turn also contains a legitimation: 'so that ...' which is a conciliatory gesture towards the junior planner (an 'appeal to purpose'; cf. Iedema 1994/6: 70, where I discuss legitimations in terms of the degree of interpersonal work they imply, based on Martin 1992: 194's link between causal conjunctions and modality).

By the time phase 2 occurs, the realisation of interpersonal meaning takes on a very different shape. But before I develop that I will return to the junior planner's contributions and set out her discursive patterns.

The junior planner initiates phase 2 by suggesting that there had been a meeting between the users and the department the year before during which matters were discussed that had a bearing on the drawings. The reactions by both the project manager and the AHS official are unsupportive:

extract 11

[meeting 3, phase 2, turns 43-50]

MP- Ehm, the other thing was there were minor things with the brief, and apparently they reviewed things with the department at the end of last year comments were made and no result ... [?], since the drawing, the drawing that you last did

JS- So you haven't got the latest drawing, is that the [story?]

MP-

[No]

JC- ...?

MP- The comments that I've got now are the same comments that there was a meeting at the end of last year that they said this happened, that eh

JC- The only meetings at the end of last year were mid last year, probably with Wendy McGuirk to revise the design brief, but there's never been any changes to the drawings that your referring to

MP- Alright, that's what I ...

The official's and project manager's lack of support may be due to the proposition that there is information relevant to the project which the planners have not been given, suggesting things are 'withheld'. The reaction may also be set off by the (largely cryptotypical realisation of the) junior planner's 'inappropriate' positioning. First, she uses an encoding (signalling a degree of authority: 'the other thing [VI/Id] was there were minor things in the brief ... [Tk/Ir]'). Second, she consistently thematises 'the users', thereby investing them with a degree of given-ness - a strategy at odds with the status of this participant in the talk of both the project manager and the AHS official (in this meeting).

She also nominalises the users verbal productions as ‘comments’, constructing them as ‘+power’. Statification, as indicated above (and in Iedema 1994/6: 19/153; see Section 5.3 below), is the prerogative of the more highly placed. The male bureaucrats could well have experienced this as a further challenge to the existing power structures and their roles in it.

The reaction by the project manager to this is to place modal responsibility squarely back with the junior planner and suggest it is *she* who does not have the latest drawing (quite an accusation for someone who is associated with the architect’s office): ‘So you haven’t got the latest drawing, is that the story?’. The project manager’s ‘liberal’ use of both negative (‘haven’t’) and casual talk (‘is that the story’) show that (discursive and social) boundaries are beginning to fade.

The AHS official’s reaction is much stronger, however: it draws on sarcasm. ‘The only meetings at the end of last year were mid last year’. Here, the junior planner’s voice (insisting on ‘meetings at the end of last year’) is reconstituted by the ‘official’ voice (they ‘were mid last year’). The ideational contradiction (‘end of last year’ = ‘mid last year’) makes sense when seen from the perspective of the AHS official’s ‘encoding positioning’. In his clause, the junior planner’s Value ‘end of last year’ is re-encoded as Tk/Ir ‘mid last year’.

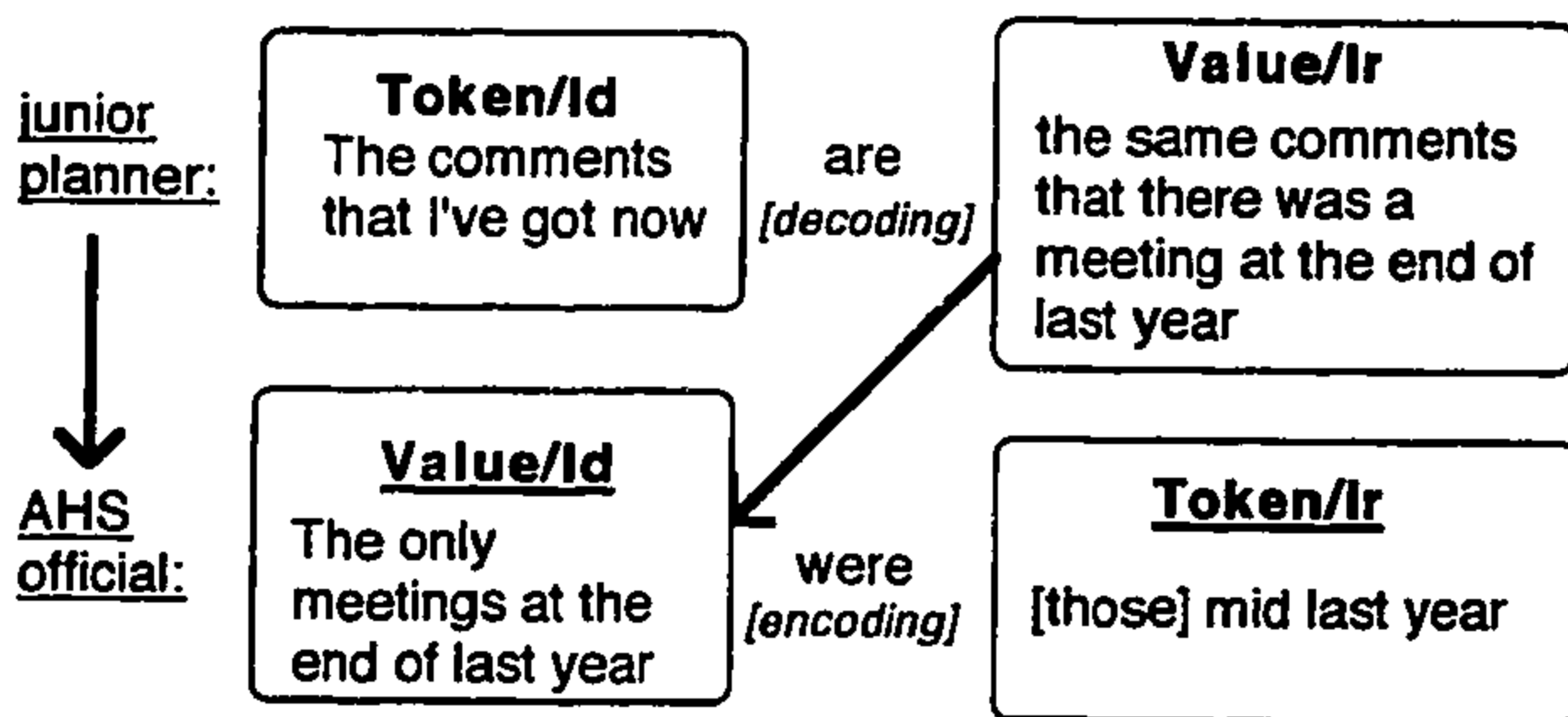


Figure 5.6: Re-valuing the other’s talk

The ideational contradiction enacted here subverts the validity of the original (the junior planner’s) Value. This exchange is emblematic of the conflict that is developing: two voices that draw on different intertexts are caught in unsolvable contradiction (cf. Cedersund & Säljö 1993).

The junior planner does not seem to be sensitive to this male bureaucrat's pulling out several interpersonalising stops to make her realise that she is seen to be transgressing the unwritten rule of formal appropriacy. The ensuing interaction shows a lot of non-supportive overlap and interruption by both sides, with the AHS official's talk increasingly reflecting the junior planner's realisations of negativity.

extract 12

[meeting 3, phase 2, turns 49-59]

JC- The only meetings at the end of last year were mid last year, probably with Wendy McGuirk to revise the design brief, but there's never been any changes to the drawings that your referring to

MP- Alright, that's what I

JC-...

MP- that's what I meant, because what came out of the changes of design brief we haven't got any of the documents, any of the records of those meetings, if you like as to what was decided, or what was said at the time, so somebody ...

JC- There were issues of design, the the updated design brief

MD- [Was was ...]

JC- [Which which you ...?]

IB- ... so we know that

MP- Ok so then comments, so then some of the things they thought had been changed weren't changed in that document, that's all, they didn't get all the things they asked for, basically ...

JC- No one ever does, but they all raise them again for reconsideration cause they believe [the design brief doesn't address the issues that they]

MP- [Yeah alright, Ok, alright],

Ok, so that is the, Ok, good.

While the junior planner continues to insist that 'we [exclusive 'we'] haven't got any of the documents', and that 'they' (the users) 'didn't get all the things they asked for' (continuing the negative prosody she initiated in phase 1 and maintaining the users as Theme), the AHS official increasingly marks interpersonal boundaries and becomes increasingly categorical.

First, there is his use of 'you' which probably plays off against the junior planner's exclusive 'we' and 'I' which contrasted with her equally exclusive 'somebody' and with the elided agents allegedly responsible for 'what was said'. Then there is the AHS official's categorical 'no one ever does', a reply unthinkable in the context of meeting 1 due to its negativity and categoricalness (unless of course it was used to signal sharedness through humour).

In addition, the AHS official's skeptical attitude towards the users is now forced out in the open: 'they all raise them again for reconsideration cause they believe the design brief doesn't address the issues that they ...'. Here, the AHS official thematises

and pronominalises the users ('they') under pressure as it were from the junior planner's talk (which does so consistently). The tone of voice however, as well as the semantics of this utterance signal a total distancing ('they all') from these players, who 'all raise them [the things they asked for] again'.

The different positioning accorded to the users is brought out clearly in the following tabulation (Table 5.8). This table summarises the users' 'social actor representation' (covering the first three phases of meeting 3; analysis based on van Leeuwen 1993) in both the AHS official's and the junior planner's talk. In the former's talk the users occur only seven times, and then largely as secondary participants (i.e. not as Agent), in the talk of the junior planner the users play a far more prominent lexicogrammatical role (and they occur 15 times):

AHC rep.: 'users' (7x):	Junior Planner: 'users' (15x):
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Receiver ("talking to the <u>users</u>"; "we can say to <u>them</u>"; "reveal that to the <u>users</u>") - Object/medium ("I can put pressure on <u>them</u>") - Embedded. ("easier if <u>someone</u>"; "so that <u>they</u> not duplicate it") - Modulation. ("the <u>users</u> must") - Circumstantial ("sit down with the <u>users</u>") 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Carrier ("<u>they</u>'re not happy") - Nominalisation ("<u>comments</u>") 2x - Embedded. ("thing was <u>they</u>"; "things <u>they</u> thought had") - Sayer/Actor ("<u>they</u> reviewed things") - Sayer ("<u>they</u> commented") 2x - Senser ("<u>they</u> feel"; "<u>they</u> had a bit of a heart attack") 4x - Actor ("<u>they</u> didn't get") - Value ("that's the <u>users</u>") - Possessive ("<u>their</u>")

Table 5.8: Social actor representation of the users (meeting 3, phases 1-3).

The junior planner interrupts again (at turn 59), and takes the floor to initiate yet another phase, phase 3:

extract 13
[meeting 3, phase 2, turns 59-61]
MP- Yeah alright, Ok, alright, Ok, so that is the, Ok, good.
[phase 3]
Ehm, the only other thing is the equipment, there, they feel the equipment will be almost um 90% replaced
JC- I hate to say that the money is tight and that it won't be 90% replaced, I can guarantee that
MP- But you see the whole new section, it's just for the, an estimate for the PDP

Phase 3 starts off with 'the only other thing [Vl/Id] is the equipment [Tk/Ir]', an abstract 'preface' ('the other thing'; cf Stubbs 1983: 183) expression-encoded as Token 'the equipment will be almost um 90% replaced'. Here, the junior planner assumes authority along three dimensions, despite the increasingly overt

indications by the male bureaucrats that there is tension. First, she sets the direction of the meeting using an abstract 'preface'. Second, she encodes that abstraction in terms of a concrete Token, thereby mobilising another authority device, the encoding relational process. Third, she uses the modal 'will' (albeit mitigated by the mental process 'feel'): the users 'feel' that 90% of the old equipment will be replaced.

The AHS official's reaction to this is markedly strident and extremely oppositional: 'I hate to say that the money is tight and that it won't be 90% replaced, I can guarantee that'. While 'hate to say' may seem to mitigate 'the money is tight', its negative connotations are part of the negative prosody that by now pervades the talk. This negativity is further carried through by the categorical 'it won't be 90% replaced'. 'Guarantee' is what Halliday would call a metaphor of mood (Halliday 1985/4: 363; Iedema 1994/6: 115). Metaphors of mood *name* the speech function at stake, thereby achieving a 'distal' (cf. Mehan 1987: 293) or authoritative aspect. The projection ('I hate to say that') serves to raise the status of what is said from a phenomenon to a metaphephenomenon (Halliday 1985/94: 249; Martin 1996b: 348). Both the meta-ness of the projecting metaphor of mood and the semantics of 'hate to say' (as well as 'guarantee') lend this sentence its 'force'.

Even if the junior planner's continued use of authoritative devices such as the ones commented on above seems to indicate she is not aware of the developing tension in the talk, her contributions are becoming increasingly 'bitty' and grammatically incoherent:

extract 14
[meeting 3, phase 3, turns 61-63]
MP- But you see the whole new section, it's just for the, an estimate for the PDP
JC- The new section, yes
MP- Yes, and then in the their existing things the refurbishment would they,

The project manager then takes over with a very authoritative, perhaps even patronising, tone of voice and with extended turns at talk, both of which are paralleled by the AHS official. The junior planner is left with very little to say:

extract 15
[meeting 3, phase 3, turns 64-67]
JS- Could I, sorry, could I could I just perhaps come in here, ehm, what we did say to them was that a) we wanted a total list of the equipment, room by room of the new building, ehm, and b)
JC- For the total building

JS- For the total building, yeah, and b) there would then need to be ehm a consideration as to what was transferable, eh, what wasn't transferable, what was actually in addition to that which was existing and which would be provided by the builder, and which would be provided by other means. Now let's, if we start with the total list of equipment, ehm, I'm sure that ehm the right sort of people will review what's there and decide whether in fact it is re-usable or not re-usable.

MP- Ugh

Interrupting the junior planner again (compare his turns 15, 23, 36 above), the project manager uses an exclusive 'we' and a metaphor of mood ('what we did say to them was a. we wanted ...'). The terms 'total (list)' and 'room by room', redounding with the authoritative intonation, further enhance the impact of his talk (in a collegial situation, these items would most likely carry solidary connotations rather than the amplificatory ones they take on as part of the prosodies at work here).

Modulation is realised (turn 64) metaphorically as a mental process ('we wanted [a total list]'; cf. Halliday's interpersonal metaphor, 1985/94: 358). In the next turn, the project manager resorts to another (although modalised: 'would') modulating mental process ('there would need to be') and a nominalised 'desired action': 'a consideration'. Both modulations ('we want', 'there would need to be') divert modal responsibility away from the actual doers (the users) of the desired action (draw up an equipment list). This means the project manager is construing distance by eliding the users as clausal participant and by both nominalising and mentalising their action ('consideration'). These devices, as seen above, tend to achieve formality through their (lexicogrammatical) reification of a particular institutional position. It is a sign of tension, I argue here, that the project manager applies this kind of reification or statification not to more highly placed participants, but to the users whose positioning is being contested.

The AHS official and the junior planner now seem to be unequivocally locked in 'interaccional competition': their turns are becoming increasingly interruptive and overlapping. Moreover, the junior planner's turns are becoming shorter (e.g. turns 67 ['Ugh'], 71 ['yeah'], 73 ['Ok'], 75 ['And in the brief ...']). The AHS official's talk is increasingly explicit about the causal chain of command at work in the project, which helps to establish his authority by force of implication. This causal-modulating 'syndrome' works through a variety of realisations: 'I can put pressure on them' (ideationalised modulation, much like a metaphor of mood); 'we can then say to them ...' (modulation as

projection), and 'we then work through what is transferable' (implied modulation: 'our' authority naturalised as routine):

extract 16

[meeting 3, phase 3, turns 68-75]

JC- Well, look I can

MP- That hasn't been done yet

JC- I can put pressure on them. Ehm, I've always found it easier that if someone gives each room a room number so that they not duplicate it

MP- yeah

JC- you want it to allocate it as part of your scenario, room numbers for the existing building and room numbers for the enlarged building, we can then say to them "look, prepare an equipment list, for each room"

MP- Ok

JC- And as John said we then work through that to work out well what is transferable, what is new, what the builder will provide, what will we provide

MP- And in the brief

The project manager, as will be seen below, becomes increasingly complicit in the construction of this causal-modulating drift. Its significance, of course, derives from the usual tendency in formal bureaucratic settings to render modulation unrecognisable. I will comment on this tendency to ideationalise and demodalise bureaucratic mustness in Section 5.3 (also Iedema 1994/6: 134). The mustness is made explicit here, I argue, because the junior planner's discourse, in the eyes of the AHS official and project manager, ignores their authority role, as well as their prerogative to determine the voice, and thereby the intertext, of the meeting.

The project manager then interrupts the junior planner with an equally explicit reference to their authoritative role ('we can arrange to have put ...'):

extract 17

[meeting 3, phase 3, turns 76-81]

JS- I mean, and, sorry we can we can put, or can arrange anyway, to have figures put against all that stuff, I mean that's no no big deal, but you know we need the basic basic stuff, ...

MP- Ok, now in the brief at the moment there is a list at the end of each room, that's ..., that's the items, just in the PDP again, just the documentation for the PDP, what's required at this stage is for putting a more detailed

JC- The Department won't require us to go to the n^{th} degree on this

MP- No but what I'm wondering is, what how much do I put in of the estimated percentage of the cost as being ...

JC- Well they probably would like it better than that, but

MP- So we have to talk to somebody about the pricing

JS- Sorry could I, could I; ahah, sorry John, just to come back, let's gets the list, alright, as a start,

In this extract the junior planner again exhibits her ambiguous self-positioning. She responds to the project manager's turn in again a rather incoherent way ('in the brief at the moment there is a list at the end of each room, that's ..., that's the items, just in the PDP again, just the documentation for the PDP, what's required at this stage is for putting a more detailed'), but then proceeds to interrupt the AHS official ('So we have to talk to somebody about the pricing'). The project manager cuts in, taking on an increasingly 'didactic' intonation ('alright' [tone 1]).

The degree of cooperative co-construction of the talk between the project manager and the AHS official is evident from the following extract:

extract 17

[meeting 3, phase 3, turns 81-84]

JS- Sorry could I, could I, ahah, sorry John, just to come back, let's gets the list, alright, as a start,

JC- It's up to the users to prepare that

JS- It's up to the users to prepare that, ehm, we can then jointly make the decisions from there on, we can arrange for it to be costed, computed,

DW- Yeah, no problem

The colloquial nature of 'it's up to the users to prepare that', the explicitness of the modulation, and the high degree of insistence (repetition), show that both bureaucrats have now stepped outside of the usual domain of realisation of their bureaucratic intertexts. The following turn by the project manager shows to what extent he is drawn into the unfolding prosody:

extract 18

[meeting 3, phase 3, turns 84-85]

DW- Yeah, no problem

JS- Um, it's not a problem with any of that, we've got a lot of information you know in-house here anyway in relation to pricing of equipment of various sorts, so it's not, the actual pricing is not a great problem, ehm, there's really no reason why we shouldn't be quite accurate at this stage, there's no need to guess, but we might as well do that job now.

In turn 85, the project manager mobilises no fewer than *six* negatives:

Um, it's not a problem with any of that, we've got a lot of information you know in-house here anyway in relation to pricing of equipment of various sorts, so it's not, the actual pricing is not a great problem, ehm, there's really no reason why we shouldn't be quite accurate at

this stage, there's no need to guess, but we might as well do that job now.

In the face of this, the junior planner risks saying that 'the users ... had a bit of a heart attack having to do the [equipment] list'. The conflict now rapidly escalates:

extract 19

[meeting 3, phase 3, turns 85-92]

JS- Um, it's not a problem with any of that, we've got a lot of information you know in-house here anyway in relation to pricing of equipment of various sorts, so it's not, the actual pricing is not a great problem, ehm, there's really no reason why we shouldn't be quite accurate at this stage, there's no need to guess, but we might as well do that job now.

MP- Ok, that's the users, they had a bit of a heart attack having to do the list fully at this point, but ehm

JS- Oh heavens, look [the preparation]

?- [..]

JS- The preparation of these lists can eh you know a day at the most, a couple of days for somebody who knows what they're about

MP- Yeah, yeah, is it possible to get ?

JC- I'll get someone to work with them

MP- It's just that, we're supposed to have this PDP done tomorrow, ...

JS- No, we'll get this, we'll get this PDP right, hagh, so

In reply to the junior planner's comment about the users (turn 86), the project manager uses an expletive ('oh heavens'), followed by an imperative ('look'). His turn overlaps with that by somebody else but it is unclear from the tape who is speaking. The simultaneous production of talk here signals of course that the stakes (and blood pressure levels) are rising. Moreover, in this very extract (19) the junior planner is interrupted three times. Appraisals like 'somebody who knows what they're about' and 'we'll get this PDP right', which in more collegial contexts might be part of a shared solidarity, reflect negatively onto the junior planner in this co(n)text. This might be an effect of the interpersonal boundaries that were set up earlier, in terms of exclusive 'we's and the emphasis on 'I' contrasted with 'you'. The 'we' in 'we'll get this PDP right' is most likely to be read as inclusive, however, which retroactively mitigates the negative implication of these interpersonal appraisals.

The junior planner now sees herself forced into both the role of asker (using interrogatives) and that of offerer. In addition, her tone has by now become very tentative ('should I should I ...'), and the AHS official loses his final bit of patience:

extract 20

[meeting 3, phase 3, turns 92-96]

JS- No, we'll get this, we'll get this PDP right, hah, so

MP- So should I should I talk to you about ..., these things then, will you get back to me then or shall I communicate with you, about this, about...?

JC- Oh, there's too many players in this, I thought Ian Forbes was writing the PDP

MP- Oh sorry, I'm, I work with JTWCForges

JC- Right

This extract constitutes the culmination of ninety-odd turns. The junior planner has been forced into submission through a continued verbal battering (a prime example of 'symbolic violence'; cf. Bourdieu 1992: 51). The AHS official 'finishes her off' with: 'Oh, there's too many players in this, I thought Ian Forbes was writing the PDP'. The amplification of 'too many players' caps the negative prosody that has been building up throughout the meeting so far. The reference to Ian Forbes suggests that the AHS official is unwilling to deal with the junior planner any further: by implication she is incapable of writing the PDP. Most significantly however, the AHS official addresses this turn to the project manager, and thus effectively demotes the junior planner to non-interactant.

The junior planner is left to scramble around for legitimation:

extract 21

[meeting 3, phase 3, turns 97-98]

MP- Oh sorry, I'm, I work with JTWCForges

JC- Right

During the rest of the meeting the interaction is mainly among the AHS official, the project manager and the second architect, although the junior planner does interject at times. She even initiates another phase (6), but is overall not setting the pace as she was up until phase 3. I will not detail the rest of the meeting, however, because that would be beyond the purposes of this section.

5.2.2 Mapping Schismogenesis

I have argued in the above discussion of the meeting's dynamics that the patterns emerged as a result of what Bateson calls 'complementary schismogenesis'. What speakers said, in other words, was as much motivated by what their interlocutors said as by what they saw as what needed saying. To put this more succinctly, the talk took on this schismogenetic drift as a consequence of the speakers' respective and incompatible

(‘complementary’) intertexts. These intertexts were not realised purely ideationally, as they were in meeting 1, but through an ideational/interpersonal cryptotypics exploiting a whole range of lexicogrammatical and semantic (and phonological) resources.

The schismogenetic prosody comprises a strand of negativity and a strand of modulation. As shown, the negativity in the junior planner’s talk sparks a bureaucratically untypical amount of negativity in both the AHS official’s and the project manager’s talk. The junior planner’s negative prosody first gives rise to modulation, which is first realised ideationally (‘want’, ‘need’, ‘up to’), then interpersonally (‘has to be’, ‘ought to’). As the junior planner’s ‘inappropriate’ positioning tactic shows no signs of abating, the AHS official becomes increasingly resentful and resort to negativity himself (‘no one ever does’, ‘I hate to say’, ‘it won’t be 90% replaced’) and even overt sarcasm (‘the only meetings at the end of last year were mid last year’). The project manager also draws increasingly on modulation, and parallels the AHS official’s drift towards emphasising their Initiator status (Halliday 1985/94: 171) using an exclusive ‘we’ (‘we can arrange to have ...’, ‘I can put pressure on them’).

As an attempt to schematise these aspects of the analysis in a dynamic way and achieve a picture of the unfolding prosodies commented on, Figure 5.7 below provides a schismogenetic map of the resources exploited by the interactants.

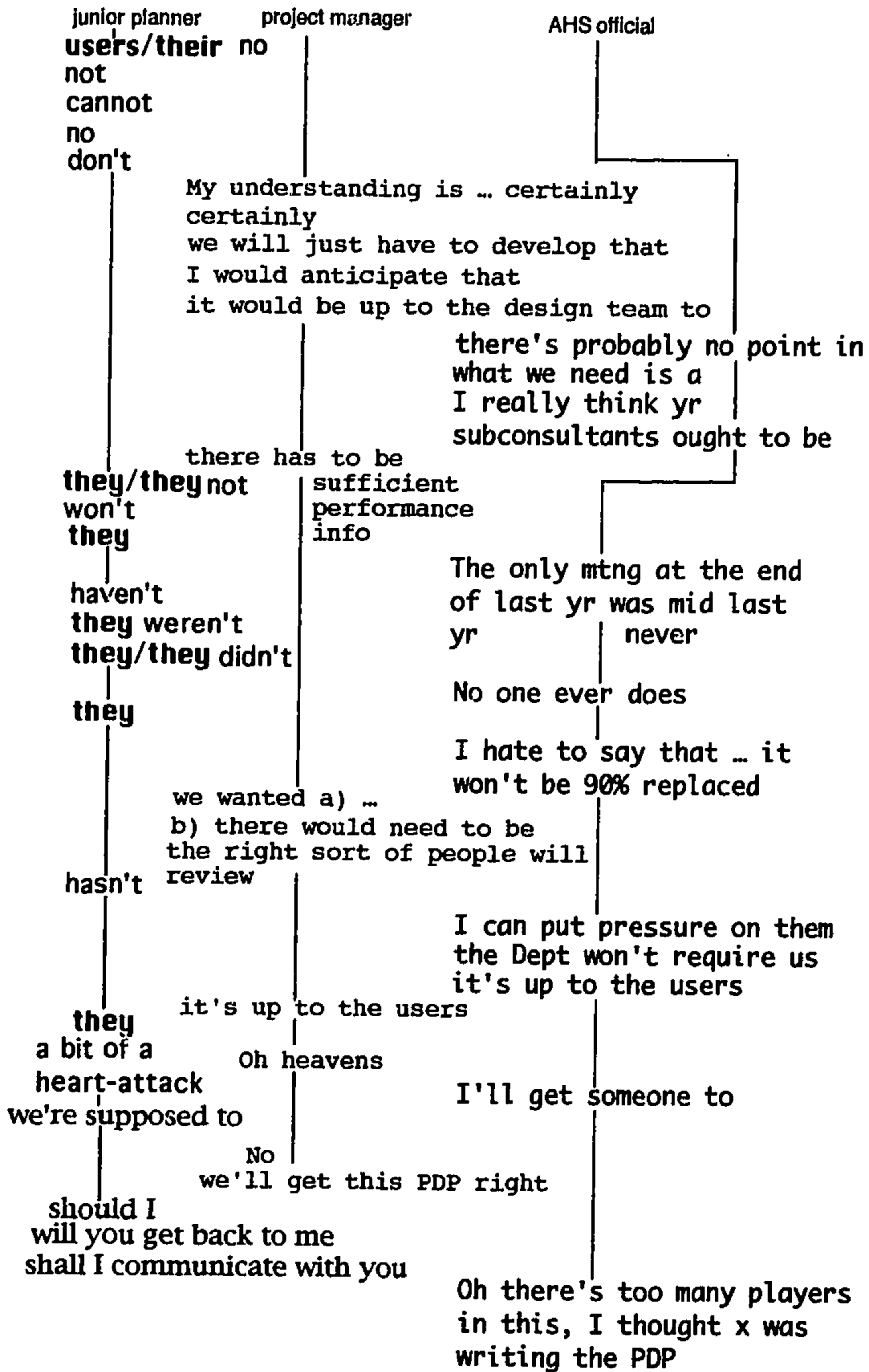


Figure 5.7: Dynamically unfolding prosodies: schismogenesis

Figure 5.7 represents a summary of the dynamic unfolding of the conflict. Table 5.9 below provides a more systematic summary of the salient lexicogrammatical and semantic features of the talk up to and including phase 3, organised according to interactant (the junior planner: MP; the project manager: JS, and the AHS official: JC) and metafunction.

Ph.		logical	Ideational	interpersonal	textual
1	MP	projection ('users who feel that ..')	negatives: 'no discussion'; 'not very effective'; 'they're not happy'; 'won't be satisfactory'; encoding experience: 'one of the issues was ...'	'we thought we should talk to ..'; 'we'll have to work it out': modul. inclin. x modalisation; interrogatives (tone ?)	initiates [contradiction between i) encodings, initiatings, summarisings, projections and ii) interrogatives, inclinations, shorth of turn, Ok's]
	JS		encodings: 'my understanding is ...', elaborated with attrib's and existentials; specifying procedure for and contents of PDP	impersonal modul.: 'we will just have to'; 'I would anticipate that ..'; 'it would be up to the design team'; 'there has to be' [shift from 'I'd like' (emot.) to 'I'd anticipate' (cogn.): increasing distance]; Interrupts ('by all means yeah'); 'no, fine': sarcasm/ tension?	simultaneous [no no]
	JC	elaborates JS	'what we need is ..': encoding	'there's probably no point in talking to ..'; 'I really think that your sub-c's ought to be talking to ..': amplifies JS	simultaneous [no no]
2	MP		imputes 'secret meeting'; 'the comments I've got now are the same comments that there was a meeting': encoding?;	negatives: 'haven't got any of the documents'; 'some of the things they thought had been changed weren't changed'; 'they didn't get all the things they asked for'; interrupted by JC; interrupts JC	initiates ('the other thing was they ..')
	JC		encoding	sarcasm: 'the only meeting at the end of last year was mid last year'; 'no one ever does'; interrupted by MP	

3	MP		users as 'feelers': 'they feel the equipment will be 90% replaced'	JS interrupts; interrogatives; negs: 'that hasn't been done yet'; 'users had a bit of a heart attack'; modul. inclin.: 'should we ..?'; 'shall I'; justification of role: 'I'm I work with JTWCForbes'; shifts into decodings: 'so it's a long piece the managing process?'	initiates: 'the only other thing is the equipment' [contrad.: foregrounds users, yet as Sensors]
	JC	projection	ergativity: 'I can put pressure on them'; 'we can then say to them: "prepare .."'; quoting: 'and as John said'; solidarity?: 'they would like it better than that'; 'the dept won't require us to ..'	negs: 'the money is tight and it won't be 90% replaced'; 'there's too many players in this'; length of turn; boundaries (frames): 'we'll keep that to ourselves, won't reveal that to the users'	echoes JS ('as John said'; 'it's up to the users to prepare that')
	JS		specifies what users have to produce (equip. lists); erg.: 'we can arrange to have ..'; 'it's up to the users to prepare that ..'; 'we can arrange for it to be costed'	length of turn; categories of people: 'the right sort of people'; 'let's get the list'; 'there's no reason why we shouldn't be accurate'; 'there's no need to guess'; 'we might as well do the job now'; congruent interp'l: 'Oh heavens'	[watches increasing conflict between MP and JC: jumps in with procedure, explanations]

Table 5.9: Tabulating the range of schismogenetic resources mobilised in meeting 3.

Both Figure 5.7 and Table 5.9 aim to schematise the syndromes of grammatical and semantic resources which characterise the growing conflict in meeting 3. What these schematisations emphasise too, is that 'meaning' is not inherent in any particular realisation (e.g. 'must') or feature (e.g. modulation), but in the concatenation of particular features and grammatical value of their realisations. Meaning, in other words, is a *relational* phenomenon (Chapter 6).

In that regard, the analysis presented here goes beyond that presented in other studies of conflict talk (e.g. Grimshaw 1990;

Henley & Kramarae 1994; K. O'Donnell 1990). In contrast to Katherine O'Donnell's work on conflict in labour-management meetings (K. O'Donnell 1990), this thesis does not present a more or less static list of resources drawn on by participants. Instead, it foregrounds the semantic and lexicogrammatical dynamics of the talk, focusing on the cryptotypic mobilisation of resources for the instantiation of schismogenesis (and morphogenesis). It attaches more importance to how resources fit into some kind of pattern of gradual change (e.g. from 'may' to 'must' to 'will', or from emotion to cognition to locution), than to those resources *per se*.

Finally, I would hesitate to attribute the conflict in this meeting to either gender, age, or experience, or impute the 'miscommunication' seen above to differences in biology or to a socio-historically formed unconscious (cf. Irigaray 1983: 81, 1990). All that was clear to me was that the junior planner's talk and that of the AHS official and the project manager did not 'gel'. The junior planner was not prepared (for whatever reasons: inexperience, philosophical conviction, stubbornness, personal history) to privilege the male bureaucrats' values over those of the users, or to accord them the degree of formal respect which they obviously expected (from a younger female planner). In a paper co-written with the junior planner, the architect-planner, Associate Professor Pieter Degeling and myself (Degeling, P., R. Iedema, I Forbes & M. Potter in prep.) we focus on these more individual issues more closely, and incorporate a response to the kind of analysis presented above by the junior planner. A discussion of this would be beyond the scope of this section, however, which aimed to provide an insight into schismogenetic dynamics in talk.

The next section, section 5.3, will go back and look at the project's morphogenetic unfolding. There I will concentrate on the resemiotisation of meaning 'away from the here and now', and towards 'de-differentiation'.

5.3 Morphogenesis beyond Language: Resemiotisation

5.3.1 From Talk to Print

The Minutes of meeting 1 reduced the dynamics and complexities of meeting 1 discussed in section 5.1 to the following (this document was prepared by the project manager's secretary):

Campbelltown Hospital Waratah House

Minutes

Meeting of	Campbelltown Hospital Waratah House Consultants	Date: 15th February 1995
Meeting No:	1	
Present	[JC; AHS official] [MD; project manager] [MPD; secretary] [IF; architect-planner] [IB; second architect] [RI; myself] [DW; builder-supplier]	South West Sydney -AHS Capworks Management Capworks Management JTCW+Forbes JTCW+Forbes [builder-supplier company]
Apologies	[JS; main project manager] [DC; JTCW Director]	Capworks Management JTCW+Forbes
Recorded By	[MPD; secretary]	Capworks Management
Distribution	All above File	

<u>Item</u>	<u>Details</u>	<u>Action by</u>
1.	[MD; project manager] advised that the priority issues at present would be to:	
(i)	Prepare the Project Definition Plan	IF
(ii)	Review the Cost Plan	DW

2. [JC; the AHS official] provided a brief history of the project. He summarised that the last assessment by [the builder-supplier] was done on 4th August 1992. This was estimated at \$3.62M. **Note**
- A further review later that year by another Quantity Surveyor assessed the works at \$2.8M.
- Presently, \$2.8M has been approved for the project.
- A substantial argument would be required to obtain extra funds for the unit.
3. [JC] advised that the N.U.M. [Nursing Unit Manager] is Mr [FL]. [FL] was involved in the original design phase. The Acting Director is [KC] who is new to the project. **Note**
4. [JC] advised that it would be necessary to reassess the proposed plan in terms of the 1995 figures. [DW; the builder-supplier] to review and recost based on the latest floor plan, functional plan and design brief. **DW**
5. Mr Forbes [the architect-planner] advised that a few options would need to be reviewed. The aim would be to achieve the best solution for adding onto the existing building in the most cost efficient way. [JC] advised that alternatives have already been considered which should simplify the task. The "no go" options would need to be summarised with justification as to why these are not the preferred option.
- [MD] advised that it would be advantageous to have comments from the user group outlining the pros and cons of each option.
- [JC] advised that each option should have a brief cost plan. The preferred option should have more detail.
6. [JC] requested that the Project Definition Plan (PDP) be completed within a month. **IF**
7. [IB, second architect] advised that the services engineers are [name]. [MD] noted that they should liaise with Hospital Engineers and advise of any potential or new problems.
- [IB] to coordinate. **IB**
8. [MD] advised that Air Conditioning to the unit should be reviewed regardless of whether it has been briefed or not. **IB**
9. [JC] to follow up user review of design brief. **JC**
10. [MPD; project secretary] to obtain Public Works Dept. Contract number. **[MPD]**
- [JC] to obtain Campbelltown Contract Number. **[JC]**

11. [MD] queried the status of the Building Survey. A topographic and geotechnical survey would be required.

[IB] to coordinate.

[IB]

The next meeting will be Wednesday 1st March, 1995 at 2:30 pm at the Liverpool Hospital Redevelopment Unit.

The Minutes distill the ideational aspects of what was said, foregoing any overt reference to the interpersonal currents which prevailed during the meeting. The AHS official's self-positioning in the talk using projection and a variety of modulations gives rise to written Minutes in which his point of view prevails both ideationally and textually. Ideationally, modulations that occurred in the talk are transformed into 'demodulations' in the Minutes: i.e. as ideationalisations of interpersonal forms (see below). Textually, the structure of the Minutes, although it might seem to iconically 'map' the original talk, favours the AHS official's perspective as News. It is he who is consistently given the last word.

Thus, the AHS official's self-positioning as mediator between, on the one hand, the Area Health Service (his own branch) and the Dept. of Health, and, on the other hand, those present at the meeting (i.e. the planners), is condensed as:

2. [JC; the AHS official] provided a brief history of the project. He summarised that the last assessment by [the builder-supplier] was done on 4th August 1992. This was estimated at \$3.62M.

The modulations used in the talk (Metaphors of Mood: 'we're told ...', 'they've told us ...'; cf Halliday 1985/94: 363) are reduced to 'provided' and 'summarised'. This ideationalising and demodalising strategy is a common bureaucratic-administrative device. In Iedema 1994/6, I describe 'demodalisation' as a hypothetical lexicogrammatical trajectory mapping modes of institutional control from the 'bare' imperative 'do it', to ideationalised structures or 'demodulations' such as 'the scheme provides clear standards of staff attendance' (Iedema 1994/6: 150). Moving down this hypothetical trajectory, both the must-ness and the source and object of control become dissimulated, and make way for ideationalised and objectified realisations. In Section 3.5.3, I made the link between these kinds of (grammatical) metaphors and time-space distancing. The trajectory is reproduced in Figure 5.8 below.

In highly institutionalised settings time-space distancing and ideationalisation of control become operable due both to the highly routinised and proceduralised kinds of action that typify worker behaviour, and to their high levels of shared knowledge about and coordinated interaction within the organisation (see Section 1.5). While the former obviates the need for explicit or 'bare' forms of must-ness, the latter obviates the need to specify the source and the object of control.

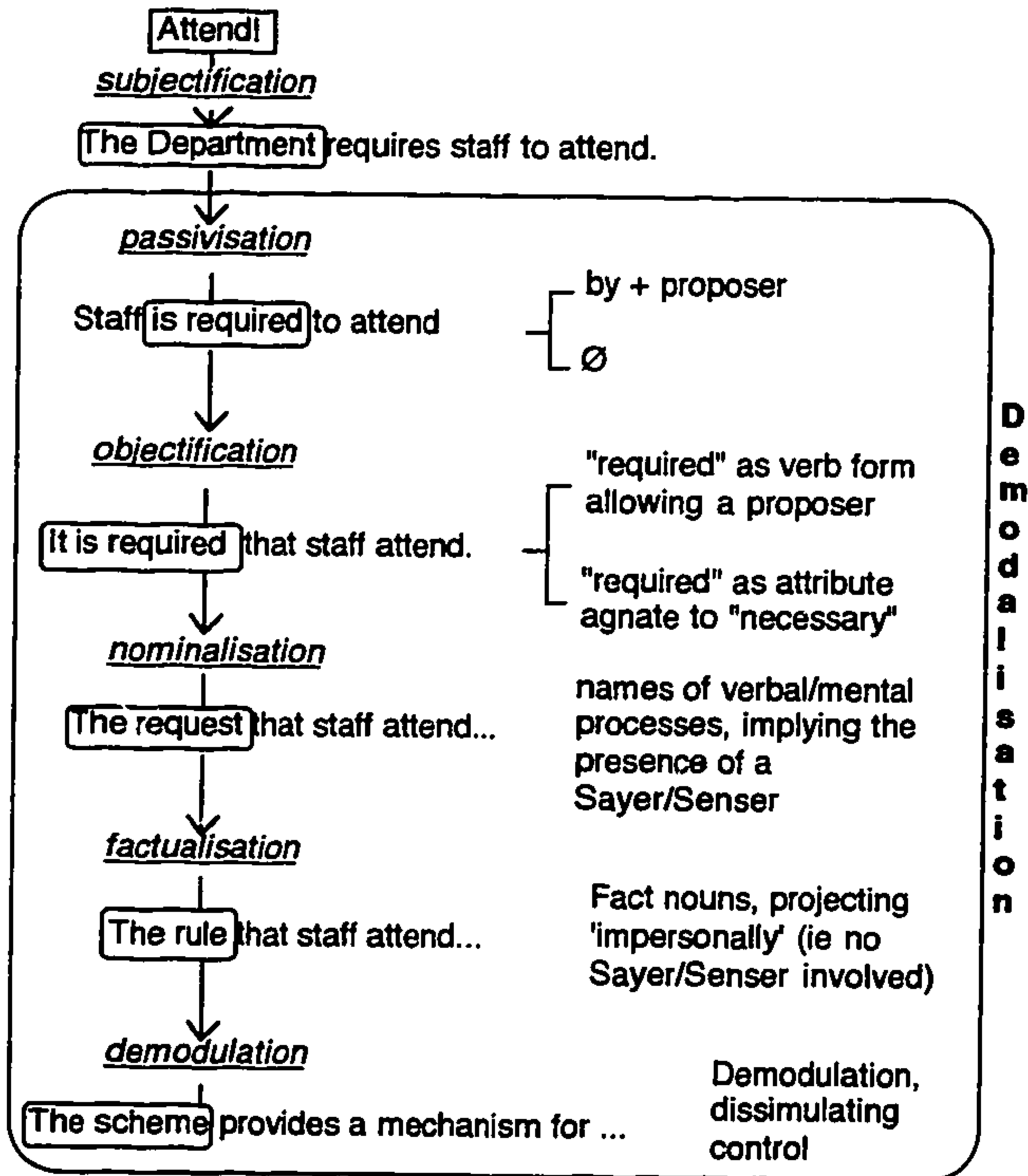


Figure 5.8: Increasing objectification of the Command: Demodalisation (from Iedema 1994/6: 150)

The trajectory in Figure 5.8 shows the increased 'resolution' of mustness towards a 'provision of regularity'. The emphasis thus shifts from an authority (an identifiable agent or agency of symbolic control) *requiring* something (a desired action) to a scheme or framework (an abstract entity of symbolic control)

providing something (standards of action).-The trajectory maps the linguistic manifestation of time-space distancing and storage: the negotiation of the principles underpinning the proposed regularisation ('control') is made increasingly difficult, because the real source and the actual intensity of the must-ness become more and more implicit, and on the strength of that gain in 'authority'.

Thus, the shift from talk to Minutes is time-space distancing. The AHS official's 'we've got to prove whatever we need' (meeting 1, phase 1) becomes:

- (2.) A substantial argument would be required to obtain extra funds for the unit.

This shift parallels the one commented on above: 'we have got to', a subjective implicit form of modulation (Halliday 1985/94: 358) phrased using a 'general obligation' (Butler 1987: 130), becomes 'would be required': a modalised ('would be') explicit objective modulation (cf. 'it is required'; Halliday 1985/94: 358), without reference to a source where the 'requiring' originates.

In point 4 in the above minutes, the AHS official's talk is further reconstrued in terms of explicit objective modulation (albeit modalised by 'would') as well as the even stronger form 'is to' minus the finite element, leaving [DW] to ...'. This elision of the finite verb form diminishes the possibility for negotiation, and thus heightens the impression of agreement.

4. [JC] advised that it would be necessary to reassess the proposed plan in terms of the 1995 figures. [DW; the builder-supplier] to review and recost based on the latest floor plan, functional plan and design brief.

The next section of the Minutes compresses the issue of the architect-planner's task and of the degree of user consultation into three paragraphs.

5. Mr Forbes [the architect-planner] advised that a few options would need to be reviewed. The aim would be to achieve the best solution for adding onto the existing building in the most cost efficient way. [JC] advised that alternatives have already been considered which should simplify the task. The "no go" options would need to be summarised with justification as to why these are not the preferred option.

[MD] advised that it would be advantageous to have comments from the user group outlining the pros and cons of each option.

[JC] advised that each option should have a brief cost plan. The preferred option should have more detail.

Significantly, this section's 'staging' (cf. Martin 1992: 505) works in favour of the AHS official. The input from the architect-planner and the project manager ('we need a quick review from the user department') is counterbalanced by the AHS official's 'reply'. The following diagram schematises this part of the Minutes, and shows how the architect-planner's and project manager's contributions are positioned as hyper-Theme (Martin 1993d: 244, 1995b: 28), i.e. as that 'where I am coming from'. The AHS official's contributions, by contrast, are consistently positioned as 'hyper-New' (Martin 1993d: 247, 1995b: 28), and thus as that 'where you are going'. In the diagram I have also included those turns or fragments from the talk in meeting 1 which are most clearly related to these parts of the Minutes.

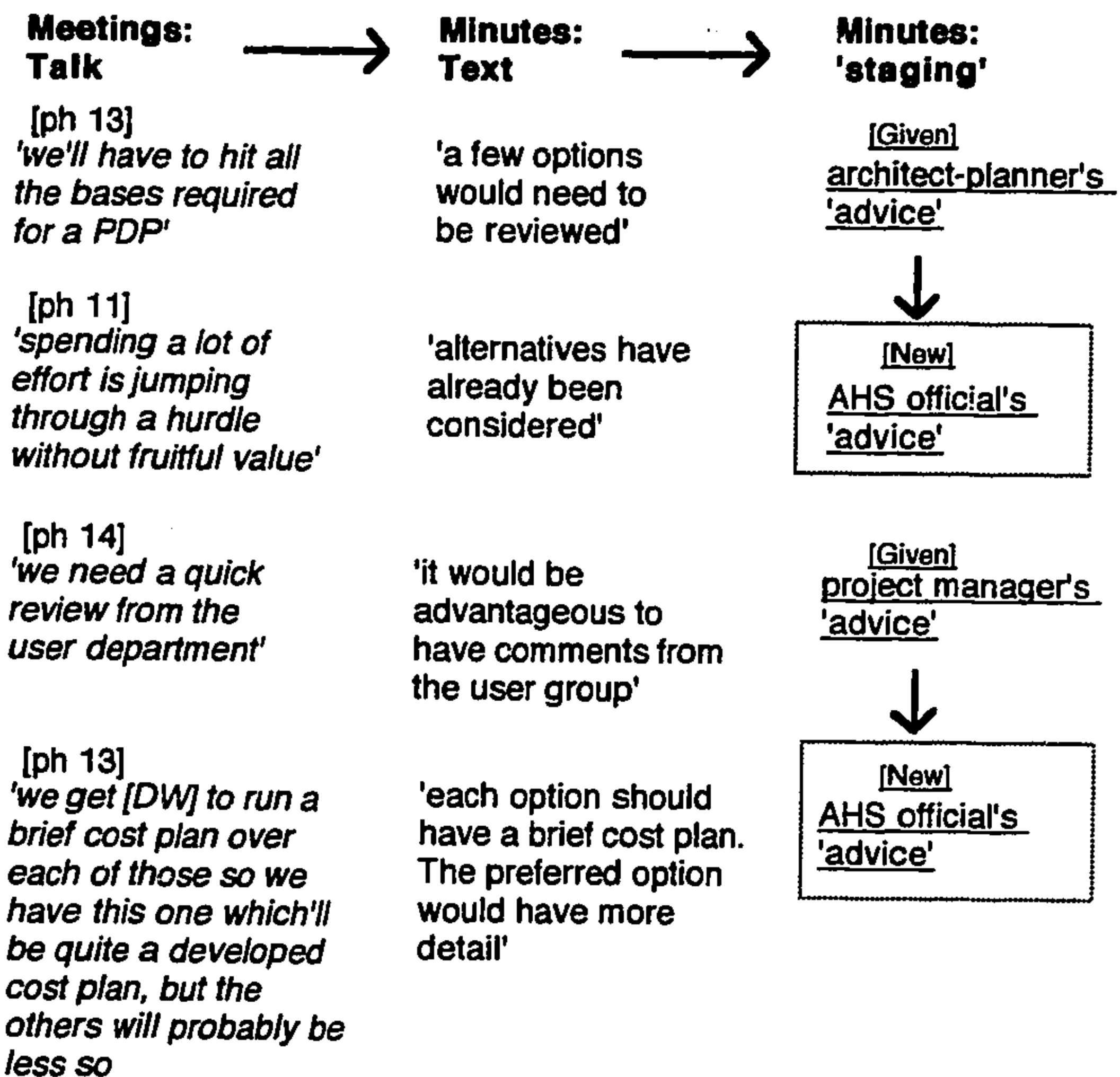


Figure 5.9: From talk to writing: point 5 in the Minutes of meeting 1.

It is clear from this that the secretary has not only ideationalised and demodalised, but also 're-arranged' the order of what was said. The contributions made by the architect-planner and the project manager are both later in the talk than those made by the AHS official. Nevertheless, his point of view is clearly favoured as New, or 'where you are [should be] going'.

Point 6 in the Minutes relates to phase 13 in the talk (JC- 'Basically we have hope to knock the PDP over in a month'). Phase 13, according to the analysis provided in Sections 5.1.1 and 5.1.2 above, was three phases away from some kind of resolution (viz. the laughter in phase 16), and saw the AHS official as still engaged in a struggle to make his views prevail. In the talk he lost this struggle, while the Minutes of the meeting are construed to give him the last word.

These Minutes were typed up by the secretary to the project manager. Her (correct) understanding of the situation is that the AHS official 'has authority': he is closer to the heart of financial control and distribution than any one else present. Her positioning of him as the voice of power is in agreement with the fact that it is he who puts out tenders for both the project management part and the architectural-planning part of the project, and advises his superiors on the choice of the appropriate project management and architectural planning companies. For all these reasons he deserves the respect which the Minutes cryptotypically codify.

The project manager who seemed to stand up for the architect-planner's insistence on user involvement with his 'we'll need a quick review from the user department' was not the one who saw the project to a successful end. As from the second meeting onwards his superior, [JS], took over (Section 5.2). As was clear in my discussion of the talk in meeting 3 above, [JS] was less insensitive to the AHS official's points of view. On the contrary, he was actively co-constructing the talk in tandem with the AHS official and helped 'silence' the junior planner. As JS's secretary, the typist of the Minutes was clearly disposed to favour existing power structures.

The architect-planner understood the system, and knew he had to treat the AHS official's voice as one among others to comply with the Dept. of Health's "Process of Facility Planning". As seen in Chapter 4, this document dictates that the Project Definition Plan be signed off by *all* stakeholders: bureaucrats, engineers, architects, as well as the ultimate user stakeholders of any planning project. At the same time, the architect-planner could not afford to lose the AHS official's support and goodwill. It therefore took him most of meeting 1 to bring him round to appreciate the importance of user (re-)involvement. Even if these Minutes undo all that work, the issue of user consultation is on the agenda, and the AHS official has had to admit that 'we'll have to do it out in the open' (meeting 1, phase 11).

The purpose of this section, however, has been to trace the initial re-semiotisation of meaning from talk into print. One conclusion that can be drawn from this is that the transfiguration into print favours both ideationalisation and demodalisation, or the elision of the interpersonal obviating the re-negotiation of covered ground by limiting the "space for dialogue, disagreement or differing points of view" (Lemke 1987: 6). In this case, and under influence of the secretary's, or, more broadly, the project management's,

view of the social relations involved, the printed version also shows an adherence to the prevailing authority relations.

5.3.2 The Architect-Planner's Version: The Project Definition Plan (PDP)

Bureaucrats have to follow the guidelines provided in the *Process of Facility Planning* (see Chapter 4) which are formulated (by the Department of Health) to avoid problems caused by a heavy-handed bureaucracy railroading the public with its decisions. Theoretically, the PDP is to be written by 'an impartial outsider' who answers to governmental regulations as inscribed into 'sacred' documents such as the *Process of Facility Planning*. Such documents prescribe user consultation as a crucial ingredient of any planning exercise: "It is important to note that planning is seen as a needs driven exercise with a strong customer focus" (NSW Dept. of Health 1993: 1). As Anna Yeatman makes clear, government has

sought to manage the increasing alienation of ordinary people with respect to the over-bureaucratisation of the delivery of public goods and services by making this delivery more responsive to users' needs and more open to public participation (Yeatman 1990: 1)

Yeatman is pessimistic however about what a 'strong customer focus' really means, and ultimately sees this effort as a kind of 'synthetic personalisation' (Fairclough 1992: 98):

A newly rationalised administrative elite has learnt a repertoire of symbolic gestures in the direction of consumer consultation, social justice and client rights, but has been barred effectively from more serious conversion to these values by being rewarded or sanctioned for conformity to managerialist-economic rationalist administrative agendas (Yeatman 1990: 3).

The issue of what role user consultation plays in planning will be taken up again in Chapter 6. What is evident so far, however, is that while the project was ostensibly about benefiting users and satisfying mental health service needs, there were a number other agendas which could not be ignored.

In practice, therefore, the architect-planner enters an arena where power relations are and have been at play, and where only certain players have access to the 'means of (gaining/giving) attention': funding. As Pieter Degeling puts it, planning cannot be seen as a

“means to a pre-given set of socially sourced ends, i.e. more efficient, effective and equitable modes of resource allocation and coordination” (Degeling 1996) as the ‘sacred’ documents proclaim. Instead, planning forms “an episode in dramas which have been running for extended periods of time” (Degeling 1996).

Planning is now construed to be about stitching together packages of bargains to which sufficient significant stakeholders are willing to lend support. Among other matters it may require: selectively releasing and mobilising information; structuring the meanings and interpretations that are assigned to issues and events; blurring differences between contending interests and cajoling reciprocal movement on the part of stakeholders. (Degeling 1996: 113)

The PDP, therefore, will (have to) be a resolution of tensions among those voices most commanding attention, or it won’t stand as a ‘valid’ recontextualisation of what was said. In Forbes’ strategic words, “it is a composite document” (turn 4, meeting 4).

The composite-ness of the document is an important factor contributing to its being seen as ‘valid’ and deserving of being signed off. The PDP document thus contains input from various stakeholders elicited by the architect-planner for inclusion. In meeting 4, for example, the architect-planner called on the users for input into the PDP which argued their case for increased staffing:

**extract 1
[meeting 4, turn 152]
so if I can just get from you some kind of statement, as to the rationale for that I just plug it straight in**

The AHS official suggests in meeting 1 that information can be copied from more formal documents:

**extract 2
[meeting 1, phase 4]
JC- Well I think if you look in the functional brief you’ll find some good paragraphs on that, um,**

The architect-planner explicitly refers to the resulting composite-ness in the introduction to the Project Definition Plan (PDP):

The Project Definition Plan has been prepared by JTCW+Forbes, in conjunction with Waratah House staff and the sub-consultants. The material in this document is to a large extent a compilation of the draft Design Briefs and prepared reports from 1992 onwards and is

intended to meet the requirements of a PDP as defined in the *Process of Facility Planning* manual issued by the Department of Health.
(PDP: 4)

In what follows I will take a closer look at how the talk relates to the written PDP report. The document is formally structured as follows:

1. Executive Summary
2. Introduction
3. Project Background
4. Issues Affecting the Site
5. Issues Affecting Health Services
6. Capital Cost Estimate
7. Asset Management Implications
8. Equipment Requirements
9. Recurrent Cost Estimates
10. Staff Resourcing and Change Management Strategies
11. Implementation Strategy and Programme
12. Local Authority and Area Board Requirements
13. Design Brief

This contents list provides an overview of the voices that have achieved integration or representation in this document. I will first address the trajectory of meanings that have achieved integration and which have become transfigured in the process (through morphogenesis; Section 5.3.2.1). Then I will highlight other sections of the PDP which are a 'patchwork' of discrete voices which needed to be represented (Section 5.3.2.2).

5.3.2.1 Morphogenesis: The Reconstitution of Talk into Print

The reconstitution of talk into print will be elaborated on the basis of two examples. The first concerns the negotiations about the design options, and the second focusses on the discussions surrounding the percentage of equipment replacement, already encountered in the discussion of meeting 3 (Section 5.2).

The Project Background section of the PDP report provides a history of the project as a whole and was cited in Chapter 4 above. It also lists the original design options for Waratah House and includes the architectural proposals and argumentation in favour of a fourth option, Option D (see Figure 5.16 below).

All of the [original three] options examined contained some good points and some bad points but none were able to meet the majority of the criteria. This means that another option had to be created to gain the best of all options. The solution was to place the new accommodation wings on the same side of the building so that the closest functional adjacency could be achieved. It would be placed on the eastern side of the present building and by having the non-secure rooms at a diagonal to the present building would effectively work with the [geographical] contours. To achieve the benefits of the options which had the new wing running east-west, the rooms in Option D were staggered so that each room aligned north-south to reduce heat gain. In this way a solution which met most of the criteria was achieved. (PDP: 8)

This passage is a long way from the talk in meeting 1:

extract 3
(meeting 1, phase 12)
JC- Yeah, they're the options, and then you can get them costed and then you can say "hey, we can't afford them, this is the best one"
hahaha

It is even further away from the architect-planner's private estimation of what constitutes the process of assessing options:

it says there's supposed to be three alternatives looked at, all these things, now if someone insists on us going through the full exercise of looking at quite distinct options, I'm sure [DC; head of the architectural firm for who Forbes works as a consultant] would not in the slightest be interested in seeing two other options because he's picked the one he likes, so the question is whether we can create fictitious options that can be knocked down, that often happens, you've got the one you like and two that are not quite as good for various reasons, and then you say, "well these are three options" ... (interview Ian Forbes at UNSW School of Health Services Management, 9/2/95)

Forbes goes on to argue that picking an option is largely an arbitrary exercise:

... I usually try to get three genuine options and go through a selection process in which they have pros and cons and that is not hard to do, I mean if you if you picked three or four criteria, and you say "if we take this criteria as the most important criteria then this scheme is better than that, but you can take the next criteria as the most important then maybe that scheme is better than that, and if you find the one that against each criteria is the best it comes out and I don't think that's, there's there's then you can't be, you can't be accused of in fact setting it up, but not always you have three equally valid ways of doing something, so that's why often options don't come out like that, but I'll just see we'll see on Thursday [when meeting 1 was going to be held] whether or not eh they're prepared to go through the game basically, what they wanna do is get the solution they've already got and get on with it and they're prepared to see the whole thing rigged (interview Ian Forbes at UNSW School of Health Services Management, 9/2/95)

During the meetings the transition from this arbitrariness to well-argued logic was made cooperatively. The project manager, in the following extract from meeting 4, elicits reasons from those present to add to the argument as it is presented in the PDP ('is there anything else that anybody can comment as to any other criteria which people think ought to be included'). The AHS official suggests that the criterion of 'capital minimisation' ('through the re-use of existing spaces') should be added:

extract 4

[meeting 4, turns 267-270]

JS- Can I just, sorry, just to stop you there, eh the criteria, the selection I guess eh seem to be reasonable as one would expect, is there anything else that anybody can comment as to any other criteria which people think ought to be included in this document, eh they're pretty generalised criteria, I guess I wouldn't expect this thing to say very much different to that, but if there are specific criteria which occur to people which seem to be important on the process of design it's important that we we flush everything out by this stage

IF- Ehm can't think of anything

JC- I think John one of the major criteria in getting the preferred design is the eh ... it looks like an open site but it's so I guess you've got capital minimisation through the re-use of existing spaces and eh you've got the lowest cost for construction solution ...

IF- So Ok that we'll add to that

Somewhat later in that meeting, the architect-planner further rationalises their choice, by starting to build up the logic that is to underpin the ultimate exposition of the options. At this stage, this logic is still relatively spoken, or 'congruent', as well as causal-consequential, in that it explains how option D came to be

preferred ('what that does for us though is', 'therefore', 'that is why'; cf Martin 1993d: 239):

extract 5

[meeting 4, turn 293]

IF- Yeah and then eh we tried to look, one of the other advantages of course of the east-west wing is that you get north-south sun control, ehm, and eh that's a bit of a compromise on a diagonal if you like, what that does for us though is it minimises the amount of excavation by being on a diagonal you see it runs along a contour, which therefore trades a little bit, it's not ideal, in the sense that if it was directly east-west you in fact have better sun control, but I think we were happy that is why the solution that came out was staggered to try and maintain both the sun the sun control north-south as well as working up the contour.

The project manager summarises all these contributions again somewhat later in the meeting, integrating the suggestions with equally congruent, but somewhat less spoken, logical relations (cause-consequence: 'because', 'therefore'; underlined in the extract below). Significantly, what has been said is now reconstituted as projection or metaphenomenon ('what you're saying is that...', 'we're saying that...', 'you're saying however that ...') and even as Fact (in Halliday's sense of the term; Halliday 1985/94: 264: 'the fact that there's no substantial sort of building-up'). Projection (dotted-underlined in the extract below) is thus an important device in shifting the talk from its own (time-space located) reality (as phenomenon) to a different (time-space distanciated) reality (as metaphenomenon).

extract 6

[meeting 4, turn 434]

JS- Could could I just summarise this in my usual naive way, ehm, essentially what you're saying is that option D is preferred because it's the most compact and therefore one any eh measurement it should be the least cost option, that's also added to by the fact that there is no substantial sort of building-up or elevation we are ehm biting into the existing hillside, we're saying that the compactness means you have central staff control with vision virtually to all units which gets over some of the problems associated with having the two new units at either end of the building in all the other options, ehm you're saying however that in this option you'd need two separate accesses basically, one maintaining the existing function with the hospital, but also providing an access which comes round to the eastern side of the site

Then, finally, the formal text of the PDP is grounded in coherent and impersonal causality, providing an appropriate 'bureaucratic narrative' (cf. Forester 1993b; Roe 1994) about how Option D came about. The following Figure 5.10 schematises both the two reasons or criteria suggested by the AHS official and the architect-planner,

and the instances of purposive or instrumental (and manner) logic which create texture. It is important to note that this logic is generally made Theme, or the point of departure of the clause ('This means', 'so that', 'To achieve', 'in this way'). The altered Mode (i.e. from talk to printed document) has made further explicit projections unnecessary: this is not a record of who said what anymore (where the concern is with construing the said as independent [semiotic] reality: that was achieved in the project manager's summary seen above), but is now a statement of bureaucratic efficiency grounded in objective reasoning, and 'cleansed' of personalising references and attributions.

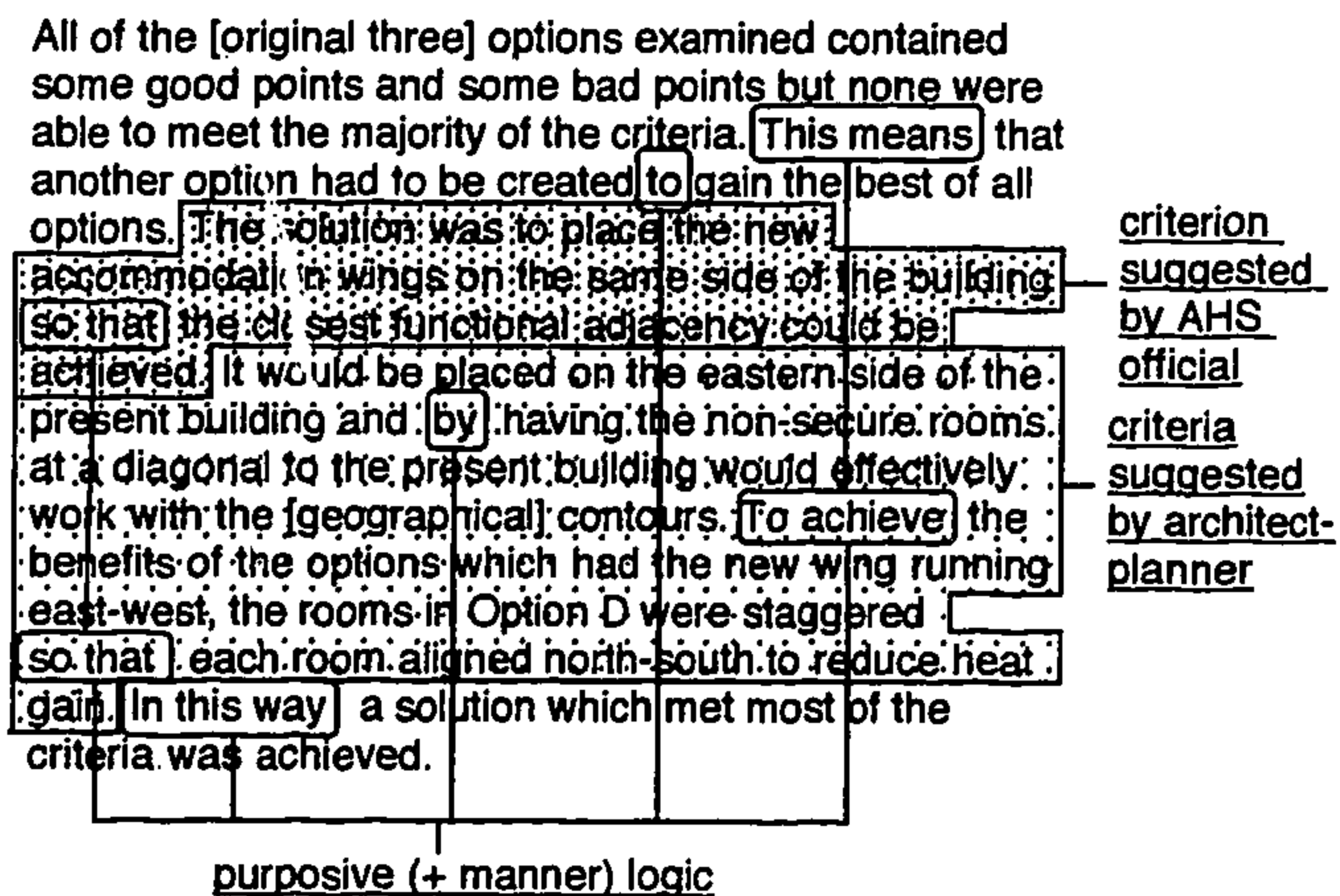


Figure 5.10: Criteria suggested during the meetings and their purposive logical links in the PDP document

The following diagram (Figure 5.11) looks more closely at the most salient shift in the talk of the architect-planner to the written report. Predictably, his talk is interspersed with pronominal references, while the PDP uses predominantly passive constructions.

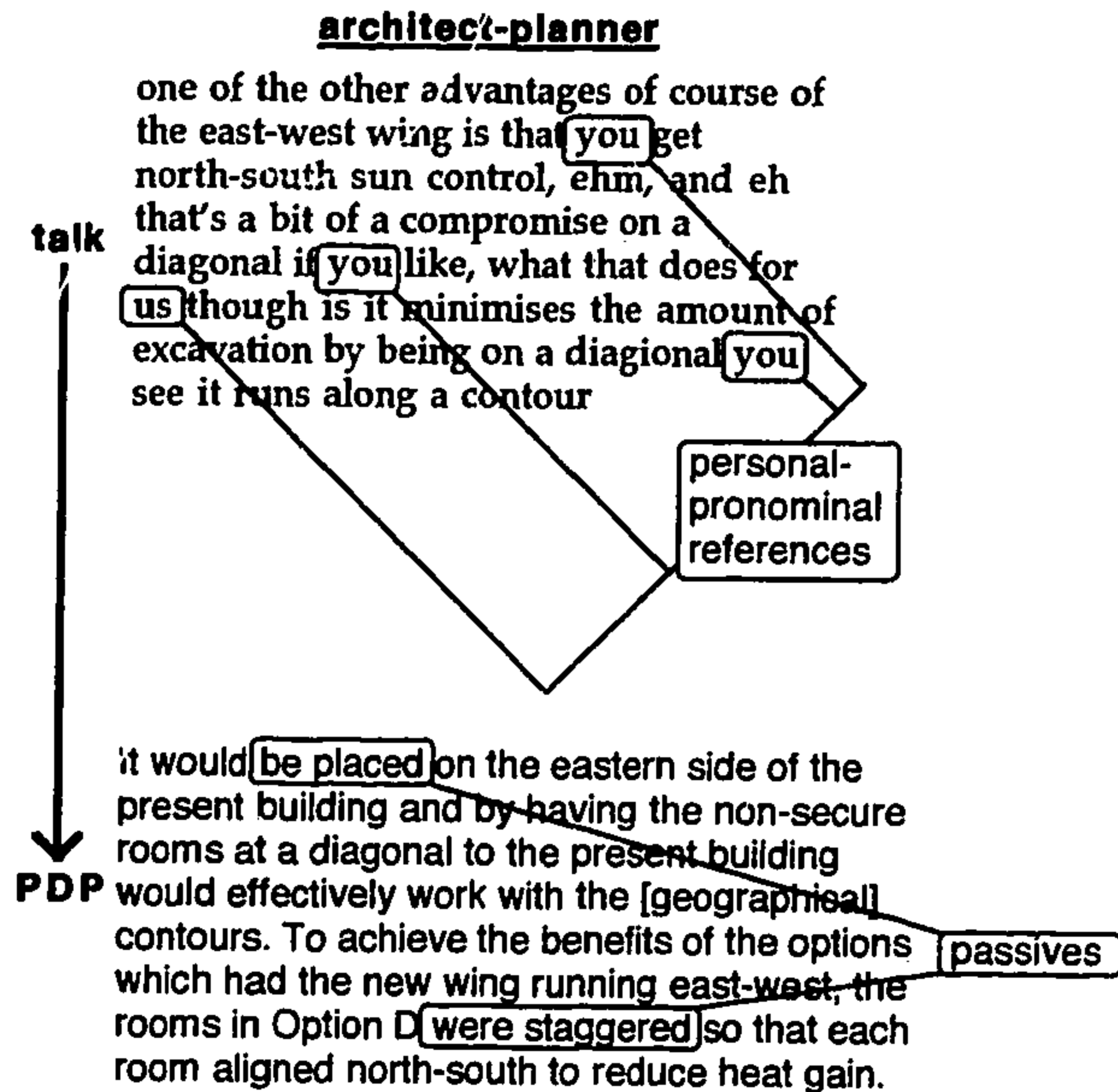


Figure 5.11: Main shift in architect-planner's talk to writing

In sum, the PDP document foregrounds a self-sufficient logic, and elides the arbitrariness and indeterminacy of the negotiating process (i.e. the dependency of the chosen option on factors that happen to be brought up as important by the most important stakeholders, as well as the interpersonal manoeuvring required to get to a formulation of such 'preferred' option). It also obscures the individual voices which gave rise to these meanings. The process is in effect to remove meanings from their original source and elide their original modality; that is 'time-space distanciate them'.

Their ultimate validation, or 'rite of passage', however, is the signing off by all stakeholders of the PDP document.

Section 8 of the PDP is also the outcome of negotiations that took place during the meetings, and as such also represents a morphogenesis of multiple voices. In this instance, however, we are not dealing with the increased time-space distanciation of the original meanings made in talk, but with an interpersonally

oriented negotiation (centred around power relations) that slowly and subtly achieves resolution. The relevant section (8) of the PDP is headed "Equipment Requirements", and concerns an issue first raised in the discussion of meeting 3 in Section 5.2 (MP [turn 59]: 'the only other thing is the equipment, there, they feel the equipment will be almost um 90% replaced'). This section (8) in effect is the outcome of negotiations that started between the architect planner, the junior planner and the users (meeting 2), those which took place in meeting 3 discussed above, as well as the ones which took place during meeting 5 and where an eventual kind of resolution was achieved.

To trace some of these morphogenetic developments, I will draw on several extracts from meeting 5, the last meeting in the series that makes up the planning project (the signing off of the final document took place outside of these meetings). It will be remembered that in meeting 3 the AHS official had 'guaranteed' that the equipment would certainly not be '90% replaced'. The following extract (4, from meeting 5) centres on the issue of furniture replacement, and the architect-planner displays his negotiation skills as he bargains for a replacement percentage that is acceptable to all present (not 90%!):

extract 7

[meeting 5, turns 49-56]

JS- Ok we'll leave it eh leave that one for the moment. Ehm 2.6 latest equipment listing was to be sorted out, I think John you were going to get eh

JC- ... [?]

JS- OK Alright well we need to eh

JC- But the key point that Ian has raised is we need a list of that equipment ... but the design brief had a list of furniture ... [inaudible]

JS- Alright, eh can we sort that out in the next week as well

JC- ... that's a starting point we need to run through the design brief

...

IF- Can I just ask again, I think in this instance with the PDP eh obviously when we get into the design stage and we have room data sheets with actually the room laid out with all that stuff in it and people sit down and say yes, we may find that some of the thoughts about what goes into these rooms may in fact adjust and may not at all go in ... it may be ten pounds into a five pound bag, eh for the PDP stage I think what we really have to do is be confident that we've made enough allowance in the in the estimate to cover that, eh so perhaps again rather than holding this thing up for the purposes of accounting issues ... maybe we can I've made an assumption in my document here that a % of those would be replaced, perhaps if the users could look at that and say does that feel about right and we could check that with the costs would that get us through or ...

AT- Na

Here, the term 'user requirements' (used by IF in meeting 2) becomes 'some of the thoughts about what goes into these rooms' (demoting user preferences from a modulating fact noun - 'requirements' - to a nominalised mental process - 'thoughts'). Those 'thoughts' may well represent the 'ten pounds' that are to fit into a 'five-pound bag', which further demotes them as possibly being 'over-optimistic'. In all, the architect-planner's wordings rephrase the users' 90% replacement preference in very tentative terms.

The strategy employed here is to present the users' preferences as negotiable to both the AHS official and the Dept. of Health official who is present (AT), and thus as 'thoughts', not 'requirements'. The increased negotiability derives from mental processes (the 'inner') generally being seen as laying less claim to objective reality than do material processes (the 'outer'). Also, for Halliday, nominalised verbal/mental processes "imply a Sayer or a Senser": there is a subjective individual who produces them, not some objective impersonalised reality. This stands in contrast to Fact nouns like 'requirement', which are impersonal and 'objective' (Halliday 1985/94: 268). 'Fact nouns' (Halliday 1985/94: 264) both ideationalise and nominalise mustness (see Figure 5.8 above). In contrast to nominalised verbal/mental processes like 'thoughts', Fact nouns do *not* imply a Sayer or a Senser and are therefore more representative of an objectified and 'time-space distanced' reality, and hence tend to be seen as more authoritative.

In addition to this lexico-semantic demotion of user positioning, the architect-planner uses a motivation-decoding (moving from a more abstract Token-Identified to a less abstract Value-Identifier (Figure 5.12):

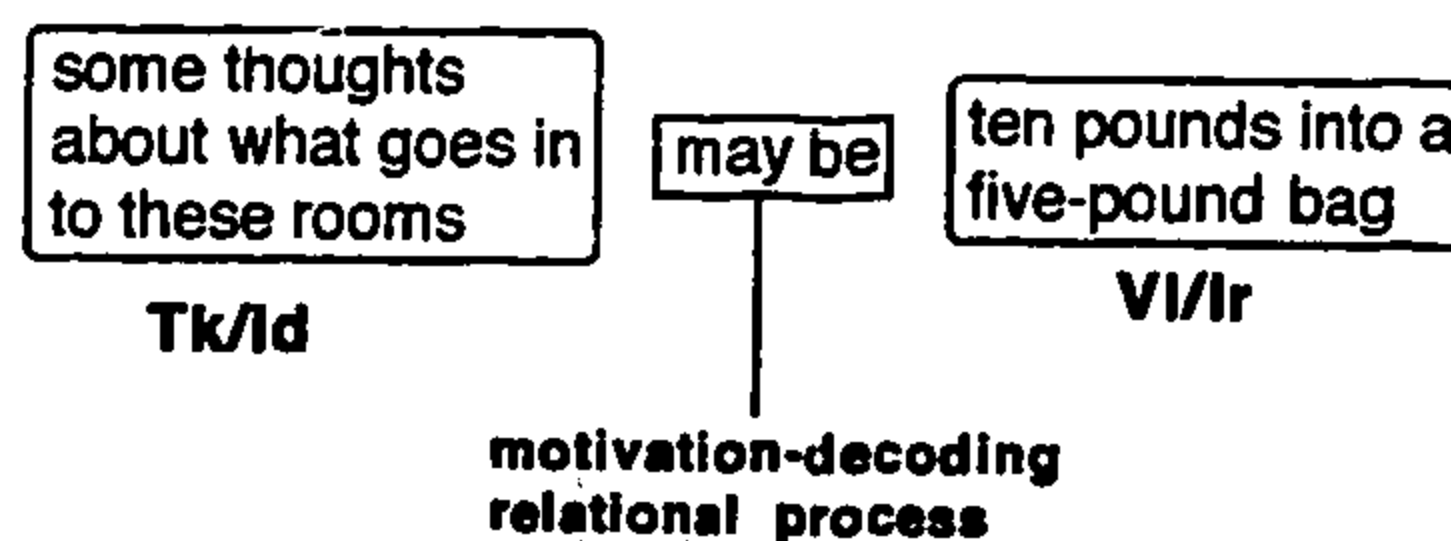


Figure 5.12: Motivation-decoding relational process

The Value-Identifier is New/Rheme and therefore open for negotiation, and this opens the way for its potential re-evaluation. The architect-planner opens up talk in this way (something which critical theorist planners might refer to as positive communicative action; cf. Forester 1989, 1993a).

Having put the users' perspective in these tentative terms, the architect-planner goes on to say that we need to 'be confident that we've made enough allowance ... in the estimate to cover' the replacement proposal. This is addressed to the AHS official and his Dept. of Health contact, AT: it is they who are in a position to either confirm or contradict costing limits. Then he produces a clause which is broken off ('anacoluthon'), followed by a very indirect suggestion ('perhaps if the users could') that a proposed replacement percentage *could* be looked at by both parties: 'I've made an assumption in my document here that a % of those would be replaced, perhaps if the users could look at that and say does that feel about right and we could check that with the costs would that get us through or...'. Indirectness redounds: it is realised by both the modalisations ('could', 'would') but also by the interrogative syntax ('does that feel about right', 'would that get us through or ...'). In short, the architect-planner renders his point as tentative as possible.

The ensuing interaction shows a lot of manoeuvring on the part of the officials: they do not give a 'straight answer' to architect-planner's indirect proposal. I will set this manoeuvring out in some detail. First, the Dept of Health official agrees that 'if we haven't got some sort of confidence at this stage then the capital cost is just not going to be right'. The hedging that follows suggests the officials are reluctant to let the others in on their chances of getting a higher figure approved by the Department:

extract 8

[meeting 5, turns 57-60]

JC- ... I'm gonna have to ... (?) the Department it's getting very eh requesting us to be quite precise, ... probably have to go through it and say "well there's \$200,000 worth of stuff I'm going to re-use before we need x dollars"

AT- I guess we can't, eh we we our experience has shown that equipment is always the thing that people are not really very sure about, and inevitably is more expensive than one thinks, and so if we can get some confidence at this stage and we quite agree that as you go into room data things you'll really flesh that out, if we haven't got some sort of confidence at this stage then the capital cost is just not going to be right

IF- The only issue is really in this type of building we don't have sort of major medical which is the usual problem, that we have items that are individually hundreds of thousands of dollars and you hit one of those then you're right, here it's mostly furniture, we know already that all the beds are going to be replaced and so on and all those kinds of things

AT- But they're expensive, na it's an easy thing to do too it's a simple format sheet like I've got here, I mean you literally transfer new but you'll find it'll give you a surprise when you work out how much you really do need

The Dept. of Health official has taken over from the AHS official in the defence of the issue of cost reduction: 'But they [beds] are expensive ... you'll find it'll give you a surprise when you work out how much you really need'. Rather than saying either 'no the budget is not going to be negotiable' or 'yes, the budget is negotiable' the officials delay responding to the architect-planner's proposal that 'we could check that [%] with the costs would that get us through or ...'. Indirectness is of course what typifies bureaucratic discourse, and here it is clearly mobilised to stake out power claims. The officials (and especially the Dept. of Health official) have sole access to the 'channels' which are crucial to determining the ultimate budget figure. Delaying the final response here may do little ideationally, but it certainly enhances their position of control.

Referring now to extract 9 below, the project manager steps in here and agrees that a clearer statement on funding is needed, because without it the more detailed design stage cannot proceed. Against this, the AHS official holds out by elaborating what has already been said (turns 62, 64). But then in turn 66 he admits that the 2.8 figure is "a guesstimate", which raises the possibility of a higher figure. Ultimately though, and after a stretch of turns only involving the two officials (and perhaps representing an even more subtle enactment of some internal power hierarchy), it is the (higher placed) Dept. of Health official's privilege to finally express confidence that a sum additional to the original figure may be able to be obtained, qualifying it again by saying that 'it does need a bit of work'.

extract 9

[meeting 5, turns 61-71]

JS- Alright, could I perhaps just summarise this, because I think what Ian is driving at is he wants to get on with designing, and eh, I think we're really not in a position to get on with designing other than the sort of preliminary design until at least we've sorted out all the issues to do with cost and I think the recurrent cost is obviously the biggest one of those because if someone turns around and says we can't afford this double the number of staffing you might as well throw the design out, ehm so we really need to clean that one out

JC- And the major one of course is the capital budget being validated at the moment is still 2.8 million

AT- That's the biggest

JC- If this design is going to prove a different figure and eh it might be 3.6 or 3.4. or whatever it does, but if the Department came back to us and said "no, you gotta go back and design it to 2.8 million" that's a different exercise

JS- Alright

JC- Yeah we've always been arguing that their original figure was a guesstimate and that

AT- Yeah I think we've got we've got good justification to say that that figure is not viable but really we still need certainly John and I need to make a submission to to justify and all of this will do it, I mean this design

JC- This is the justification

AT- But we do need to Treasury, as far as Treasury is concerned we've got 2.8 and we haven't got 3.6, and so we just need to make sure we put in a submission for that extra money and I think John and I are both confident that we'll get it,

IF- Ok

AT- but it does need a bit of work

This formal 'shadowplay' has taken up twenty turns in all. Significant is of course that the users (who were present at this meeting) did not take part in this performance. The architect-planner must have inspired confidence about the acceptability of his percentage proposal, or perhaps his way of handling the matter suggested that he was most likely to achieve a positive outcome. The users were mere spectators.

To prevent the issue from slipping away, the project manager insists that the Dept. of Health official commit herself to reporting on the outcome of her discussion with her superiors and confirm the higher (3.6 million) figure:

extract 10

[meeting 5, turns 72-77]

JS- Alright, so we're saying potentially in the next week we ought to have some sound information which would then be able to go forward for you to make a formal submission

AT- Through Mental Health Services ...

JS- Yeah, and how long do you think would the confirmation for that will actually take?

AT- I think it'd be silly to say, I think we'd need two weeks, I think it'd be silly to say under that, although we try and do it faster than that but with eh different sort of ...,

JS- Na it's alright we eh

AT- government

The tension that arose during meeting 3 (see Section 5.2 above) between the junior planner and the AHS official concerning the extent of equipment replacement is now interactionally resolved. The users were assisted with the drawing up of equipment lists, and a budget of \$300,000 was ultimately confirmed for new equipment.

The following diagram (Figure 5.13) maps the trajectory of meanings to do with equipment replacement singling out the salient turns. It has the architect-planner on the left and the officials' contributions on the right. It is clear from this figure that the AHS and the Dept. of Health officials begin to signal the

8.0 Equipment Requirements

The equipment required for the project are provided in the Design Brief. Each room has an estimate of the furniture, fittings and equipment to be provided and the costs associated with this are nominated in the capital estimates at \$300,000. This allows for replacement of all the beds to ensure domestic type beds are used, new furniture will be provided in all new rooms and replacement is expected of more than 50% of the present furniture in the other rooms since much of this has not been upgraded over time. The details of the actual equipment and furniture will be resolved on a room by room basis when the detailed Design Development Drawings are prepared. Until that time the estimates are believed to provide a realistic allowance.

Section 8 of the PDP makes no mention of tension, and announces that there will be “replacement of all the beds to ensure domestic type beds are used, new furniture will be provided in all new rooms and replacement is expected of more than 50% of the present furniture in the other rooms”. It confirms that the officials obtained permission to allow additional funding because ‘the estimates are believed to provide a realistic allowance’ (which clause would not have gone into the PDP had that issue not been resolved). Thus, all the manoeuvring during the talk is elided from the formal written version. Here, de-differentiation has been achieved and the PDP, as formal record, enshrines the consensus as objective, impersonal and durable in print.

In the next section, Section 5.3.2.2, I will look more closely at another aspect of the PDP: its representation of ‘discrete voices’.

5.3.2.2 Specialisation as Heteroglossia: Discrete Voices

In contrast to sections which are the morphogenic outcome of interactional negotiation such as the two seen above, there are sections which are contributed by specific (monologic) voices. Section 4 of the PDP, “Issues affecting the site”, draws on a specific voice, that of the engineers. The first paragraph of section 4.2 reads:

The existing air handling systems do not have sufficient capacity to satisfy the heating and cooling requirements associated with the proposed expansion nor is there adequate space in the plant room to accommodate an additional air handling unit. (PDP: 10)

Both the Field (in Halliday sense of the term, Halliday 1985: 30) of these sections (‘air handling systems’, ‘the plant room’), as well as their Tenor (elision of human participants) and Mode (the long

nominal groups pointing to accumulations of meaning: 'the heating and cooling requirements associated with the proposed expansion') are typical of technical discourse (cf. Rose, McInnes & Korner 1992 on the nature of technical-scientific discourse).

Similarly, section 5 of the PDP is in the voice of the psychiatrist-director of the mental hospital. Here the Field is not realised by technical and technological details and specifications but by medical and psychiatric references. Unlike the technical discourse seen above, medical discourse, due to its focus on human health, deals with people ('new cases', 'young adults', 'involuntary patients'). While the engineer's language is factual and non-negotiable ('do not have sufficient capacity to handle'), the psychiatrist's language is more interpersonal, as it needs to justify the proposed funding. He argues not by using logical (conjunctive) resources, however, but uses interpersonal resources ('dramatically', 'increasing need', 'overwhelmingly', 'serious'). This means he aims for solidarity and intimacy, rather than for a more factual rhetorical persuasion.

Waratah House is treating dramatically more new cases of young adult patients suffering primarily from psychotic illnesses. This is reflected in the increasing numbers of involuntary patients and the increasing need to transfer to Cumberland Hospital for care. It should also be noted that the non-psychotic cases are overwhelmingly young adults at risk of suicide, often admitted following a serious suicide attempt. (PDP: 12)

Section 5 of the PDP is thus clearly in a different voice from section 4. Overall, the writing in these sections does not manifest the morphogenesis enacted in the talk and ultimately crystallised in print (discussed in section 5.3.2 above). Rather, it respects the voices of the various stakeholders and presents these like a patchwork of divergent fields (intertexts, or 'enunciative networks', in Foucault's terms), each with its own inviolable 'truth claim'.

Equally, section 6 of the PDP deals with capital cost estimates, and is worded in the voice of the costing expert. "The estimate below is provided by the Quantity Surveyors [name] as of the 3rd March 1995" (PDP: 13). A list of building specifications follows with figures attached. Other than those in the introductory paragraph at the beginning of this section, there are no full clauses in this section, only nominal groups on the left ('site preparation', 'design contingency') and dollar figures on the right. The absence of Mood elements in this context of economics and finance is telling: figures

are an 'objective' representation of reality, and do not allow for or are in need of negotiation.

In a similarly field-specific voice, section 7 of the PDP addresses the South West Sydney Area Health Service (SWSAHS) Mental Health Strategic Plan published in 1992. The discourse in this section is bureaucratic ('service', 'requirements'), with economic rationalist overtones ('improve the ability of the service to achieve the requirements', 'acquisition cost', 'minimal additional investments'):

The capital investment is being made to achieve a 10 bed increase in the service and to improve the ability of the service to achieve the requirements of the inpatient component of the service at Campbelltown. ... There is ample land available adjoining Waratah House and no acquisition cost are needed [sic] to provide the expansion site. There are minimal additional investments required to provide the required additional accommodation.

(PDP: 17)

I will not detail the other sections of the PDP for reasons of space. My purpose was to show that the PDP is a composite document, composed of various monological voices as realised by single stakeholders, as well as of morphogenesised dialogical voices which achieved integration into new meaning(s) thanks to the progressive elision of difference, specificity, and personality. In some instances I set out the trajectory of meaning from the complexity of actual talk to the de-differenced formality and simplicity of the PDP report to exemplify this progression.

The PDP as formal printed document is the 'outcome' of a long and complex bureaucratic process. In the terms proposed in this thesis, it constitutes the VALUE of the talk as TOKEN. As represented abstraction of the representing talk (i.e. as ongoingly negotiated outcome of the talk), the PDP is more abstract both content-wise and expression-wise. With regard to content form, the document abstracts from the here-and-now interactions and elides the interpersonal, while foregrounding the formal (logic) and impersonal (metaphorical ideation). With regard to expression form, the PDP attains an independence and self-sufficiency beyond the vocal powers of specific speaking-authoring individuals. The PDP, in short, is the ('expression-decoding') value which serves to 'identify' the interactive process. I reproduce Figure 3.8 as Figure 5.14 at this point to schematise the PDP's relation to the interaction.

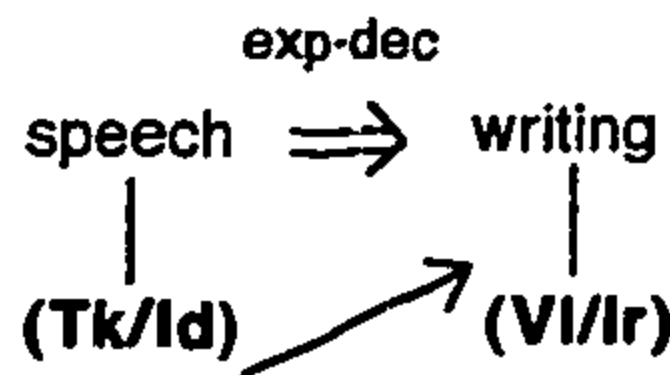


Figure 5.14: Expression-decoding speech as writing
(the arrow indicates a move up in abstraction)

I argue that the re-contextualisation from talk to print may be described by means of a ‘coding-identifying relational process’, not so much linguistically as *sociologically* speaking. The PDP’s status as identifier is not a given/token: the document has to emerge as what was represented by (inherent in, following logically and reasonably from) the talk. The PDP was redrafted three times to suit stakeholders’ ‘understandings’ of the original talk. This is essentially a hegemonic process, or more precisely, an accumulation of validations by voices and through co-options of voices by other voices, such as shown above. Foucault talks about this process as the ‘meticulous rituals of power’ (see Chapter 2). Gramsci (as translated by Thibault) has referred to it as a total of ‘molecular processes’: “the myriad investments ... the sayings and doings of social agents in certain regular, limited ways that grow to articulate a given hegemonic principle” (Thibault 1991a: 212).

at the level of the practices there is a directionality produced from petty calculations, clashes of wills, meshing of minor interests. These are shaped and given a direction by the political technologies of power. (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1983: 188)

Hegemony, in this sense, is “a system of articulated social meaning making practices in and through which social agents invest in and identify with specific, limited patterns of meaning and action in the social formation” (Thibault 1991a: 213). The details of *which* meanings are given attention, *which* are invested in and identified with, and *which* are marginalised, are constructed through ongoing interaction, realising the “rules and processes of appropriation of discourse” (Foucault 1972: 68). In this thesis, I attempt to tease out two main rules or drifts: the first tending towards the inclusion of meaning and morphogenesis; the second tending towards exclusion and schismogenesis. As stated, these drifts tend to play off against redundancy (as the pre-determined and static association of TOKENS and VALUES) in divergent ways: morphogenesis as dialogic subversion and ultimate change;

schismogenesis as dialogic opposition (cf. Martin 1992: 581's 'contratextual' positionings).

In the next section I will address the shift from language into design as a further transfiguration of meaning from highly explicit difference (i.e. language in interaction) to naturalised difference (i.e. design as specialisation, or building construction as 'context' of action). I see such transfiguration as essentially to do with "the 'fixing' and ratifying of definitions and meanings" (Street 1984: 49); in other words, a means to de-differentiation. Interaction, in this view, is at once a texting (a 'differencing') and a co(n)texting activity (a 'de-differencing').

5.3.3 From Language to Design

and the brief, right, is that we, in principle, are setting up an ideal situation which we'll then try and match with the design (Ian Forbes, addressing the users in meeting 2)

This section will look at how the talk was 'matched with the design'. While focusing on the design itself, I will also consider the accompanying Design Brief which specifies architectural rationales and views that motivate it. This Design Brief is included as section 13 in the PDP report and specifically provides guidelines for the builder. It is thus included in the tender that is put out to prospective builder-contractors after the signing off of the PDP takes place. It comprises the general philosophy behind the design, as well as indications as to the kinds of materials to be used, and room-by-room specifications of sizes, number of power points, sinks, and other fixtures.

The four design options, one of which was favoured (Option D) were included in section 3 of the PDP. For the PDP only "a good clinical two-dimensional solution" (AHS official, meeting 1, phase 4) is required. As the AHS official again points out in meeting 3 (phase 14), it is the builder who re-designs the architect's two-dimensional design and technological specifications as three-dimensional 'elevation' which then becomes the basis of construction:

extract 11

[meeting 3, phase 14]

JC- Ehm, yes, eh generally ehm we we have to do don't have to the elevations at that time, ehm, there's a DD&C that we've done recently and we had a detailed floor plan, we had a detailed eh comment on all the engineering services, eh, we had statements about environmental impact issues and all those types of things and submitted that to Council, ehm, and the builder actually took the two-dimensional design into a three-dimensional design.

As the AHS official further clarifies, the Design Brief is primarily a “performance brief”:

extract 12

[meeting 3, phase 14]

I mean things like this job obviously acoustics are very important ehm, there will be some rooms where presumably you don't want eh people to hurt themselves, and others you don't want to be able to sort of disappear through ... of plaster board with great ease, and all that sort of things, so the performance parameters room by room are probably very important

The (re)designing of Waratah House thus involved careful consideration of these various functional requirements.

The Design Brief has a section headed “Philosophies Affecting Design”, where some of these requirements affecting the design are spelled out. There is great emphasis on creating a *homely* building: “A psychiatric ward is not a place for bedridden patients requiring complete nursing care, and is not scrupulously clean, with hard shiny surfaces to prevent infection, or cluttered with technical equipment, but is rather a temporary home” (PDP Design Brief: 6). It is important that the building contributes to the reduction of stress in patients: “a main element in treatment is the provision of a non-threatening, anxiety-reducing milieu. Thus the design needs to be as domestic as possible in scale, style and tone” (PDP Design Brief: 6).

The (re)designer of this mental hospital is thus faced with having to architecturally reconcile two discrepant discourses: that of domesticity and warmth, and that of incarceration and security: “while providing a sense of openness to reduce tension in the paranoid [the building must also provide] good sightlines for supervising staff” (PDP Design Brief: 6). Nevertheless,

An obvious emphasis on security and control should be avoided. The emphasis should be on providing a non-clinical, comfortable environment offering a range of visual stimuli and allowing patients some control over their living space (PDP Design Brief: 11).

In addition, the “diversity of patient types and ages requires a range of activity spaces” (PDP Design Brief: 11). All these various issues had to be translated, or ‘transfigured’ in the terms used here, into spatio-material design values.

Special attention was paid during the interactive discussions to noise reduction and segregation of dangerous from non-dangerous patients. The latter was recorded in the brief as follows: “The patient admission area needs to be accessible by vehicle and

meeting 4

JC- Can I just ... here because cause some of the other units were designed ... have always ... committing patients to come through quite separately
 IF- Oh I bet
 FL- They did but we also thought of saving on having two reception areas, so we [still want a separate entrance but near the]
 JC- [You don't you don't need you don't need] the extra staff, ...
 FL- Again we were only working off the plan
 JC- Right
 FL- Um, but yes basically we do want it to be kept separately, so that eh the other patients don't get sort of affected by people who were brought in
 MP- We were briefed to have one central access point for vehicles and pedestrian traffic, um, and uh but have two reception functions, and also for the ambulances and the police cars would have an extra emergency a special where they all arrive it's all in one area if the access is slightly separated
 FL- Slightly separated
 MP- Currently on the plan they're right across the other side of building
 WM- Is yours ...
 MP- Yes that's right, and they'll be sharing the interview/waiting/internment ...
 WM- I think on that original design it didn't quite yet ... what you asked for
 IB- We're maintaining the existing entry, here
 WM- Yeah, and that was the problem
 IB- So so people come into a common lobby, and then then the committed patients are immediately get taken across
 MP- Yeah there's two
 FL- Yeah yeah so there's a separate entrance for the committed patients, they're separate but in the same area
 IB- . . not even a comon lobby?
 FL- Not even a common lobby
 IB- Oh I see
 JC- They actually can't come in through a common lobby
 MP- So rather than having two access points ... we can have one point but separate eh doors
 IB- Uh yeah

PDP

The patient admission area needs to be accessible by vehicle and needs to be close to the secure unit to allow discrete transfer of patients. A seclusion room should be accessible from both the admission area and the secure unit

design

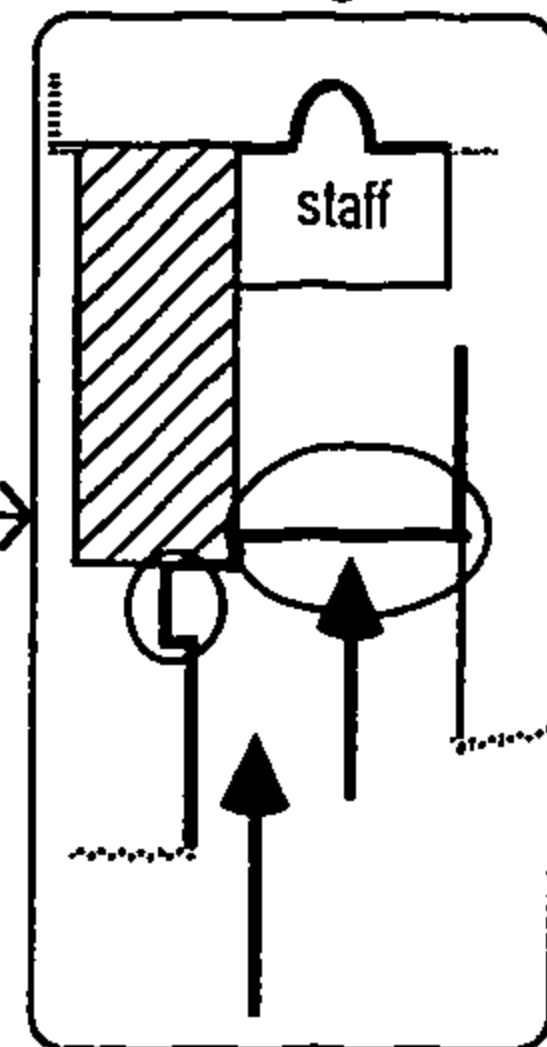


Figure 5.15: Schematising the transfigurations from talk, via print, to design

needs to be close to the secure unit to allow discrete transfer of patients. A seclusion room should be accessible from both the admission area and the secure unit” (PDP Design Brief: 2). This was

ultimately achieved by designing a common entrance which allowed the immediate channelling of dangerous patients into special rooms without going through the general waiting and reception area. These transfigurations, from meeting talk, to PDP report, to design, are schematised in Figure 5.15 above.

Again, this figure is not to be read as implying that these transfigurations are discrete events only taking place after the previous transfiguration has occurred. What I am schematising here is the generic flow of the bureaucratic process: a 'genre' that involves not one semiotic mode, but several.

The noise issue was also taken into consideration in the Design Brief: "As some patients may be confused, aggressive or noisy, the sleeping areas need to be designed to separate such noisy patients from others and noise reduction throughout the ward generally is important" (PDP Design Brief: 6). In addition to these considerations, the Design Brief lists a host of other issues, among which the alarm security system which was discussed in meeting 3. The choice has settled on 'mobile buttons': "A system of duress buttons which are mobile, i.e. hand around the neck of staff, are used in Waratah House. Additional duress units may be required with the increased size of the facility" (PDP Design Brief: 8).

The design ultimately included in the documentation provided spatial resolutions to these at times contradictory requirements. To accommodate the 'domesticity' requirement the building's extended low-security wing was initially designed as a series of staggered steps which 'looked costly'. This was later replaced by a straight wing compromise in preferred Option D (Figure 5.16), to keep construction costs down.

Figure 5.16 below reproduces Option D from the final PDP report. I did not include the geographical contours of the original design, which essentially constrained the building's shape in the sense that its extension ran along these contour lines to obviate major excavations or elevations. The diagram does give a sense however of how domesticity (the new low-security wing) and security (the high-security wing) were incorporated into one and the same design. While the low security area has both a degree of privacy and a degree of outside visual access, the high security wing is fully panoptic (i.e. arranged in a semi-circle to suit the supervisory gaze; cf. Foucault 1977: 195ff) and does not allow outside vision.

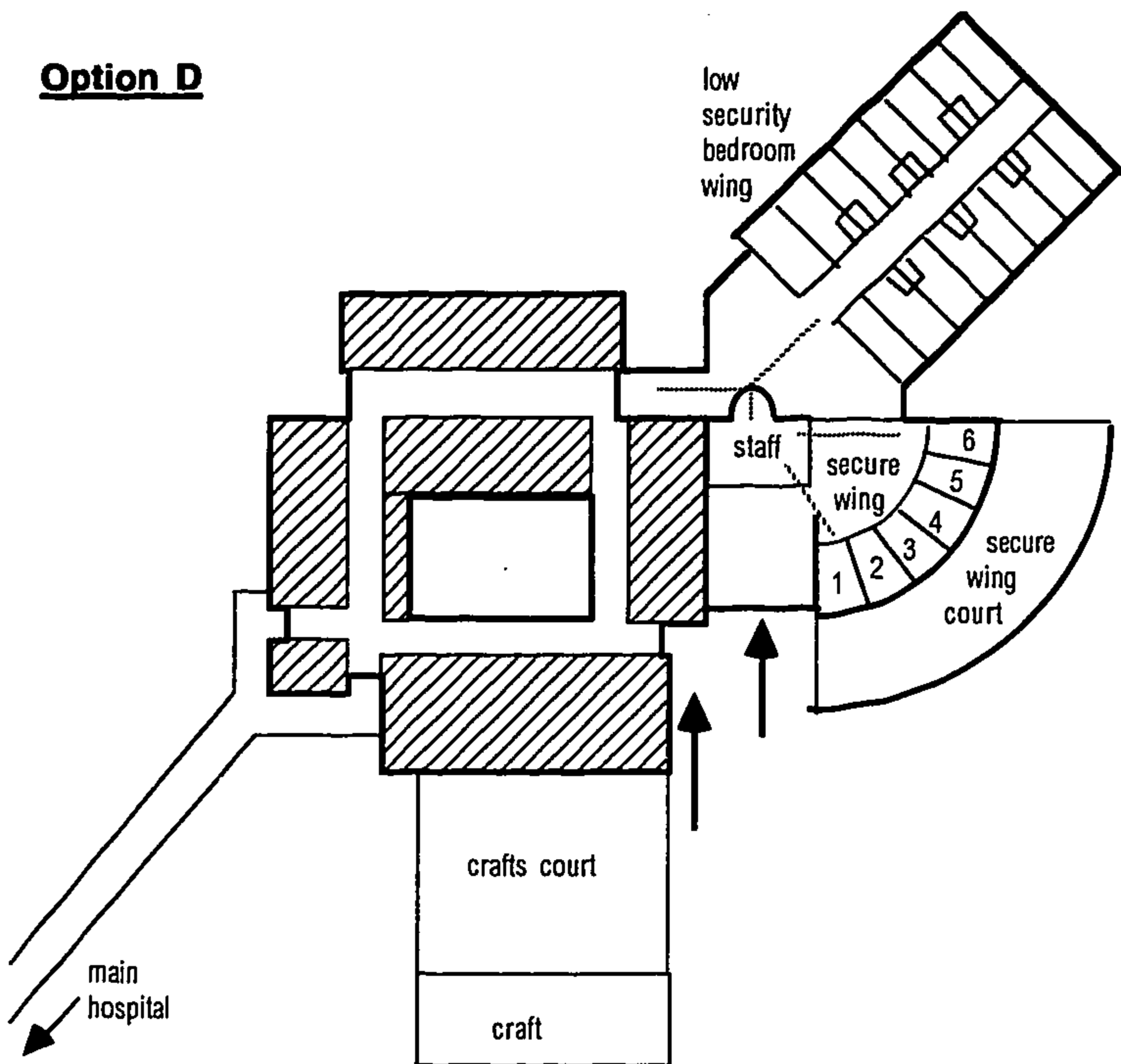


Figure 5.16: Option D - Preferred design proposal for Waratah House

The square areas on the left and bottom-left include recreational areas, treatment areas, changing areas, showers, toilets, and staff offices. While low security patients may be entertained in these areas during the day, they are in the bedroom wing during the night. The dotted lines going from the staff station represent 'sightlines', and they indicate that the building is essentially structured such as to allow staff to oversee the three main corridors. The two thick arrows point to the single entrance with the double door leading into separate areas of the building, allowing segregation of the dangerous and criminal from the peaceful patients.

In short, the design is a transfiguration into architectural geometry of the various issues raised during the meetings as well as of both the practical and philosophical considerations spelled out in the Design Brief. This transfiguration cannot be seen as

'natural' or as *transparently* motivated by these issues and considerations, however. In fact, this is a shift from the 'tokens of what was said and written' to what they are seen to 'betoken' or motivate within the context of design: the (imputed) value within the technical discourse of the architect. This means that linguistic meanings are in fact *made* to identify with certain (conventionally relevant) geometric meanings, and this 'identification' is a resemiotisation requiring ongoing validation and adaptation, and demanding hegemonic co-option of all stakeholders.

Hence, the coding-identifying metaphor may be used again to capture this relation: there cannot be any question about any natural or obvious equivalence between linguistic meaning and architectural design, although the architect-planner's authoritativeness might make us think there is. "To say that architecture is language transformed or that language is architecture in Flatland (better, Lineland; Abbott 1952), is to miss the point" (Preziosi 1984: 58).

The transfiguration from linguistic into geometric meaning is a shift in semiotic mode which is comparable to the transfiguration from talk to print discussed above: certain meanings (talk; language) are construed as being representative of others (print; design). The transfiguration of talk into print was discussed in terms of expression-decoding, i.e. the identification of a less abstract (given) token with a more abstract (new) value. I argue that the transfiguration of language into design involves a shift which moves from a more abstract *symbolic* (and given) token to a less abstract more *iconic* (and new) value. Practical and functional requirements are now realised as architectural iconicity: the two-dimensional drawing.

These drawings are taken to be lower in semiotic abstraction than the preceding reports. The tools of architectural design are generally seen as more iconic than those of language, in that they are more closely related to the underlying principles of meaning making: the various modes of ordering bodies in social space. In relation to this, Preziosi suggests that

The organisational logic of semiotic systems as we know them would have required for their emergence some model of relationships of multiple kinds which was in some sense already given. It may be suggested that the geometry of social ordering itself could have served as such a model for (what might have involved) the abstraction-and-simulation of its features in order to provide enhanced, semi-

autonomous systems of representation and communication. We may speculate that the emergence of semiotic systems such as verbal languages and built environments represents, at least in part, the transformative reification of such ordered relationships ... (Preziosi 1979b: 30/1)

Steering clear of a representationist view of semiosis (cf. C. Taylor 1985a: 249; Reddy 1979: 286), Preziosi hastens to add that

we are not claiming that the organisation of a sign-system is a direct transitive reflection of the organisation of social structure itself. Rather, we are suggesting that the geometries of relationship exhibited by social structure may have provided a conceptual model, or a set of resources, for transformative simulation. In this sense, we must look to underlying correlativities and equivalencies of organisation, to features of formative process held in common. (Preziosi 1979b: 31)

Further reference to such 'correlativities and equivalencies of organisation' is made by Prak, who reports that architectural design has a "preference for the simpler Euclidean volumes" (Prak 1968: 28), and that it operates on the basis of a limited set of embodied concepts:

Because of our symmetry, the position of our eyes, and our way of moving around, we naturally differentiate between 'before' and 'behind', 'right' and 'left'. The gravitational field causes an asymmetry in our physical world, from which results the distinction between 'above' and 'below'. These directions may have created a kind of built-in Cartesian coordinate system, with which we orient ourselves in the world. (Prak 1968: 28)

Along similar lines, Kress & van Leeuwen state that "the elements such as 'centre', or 'margin', 'top' or 'bottom', will be elements used in the visual semiotics of *any* culture" (Kress & van Leeuwen 1996: 3; my italics). My claim of the relative concreteness of design (as compared with language's abstractness) is thus based on its iconic anchorage in "the relation of the body to space" (Edelman 1992: 246).

The shift from language to design may therefore be described on the basis of a 'motivation-decoding'. Here, more abstract linguistic tokens represent and are construed to motivate less abstract

spatial shapes and arrangements. I refer here again to Figure 3.9 from Chapter 3 (reproduced as Figure 5.17):

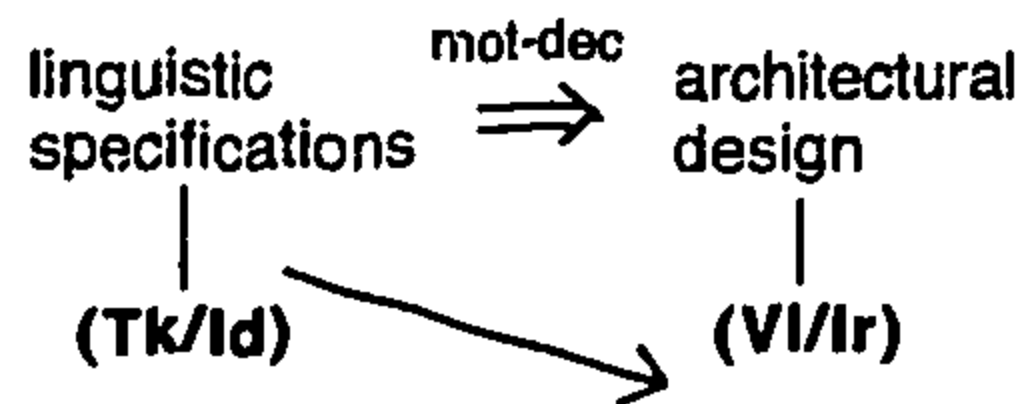


Figure 5.17: Representing language as design (motivation-decoding)

In the context of motivation coding-identifying processes, Davidse refers to their close association with ‘conditioning’ type processes such as ‘condition’, ‘skew’, ‘shape’, and ‘affect’ (Davidse 1996a: 378). It is interesting to note in this connection that the Design Brief provides in effect the reasoning for the design, i.e. the principles which have motivated and the factors which have conditioned the architectural solutions presented in Option D. The following extract was commented on above, and is reproduced here to bring out the way particular meanings are made explicit as conditioning the design:

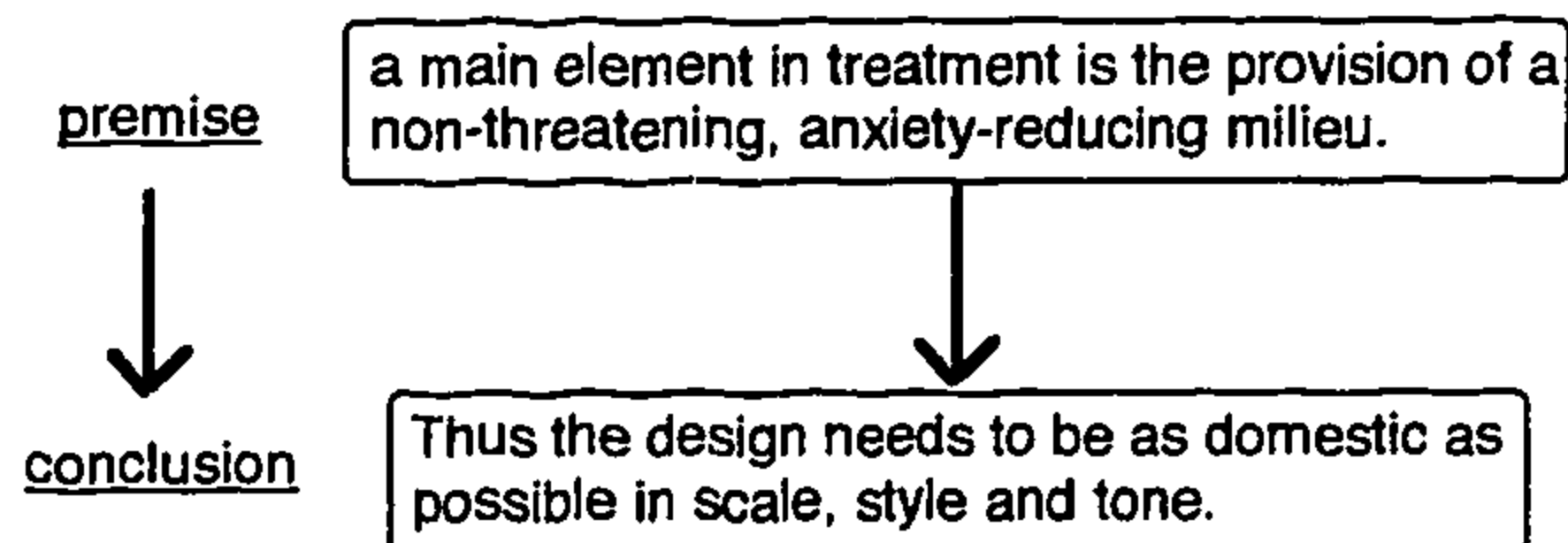


Figure 5.18: Motivating the design

The design is the penultimate step towards implementation of the construction of the building. One more transfiguration is needed: that from design into physical structure. The final section in this chapter (Section 5.3.4) will briefly look at the implications of that final transfiguration.

5.3.4 From Design to Physical Structure

Even the most ‘utilitarian’ buildings organise space in various ways, and in so doing they signify, issue some kind of message about the society’s priorities, its presuppositions concerning human nature, politics, economics, over and above their overt concern with the provision of shelter, entertainment, medical care, or whatever. (Hawkes 1977: 134)

As Hawkes' quote above makes clear, the built environment cannot be seen as a direct transfiguration of animal 'territoriality' (also Preziosi 1979b: 35). There is more at stake. The built environment, like architectural design, is a semiotic system, and therefore needs to be seen (like language) as multi-metafunctional (not merely to do with power, or even functionality) and stratified (not a transparency). I will return to this below.

The shift from 2-dimensional representations 'on paper' to 3-dimensional representations involves mobilising a range of materials and dealing with a host of 'spatio-massive' (Preziosi 1984: 53) complexities. The architect works with particular functional considerations, practical philosophies and aesthetic values, and transfigures these into design. The design, in other words, is presented as motivated by what the building is required to do. The builder-contractor works along a different dimension: his (her) point of reference is how the token of design and design specifications will condition his (her) use of materials, and building techniques. His (her) task is to realise the design as building.

the material component of the system - the entire range of colours, textures, modularities of size as well as the range of materials employed - serves what is primarily a sense-discriminative function in the realisation of formal and geometric units (Preziosi 1979b: 7)

(It was mentioned above that it is the builder who takes the architect-planner's 2-dimensional design into a 3-dimensional 'elevation' (Section 5.3.3. above). Interestingly, the 2-dimensional drawing works only with those spatial values which are symmetrical: "Right', 'left', 'before' and 'behind' are interchangeable, one has only to turn around. 'Above' and 'below' are not interchangeable" (Prak 1968: 29; also Arnheim 1982: 24/106). The introduction of the latter asymmetry, 'above' versus 'below', marks the shift from 2-dimensionality into 3-dimensionality. The 3-dimensional design still appears on a 2-dimensional surface, but now has a horizontal (a 'frontal' or 'side-on') rather than a vertical (a 'downward') perspective. I will not take this transfiguration further into account, however, as I have had no access to the builder's practice nor his designs.)

In essence, the design->physical structure transfiguration parallels the language->design transfiguration, in that both first terms (design; language) are seen to motivate and condition the two

second more concrete terms (structure; design). Preziosi remarks, with reference to the 'semi-autonomous' status of the material realisation in relation to its formal representation as design, that:

the same formal syntax [i.e. geometric design] will hold for a given spatial configuration whether realised in brick, stone, wood or other material. The latter can be referred to what clearly emerges as a semi-autonomous 'level' of organisation of environmental structure, characterised by its own internal geometry or syntax. This aspect of environmental form has its own semi-independent reality, manifesting differing rates of change and duration over time *vis-à-vis* formal structure. (Preziosi 1984: 62)

The transfiguration at stake here can thus again be represented by means of a socially constructed and validated motivation-decoding process, moving down further in abstraction:

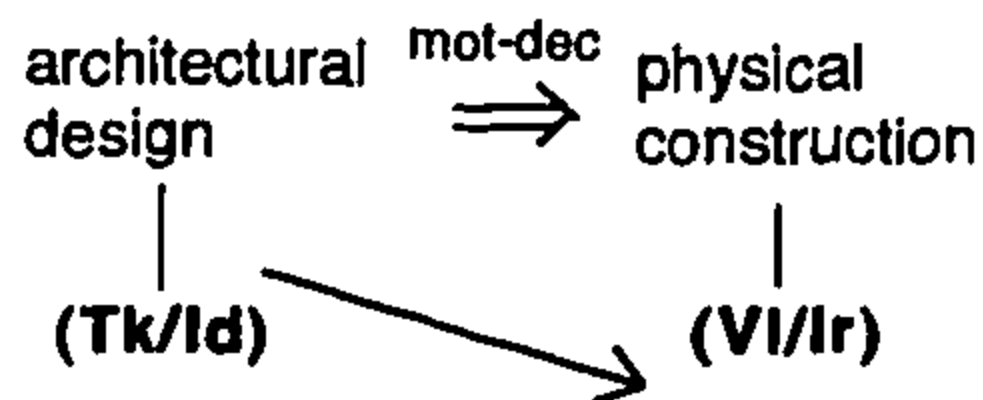


Figure 5.19: Decoding from design to building

Acknowledging that objects as such can be considered in five separate ways (i.e. physically as materialities, mechanically as tools, economically as exchange values, socially as status bearers, and semantically as linguistic meanings; Eco 1976: 27; Gottdiener 1995: 178), I want to foreground the material aspect of the 'building/meaning complex' and its place within the bureaucratic or 'de-differencing' process. In other words, "the [built] object itself is considered the material foundation for the social relations of use, exchange, and sign values [i.e. status bearers] that characterise the role of objects in social organisation" (Gottdiener 1995: 179).

(I am therefore not making any claims here to say that the transfiguration actually does occur as discretely as the coding-identifying metaphor proposed here might suggest. The planner's own assessment of how options come about (seen above) make such a view untenable. I foreground the coding-identifying nature of this transfiguration to bring out the bureaucratic concern with intersemioticity (cf. Jakobson's 'intersemiotic transmutation'). Also, I want to highlight that each such identifying transfiguration is

essentially a social construction, and that its ‘identifying force’ is not inherent in either the issues or the design or the building or all three, but that variable degrees and methods of social validation are necessary (also dependent on the acquired truth regime status of the ‘identifiers’) to achieve such identification. In this chapter, I focus on some of the ways in which such validation is achieved and ultimately enshrined through re-semiotisation.)

As mentioned, the built product, nor its formal design, can be seen as a ‘proto-semiotic’ system which unproblematically maps function onto form (cf. Halliday’s ‘protolanguage’ where ‘form=function’; Halliday 1975: 12). What architecture, architectural design, and language ultimately have in common, is an inherent or intrinsic metafunctionality (cf. Martin 1991a). Vitruvius (1st century Roman architect and engineer) talked about architecture in terms of *function*, *construction* and *aesthetics* (Prak 1968: 3), notions which reflect Lefebvre’s ‘function’, ‘structure’ and ‘form’ (Lefebvre 1991: 147). The parallel between these multi-functional views on architectural meaning, Halliday’s linguistic metafunctional view of language, and Lemke’s metafunctional semiotics is evident (see Table 5.10).

	Vitruvius’ principles of architectural design	Lefebvre’s ‘general concepts of social space’	Halliday’s metafunctions	Lemke’s metafunctional semiotics
1	function	function	ideation	representation
2	construction	structure	textuality	organisation
3	aesthetics	form	interpersonality	orientation

Table 5.10: Comparing Vitruvius’ principles of architectural design to Lefebvre’s ‘concepts of social space’ and to systemic-functional metafunctionalities

Thus, physical constructions should be seen as semiotic (meaningful) outcomes of stratified-metafunctional symbolic systems, not as effects of mere biologically conditioned expenditures of energy for purely instrumental or territorial purposes, like bird nests or ant hills.

The construction’s meaningfulness is a function of the way in which the environment (or the design) ‘realises’ kinds of social orientations (interpersonalities), representations (ideationalities) and organisations (textualities), which have been bureaucratically (and simultaneously) achieved, approved, and legitimised. It is in that sense that it is constituted in grammar.

Every house worth considering as a work of art must have a grammar of its own. 'Grammar', in this sense, means the same thing in any construction - whether it be of words or of stone or wood. It is the shape-relationship between the various elements that enter into the constitution of the thing. The 'grammar' of the house is its manifest articulation of all its parts. This will be the 'speech' it uses. ... when you adopt the 'grammar' of your house, it will be the way the house is to be 'spoken', 'uttered'. (Lloyd Wright 1954: 181)

While architectural metafunctionality was recognised already by Vitruvius, the stratification of architectural meaning has perhaps been less evident. As Lloyd Wright's quote shows, however, there is a sense in architectural circles of levels of construction offering increasing degrees of semiotic freedom: 'what the building is meant to do' -> 'how it should be built' -> 'what materials are to be used'.

The final step from architectural design to physical construction is the ultimate transfiguration of a bureaucratically achieved meaning (or meanings), achieving its (relative) 'petrification'. Significantly, the built construction remains perceptually more available on the strength of "the relative permanence of its broadcast" (Preziosi 1979b: 9).

a building or a city might be considered as a quasi-permanent record of behavioural stage-directions or scorings, a rich, multi-channel set of directions suggesting culturally appropriate spatial behaviours, orientations and interactions (Preziosi 1984: 52)

This relative architectural permanence lends it both a low degree of negotiability and a high degree of time-space distancing. Wilden's view of how a ('hot') culture can inscribe itself onto its environment was quoted above, as well as Bourdieu's remark on how the organisation of social space predisposes the populace to take particular notions of state and citizenship as natural (Chapter 3, Section 3.5.3). The important point is that the organisation of space, as manifested in the built environment, combines extra-somatic instrumentality (the use of tools) with an inscription of the community's behaviour patterns into artifactual means. As a result of cooperative and socially organised 'work', this artifactual inscription mobilises spatial arrangements which are highly change-resistant.

Moreover, as commented in Chapter 3, the physical organisation of social space imposes a double reification: the built product reifies both those voices (and relational positionings) who (which) made the construction possible (i.e. the AHS official, the Dept. of Health official, the project manager, the architect-planner, and so on, all of whom are locked in elaborate networks of institutional positionings), and it constrains the positionings contained within the structure itself to those who end up using the building (cf Gottdiener 1995: 73, also 1993).

Not only does a built environment map and frame the topological boundaries of the territory of a social group, it also encodes and communicates group-specific pathways and recursive routines and interpersonal orientations characteristic of that group. (Preziosi 1979b: 35)

I referred to Foucault's views on space as a resource for 'fixing' social relations in Chapter 2. He made the link between western bureaucratisation and architecture when researching the history of hospitals and found "that prisons resemble factories, schools, barracks, hospitals, which all resemble prisons" (Foucault 1977: 228, cited in Kelly 1994b: 370). The prime architectural principle which united these built institutional structures was their panoptic organisation. "The tendency for power to be depersonalised, diffused, relational, and anonymous, while at the same time totalising more and more dimensions of social life, is captured, made possible, and summed up in the Panoptic technology" (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1983: 192).

Architecture then provides a technology for embedding forms of institutional management in social space.

In this form of management, power is not totally entrusted to someone who would exercise it alone, over others, in an absolute fashion; rather this machine is one in which everyone is caught, those who exercise this power as well as those who are subjected to it. (Foucault 1980: 156, cited in Dreyfus & Rabinow 1983: 192)

The transfiguration from co-opting talk into the realisation of its 'agreements' (or 'satisficings'), and from there into the hegemonic organisation of social space is now complete. De-difference has been achieved: the building becomes part of the rest of the built and natural environment, and it takes a lot of concerted action and funding (as required for this planning project for example) for it to change. As it 'stands', the building is a monument honouring

and edifying more or less explicit agreements, regulations, preferences, financial constraints, practices, power relations, and popular aesthetic values. With the building coming into being, some kind of social order has once more been shown to have prevailed.