

6. A systemic functional approach to analysing social reality

6.1 Introduction

This analysis aims to show how linguistic choices made by four female participants are influenced by their tenor relationships. It is intended as a linguistically plausible account of how the speakers are motivated by their social order, and how social roles enact and constrain linguistic rights and privileges; how the structure of an individual's social network determines who has access to which aspects of the total linguistic repertoire of the group. The previous chapter examined the women in terms of their social network or speech fellowship. When in systemic terms this is seen as the context of situation then we can start to appreciate how the relationships will constrain and shape the behaviour of the participants. The context allows only certain configurations of meaning to arise and out of this set, or system, or, with reference to Halliday's instantiation terms, this potential for behaviour. In the analysis below this potential is given by the network and the two exchanges examined can be seen as the instance of the potential, the set of meaning making choices actually selected by the participants out of the set available to them.

This interpretation first looks at the grammatical strata and how the choices made create meanings and allow the participants to position themselves and others during the negotiation of roles and relationships. This is extended and supported by evidence from an Appraisal analysis, which is concerned with how attitudinal and evaluative expressions can establish and maintain unequal power relations within the text. Further evidence is found when the semantic stratum is turned to. Here, how meanings are negotiated and how interactants are positioned in the exchange of dialogue is examined

through a detailed speech function analysis. The evidence is brought together by claims about the linguistic expression as a reflection of the semantic consistency, as a reflection of the contextual relations of field, tenor and mode. The arguments have meaning because there is motivation from the social order of the participants' network to bring about the grammatical and semantic options. Put another way, contextual demands are shown to motivate participants to select certain grammatical options. The dominance of the interpersonal in the casual conversation texts analysed means that the concern lies with the register category tenor.

A claim of this thesis then is that there is a relationship between a person's linguistic choice and his or her social network positioning. In order to examine whether a change in the network structure would influence language choice, two recordings were made fifteen months apart. As shown in the previous chapter, the network relations of the women were analysed on both occasions. Excerpts from both occasions were also analysed using insights from Halliday's SFL. The second network analysis revealed that a significant change in the role relationships had occurred over the fifteen-month period. The analysis below shows how this shift in orientation affects the linguistic options available to the different participants.

Both text 1: Playgroup and text 2: The Park provide examples of the type of interaction that frequently occurs when mothers of young children get together with their friends.

Text 1 is presented first. This excerpt is taken from a conversation between the four female participants whilst they are attending the local playgroup with their children. The playgroup is very informal and takes place in the island's preschool building. The weekly session is an opportunity for mothers of young children to get together and enjoy

each other's company whilst their children play. It is seen as a valuable community service providing support and information for new mothers or newcomers to the community. The playgroup is open to everyone and the number attending varies from about 4 to 10 families. On this occasion 8 mothers were present. The four participants are seated around the sandpit outside the playgroup venue and have just stopped talking to attend to the children who are fighting over the play equipment. (For a more detailed outline of the participants and their background see section 5.2).

Text 1: Playgroup

Transcription Key:

()	untranscribable talk
(words in parenthesis)	transcriber's guess
NV	non-verbal clause
[word in square brackets]	non-verbal information
= =	overlap
...	short hesitation (less than three seconds)
dash - then talk	false start / restart
CAPITALS	emphatic stress

The adults are referred to by (changed) name, but for clarity of distinction the children are referred to only by their initials. The children present are Holly's child P, Kate's child N, Liz's child F and Laura's T. My own children, J and S, also take part and are spoken about.

Turn	Speaker	Transcription
1.	Laura:	(i) J. (ii) T get over it. (iv) Come and give me a cuddle. (v) = = You wanna cuddle?
NV1	T:	= = [crying]
2.	Kate:	(i) J, I think N = = needs a hand over there = = (ii) with filling that bucket
3.	N:	= = (i) It's mine
4.	Liz:	[to N] (i) I'm sorry ... (i) I'm just moving it out the way (ii) it was in the way
5.	Kate:	(i) You want a hand?
6.	N:	= = (i) Yeah
7.	Kate:	= = (i) Yeah, here you go (ii) You take one of these with you
8.	Holly:	[to P] = = (i) Do you know (ii) that J is building a house (ii) and that's why you both want the same thing (iii) You both want to build a house
9.	Kate:	= = (i) N, J is going to give you a hand

[to T] (i) You - actually you bring your own bucket over to N
(ii) Yeah
(iii) and you both fill your bucket
(iv) See who can fill it the quickest...
(iv) Oh peace...

NV2 T: [crying]
10. Kate: (i) Oh [Laughing]
11. Liz: (i) You shouldn't have said that, Kate [Laughing]
NV3 Holly: [Laugh]
NV4 Laura: [Laugh]
12. Holly: [to P] = = (i) There's that blue one (indicating bucket)
(ii) You can have that blue one
13. Liz: = = (i) Where's K.?
(ii) She's (.....)
14. Kate: (i) Don't know = =
(ii) we didn't -
(iii) forgot to ring her this morning
15. Liz: = = (i) OK alright
16. Kate: (i) Presumed (ii) she'd = = be -
(iii) I just presume (iv) she's turning up
(iii) so I don't bother calling her but umm
17. Liz: = = (i) She had (a busy day) yesterday
(ii) so she's probably tired
18. Holly: (i) Who?
19. Kate: (i) K
20. Liz: (i) She had her
21. Holly: (i) She's coming
(ii) Oh, is she not coming?
22. Liz: (i) Oh no, no
(ii) she had a busy day yesterday
(iii) so
23. Holly: (i) Yeah she said ...yesterday... I think um
(ii) that she was = = coming
24. Liz: = = (i) Yeah I should've phoned
(ii) and said
(ii) I was bringing umm Lockie down
(iii) cause sometimes she's a bit = = tied up and
= = (i) Hmm
25. Holly: = = [to T who is crying] (i) Do you need help?
26. Laura: (ii) What?
27. T: [crying] (i) No I didn't ()
28. Laura: = = (i) () and lie down
29. T: (i) Yeah
30. Holly: = = (i) Do you know (ii) I've got a good idea
31. Laura: = = [to child] (i) What do you wanna do then?
32. Holly: = = (i) (Y'know) I've got those foam cups
(ii) I was making instruments with
= = (i) hmm
33. Liz: (i) Do you know (ii) if they make good sand = = castles?
34. Holly: = = (i) There are two ladders there, J
35. Kate: (ii) I'm sure you can have a turn.
(iii) It's OK.
36. Laura: (i) Do you wanna climb in the ladders?
37. Liz: (i) I don't know (ii) if S's absolutely awake yet [chuckles]
38. Holly: (i) Hm
39. Laura: [to P] (i) (Are you) a bit sad today?
40. Liz: (i) Holly, whose daughter is that?
41. Holly: ... [to P] (i) No.
(ii) Because you and J were fighting over it
42. Liz: (i) Karen, whose daughter is that?

43. Karen: (i) That's R () ...
(ii) yeah (that's...) = = Barbara's
44. Holly: = = (i) Barbara's.
(ii) [to P] So... because we couldn't decide...
(iii) which one was going to have it.
(iv) See (v) if you come to some agreement.
(vi) Y'know it wouldn't really = = have mattered
45. Laura: [to N] (i) (Are you Ok now?)
46. Kate: [to Laura] (i) He's right!
(i) It's OK!
...(11 secs)... [P cries, Holly Kisses P loudly]
47. Holly: (i) No.
(ii) Can you understand
(ii) that because you both wanted = = it
(iii) you're both fighting.
(iv) It's best if neither of you have it
48. Kate: = = (i) You can fill a bucket S... = =
(i) S's not here
49. Liz: = = (i) I think S's still waking up [laughs]
50. Kate: = = (i) Yeah *minor clause*
51. Holly: (i) Those three = =
52. Kate: = = [to S] (i) Put some sand in a bucket?
53. Holly: [to P] (i) Why don't you look in the (kitchen) cupboards
(ii) and see (iii) if there's something else.
(iv) Did you look in the cupboard?
54. P: (i) NO [cry]
55. Holly: (i) There might be something really good (in it)
56. Liz: (i) I know but it's strange, isn't = = it?
57. Holly: = = (i) Yeah
58. Liz: = = (i) and their (minds)
(ii) and she suddenly has grown up so quickly y'know
59. Kate: = = (i) Thank you! [loud, to S]
60. Liz: = = [to Holly] (i) not seeing her for two months = =
61. Kate: (i) Righto! ...
(ii) Ahh N, you're not using it sweetheart.
(iii) No
(iii) you're not using it
(iv) it's just sitting there.
- NV5 N [crying]
62. Holly: (i) Where's the other one = = hey?
63. Kate: = = (i) You're right J
64. Holly: (i) Oh look P
(ii) look = =
65. Kate: [to N] (i) You can play with J
(ii) and do it together
66. N: (i) ()
67. Kate: (i) But you're not using it, darling
68. N: (i) Yes I am [whining]
69. Kate: (i) You were NOT doing anything with it
70. N: (i) (Yes I am) = =
71. Kate: = = (i) Go and play with J
72. Liz: (i) Are you making a road N?
73. Kate: (i) He was making a = = ... castle
74. Liz: = = (i) [to N] No?
(ii) What? -
(iii) Do you remember we -
(iv) how we make...
(iv) Were you there
(v) when we were making pyramids? ...
(vii) Remember making pyramids with (Emma)?...

- (v) No alright [laughs]
75. J: [to N] (i) Ok I'll show you
(ii) (do you want) your daddy?
76. Liz: (i) ...That's not {in it}= =
(ii) ...whoops
77. J: [to N]= = (i) OK I'll show you ()...
(ii) There's your daddy.
(iii) There's your daddy.
NV7 N: [crying]
78. Kate: (i) Oh mate, come on.
(ii) That's very silly.
79. N: [crying] (i) I want it
80. J: (i) Daddy's there
81. Kate: (i) And what are you going to do with it
(ii) just have it sitting beside you
(iii) and then its yours, is it? = =
(iv) that's not –
(v) well that's terrible sharing
= = (i) How's P? (laughs)
(ii) Is he alright?
82. Liz:
83. Holly: (i) Yes
(ii) he's found one exactly the same so = =
84. Liz: = = (i) Ahh
85. Holly: = = (i) Oh he's throwing it at J (laughs)
NV8 Liz: [laughing]
86. Holly: (i) 'cause J can have it (laughs)
87. Liz: (i) Ohh
88. Holly: (i) Cause we found one exactly the same
NV9 Liz: [laughs]
89. Holly: (i) I think it was = =
90. Laura: = = (i) J has had a fight with someone over = = a ladder now
(ii) and that's err
91. Kate: = = (i) Have you finished with that one F?
92. Holly: (i) OK = = so you can play with this one
93. Kate: = = [answering her question to F] (i) No
94. Liz: (i) It's so hard, isn't it?
(ii) Because you = =
95. Holly: = = (i) Yeah
96. Liz: (i) You want them to open up = =
(ii) but on the other hand
97. Holly: = = [to P] (i) Cause it
98. P: [crying] (i) () doesn't want it
99. Holly: (i) I'm sorry?
100. P: [crying] (i) () doesn't want it
101. Holly: = = (i) he doesn't want it.
(ii) Doesn't it make you mad?
102. Liz: (i) Now = = he doesn't want it
NV10 Liz: [Laughs]
103. Holly: (i) It's typical.
(i) Typical
104. Kate: (i) He wants it
(ii) he (doesn't want it)
105. Holly: = = (i) Yeah
(ii) now he says
(ii) now he doesn't want it
106. Laura: = = (i) Oh (probably) cause J says
(ii) he doesn't want it now
NV11 Liz: [chuckle]
107. Holly: (i) Oh yeh...for goodness sake ...who's that? [child crying]
108. Liz: (i) It's N

109. Holly: [laughs] (i) Oh they're really good today, aren't they? [laughs]
(ii) I didn't realise
(iii) I thought
(iv) it was still T
(v) I realised
(vi) that T was walking around [laughs]...
110. Laura: (i) Look [to T]
111. Kate: (i) Look [to T]
112. Holly: = = (i) Oh they're fighting over the ladders now [laugh]
113. Laura: = = [to T] (i) There's three ladders over there
(ii) and all the kids are sharing.
(iii) You wanna go over there with the kids?
(iv) All the kids are...
(v) three ladders over = = there
114. Holly: (i) P.
(ii) P if you want
(iii) you could play with both of them then
115. Kate: (i) N go over and get one now
(ii) they're not playing with them
116. N: [crying,] ()
117. Kate: (i) No.
(ii) They're --
(iii) I think
(iv) one's free at the moment, isn't it?
(iv) F, is one of them not being used?
(v) Can N have a go of one now?
(vi) Is it his turn?
(vii) [to N] There you go
(vii) QUICK.
- NV12 N: [Crying]
118. Kate: (i) Oh N
NV13 Holly: [laughs]
NV14 Liz: [laughs]
119. Laura: [to T] (i) Bring it over for = = N
120. Kate: (i) We'll let N have a turn now
(ii) and then we can share them all around
(iii) There you go.
121. P: (i) I've a runny nose mum
122. Kate: [to N] (i) No you have to use it
(ii) You can't just leave it there
(iii) otherwise it'll be someone else's turn
(iv) Right oh so do something with it
[chuckles] (i) He's going to sit on = =
123. Liz: (i) Or it'll get wrapped round your head
124. Kate: [laughs]
NV15 Liz: (i) Oh Holly erm Danny phoned yeah on Sunday = =
125. Liz: [to Laura] = = (i) Arr he's not well anyway
126. Kate: (ii) He's ()
127. Liz: [to Holly] (i) And he was just going
(ii) we're going to go out for lunch
(iii) so I hope he = = understood
= = (i) Did he phone on Sunday?
128. Holly: (i) Yes he did
129. Liz: (ii) He rang
(iii) he wanted to play with Bobby = = so
= = (i) Oh yeah that's alright
130. Holly: = = (i) And we were going out to lunch
131. Liz: (ii) we're going over to my mums
(iii) and I thought
(iv) well it's an hour = =

132. Holly: (v) but you know what it's like, that last hour
(i) Oh I know yes
(ii) So that's OK
133. Liz: (i) So yeah I hope he understood
(ii) he wasn't too upset [nervous giggle]
134. Holly: (i) Oh no that's fine
(ii) no that's OK.
(iii) No he did the rounds of people on Sunday
135. Liz: (i) Oh did he?
(ii) Oh shame.
136. Holly: (i) He rang Bobby first
(ii) then he phoned up Alex
(iii) he was erm ()
(iv) cause Sam was doing something...
(v) Oh no don't worry anyway
137. Liz: (i) Well we're at home I think this Sunday = =
(ii) we're expecting to
138. Holly: = = (i) He's got chess actually this Sunday so [laughs]
139. Liz: (i) Has he?
(ii) OK is Sam at home on Sunday?
140. Holly: (i) Oh Sam's at home.
(ii) He has already actually asked Joe = =
141. Liz: = = (i) OK
142. Holly: = = (i) But Joe might not be able to = =
143. Liz: (i) Yep, yeah
144. Holly: (i) Erm when the park gets better = =
145. Liz: = = (i) Won't it be better?
146. Holly: = = (i) We can meet up down there, can't they?
147. Liz: Yeah I know

A closer examination of text 1 hopes to reveal that, whilst much of the interpersonal nature of the talk goes to maintaining and supporting friendship (and welcoming and establishing new friendship ties) the women in the present study are also negotiating their position and constructing their social reality. The social network of the interactants has been examined elsewhere (see chapter five). Whilst wishing to minimise repetition, it is beneficial to briefly summarise here the network findings to allow for a clearer understanding of the significance of the linguistic analysis findings. Social networks can be used to highlight the solidarity between members. Two of the women in this first sustained interaction, Holly and Kate, are core members of the group, whose in-group status is displayed by the fact that they voluntarily socialise outside of the playgroup (coffee mornings, parties, meeting at the beech etc.) They both have children who attend the preschool, they live close to each other (a five-minute walk) and further they have

lived on the island longer than the other two participants have. Holly has lived on the island for the greatest number of years, she has three children and takes charge of much of the playgroup organisation. She keeps the keys, organises excursions etc.. Kate has one son, who is four. Her status as a core member is further outlined by her being the participant who is in charge of the playgroup finance. She also organises outings and looks after the key in Holly's absence.

Similarly, Liz has a child who attends the preschool and she too lives very close. However, as a relative new arrival on the island (one year), she has yet to gain full in-group status (she is not invited to parties and her child does not go and play at Holly and Kate's homes). Liz's status is revealed in the text by her choice of topic – she and Holly are discussing their older children playing together – it is the first time that her son has been invited and she is keen that their friendship develops. Laura is the most marginalized of the interactants. She lives on *the other side of the island* and is less well known by the participants. She has lived on the island for 18 months but outside of the play group she voluntarily maintains no links with the other women and thus has fewer network ties. She also attends the playgroup less regularly than the other women do and her child goes to a day care centre on the mainland rather the island preschool. Adopting Cheshire's three way division, Holly and Kate have the main social links and may be referred to as core members, Liz, as a new comer, as a secondary member, and Laura as a peripheral member.

The children play a significant role in the conversation. Although they themselves add little to the ideational content of the interaction, their presence often adds evidence to the role relationships of the mothers. This can be seen through the choice of *who* is

permitted to say *what* to which child. The children's presence may also be seen to allow distancing of the adults from the role negotiation which is taking place. The children are demanding of attention throughout the excerpt, they are frequently fighting over the play equipment. Different people have different parenting methods, however, it must be stressed that the women are all choosing when to interact with the children and when to ignore their behaviour. At no time are the children injured or in danger.

6.2 Grammatical patterning: Text 1: Playgroup

A reading of text 1 shows the rapid nature of dialogue which is frequently centered around the children and their activities. Talk is often interrupted and broken off to maintain harmony between the children who are playing close by. The exchange opens with such an attempt by the women to control the children's dispute over play equipment. The transaction then turns to the whereabouts of an absent third person. This, as Eggins and Slade point out, is a common strategy adopted in interaction where the participants are interactionally involved at differing levels of familiarity (Eggins and Slade 1997:174). Directing the conversation to talk about absent third persons allows the interactants to explore their relationships more freely than if the topic chosen was someone present. The exchange reopens to once again attend to the children's needs and the final series of transactions concern tentative arrangements for two of the women to get their older children together to play. Throughout the text, one woman, Liz can be seen to try to engage the others in conversation in an attempt to strengthen her network ties. This analysis is in no way trying to claim that the participants are consciously including or excluding each other. Indeed the women appear supportive and willing to extend network ties. What this examination hopes to show is merely that the choices available in the grammar are reflective of network positioning. That the participants are,

due to their status within the group, only permitted certain roles and with these roles come certain conversational strategies.

6.2.1 Mood choice

Hallidayan grammar stresses the importance of the meaningful lexicogrammatical choices we make. The interpersonal metafunction is the grammatical resource for enacting social roles. And when we are looking at clauses as exchange structures, it is the selections and consistencies of the grammatical categories from the mood paradigm (see figure 2.7.) which constitute these meanings. Here, of primary interest is grammatical variation in the mood since meanings are frequently negotiated and contested by the ongoing selections made from the mood elements in the interactive event. It is the tendency to particular mood selections, the mood 'drifts', that are considered first in this analysis. A summary of the mood analysis can be found in tables 6.1., 6.2. and 6.3. The results have been further categorized into adult-child and adult-adult interaction since this division allows for greater clarity in interpretation of the dominant patterns arising in the text as shown below.

A. Number of clauses

A reading of text 1: Playgroup shows that of the four participants present, three, Holly, Kate and Liz, are responsible for the majority of the interaction. Of these, the first two, Holly and Kate, are the core members of the group and, as is to be expected, produce the most clauses. Laura is the least interactively involved member of the group and produces significantly fewer clauses than do the other participants. An immediately interesting point is that of all Laura's clauses only 3 are directed to adult speakers. The remaining 18 complete clauses are directed at children. This is perhaps the clearest

Table 6.1: Mood summary sheet for text 1: Playgroup

Mood	Kate	Holly	Liz	Laura
clause type				
total no. of clauses	76	75	60	21
no. of complete clauses (a)	32 (42.1%)	44 (58.6%)	45 (75%)	3 (14.2%)
no. of complete clauses (c)	44 (57.8%)	30 (40%)	13 (21.6%)	18 (85.7%)
total declarative	45 (59.2%)	43 (57.3%)	31 (51.6%)	9 (42.8%)
declarative (a)	28 (36.8%)	32 (42.6%)	26 (43.4%)	3 (14.2%)
declarative (c)	18 (23.6%)	12 (16%)	5 (8.3%)	6 (28.6%)
total tagged declarative	2 (2.6%)	2 (2.7%)	2 (3.3%)	-
tagged declarative (a)	-	2 (2.7%)	2 (3.3%)	-
tagged declarative (c)	2 (2.6%)	-	-	-
total wh-interrogative	1 (1.3%)	4 (5.3%)	5 (8.3%)	2 (9.5%)
wh-interrogative (a)	-	2 (2.7%)	5 (8.3%)	-
wh-interrogative (c)	1 (1.3%)	2 (2.7%)	-	2 (9.5%)
total polar interrogative	4 (5.3%)	7 (9.3%)	9 (15%)	4 (19%)
polar interrogative (a)	-	2 (2.7%)	5 (8.3%)	-
polar interrogative (c)	4 (5.3%)	5 (6.7%)	4 (6.7%)	4 (19%)
total imperative	11 (14.5%)	5 (6.7%)	-	5 (23.8%)
imperative (a)	-	1 (1.3%)	-	-
imperative (c)	11 (14.5%)	4 (5.3%)	-	5 (23.8%)
total minor	12 (15.7%)	7 (9.3%)	11 (18.3%)	1 (4.8%)
minor (a)	4 (5.3%)	4 (5.3%)	8 (13.3%)	-
minor (c)	8 (10.5%)	3 (4%)	4 (6.6%)	1 (4.8%)
total elliptical clauses	2 (2.6%)	6 (8%)	2 (3.3%)	2 (9.5%)
elliptical clauses (a)	2 (2.6%)	4 (5.3%)	-	-
elliptical clauses (c)	-	2 (2.7%)	2 (3.3%)	2 (9.5%)
I as subject choice	5 (6.5%)	5 (6.7%)	6 (10%)	-
we as subject choice	3 (3.9%)	2 (2.7%)	5 (8.3%)	-
most frequent subject choice	you-28 son -10 (36%) Liz's (2.6%) Laura's son (6.6%)	you - 17 12 - son (64%)	he - 12 H'sons (83%) she you everyone	you - 12 son (57.1%)
incomplete clauses	-	1 (1.3%)	3 (5%)	-
non-finite clauses	-	-	1 (1.7%)	-
Adjuncts				
interpersonal	28	18	23	4
circumstantial	23	19	22	12
textual	15	27	17	5
non-verbal clauses	1 (1.3%)	2 (2.7%)	5 (8.3%)	1 (4.8%)

Key

(a) – talk addressed to an adult

(c) – talk addressed to a child

percentages are % of total interaction

Table 6.2: Mood summary sheet for adult-adult interaction in text 1: Playgroup showing clause types selected as a % of total number of clauses in adult-adult interaction.

Mood	Kate	Holly	Liz	Laura
clause type				
no. of complete clauses directed to an adult	32	44	45	3
declarative	27 (84.3%)	31 (70.5%)	26 (57.8%)	3 (100%)
tagged declarative	-	2 (4.5%)	2 (4.4%)	
wh-interrogative	-	2 (4.5%)	5 (11.1%)	-
polar interrogative	-	2 (4.5%)	5 (11.1%)	-
imperative	-	1 (2.2%)	-	-
minor	4 (12.5%)	4 (9%)	8 (17.7%)	
exclamation	-	-	-	-
I as subject choice	5	5	6	-
we as subject choice	3	2	5	-
most frequent subject choice	You-28 son	you – 17 12 – son	he - 12 H's sons	you – 12 son
elliptical clauses	2 (6.2%)	4 (9%)		
incomplete clauses	-	2	4	-
non-finite clauses	-	-	1	-
non-verbal clauses	1	2	5	1

Table 6.3: Mood summary sheet for adult-child interaction in text 1: Playgroup showing clause types selected as a % of total number of clauses in adult-child interaction.

Mood	Kate	Holly	Liz	Laura
clause type				
no. of complete clauses directed to a child	44	30	13	18
declarative	18 (40.9%)	15 (50%)	5 (38.5%)	6 (33.3%)
tagged declarative	2 (4.5%)	-	-	-
wh-interrogative	1 (2.3%)	2 (6.6%)	-	2 (11.1%)
polar interrogative	4 (9%)	5 (16.6%)	4 (30.8%)	4 (22.2%)
imperative	11 (25%)	5 (16.6%)	-	5 (27.7%)
minor	8 (18.2%)	3 (13.3%)	4 (30.8%)	(5.6%)

indication of her lack of group membership since for much of the time the topic choice in effect excludes her from the conversation and she interacts primarily with the children (her own and others). When the analysis is further broken down to begin to examine the adult-adult interaction rather than adult-child interaction, it can be seen that, percentage wise, Liz speaks more to other adults than to the children. A high 75% of her total clauses are directed at other adults, whereas Kate and Holly's clauses are more evenly spread between adult and child discourse. Holly selects adult recipients in 58.6% of her clauses and Kate 42.1%. That Liz selects to talk mainly with other adults can be taken as an indication of her desire for core group status. This is highlighted by the fact that, although much of the interaction in the text is concerned with children fighting over play equipment and Liz's child is involved in the disputes, she chooses to ignore her child's behaviour and concentrate on her own role negotiation. A closer examination of the types of clauses that Liz produces and who she selects as listener will help to show how her grammatical choices reflect her secondary membership status.

B. Declaratives

Declaratives often function to initiate transactions and all interactants produce a high percentage of declaratives in text 1. Holly and Kate produce more than the other participants (57.3% and 59.2% of clauses respectively) suggesting that they get to initiate exchanges and put forward information for negotiation slightly more frequently than the others. In adult-adult dialogue, Kate and Liz produce similar amounts of declaratives, but percentage wise Kate selects declarative in 84.3% of her adult-adult clauses (compared to 57.8% for Liz) clearly evidencing her core status. Like Holly she is able to open exchanges and actively select what information is to be negotiated and suggests that she does not want to readily give up floor space. The most marginalized

participant, Laura, also selects the declarative mood (42.8%). In the majority of these (6 out of 9) she selects a child as recipient. It is primarily with the children that she is permitted floor space to initiate and give information. In adult-adult discourse Laura selects only declarative mood function. This is due to the small amount of contribution she is permitted to make rather than her status as information giver (she makes only 3 declaratives in the text). Further, as the observation on Subject choice shows, and as might be expected of a peripheral member, the information given is about her son.

C. Polar interrogatives

In casual encounters polar interrogatives are typically used to initiate an exchange by requesting information from others, constructing the speaker as dependent on the responses of others. Eggins and Slade state that, since polar interrogatives directly encode an information imbalance, they are not common in casual conversation among close friends (1997:85). However, the Pagewood Island data shows that all the interactants select this initiating option. The evidence leads to the suggestion that this is due to the presence of the children, since it is to the children that most of the polar interrogatives are directed. But more interestingly, the inequitable power balance is highlighted by polar interrogatives being used most frequently by the least involved members. Liz selects this option most. In the final part of the exchange they function to both claim the status role of the information giver, and at the same time recognize the role of other speakers to agree with or challenge the information and thus show dependence on the recipient. Holly also uses polar interrogatives here and this reciprocal usage may suggest a strengthening of the friendship ties, a wish to be accepted by Liz, and an orientation towards accepting by Holly. The information negotiated in the polar interrogative clauses of these two women is mostly that of

arranging for their older children to play together which reinforces their show of solidarity. Liz's more frequent selection shows that, whilst both women are displaying tie strengthening strategies, Liz must do more of the work if she is to be fully accepted. One way she does this is by tossing back the Subject/Finite component to carry the argument forward and allow for further interaction.

Laura's use of polar interrogative is also revealing. She asks both Holly and Kate's children if they are OK (turns 39 and 45) highlighting perhaps her attempt to engage with the mother via the son. Interestingly when questioning Kate's son it is Kate that replies, abruptly in this case showing a lack of support for the most marginalized member of the group. Interestingly, Laura does not ask Liz's daughter the same question. Liz also asks Holly if her son is OK (turn 82).

D. Tagged declaratives

Tagged declaratives typically function to explicitly signal that a response is required. While having initiator status, the speaker is inviting someone else to offer confirmation and may therefore be avoiding asserting his or her own opinion. Laura, with the least interactional involvement, uses no tagged declaratives. The other three speakers all utilise this option. Kate only employs tagged declaratives in her adult-child interaction. Holly and Liz use tagged declaratives when speaking to adults but with differing orientations. As with polar interrogatives, when Holly and Liz tag their declaratives in interaction with each other, this can be seen as evidence of their solidarity. However, Holly's exasperation in clause 109 (*Oh they're really good today aren't they?*) signals what kind of response element is required but does not indicate *who* should respond. Liz, by contrast (in turns 94 and 56) pre-selects Holly as next speaker, thereby trying to

establish a stronger relationship with a core member of the group. Her initiating tagged declaratives function to get Holly to enter the exchange with her. Interestingly, the initiation is not reciprocated, highlighting that, while Liz may wish to be a core member she only holds secondary membership status. Holly can, and chooses to, ignore the invitation to transact. This is illustrated when the content of both her tagged declaratives (the quick growth of the baby) is examined. It is then discovered that the subject is not taken up in subsequent turns. When she does initiate therefore Liz is not supported. Holly on the other hand has her tagged declarative confirmed by Liz. (For example, turn 147 *Yeah I know*).

E. Wh-interrogatives

Wh- interrogatives initiate conversation and are employed by all participants, but again in differing ways. Kate uses this grammatical option to elicit circumstantial information from her child. Laura also selects this mood choice only when initiating conversation with the children. Holly and Liz select this option when speaking to both children and adults. Liz's produces the most wh-interrogatives. This allows her to engage others in talk while claiming some status as initiator within the group. Interestingly, she uses the vocative manipulatively to specify *who* she wishes to talk to, directing the question at the core members. First, in turn 40, she directs her question at Kate (*Kate, whose daughter is that?*). When she receives no reply she singles out Holly, in turn 42, for the same question (*Holly, whose daughter is that?*). Holly, by contrast, does not pre-select the next speaker when she uses wh – interrogatives. This suggests perhaps less concern as to who will answer and a confidence that she will be answered. Holly's questions are also responded to immediately.

As with the polar interrogatives then, Liz is seen as a less dominant participant throughout the interaction. While Liz always shows support for the other members she is frequently marginalized by the lack of response she receives. Laura, the least interactive participant appears to accept her role and infrequently participates. Liz, however, demonstrates her desire for full group membership by her continual initiation of information for negotiation. Her secondary status is demonstrated whenever this is not reciprocated.

F. Imperatives

In interpersonal terms imperatives are presented as not open to negotiation and as such they generally infer power on the part of the speaker. They usually tell the respondent what to do with the expectation that the command will be carried out. This is the function of imperatives that are selected and addressed to the children in the text. However, in the adult-adult interaction they may be seen as grammatical strategies to allow for negotiation and may be used to encode advice. Here they position the speaker as having some power over the addressee. It is only the core member Holly who produces an imperative when speaking with an adult. She may be seen as enacting authority over Liz when she advises her *not to worry* in turn 136.

A closer look at the imperatives directed to the children is revealing as to how different speakers are entitled to tell other peoples' children what to do. For example, both Kate and Holly are positioned as able to select imperatives to children other than their own, but Laura only commands her own child. Liz does not select the imperative option when interacting with children, suggesting that she too does not have the authority to demand compliance.

G. Minor clauses

Minor clauses are frequent in casual conversation and contribute predominantly to the interpersonal negotiation. In text 1 they highlight Holly and Kate's dominant positioning by the way the other participants use them. That is to say that they are employed to position the less integrated members as supportive interactants in the conversational framework.

Minor clauses are not anchored in a Subject-Finite and therefore do not have full negotiation status. Sometimes it can be difficult to know if a clause is minor or whether it should be considered major. Following Hasan's (1996e:119) suggestion that the number of possible agnates can be a determining factor, I have considered clauses such as *don't worry* to be a major rather than minor clause.

On first inspection there seemed little variation in the use of minor clauses between the three most frequent participators in the text. When attention was given to *who* the minor clauses were directed at however, interesting patterns began to emerge. Focusing on the clauses directed towards other adult participants, it was found that Liz selects minor clauses at least twice as much as the other participants and that they are supportive reactions to information given by others. This higher percentage of minor clauses suggests more dependence on others and less ability to elicit information.

Minor clauses can consist of lexical items, such as *Ok* and *yeah* which can function as a way to attempt to get back into the conversation for a second turn. Liz in her desire to join the conversation and to take the floor makes use of this device. (For example, turns 15, 141 143 and 147). Non-lexical items can function as supporting replies. They are

non-assertive and possibly suggestive of hierarchical relationships. Examples from the text include *hmm ah, oh* etc. In text 1 it is Liz who most frequently selects this option. She reserves this option mainly to support the core members and further supports Holly when Holly is talking to her child (turn 33).

Kate also utilises minor clauses, however most are directed at her own child and only 5.3% of her clauses are minor ones with an adult selected as recipient. Similarly, Holly uses minor clauses in adult-adult interaction in 5.4% of her clauses indicating that she too is less motivated to show support and compliance. While the 3 major participants are seen to utilise minor clauses in a supportive role, surprisingly Laura, the marginal member, selected this option the least frequently. A possible explanation is her acceptance of her marginalized position has made her less motivated to join in.

H. Non-verbal interaction

The majority of non-verbal clauses are of laughter, which can be seen to be supportive positioning by the participants. An examination of this supportive laughter yields similar results to the analysis of minor clauses above. Again Liz laughs most and does so in support of others, especially the core members.

I. Number of incomplete clauses

It is Liz who produces the highest proportion of incomplete clauses (7%). On several occasions Liz's incomplete clauses are produced when her utterances are interrupted and there is overlap. Examples of this occur in turns 94 – 97 where Holly's first supportive minor clause is followed by a second overlap that in effect terminates Liz's turn. Here Holly turns her attention away from Liz, and selects her own son as next speaker. Other

examples of incomplete clauses produced by Liz suggest her less intimate knowledge of other, absent group members. Liz herself initiates the query *Where's K?* (turn 13). In the ensuing discussion Liz produces a second incomplete clause and further abandons turn 20. This may reinforce her desire to be treated as an equal but, at the same time, highlight the fact that she remains on the periphery due to lack of shared knowledge. Positioning herself as a compliant supporter willing to forgo floor space further evidences this here.

J Most frequent subject choice

In conversation *I* and *we* are often the favoured grammatical Subject choices. Throughout the exchange, Laura does not nominate herself as Subject or talk about *we*. She is less confident as a participant, her clausal Subject is her son in all but 2 clauses. It is he that she is most freely able to talk about, being less informed about other topics that enter the transaction. For example, Laura is unable to join in the conversation centered on the absent member, K, who she is less acquainted with. When she chooses other subjects it is interestingly Kate and Holly's sons that are selected highlighting perhaps the core status of the mothers.

Kate, Holly and Liz all select *I* and *we* as Subject choice. Interestingly it is Liz who chooses these options most frequently. She talks more about herself and her family. This, once again, may suggest her lack of knowledge about topics discussed rather than disinterest in what others are saying. It also suggests assertive power reinforcing her wish to be accepted as a core member of the group, she wants to talk and be listened to, however, her less intimate status leads her to focus on herself or her family as clausal Subjects. This is also reflected in the difference in the most frequent Subject choices.

The most frequent Subject choice of three of the participants, Kate, Holly and Laura, is *you* and is often directed at their own child. In contrast, Liz nominates *he* as her preferred Subject choice. Examination of the text reveals that this *he* frequently refers to one of Holly's three children (64%), highlighting her interest in the most dominant member of the group and suggesting her desire to be accepted as a core member. Holly and Liz both have older sons. This is therefore an area that Liz has access to and is utilised in the conversation. If the nomination of Kate's child as clausal Subject is also considered it can be seen that in almost 30% of her clauses Liz selects a child of one of the core members as her Subject.

K. Vocative

The use of naming in multiparty exchanges allows participants to create special relationships by pre-selecting the next speaker. It is a 'site that forces attention to speaking subjects, to their respective positionings ... and to their investments in those positionings' (Poynton, 1996:213). The vocative, although falling outside of the mood and residue structure, is a powerful tool that allows the user to manipulate turn-taking within the discourse. All the participants in text 1 select vocative but the differing functions of these vocative are revealing. Kate, Holly and Laura choose vocatives when addressing children, usually to call the attention of their own child. Many of the vocatives are realized as the child's name, although on two occasions Kate uses more elaborated terms of endearment to her own son. In adult-adult interaction all vocatives are realized as first names thus indicating a certain degree of intimacy. Liz's vocatives however function differently. Her ongoing selection of vocative to identify an adult addressee reveals her attempt to exert power and control over *who* speaks. Interestingly

she addresses both Kate and Holly with this naming device but not Laura, indicating that her vocatives function to position only the core members as those she wishes to engage with.

How the vocatives are reciprocated is also very revealing. Although utilising vocatives can be seen as an expression of power the lack of reciprocation highlights that this control is repudiated. Although she targets her vocative to gain intimacy, in 50% of her vocative usage in adult-adult interaction this is not reciprocated. For example, in turns 40 to 43, Liz selects Holly as addressee but is ignored. She immediately tries the same question to Kate and is, on this second attempt answered. Similarly, in turn 11 Liz addresses Kate with the use of vocative. This is supported by Holly's and Laura's laughter, but Kate declines the invitation to comment further. Liz, in turn 13, still trying to engage Kate, shifts orientation from Kate to an absent third person, and then a new series of exchanges about the third person's whereabouts begin. This is the pattern throughout the exchange as Liz continues to engage core members in dialogue. Her hard work eventually pays off and her final vocative, to Holly, opens up the final exchange in which tentative arrangements for Liz and Holly's two older children are made. It is worth noting that on this occasion Liz not only uses vocative but also selects Holly's son as clausal Subject, thus making it even more difficult for Holly to decline answering.

L. Adjuncts

As would be expected the marginalized participant, Laura, produces the least adjuncts and these are mostly employed in addressing her child. When she does use adjuncts in adult-adult conversation it is mostly supportive textual adjuncts. The remaining three network members all utilise a similar range of adjuncts. The evaluative function of the

interpersonal will be looked at in greater detail when the Appraisal analysis is commented on.

M. Modality

The mood analysis explains how the exchange functions to position the participants in terms of role relations. In Ravelli's terms it captures the 'inter side of interpersonal meaning' (Ravelli, 2000:48). In addition to being able to utilise the word order in the grammar to negotiate rights and roles, modality is a tool that allows speakers to take up different negotiating positions, to include the feature 'indeterminate' (Halliday, 1984:22). Returning to Ravelli's terminology, modality helps in our examination of the 'personal'. Modality offers speakers the chance to switch or downplay claims that are received too strongly and change or qualify meanings put forward for negotiation with resources that allow for the intermediate degrees between, for example, *yes* and *no* to be put forward. Modality can be either, modalization referring to degrees of frequency or probability or modulation referring to degrees of obligation, inclination, or capacity. A summary of the modulation used in text 1 can be seen in table 6.4.

All interactants use modality. All express uncertainty of their world view through the use of modalization. Laura only selects this option on one occasion. The more central members all use modalization of probability the same amount in their adult-adult discourse. Liz chooses mental process of thinking to realize her incongruent modalization selections and adverbs of probability. All her tempering is done in adult-adult discourse whereas Kate and Holly frequently address the children. This may

Table 6.4: Modality summary sheet for Text 1: Playgroup

Modality	Kate	Holly	Liz	Laura
ModaLiztion probability				
High	1-c	1-a	1-a	1-a
Median	2-c, 1-a	1-a	3-a	
Low		1-a, 1-c		
Modulation obligation: advice				
High	1-c		2-a	
Median				
Low				
Modulation obligation: permission				
High	1-c			
Median				
low	4-c	1-c		
Modulation capability				
High		1-c		
Median				
low		2-a, 2-c		
Total no. of modalities	10	10	6	1
	9-c, 1-a	5-c, 5-a	6-a	1-a

Key

c – spoken to child

a – spoken to adult

suggest that Liz, motivated by her social role, feels that she must employ such devices to temper directness and thus show deference to fellow adult speakers. This is in agreement with Halliday’s suggestion that modals are ‘inherently associated with responding rather than initiating’ (1984:23) roles. The Appraisal analysis (see below) also backs up this finding.

Modulation is used differently by the participants. Again, in adult-adult discourse it is Liz who employs a slightly greater number. Her use is interesting. She shows preference for using modulation of obligation contrasting to Holly and Kate’s more equally distributed selections. Firstly, unlike the other participants, she positions herself as the one under obligation by explicitly selecting herself as Subject (clause 24). By contrast, in clause 12 the obligation is directed at Kate in the form of *you*. Here Liz distances herself from the recipient of the encoded advice. Rather than choosing an

unmodulated negative *don't say that*, the directness is tempered. Again, in contrast, when Holly wishes to advise Liz, she is permitted to give advice directly (*don't worry* in clause 136).

Kate and Holly select modulation strategies mainly in adult-child discourse and Laura's child is frequently the Subject. On one occasion Holly tempers the directness of her proposition with the use of *can* and *can't* (clause 144). Here too Subject choice is interesting as Holly sets out with the use of inclusive *we*, but immediately distances herself from the proposition by switching the subject to *they* in the tag (*We can meet up down there, can't they*). Holly has, in her prior turns, already distanced herself from any obligation to invite Liz's son to her home by moving the location to the park. With this further distancing the recipient is left wondering if the children will in fact ever get to play together.

N. Topic choice

Laura's dependent position is highlighted through the topic choice. As the incidental member of the group she is frequently excluded from joining the conversation as she does not have the required in-group knowledge at her disposal. It could be argued that if she were a more powerful, more integrated member then topics would either be chosen that she could join in or she would have the strategies at her disposal to offer her own new propositions for discussion. Interestingly, Laura is able to join in when another 'newish' or unknown islander becomes the topic for negotiation.

O. Talking to children

The children play a significant role in this conversation and this requires brief comment.

Firstly, Laura talks primarily with her own son. In contrast, most of Liz's clauses are in adult-adult interaction. When she does interact with children it is mostly with Kate's son who, interestingly, she also apologizes to. Kate selects a full range of grammatical strategies when talking to the children, including imperatives and polar interrogatives to her own, Laura and Liz's children. She does not interact with Holly's son. Holly also uses a broad range of options from the mood paradigm when engaging in adult-child conversation. However, she only talks to her own child. Her lack of interest and unwillingness to engage other children in conversation highlights her dominant role.

6.2.2 Summary of text 1

This mood analysis has attempted to give linguistic evidence of the network positions of the participants. Laura's non-membership status is clear. She interacts least and positions herself marginally and is positioned the same way by others. Holly and Kate are also clearly dominant members of the group. Liz's position is far more complex. Although she gets almost as much floor space as the more dominant speakers, her grammatical choices and *who* she directs her speech to are somewhat different and lead to the conclusion that she is less integrated into the network than the two core members. Further, her use of integrating strategy show that she wishes to increase network ties. An investigation into Appraisal use will also support the claims made in the grammatical mood analysis. And then, in order to see exactly how these differences position the participants and allow them to negotiate their roles, our attention is turned to the semantic strata to obtain evidence from the speech function analysis.

6.3 Appraisal analysis: Text 1: Playgroup

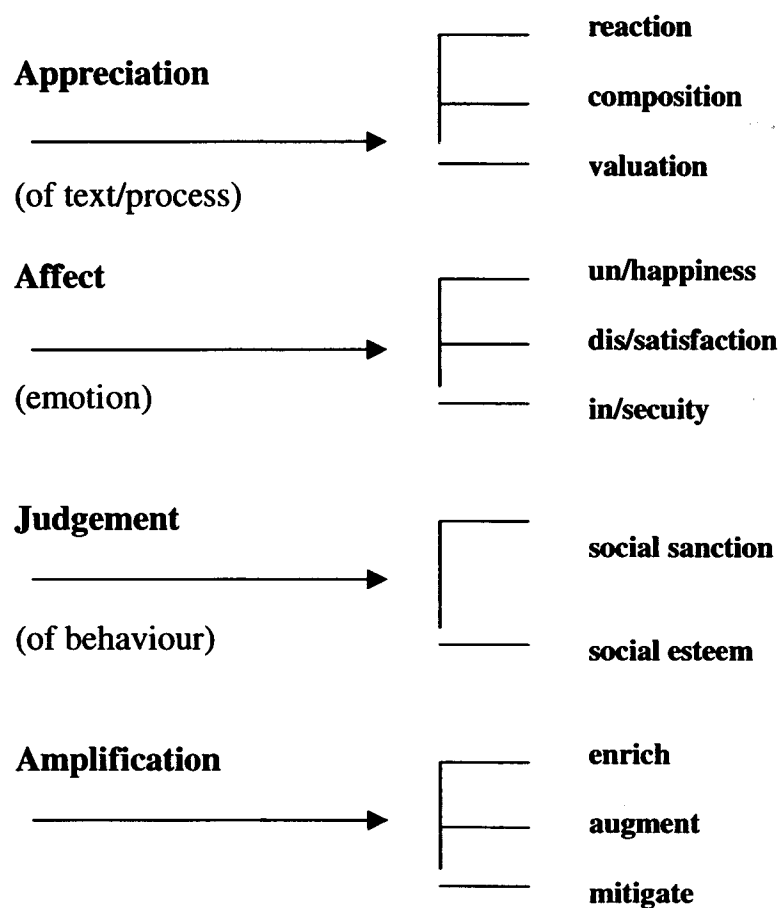
The mood analysis highlights the consistencies in the linguistic patterning that put on display the role relations between the interactants. Appraisal allows participants, through options of expressive or attitudinal lexis, to appraise and evaluate the behaviour of others. The systemic functional account of Appraisal is indebted to the work of Martin who shows how evaluative resources can be used to examine the negotiation of meanings. He emphasises the interpersonal notion of Appraisal, how evaluative lexis is employed by speakers to negotiate solidarity (Martin, 2000b). A speaker is able, for example, to construct him or herself as an in-group supportive member through selection of certain Appraisal categories. On the other hand, via selection of different appraising items a speaker may distance him or herself and alienate him or herself from an interactional group.

Appraisal is found in different lexical features including verb, nouns, adjectives and adverbs and can carry positive or negative loading and be either inscribed or evoked (Ravelli, 2000). In the following Appraisal analysis all Appraisal items were first identified then classified into the four major categories of Appreciation, Affect, Judgement and Amplification. Further classification into the subcategories of these major categories then took place. The categories of Appraisal items are shown in table 6.5 and the network for the Appraisal resources in English can be seen in figure 6.1. Next the identified and classified appraising lexical items were summarised. This summary can be found in the Appraisal coding sheet in table 6.6. Finally, the patterns of evaluative lexis were examined and the interpretation of this examination is what follows.

Table 6.5: Categories of Appraisal items

Category	Probe/ meaning	Examples: positive	Examples: negative
Appreciation reaction composition valuation	What do you think of it? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> what did you think of it?/think/ know how did it go together? how did you judge it? 	wonderful, great, fascinating, pleasing harmonious, simple, elegant, beautiful deep, meaningful, challenging, hard	repulsive, plain, awful, uninviting complex, overdone, cramped shallow, insignificant
Affect un/happiness in/security dis/satisfaction	How do you feel about it? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> how happy did you feel? how secure did you feel? how satisfied did you feel? 	happy, cheerful, jubilant confident, assured, composed interested, absorbed, like	sad, miserable, distraught worried, uneasy, anxious tired, fed up, hate, exasperated
Judgement social sanction social esteem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How moral? How believable? How strongly committed? how destined/usual? How able? 	upright, ethical believable, credible brave, strong lucky, remarkable competent, skilful	immoral, silly dishonest, deceitful cowardly, weak unfortunate, odd incompetent
Amplification enrichment augmenting mitigation	general resources for grading <ul style="list-style-type: none"> fusing lexical item with the process adding element of comparison intensifying the evaluation quantifying the degree of amplification playing down the force of an evaluation 	whinging, yapping all the time to run like a bat out of hell repetition: ran and ran, silly, silly boy adverbial: heaps, a lot, totally pronominal: all, everyone sort of stuff, anything, just, only, not much	

Figure 6.1: Appraisal resources in English



(taken from Eggins and Slade, 1997)

Table 6.6: Appraisal summary sheet for Text 1: Playgroup

	Kate	Holly	Liz	Laura
total Appraisal items	26	34	19	11
total clauses	76	70	58	21
% of total clauses	(36.8%)	(48.6%)	(32.8%)	(52.3%)
Appreciation				
reaction	4 (C-2, A-2)	5 (C-3, A-2)	4 (A-4)	5 (C-5)
composition	-	-	1 (A-1)	-
valuation	2 (C-2)	10 (C-3, A-7)	1 (A-1)	-
total	6 (C-4, A-2)	15 (C-6, A-9)	6 (A-6)	5 (C-5)
Affect				
un/happiness	2 (C-1, A-1)		2 (C-1, A-1)	1 (C-1)
in/security	2 (A-2)	1 (A-1)	1 (A-1)	1 (C-1)
dis/satisfaction	-	1 (A-1)	2 (A-2)	-
total	4 (C-1, A-2)	2 (A-2)	5 (C-1, A-4)	2 (C-2)
Judgement				
social sanction	1 (C-1)	-	-	-
social esteem	-	-	-	-
total	1 (C-1)	-	-	-
Amplification				
enrich	-	-	-	-
augment	4 (C-4)	12 (C-10, A-3)	4 (A-4)	2 (C-2)
mitigate	10 (C-7, A-3)	5 (C-2, A-3)	4 (C-1, A-3)	2 (C-2)
total	14 (C-11, A-3)	18 (C13, A-6)	8 (C-1, A-7)	4 (C-2)

Key

C – addressed to an adult

A – addressed to a child

In text 1: Playgroup the most dominant members percentage wise get to use more appraising items than the secondary member, but surprisingly, despite her small contribution to the interaction, it is the outsider that uses the resources of Appraisal most frequently. Yet, Laura's marginalised membership is reflected in her choice of appraising items and the recipients of her choices. She only uses attitudinal lexis when interacting with the children and in the majority of cases they are directed at her own son.

Appreciation involves the speaker's evaluation of the worth of an object, text or process.

Reaction, composition and valuation are the three ways in which a speaker can encode

his or her likes or dislike of the people and things around us. All of Laura's Appreciation items are directed at her son, and encode expressions of liking or wanting. It is interesting to note that on the two occasions that she addresses other children with attitudinal lexis it is Kate and Holly's sons that she selects. Here she chooses Affect to inquire if Kate's son is *OK* (turn 45). Affect, which is the resource that allows a speaker to express feelings and emotions, lets a speaker talk about how they feel or think positively in terms of happiness, security and satisfaction or negatively in terms of unhappiness, insecurity, and dissatisfaction. Laura also employs an amplified Affect in conversation with Holly's son (*Are you a bit sad today?* in turn 39). She does not use evaluative expressions when addressing any of the adult speakers.

Similarly Liz's Appraisal items are often realized in queries about Holly's sons (e.g. *is P alright?* in turn 82), and her hope that one of Holly's older sons wasn't *too upset* (turn 133).

Mitigating strategies are part of the system of Amplification. They allow for speakers to lower the force of their speech, or mitigate their conversational input, with expressions such as *only* or *just*, and employment of other types of vague, blurring talk (for example, *she was kind've tired*). Liz uses such mitigating strategies to reduce the force of attitudinal meanings in her interaction with Kate's son. Further, she apologizes to him (*I'm sorry*) in turn 4. The two core members do not use such Appraisal items with other people's children.

Interestingly, when Liz uses Appreciation (the valuation *hard* in turn 94 and the composition *strange* in turn 56) her evaluative comments are left unreciprocated. Holly,

on both occasions suggests support (*yeah*) but then chooses to turn her attention to her child and does not take up Liz's opinion any further. It is as if, although Liz has assertive power and can make evaluative comments, they are not taken up by the core member she speaks to.

Amplification, or in the words of Poynton an 'expressive resource for speaking louder' (1996:213), is frequently employed in this first exchange. Amplification is the appraising resource for grading and offers a network concerned with lexical items that intensify speakers' attitudes. One of the major categories of Amplification, namely mitigation has already been looked at. The remaining two are enrichment and augmenting. Enrichment involves a speaker selecting attitudinal lexis that grades and intensifies meaning by 'adding an attitudinal colouring to a meaning' (Eggins and Slade, 1997:134). Rothery and Stenglin give the example that instead of saying *ran quickly* a speaker may choose the lexical item *sprinted* or *bolted*, both of which have a 'stronger interpersonal connotation' (2000:240). A speaker may also employ comparison, such as *he ran like the wind* to enrich his or her attitudes. Augmenting is the grading resource that permits speakers to intensify their evaluations by repetition (*she talked and talked all day*), grading lexis such as *really*, *very* etc. (*she is really clever*) or lexis that quantify the degree of amplification (*there were a lot off heaps of kids*). Swear words are frequently chosen to augment attitudes.

It is, once again, the core members who predominantly utilise this amplifying option in exchange 1. They both augment and mitigate their propositions, and it is they who are freer as to *who* they direct their Appraisal choices. Holly's high use of augmenting is evidence of her authority in that she can be assertive in her evaluative comments. Kate's

group involvement is also suggested in her Appraisal selection. Like Holly, she can appraise all children not just her own and her selection includes the only judgement item in her social sanctioning of her son as *very silly*.

One final comment on the Appraisal analysis concerns Holly's repetition of the mitigating lexical item *actually* in turns 138 and 140. These function to allow Holly to minimize and create distance in the final stage of the discourse where Liz is attempting to create a special relationship between Holly and herself and their children.

This analysis shows how the social network members have used the Appraisal system to establish and maintain relationships between themselves. This analysis then can be seen to add to the evidence that outlines how the members are interpersonally positioned, how Kate and Holly are the most dominant members of the group, how Liz is kept a secondary member and how Laura, through her lack of attitudinal expressions, remains peripheral to the network.

6.4 Semantic patterning: Text 1: Playgroup

Systemic theory sees discourse as essentially a process of exchange, an interactional event in which the commodities involved in the transaction are either goods and services or information. By taking part in this process, by engaging in conversation, the speakers position themselves and enact the reciprocal roles that are defined by the exchange. The speakers reassess the assigned complementary roles with each transaction. There is of course an element of choice in the way the hearer chooses to play the part assigned, these linguistic role choices being constrained by the social roles of the participants. These choices available to a speaker are coded in the semantic system as 'speech

functions'. Halliday sees the dynamic of conversation consisting of assigning, taking on, and carrying out a variety of interaction roles and speech functions as 'systematic restructurings which serve to build flexibility into the system, and allow speakers to introduce infinite variety into the tenor of their microsemiotic encounters' (Halliday, 1984:11).

It is a claim of this analysis that in text 1 Liz's desire to move from secondary to full member of the network is revealed in her grammatical selections. Throughout the conversation, Liz attempts to get the core members to integrate with her. She wishes to engage both Kate and Holly in conversation. We can now look to the semantics to see whether this is carried through to the meaning strata. The grammatical interpretation hopes to have shown that the social roles of the speakers constrain the interpersonal choices available to them. The choices that are available within this grammatical system are coded as speech functions at the semantic strata. Thus the mood categories of declarative, interrogative etc. are encoded in the semantics as statements, questions etc. It should be noted that more than one of the mood categories may realize any given speech function, that there is not a strict one to one correspondence between the grammar and semantics. The interactive events can then be functionally labelled from the point of view of the semantics and we can put on display how the relationships of solidarity and intimacy are continually negotiated throughout the interaction.

Speech functions are expressed in discourse units called moves rather than the clauses interpreted in the grammatical analysis. A move is a unit the end of which is indicated by a point of possible turn-transfer. See Eggins and Slade for a detailed description of the identification of moves in casual conversation (1997:186). In this next section each

of the speech function categories will be looked at to allow for a detailed interpretation of the exchange. The findings of the speech function analysis can be seen in table 6.7. A speech function network showing the speech function categories employed in this analysis can be found in figure 6.2.

Kate and Holly produce the greatest number of moves reinforcing the suggestions of dominance found in the mood analysis. They are also the interactants who get more moves into their turns (an average of 1.8 moves in a turn for Kate and 1.5 for Holly). Laura's marginal interactive status is clearly shown in her production of significantly less turns and moves than the others. She does however manage to get equal value for her turns to Liz (an average of 1.3 moves in each turn for both Liz and Laura). This is due to her involvement with the children where she is in a position of power and can obtain more interaction time. In adult-adult interaction she never gets to produce more than one move per turn. As the mood analysis revealed her interactional involvement is incidental to the network.

A Opening moves

Opening moves are either attending moves, which generally attract the attention of the chosen listener, or initiating moves, which allow a speaker to display assertion by putting forward information for discussion. Open:attend moves can be expected in adult-child conversation where there is greater need to ensure that the hearer's attention is received. All such moves in text 1 are directed at children. As far as initiating moves are concerned, it is, as may be expected, the dominant members who are able to claim interactional control through use of this strategy. Kate and Holly produce a similarly high number of initiating moves (17 for Kate and 16 for Holly). Liz and Laura in

comparison produce far fewer initiating turns (7 for Liz and 6 for Laura). Laura's initiating speech functions are primarily concerned with the children. Liz's lack of initiation highlights how her interactional contribution is reliant upon the core members. Although she can talk lots, her less intimate status prevents her from using initiating moves and giving information or opinions for discussion; she is most frequently responding to the contribution of others rather than being able to assert her own opinions and put forward her own information for negotiation. It is also interesting to look at the types of initiating moves employed. Both Kate and Holly show preference for statements of fact, perhaps suggestive of in-group knowledge. Their dominant network positions gives access to a greater range of initiating speech functions as compared to secondary or peripheral members with less integrated network ties.

B Sustaining moves

Sustaining moves negotiate the proposition introduced by the initiator. They may be produced by the initiating speaker, in which case it is a continuing speech function, or by another speaker in which case it is a reacting speech function. First we will look at continuing moves.

Continuing moves

Kate produces the most continuing moves. This overall pattern suggests that Kate gets more information in a single turn; she demonstrates her assertive power by using this strategy to give her moves more substance. A continuing speaker can monitor, prolong or append the exchange and an examination of the breakdown of continuing moves into these categories is also revealing.

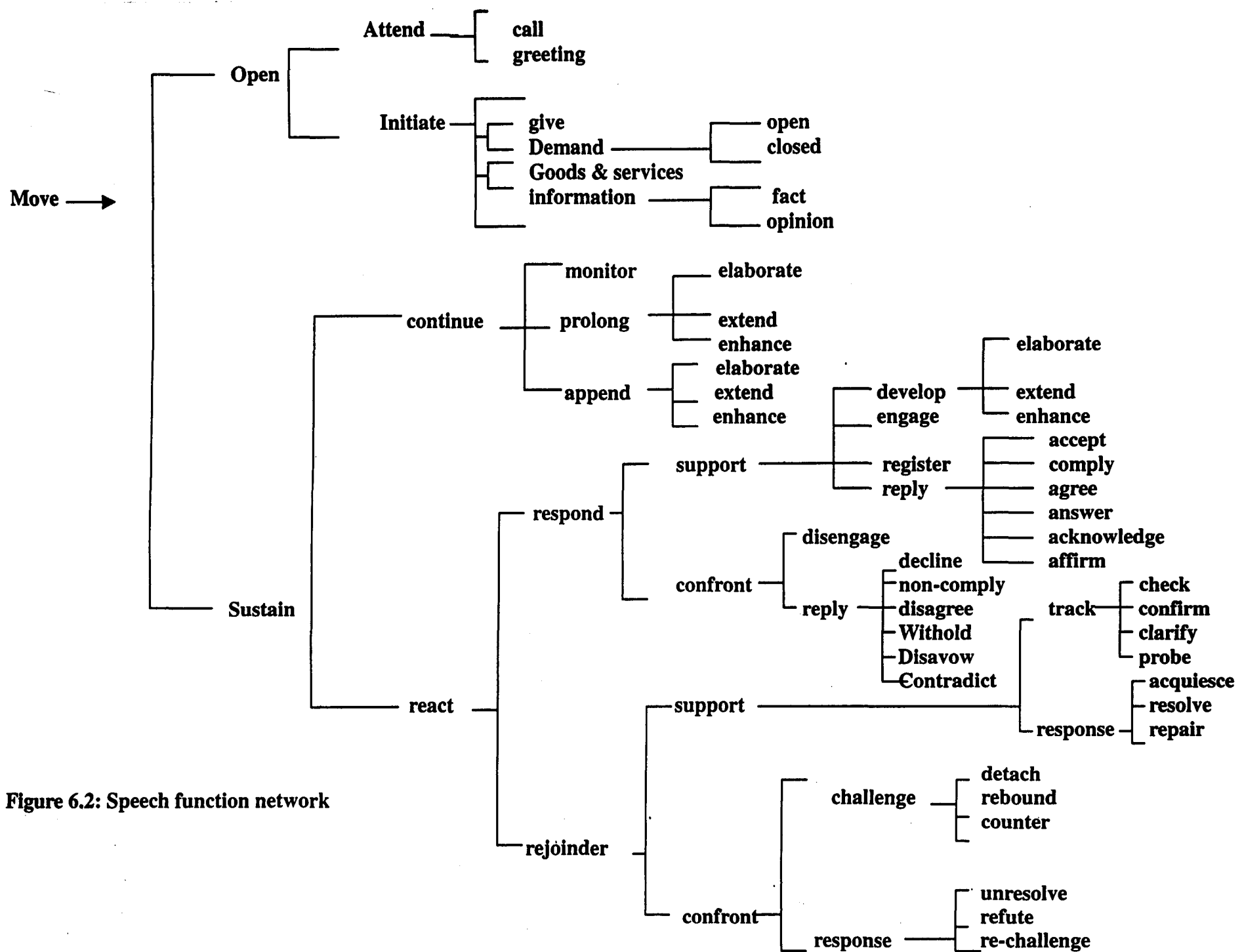


Figure 6.2: Speech function network

Table 6.7: Speech function summary for Text 1: Playgroup

Speech function	Kate	Holly	Liz	Laura
total no. of turns	36	46	43	13
total number of moves	66	68	58	17
total number of clauses	75	73	58	21
Open: attend				
attend: call	2	1	-	1
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
Open: initiate				
question: opinion	1	1	1	-
question: fact	1	2	2	1
statement: fact	5	8	2	1
statement: opinion	2	1	2	-
demand	3	2	-	2
offer	1	-	-	1
total initiating moves	14	14	7	5
total opening moves	16	15	7	6
Continue				
monitor	-	-	1	1
prolong: elaborate	11	7	5	2
prolong: extend	7	3	3	-
prolong: enhance	6	8	2	-
append: elaborate	4	3	2	-
append: extend	5	2	2	-
append: enhance	-	3	1	-
total	33	26	16	3
react: rejoinder				
tracking: clarify	1	2	1	-
tracking: confirm	-	-	1	-
tracking: check	-	3	3	1
tracking: probe	2	4	-	2
total tracking moves	3	9	5	3
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
reacting: resolve	1	-	1	-
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
challenging: detach	-	1	-	-
challenging: rebound	1	-	-	-
challenging: counter	1	2	1	-
challenging: refute	-	-	-	-
challenging: re-challenge	1	-	-	-
total challenging moves	3	3	1	-
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
total rejoinder	7	13	8	3
react: responding				
register	1	5	13	1
engage	-	2	-	-
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
develop: elaborate	-	-	2	-
develop: extend	3	-	5	4
develop: enhance	-	-	4	-
total developing moves	3	-	11	4
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
replying: s: acknowledge	1	2	1	-
replying: s: affirm	1	2	1	-
replying: s: agree	-	-	1	-
replying: s: answer	-	1	1	-
total supporting reply moves	2	5	4	-
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
confronting: contradict	1	-	-	-
confronting: disengage	2	-	-	-
confronting: withhold	1	1	-	-
total confronting moves	4	1	-	-
total react responding moves	10	14	27	5

Monitoring moves imply that the interactant is willing to give up speaker position to obtain the support of the addressee. Laura monitors her son's response and Liz uses *y'know* in turn 13 to check that her audience is engaged and her previous question will be answered. Although not used often in text 1, it is interesting to note that the core members do not take up this option. They are more confident that their questions will be responded to without the need to employ such strategies.

Prolonging moves allow speakers to keep the turn going and enable them to get more value out of their turn and thus show some assertive power over the other interactants. In text 1 it is Kate who gets more information in a single turn followed by Holly, Liz and finally Laura.

Appending moves have a similar function to prolonging moves, the difference being that with appending moves the speaker adds further information to his or her contribution after another speaker has intervened. This time it is Holly who gets to elaborate, extend or enhance her prior contributions more than the others. Laura's marginalized position is highlighted by her inability to produce any appending moves.

C Reacting speech functions

The above interpretation has looked at continuing moves whereby one speaker gets to elaborate on her own contribution. Reacting speech functions concern the choices available on turn-transfer and can be realized as either response or rejoinder moves. First, responses are moves that react to a prior speaker's proposition or proposal. They set up an expectation of exchange completion by the speaker and thus occur when the speaker accepts being positioned in a dependent position. They can however be either

supporting (e.g. accept, comply, agree, answer etc.) or confronting (e.g. decline, non-comply, disagree, withhold etc.). Rejoinders prolong rather than close the interaction.

In the analysis of text 1 the first point to note is that Liz 's contribution to the conversation produces significantly more react responding moves than the other interactants. When the distribution of the different categories of supporting and confronting responding moves is examined below it is possible to see this as evidence of her secondary status.

Responding supporting moves

Liz dominates the supporting responding moves. She produces significantly more registering moves than any other interactant (13 compared to Kate 1, Holly 5 and Laura 1). This linguistic device is extremely interpersonally co-operative and sets up an expectation that the prior speaker will come back in for another turn. Thus Liz is willing to give up her option to prolong or introduce new information for negotiation, and this can be seen to be motivated by Liz's dependent position within the group. Although she gets a lot of turns, she spends a large proportion of her floor space supporting the other interactants. Laura registers minimally and one reason for this may be her incidental status; unlike Liz she is not striving to gain acceptance within the group through continual co-operation.

Developing moves are highly supportive of the initiator. They offer material for discussion but are extending, elaborating or enhancing a proposition put forward by another speaker. Liz utilises this co-operative strategy the most frequently. It is also interesting to note that she selects this option most often in adult-adult discourse (7 out

of her 9 developing moves) and moreover, motivated by her desire for in-group core status, she chooses this speech function option when accepting and experientially developing material initiated by Holly and Kate rather than by Laura. Laura's marginalized status is reflected in the fact that all of her adult-adult discourse is taken up by responding moves. Kate, by contrast, only utilises this strategy in adult-child talk and Holly does not select this supportive speech function option at all.

Responding supporting replies are non-assertive moves that offer support, and the speaker may be seen to be taking on a deferential role. Surprisingly, it is Holly who utilises this speech function most frequently. She does so mainly in the last section of the text and this inclusion strategy is suggestive of her willingness to show solidarity to the secondary member and to acknowledge Liz's core membership request.

Responding confronting moves function to allow a speaker to show some resistance to what is being put forward for negotiation, creating a relationship of dependency between the initiator and the respondent. Kate makes greatest use of this semantic category and the two marginalized members do not employ this strategy at all.

D Rejoinders

As mentioned above, rejoinders are reactions that tend to keep communication channels open. They are either supportive, in which case they function as checking or clarifying what a previous speaker has said and delaying the exchange without indicating disagreement with it (tracking moves), or confrontational, in which case they function as rejecting or querying the prior proposition (challenging moves). Holly produces the most rejoinders and these two categories will now be looked at more closely.

Tracking moves

Holly tracks most frequently. In adult-adult discourse she and Liz select a similar amount. Holly selects mainly for tracking:probe, which can be seen as the most assertive of the challenging moves since, whilst suggesting alignment with the prior speaker, probing strategies contribute new material for negotiation rather than simply checking, confirming or clarifying what has previously been said. When she does check and clarify it is to track Liz's contribution regarding an absent third person (in turn 16) and occurs prior to interpersonal confrontation. In turns 18 and 21 Holly tracks, Liz attempts to resolve and eventually Holly challenges in turn 23. Liz's greater dependence is revealed by her choice of mainly checking strategies; she must work at keeping abreast of the topics by requesting clarification of what is being negotiated. Kate and Laura track in adult-child conversation only.

Challenging moves

Holly and Kate both enact their authority by challenging most frequently. Laura does not select this assertive option. As outlined above, Liz's rejoinders are principally tracking moves; she only challenges on one occasion. This highlights her willingness to resolve other's queries rather than to question them. It is also interesting to look at how her challenging strategy is reciprocated. Liz offers a counter-proposition in turn 11 *You shouldn't of said that, Kate* which, although supported by non-verbal laughter is not taken up. Instead Holly initiates a different proposition and the interaction is directed away and on to the children. By contrast, Holly's countering move in turn 32 *yeah she said yesterday I think um that she was coming* is taken up and supported by Liz who aligns herself with Holly and develops the proposition further.

Text I then reveals how the differing interactive patterns of the members at the semantic strata systematically displays the enactment of subjective identities by the speakers.

When this body of evidence is added to the interpretations of the mood and Appraisal analysis it can be seen that a clear picture of dominance and independence emerges, a picture of levels of intimacy and solidarity and of how interactants position themselves as they negotiate their interpersonal relationships in their casual conversation. The patterns that are continually displayed highlight that Kate and Holly are positioned as the most powerful of the interactants with a greater range of linguistic strategies available to them. Liz emerges as a full participator in the interaction but her linguistic options suggest secondary membership within the group. Laura is marginalized and the grammatical, Appraisal and semantic selections available to her evidence this.

6.5 Revisiting the network: A second analysis

Fifteen months later the women were taped again. A new social network analysis reveals that there has been a change in the relationship between the four women. This second examination reveals that Liz now has far greater network ties and a higher Network Strength Score (see section 5.4.1). Briefly this is evidenced through her move to voluntarily socialising outside of the preschool with the other core members for both herself and her children. She now takes an active role in school affairs and like the other core members is on the preschool parent committee. Further, she attends coffee mornings and her and her spouse attend island functions. Laura, on the other hand, remains marginalized. Her network ties have strengthened slightly; her son now attends preschool three days a week compared to the weekly playgroup so interaction is more frequent. However, she still does not socialise with the other women outside of the school pick up chats and is not a member of the preschool parent committee etc.

This section offers an analysis of a second taped excerpt. Firstly, the transcribed text is presented. Then, as above, the text's grammatical features are examined. This is followed by an Appraisal investigation and finally, the semantic strata are analysed and interpreted with reference to the changed social network positionings.

Text 2: The Park

Transcription Key:

()	untranscribable talk
(words in parenthesis)	transcriber's guess
NV	non-verbal clause
[word in square brackets]	non-verbal information
= =	overlap
...	short hesitation (less than three seconds)
dash - then talk	false start / restart
CAPITALS	emphatic stress

The same adult participants take part in text 2 as in text 1. The children play a less central role, they are playing at some distance away in the park. A child who Laura is collecting from school (L) is also involved in the discussion.

turn speaker	transcription
1. Holly:	(i) But its more that I want them ... (ii) I want P (to see the school)
2. Liz	(i) Oh I see
3. Holly:	(i) I can always, (ii) like, if N is into it, I can, (iii) I mean, I can keep an eye on them outside the hall.
4. Kate:	(i) Oh righty = = oh right = =
5. Holly:	(i) = = Make sure (ii) they don't do anything. (iii) It's not a worry = =
6. Laura:	(i) Yeah a lot of parents do that actually...(ii) one parent'd go out (iii) and they'd = = look...
7. Kate:	(i) = = Oh L
8. Laura:	(i) Oh L, be very careful. (ii) If you tread on that it could get broken. (iii) L can you put your jumper on please? (iii) Go and get your jumper out (iv) and put it on =
9. Liz:	(i) = = How many times = = kids need (to go) [laughing]
10. Holly:	(ii) = = Well I'm going to take P anyway, so
NV1 Liz:	Laugh]
11. Kate:	(ii) Well, I don't even know where it is....(ii) I've never been to Maidston.
12. Liz:	(i)Well Maidston's over there [laughter] (ii) What you don't know where the school is?
13. Kate:	(i) No.
14. Liz:	(i) Have you never been?
15. Kate:	(i) No.
16. Liz:	(i) Oh well you're DEFINITELY coming on Thursday then [laughing]
17. Kate:	(i) I think I should go.
18. Holly:	(i) Um if Pete stays home I'll have the car (ii) but if he doesn't I'm going to want a lift with somebody.
19. Kate:	(i) Yeah
20. Liz:	(i) Yeah well I'm = = just trying to work out cars = =

21. Holly: (i) = = I will show you where it is = =
 22. Liz: (i) cos we've lent our car to friends
 23. Holly: (i) Right
 24. Liz: (i) But I've got my sisters car, I think. (ii) No my mum might have it. (ii) Oh I might have to = = [laughing] borrow a lift.
 25. Kate: (i) = = Well how many of us are there? (ii) How many kids?
 26. Holly: (i) = = Yeah
 27. Liz: (i) Um
 28. Holly: (i) Yeah but I don't know if I've got a = = car.
 29. Liz: (i) = = No I wouldn't take a car (ii) no I mean I won't take = = my child.
 30. Holly: (i) = = Y'see I don't know if I've got a car either.
 31. Kate: (i) Oh
 32. Liz: (i) Oh God no, she's = = too exhausting [laughing]
 33. Kate: (i) = = Well who'll be with T on Thursday?
 34. Liz: (i) = = Mike.
 35. Kate: (i) Oh Mike oh right oh
 36. Liz: (i) If you want maybe Mike'll look after N as well. (ii) If he will be happy about that.
 37. Kate: (i) yes probably.
 38. Holly: (i) You don't want N to see it though.
 39. Kate: (i) = = Oh probably
 40. Liz: (i) = = Seeing as he's never been to the school [laughing]
 41. Kate: (i) = = Oh yeah well so how many've we got? (ii) We've got 3 (...) adults (i) and ... (5)
 42. Liz: (i) 2 kids [laughing]
 43. Kate: (i) Yeah so that'll fit in the car.
 44. Liz: (i) = = But I'll have to work out what to do with my mum. (ii) It's very complicated.
 45. P: (i) = = () but then Danny got on (ii) and he...he did one very fast one (iii) and I tripped and fell off.
 46. Holly: (i) Oh that's naughty. (ii) You tell him he must be gentle with the little ones.
 47. Liz: (i) = = Well our friends have just moved on to the island. (ii) They - they drove down on last Friday. (iii) They had a collision with a roo. (iv) And the whole of the front of their car was bashed and
 48. Holly: (i) = = Oh dear
 49. Kate: (i) And they've just moved onto the island?
 50. Liz: (i) Well that's enough of an adjustment
 51. Holly: (i) = = Oh dear
 52. Laura: (i) = = Oh dear
 53. Kate: (i) So where've they moved into?
 54. Liz: (i) Into the little house just round here. (ii) As you walk to on Dickson Walk...it's a little grey A-frame place
 55. Holly: (i) Oh yes
 56. Kate: (i) On the right or left?
 57. Liz: (i) On the right.
 58. Holly: (i) Yeah
 59. Liz: (i) Um, um and - and so the car was bashed in (ii) so we lent them our car [laughing] because you know what its like when you move onto the island.
 60. Kate: (i) Yeah
 61. Holly: (i) Yeah
 62. Laura: (i) Yeah
 63. Liz: (i) There's a lot of adjustment without everything else. (ii) And they haven't got a car and so yeah
 64. Holly: (i) Yeah
 65. Kate: (i) Yeah
 66. Liz: (i) [laughter] Poor people
 Pause
 67. Holly: (i) Um but there is Bobby as well...(ii) I'm trying to think who else said they're going to go... (iii) I've got a feeling (iv) it was Sue...someone fairly newish ... (v) or it was maybe Sarah with Jake.
 68. Laura: (i) Yeah Sarah is planning on going.

69. Holly: (i) Is she?
 70. Liz: (i) But she comes from Belinger or somewhere, doesn't she?
 71. Holly: (i) Oh yeah, of course she does
 72. Laura: (i) = = () she lives, yeah
 73. Liz: (i) Yeah = = I think she's very game you know... (ii) She comes across everyday ...
 (iii) every week she comes.
 74. Laura: (i) yeah
 75. Liz: (i) You say, when are you moving on? ... (ii) Oh next month' [laughing]
 76. Laura: (i) Yes, yeah I heard that, yeah [laughing]
 77. Liz: (i) You think, oh wow
 78. Holly: (i) = = You see I just don't know if Pete ()...(ii) I mean if the worse comes to the
 worse there's the bus to Maidston. = = if ()
 79. Kate: () Well I'm (going) so I can help you...(ii) I'm going (i) I might then go tomorrow
 with Carl's Mum (iii) then I'll tell her Thursday I won't (iv) and I'll see her Friday
 so..
 80. Holly: (i) Yeah
 81. Liz: (i) Gosh
 82. Holly: (i) Yeah
 83. Liz: (i) Will it be more house hunting = = or just general..
 84. Kate: (i) Um well it'll be either house hunting or packing
 85. Holly: (i) Yeah
 86. Kate: (i) One or the other.
 87. Liz: (i) Yeah when does she have to get out?
 88. Kate: (i) Um (...) well they were going to move into the new place = =tomorrow = = so
 89. Holly: (i) Umm
 90. Kate: (i) so = = two weeks
 91. Liz: (i) Have the - has her landlord given her a bit more space, more time or something?
 92. Kate: (i) yeah they've given her a couple more = = weeks ...(ii) but she doesn't really
 wanna stay there too long cos the rents too high
 93. Liz: Yeah
 94. Laura: Who's this Kate? Who's this?
 95. Liz: Yeah
 96. Kate: John's Mum
 97. Laura: Oh right.

An immediate difference between text 2 and text 1 is that there is far less interruption from the children. In The Park text the children are all 15 months older and their greater independence is evident from the physical fact that they now play at a distance. The only child present is Laura's youngest daughter who is now 16 months old. Otherwise, on a first reading the texts appear similar. It is immediately obvious that once again three of the four interactants are responsible for the majority of the interaction, that Holly, Kate and Liz all talk freely and Laura remains marginalized.

A closer investigation of the linguistic selections of the participants reflects some of the changes in the role relations of the women that have taken place. It will be seen that whilst Laura still remains a relative outsider, Liz's new fully integrated network status can be seen in her different linguistic selections. The first indication of this is the increased amount of talk time that Liz is permitted. She is also freer to decide on the topic of conversation and tells her own 'story' about her friends who have recently moved to the island. In the playgroup texts, her attempts at topic introduction were generally ignored. As with text 1, this analysis will begin by introducing the text and then discuss each grammatical category in turn.

6.6 Grammatical patterning: Text 2: The Park

Text 2 is somewhat different than text 1 since the children are older and no longer attend the playgroup – they are now all at the island's preschool. The venue for the recording is the same, namely outside the island's preschool building, but takes place not during a playgroup session but after a day at preschool. The children have been collected and are playing in the park before going home. The mothers are seated on the grass. It is a warm afternoon and they are enjoying tea together. Laura was the initial topic of conversation. She is seen less frequently and the conversation began with comments on her new hairstyle and how much her youngest daughter has grown. She tells the group it was recently her birthday and after congratulatory comments the women turn to discussing birthday celebration preparation for Kate's upcoming birthday and fashion. They now turn their attention to the forthcoming school orientation day. All of the women have children in the last year of preschool and are readying them for entry into the school system. The excerpt begins with a discussing of whether the children should attend the school orientation or whether the parents should go alone. Two of the women

have firm opinions. Holly and Laura believe their sons should go while, in contrast, Liz doesn't want to take her daughter. Kate is not sure and is making up her mind.

Following this there is the question of how to get to the school and car and lift arrangements become the focus of the exchange. A summary of the mood analysis can be found in table 6.8. Once again the findings are then broken down into adult-adult and adult-child interaction. The mood summary sheets for these can be found in tables 6.9. and 6.10. respectively.

A. Number of clauses

As mentioned above, in text 2: The Park it is Liz that now emerges as the participant who produces slightly more clauses than the other two core members and this offers the first evidence suggestive of her move to core member status. Laura still retains status as a marginalized member. Her least interactively involved membership is evidenced, not only by her production of significantly less clauses than the others, but she remains the interactant who engages most with the children. This is to be expected in many ways since she is the only participant to have a young child sitting with the group, but in fact it is to another child, one that she is picking up from school, who she chooses to talk to.

B. Declaratives

As in text 1, all interactants produce a high number of declaratives although in the second text a slightly different pattern emerges. This time it is Liz who produces the greatest number of declaratives. Percentage wise in adult-adult discourse, the three major contributors to the interaction produce a similar amount of declaratives (Liz – 65.9%, Holly – 65% and Kate 63.2%). This altered orientation by Liz shows a

Table 6.8: Mood summary sheet for Text 2: The Park

Mood	Kate	Holly	Liz	Laura
clause type				
total no. of clauses	38	42	47	19
no. of clauses (complete) (a)	38 (100%)	40 (95.2%)	47 (100%)	13 (68.4%)
no. of clauses (complete) (c)	-	2 (4.77%)	-	6 (31.6%)
total declarative	24 (63.1%)	27 (64.2%)	31 (65.9%)	8 (42.1%)
declarative (a)	24 (63.1%)	26 (61.9%)	31 (64.5%)	6 (31.5%)
declarative (c)	-	1 (2.3%)	-	2 (10.5%)
tagged declarative (a)	-	-	1 (2.1%)	-
wh-interrogative (a)	5 (13.2%)	-	2 (4.2%)	2 (10.5%)
total polar interrogative	-	1 (7.1%)	2 (4.2%)	1 (5.3%)
polar interrogative (a)	-	1 (7.1%)	2 (4.2%)	-
polar interrogative (c)	-	-	-	1 (5.3%)
imperative (a)	-	-	-	-
imperative (c)	-	1 (2.3%)	-	3 (15.8%)
total imperative	-	1 (2.3%)	-	3 (15.8%)
minor (a)	9 (23.7%)	11 (26.2%)	10 (21.2%)	5 (26.3%)
exclamation	-	-	-	-
I as subject choice	12 (30.7%)	15 (35.7%)	7 (12.5%)	1 (5.3%)
we as subject choice	2 (5.1%)	2 (4.77%)	3 (6.2%)	-
most frequent subject choice	I – 12	I-15 Pete he	I-7 you Mark he	you – 5
Adjuncts				
interpersonal	10	5	7	2
circumstantial	16	2	12	1
textual	15	15	19	6
incomplete clauses	-	1 (2.6%)	2 (4.2%)	-
elliptical clauses	7 (18.4%)	1 (2.3%)	3 (6.2%)	-
non-verbal clauses	-	-	1 (2.1%)	-

Key

(a) – talk addressed to an adult

(b) – talk addressed to a child

percentages are % of total interaction

Table 6.9: Mood summary sheet for adult-adult interaction in Text 2: The Park showing clause type selected as % of total number of clauses in adult-adult interaction.

Mood	Kate	Holly	Liz	Laura
clause type				
no. of complete clauses directed to an adult	38	40	47	13
declarative	24 (63.2%)	26 (65%)	31 (65.9%)	6 (46.2%)
tagged declarative	-	-	1 (2.1%)	-
wh-interrogative	5 (13.1%)	-	3 (6.4%)	2 (15.4%)
polar interrogative	-	3 (7.5%)	2 (4.3%)	
imperative	-	-	-	-
minor	9 (23.6%)	11 (27.5%)	10 (21.2%)	5 (38.5%)

Table 6.10: Mood summary sheet for adult-child interaction in Text 2: The Park showing clause types selected as a % of the total number of clauses in adult-child interaction.

Mood	Kate	Holly	Liz	Laura
clause type				
no. of complete clauses directed to a child		2		6
declarative		1 (50%)		2 (33.3%)
tagged declarative	-	-	-	-
wh-interrogative	-	-	-	-
polar interrogative	-			1 (16.6%)
total polar interrogative	-	-	-	-
imperative (c)	-	1 (50%)	-	

significant achievement. And whilst not suggesting that Liz has become the most dominant member, she can certainly no longer be classified as merely a secondary member. Laura still emerges as the least interactive member. She does however select declaratives more than any other grammatical resource, choosing declaratives in 50% of her adult-adult interaction which is a slight increase from text 1. This suggests that she too contributes more to the exchange, though still far less than the others (she produces a

total of only 8 declarative, 2 of which are addressed to children).

C. Polar interrogatives

The first noticeable change in the use of amount of polar interrogatives used in text 2 compared with text 1 is that all the interactants in this second text use fewer polar interrogatives. This can be attributed to the fact that the children play a less significant role in The Park text. Further, between the core members, the interaction is more equitable and so Liz no longer uses the polar interrogative to keep the core members engaged in conversation. She is freer to assert her own propositions for negotiation and utilise other linguistic resources. One point worthy of note is that, whereas in text 1 Liz responded positively to polar interrogatives, in text 2 Liz chooses not to supply the expected answer to Holly's question, but rather contradicts her request for information (*But she comes from B. or somewhere, doesn't she?* in turn 70). Whilst the tagged invitation for confirmation here softens the challenge somewhat her response remains suggestive of Liz's empowered status as the Subject/Finite component is thrown back to carry the argument forward and allow for further interaction. The speech function analysis below outlines the negotiating status of such challenging moves in casual conversation. As in text 1, Laura only uses polar interrogatives in adult-child dialogue.

D. Tagged declaratives

All interactants select this resource less frequently than in the Playgroup text. There is only one tagged declarative in text 2 and it is chosen by Liz and was discussed briefly above. One interestingly contrasting observation is that in text 2, Liz's tag is immediately taken up and responded to by the chosen next speaker, Holly (*oh yeah of course she does* in turn 71). Thus, unlike in text 1, Liz now finds support from other core

members.

E. Wh-interrogative

A similar pattern emerges with wh-interrogatives in that, while percentage wise Liz uses this linguistic resource less in text 2, when she does use it she finds more support from the core members of the group. In text 1 she put pressure on recipients by pre-selecting speakers and frequently received no response. In text 2 however, her questions are more likely to be immediately taken up. For example, in turn 87 her query *when does she have to get out?* is immediately replied to by the intended next speaker, Kate. Holly similarly answers in turn 10. The prolonging effect on the exchange that this confronting reply leads to is expanded on in the speech function analysis below.

Kate and Laura both increase their use of wh-interrogatives. For Kate this could be motivated by the nature of the transaction. Recall that the women are trying to arrange transport and it is Kate who initiates the topic and has a certain degree of control over the situation since she is the participant with definite access to a car for the school orientation day. Her wh-interrogatives function to probe for missing clausal elements, to elicit additional information to allow for continuation of the arrangement. As for Laura, her wh-interrogatives may be seen to function slightly differently. Her repeated use of this eliciting strategy (*Who's this Kate? Who's this?* in turn 93) firstly shows that she is permitted initiator status on this one occasion in adult-adult discourse. At the same time, however, it reinforces her peripheral status in that she still remains outside and does not know *who* the core members are talking about. It also is evidence of a greater desire to increase interpersonal involvement than was shown in the earlier text.

F. Imperatives

Laura is the only member to use imperatives in text 2. This is due to the fact that she is the only adult who interacts with the children in any significant way. All of her imperatives are addressed to a child. Whereas in text 1 all but Liz select this powerful resource in adult-child interaction, in text 2 the children are at a greater distance and less involved. In contrast to text 1, there are no imperatives in adult-adult conversation in The Park text. This is suggestive of the fact that Holly is no longer free to encode advice to Liz by selection of this grammatical resource.

G. Minor clauses

A very different pattern emerges concerning minor clauses in text 2 as compared with the Playgroup text. Laura now produces the most minor clauses (in 38.5% of her adult-adult interaction) suggestive of her marginalized status of supporter rather than initiator. This is also an area that may provide evidence of Laura's increased involvement in the group since in text 1 she was marginalized to the point where the impression was given that she either didn't want, or couldn't, increase her contribution. Now, her supporting role shows at least some form of commitment to the group. All the other three core participants select this resource in a similar percentage of their talk. Holly selects slightly more frequently than the others, followed by Kate and finally Liz (27.5%, 23.6% and 21.2% respectively). All minor clauses occur in adult-adult interaction and the pattern to emerge in text 2 is that which is to be expected when we are considering Liz as a full core member of the group. Motivated by her new involved status Liz no longer needs to spend so much energy supporting the core members. Moreover, her minor clauses are no longer only supporting lexical or non-lexical items. Now she produces a wider range of minor clauses, including exclaiming (*Oh God no* and *Oh wow* in turns

32 and 77) and the minor clause *Poor people* (in turn 66) which has an obvious evaluative function.

H. Non-verbal interaction

The lack of non-verbal interaction in text 2 is interesting. In text 1 Liz's laughter was seen to be a supportive contribution, choosing non-verbal clauses in 18.8% of her adult-adult interaction. In text 2 her contribution still contains laughter but supportive non-verbal clauses are selected in significantly less number of turns (2.1%). This decreased need to actively support reinforces the minor clause interpretation above.

I. Elliptical clauses

Ellipsis is rarely used in text 1. Its increased use in text 2 by the three core members may be seen as evidence of greater involvement and alignment within the group. The closer relationship allows for more information to be 'understood' and abbreviated.

J. Most frequent Subject choice

The three core participants nominate themselves as most frequent Subject choice in text 2. In text 1 it will be remembered that Liz produced the most clauses with *I* as Subject. With the pattern that has so far been emerging, Liz may be expected to choose herself as clausal Subject more frequently, yet in this second text she selects *I* less than the other core members. One reason for this is her concentrated 'story' about her friends where *they* becomes the favoured Subject choice.

There has also been a reversal of the pattern of most frequent Subject choice. In text 1 *you* was the most frequent Subject choice for 3 out of four of the participants. Now it is

I. One suggestion for this change is that as the group becomes more strongly tied, more integrated, there is greater chance for negotiation, greater need for the members to contest and negotiate their status within the group. In text 1 the core members were firm and established and Liz was the member who had to do the hard work of positioning herself as member and strengthening her network ties. Now with more equal ties, the network becomes a new site where the three core members must continually negotiate and renegotiate their positions to an even greater degree. Laura nominates herself as subject on one occasion compared to none in text 1.

What is perhaps more revealing in the second text is the familiarity that comes through in the language by the introduction of spouses in Subject position. It could be argued that 15 months ago the familiarity of spouses only existed between Holly and Kate and to talk about partners would have excluded Liz (and Laura) somewhat. Now they are free to include spouse names. The network's increased intimacy is further revealed by the fact that it is Liz's partner who is being offered to look after Kate's child if he does not attend the school orientation day. Laura is the only participant who does not take this spouse naming option.

K. Vocative

Vocatives played a significant role in the interpretation of text I but Laura is the only participant to utilise this naming resource in adult-adult interaction in text 2. She pre-selects Kate as next speaker *Who's this, Kate?* (in turn 94) which may be seen as suggestive of her increased desire for involvement in the transaction. In text 1 Liz's frequently employed vocatives to pre-selected next speaker were left unreciprocated. Now, 15 months later as network ties have strengthened, this special relationship-

creating device is no longer a necessary tool.

L. Adjuncts

The pattern emerging in text two is similar to that in text 1; the three main network members utilise a similar number of Adjuncts which is significantly more than the marginalized member. The only slight difference in text 2 is that there is a more equitable distribution of Adjunct usage between the core members. In text 1 in the Adjunct category textual Holly produced more holding and continuity Adjuncts. In the interpersonal category Kate produced a greater number of polarity Adjuncts and Liz's proportion of probability Adjuncts was the highest. In text 2 however, none of the three core members produce any strikingly different number of Adjuncts in these two categories. Kate and Liz tend to use more ideationally functioning circumstantial Adjuncts in text 2 than the other interactants. One reason for this is their increased number of propositions concerning the time and place of their contributions including Liz's story of the broken down car and friends moving on to the island and Kate's contribution about her mother-in-law's house moving.

M. Modality

Following the pattern that has been emerging, the distribution of expressions of modality is more equitable in text 2 with all three core members modalizing on a similar number of occasions, and all selecting mainly for probability and usuallity modalization strategies. Laura, due to her overall lack of contribution to the discourse, produces far fewer and again, unlike the others, modalizes in her adult-child interaction. A breakdown of the categories of modality is given in table 6.11.

Table 6.11 Modality summary sheet for Text 2: The Park

Modality	Kate	Holly	Liz	Laura
Modalization probability				
High	3		1	
Median	3	3	1	
Low	2		2	
Modalization usuality				
High				
Median				
low	1	1	3	
Modulation obligation: advice				
High		1		
Median		1		
Low				
Modulation obligation: permission				
High				
Median				
Low				
Modulation obligation: directive				
High			2	
Median			1	
low				
Modulation capability				
High				
Median				1-c
low	1	3		1-c
Total no. of modalities	10	9	10	2

Key
c – spoken to a child

N. Topic choice

In text 1 Liz was seen to have to do a lot of hard work to get her topic choice accepted.

In this second text an immediate difference is that she is now able to select and introduce the topic with far greater ease. By contrast, Laura is still unable to introduce any topics herself and remains somewhat excluded from the interaction due to the topic selection.

While she has knowledge of the school orientation day and wishes to attend with her son, she is not permitted to contribute any significant amount to the conversation due to her lack of group involvement. She is expected to make her own lift arrangement and since a large part of the conversation concerns lift arrangements, she is in effect

excluded from much of the interaction. As mentioned above, this exclusion is further evidenced by her wh-questioning to fill in her knowledge gaps.

This first step in interpretation of the grammatical options made by the four women reveals that change has indeed occurred. These linguistic changes give us insight into the changes in role relationships that have occurred. Further evidence will be seen from the Appraisal findings outlined next.

6.7 Appraisal analysis: Text 2: The park

An analysis carried out on text 2 reveals that the pattern has changed somewhat in the passing fifteen months. The findings, which can be seen summarized in table 6.12, reveal that Liz now emerges as dominant in her use of Appraisal resources and the only interactant to draw on all categories of Appraisal. Laura now makes least use of Appraisal resources and her shift can be explained by the lack of child involvement in the conversation. Remember that in the playgroup text all of her Appraisal choices were directed at children. Similarly in text 2 she only selects two evaluative items when addressing an adult. Her one augmenting choice (*a lot of* in turn 6) is mitigated by the additional *actually*. In text 1 Laura's network position was reflected in her lack of use of Appraisal resources in adult-adult conversation and the same remains true 15 months later. She still makes very little evaluative contribution.

Liz's increased use of strategies to amplify her contribution is further evidence of her stronger positioning within the group. She is now, in text 2, more able to intensify her attitudinal meaning which suggests an increase in ability to assert herself and her opinions. It should also be noted however that Liz, like all the participants, also draws

upon down-playing resources of mitigation and there is an increase in all participants use of this resource. But it is only Liz who has substantially increased her overall use of grading resources.

Judging is the other category where change has occurred. Holly and Liz both make use of the resources of Judgement, but their selections are somewhat different. Holly's Judgements are both socially sanctioning items directed at her son and include lexical items you would only expect to find addressed to children (e.g. *that's naughty* in turn 46). Liz on the hand judges the social esteem of the subjects of her car story as *poor*

Table 6.12: Appraisal summary sheet for Text 2: The Park

	Kate	Holly	Liz	Laura
total Appraisal items	11 (A-11)	15 (C-3, A-12)	25 (C-1, A-24)	3 (C-1, A-2)
total clauses as % of total clauses	39 (28.2%)	39 (38.4%)	46 (54.3%)	22 (13.6%)
Appreciation				
reaction	1 (A-1)	4 (C-1, A-3)	4 (A-4)	-
composition	-	-	1 (C-1)	-
valuation	1 (A-1)	-	-	-
total	2 (A-2)	4(C-1, A-3)	5 (C-1, A-4)	-
Affect				
un/happiness	-		1 (A-1)	-
in/security	-		-	-
dis/satisfaction	-		-	-
total	-		1 (A-1)	-
Judgement				
social sanction	-	2 (C-2)	-	-
social esteem	-	-	2 (A-2)	-
total	-	2 (C-2)	2 (A-2)	-
Amplification				
enrich	-	-	-	-
augment	4 (A-4)	4 (A-4)	9 (A-9)	2 (C-1, A-1)
mitigate	4 (A-4)	5 (A-5)	8 (A-8)	1 (A-1)
total	8 (A-8)	9 (A-9)	17 (A-17)	3 (C-1, A-2)

Key

- (A-) number of Appraisal items addressed to adults
(B-) number of Appraisal items addressed to children

people in turn 66 and when she judges the strength of the absent third party in turn 73 (*she's very game*). Here it is somewhat ambiguous as to whether the judgment is positive or negative. What is important to note is that in text 2 Liz is permitted to make evaluative judgements about people's behaviour that she couldn't do in text 1.

Whilst it is difficult to make strong claims on account of only two extracts, this analysis suggests that the overall evaluative picture emerging is evidence that supports the change in social network positioning of the interactants.

6.8 Semantic patterning: Text 2: The Park

Text 1 showed how the differing interactive patterns of the members at the semantic strata systematically displays the enactment of subjective identities by the speakers. Now text 2 is examined to see how the change in network status is reflected in the semantic choices made by the four women fifteen months later. The analysis of text 2 hopes to reveal the extent to which the range of semantic options is a function of the structure of the network's reality. The speech function findings are summarised in table 6.13.

In text 2 an immediately apparent difference is that Kate and Holly no longer appear speech functionally dominant. There has also been a shift towards a more equitable distribution of moves per turn. Kate now gets an average of 1.3 moves per turn, Holly 1.2, Liz 1.2 and Laura 1.3. For Liz this new orientation can be seen as the linguistic realization of her shift in status. For Laura, however, there is only one occasion in adult-adult discourse when she is permitted increased functional floor space, that is to say in only one turn does she manage to get more than one move into the turn. This is a slight

increase from text 1 where she was only permitted to get increased interactional airspace when talking to the children.

A Opening moves

There is a far more equitable distribution of opening moves between the three dominant members than was seen in the Playgroup text. The children are now incidental to the talk and this is reflected in the lack of open:attend moves. In this second text Kate, Holly and Liz produce a similar number of opening moves (4,4, and 3 respectively).

Thus whilst Liz's increased intimacy with the group allows initiation, Laura remains on the outside; her dependent status is highlighted by the fact that she does not get to initiate at all.

B Continuing moves

In text 2 a very different pattern emerges when we look at **prolonging** and **appending moves**. Now it is Liz who now produces the most continuing moves. This pattern reversal is striking. It clearly indicates that Liz is now positioned assertively and able to get more expanding information into her moves, her greater network ties enabling her to flesh out her contributions. At the same time, it is also important to note that Laura's position remains the same. As in text 1 she produces only 3 continuing moves. The lack of **monitoring moves** in text 2 is also interesting. In text 1 Liz used this linguistic tool to get support from the core member, Kate. Now she does not have to hand over her turn to check that her audience is engaged.

Table 6.13: Speech function summary sheet for Text 2: The Park

Speech function	Kate	Holly	Liz	Laura
total no. of turns	27	26	33	10
total number of moves	35	31	38	
total number of clauses	38	42	48	23
Open				
question: fact	2	1	1	-
question: opinion	-	-	-	-
statement: fact	-	2	1	-
statement: opinion	1	-	1	-
demand	1	1	-	-
total opening moves	4	4	3	-
Continue				
prolong: elaborate	2	4	1	1
prolong: extend	2	2	2	2
prolong: enhance	3	1	2	-
append: elaborate	1	2	1	-
append: extend	-	1	2	-
append: enhance	2	-	6	-
total	10	10	14	3
react: responding				
register	2	7	3	2
engage	1	1	-	-
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
develop: elaborate	1	-	-	1
develop: extend	1	1	2	1
develop: enhance	1	-	-	-
total developing moves	3	1	2	2
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
replying: s: acknowledge	2	5	3	3
replying: s: affirm	2	-	-	-
replying: s: agree	2	-	1	-
replying: s: answer	-	-	2	-
total supporting reply moves	6	5	6	3
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
confronting: contradict	-	2	1	-
confronting: disengage	-	-	-	-
confronting: withhold	-	-	-	-
total confronting moves	-	-	-	-
total react responding moves	11	16	13	7
react: rejoinder				
tracking: clarify	1	-	1	2
tracking: confirm	1	1	2	-
tracking: check	-	-	-	-
tracking: probe	-	-	2	-
total tracking moves	2	1	5	2
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
reacting: resolve	5	-	1	-
reacting: repair	-	1	-	-
reacting: acquiesce	-	-	1	-
total reacting moves	5	1	2	-
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
challenging: detach	-	-	-	-
challenging: rebound	-	-	2	-
challenging: counter	-	1	1	-
challenging: refute	-	-	-	-
challenging: re-challenge	-	-	-	-
total challenging moves	-	1	3	-
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----
total rejoinder	7	3	10	2

C **Reacting: responding moves**

The first point that we notice in text 2 is that there is a far more equitable distribution of react responding moves. Rather than producing significantly more than her fellow network members, Liz now produces 13 react responding moves compared to Kate 11 and Holly 16. Her network status no longer motivates her to register her audience's attention or to accept and support other speakers' propositions through the use of developing moves. This similarity in production for the three core members is seen throughout all categories of react: responding moves.

Laura still produces fewer reacting moves than the others showing only a slight increase from her contribution in text 1 (from 5 to 7).

The shift in the production of **developing moves** is also striking. While for Kate and Holly the picture hasn't changed much, they still produce very few developing moves, Liz has decreased her output of these highly supportive moves from 13 in text 1 to only 2 in text 2. This shift highlights her new equal alignment with Kate and Holly and demonstrates a lessening of the reliance on having to support these core members. Laura's orientation has changed slightly too. Although she only produces 2 developing moves, she now selects to elaborate and extend in adult-child discourse rather only in adult-child interaction and is perhaps indication of her own slight increase in membership status. Another interesting point to note is that Liz now uses a **confronting move** to contradict Holly (turn 29), an option that she was unable to make in text 1.

D **Rejoinding moves**

As stated above rejoinders play an important role in casual conversations as they tend to

keep communication channels open and are thus an important site for the continual negotiation and renegotiations of role relationships. The picture that emerges in text 2 is very different from that in text 1. Here in the Park text it is Liz who produces the most rejoinders, and the distribution among the categories is interesting. Liz produces slightly more tracking moves than the others do; she clarifies, confirms a similar amount as the others but is the only interactant to introduce material for negotiation through probing. In text 1 it was argued that Holly's use of probe could be seen as a fairly assertive move due to this introduction of new propositional material, and the same argument may be put forward here. Liz is now frequently selecting the strongest of these supportive tracking strategies to keep talk alive. Further, it is interesting to compare how Liz's checking and probing moves were reciprocated in text 1. On several occasions in text 1 her requests for clarification go unanswered or meet with contradiction. Fifteen months later with a stronger network position Liz's tracking moves are immediately resolved.

It is perhaps in the category of **challenging moves** which most clearly reveals Liz's elevated membership status. In this second text both Holly and Liz use this linguistic strategy which enables them to keep the conversation going and engage further with the speaker. The fact that now Liz can not only use these linguistic resources but use them most frequently is suggestive of a move in orientation within the group's network. It also supports findings that in casual conversation challenging rather than supportive moves at the semantic strata are frequently used to prolong interaction by diversion (Burton, 1981:71).

Reacting too plays a far greater role in text 2. All the main participants are able to linguistically realise their in-group status through their use of this option, they

demonstrate insider knowledge in their ability to resolve issues about the propositions put forward. Laura remains marginalised and does not take up this option; her lack of in-group knowledge does not permit her to resolve issues that arise in the exchange. It is Kate who most frequently reacts, selecting to resolve Liz's queries regarding the school orientation day, and later Liz's probes about Kate's mother-in-laws house hunting.

6.9 Conclusion

This speech function interpretation adds to the body of evidence that has emerged from the mood and Appraisal analysis which highlight the status relations among participants. These three dominant areas are very revealing and clearly show, in support of the network analysis, how in text 1 Kate and Holly dominate, and are allowed to dominate, by the linguistic choices selected by all participants. Liz, on the other hand, as secondary member, has access to a different range of linguistic options reflective of this non-core status. As a member desiring to establish stronger network ties, she uses integrating strategies that are concerned with engaging the core members in interaction. Laura is the most marginalized member of the group, and her linguistic repertoire is reflective of her lack of group membership. Through the linguistic choices then we see how the participants negotiate their social identities and interpersonal relationships.

The situation in text 2 is very different. Liz no longer emerges as the participant who must work hard to negotiate her role. Her new network position and tenor relationships motivate different linguistic choices both at the grammatical and semantic strata and Liz can now be seen as a core member, having established equitable roles with Kate and Holly. In other words, Liz's move in the social order at same time seems to present her with a different set of linguistic options. Laura remains marginalised in the second text

although there is some evidence to support greater contribution to the interaction which is reflected in her slightly stronger Network Strength Score.

The point of departure for this chapter was the statement of social network as behavioral potential and exchanges as instances of that potential. As suggested earlier, by examining the instance against the potential it is hoped that this analysis can make some grounded statements about the behaviour of the interactants in relation to their network, to reveal how interactants in a conversation are continually exploring and negotiating their social roles. As their social worlds change, as the interactants rebuild and change their social environment, so too their linguistic environment changes. The grammatical and semantic options available to each interactant reflect a new social space. Just as choices in mood serve as the realization of choices in the semantic system, the semantic choices are the realization of choices at the higher level of the social order or culture. Through the linguistic consistencies of construction chosen by the participants it is possible to start to say things about how participants adjust alignment and intimacy towards others in their constantly changing social worlds. In the microsemiotic interactions that we as speakers take part in everyday, we craft our resources of meaning and continually modify the social order. Moreover, the interdependency of language and social order means that as our social reality changes so do the linguistic options available to us. In terms of the analysis, as Liz becomes more integrated into the group, as she shifts in orientation from a dependent secondary member of the network to an independent core member, her new status can be seen in her different linguistically crafted interaction. Whilst it is difficult to claim too much from the two brief texts analysed here, it is hoped that the interpretation goes some way towards relating the linguistic system to the social order.

7 Discussion and conclusion

This thesis has been concerned with the casual conversation of a group of four female network members and the relationships between them. The question now to be asked is what is the significance of these women's talk? In other words, what has the study hoped to show? These are some of the issues taken up in this final chapter. Here, the study undertaken is reviewed and its findings summarised and discussed. This chapter offers reflections on the research and some concluding remarks that also detail how the findings may be of significance. It then goes on to discuss the limitations of the study and make suggestions of how a larger-scale project could enhance the findings. Finally, this chapter includes possible areas for other future investigation.

This research has focussed on language and the social order and the ability of the complementary notions of SFL and social network to put this relationship on display. Chapter one introduced the aims of the research and emphasised that the linguistic and social network analysis can be seen as an example of the relationship between language and the social order. It introduced casual conversation as an ideal site for reality construction and the reasons why SFL was chosen as a means of putting the linguistic and the social on display. It then introduced the concept of social network and stressed the benefits of integrating this measure of relational ties with the SFL model. Chapter two offered an overview of the SFL model with particular reference to the tools of SFL chosen to outline the interpersonal nature of casual conversation of the Pagewood Island network. Chapter three followed with a literature review of social networks paying particular attention to the benefits of adapting the social network perspective to explore grammatical and semantic patterning rather than the regional variation that has been dominant in the field of linguistics. Chapter four built on this overview and analysed the

relational ties of the four Pagewood Island network members. Having systematically established the relations between the women, the following chapter integrated the results into a linguistic enquiry, providing evidence for the claim that the findings from the linguistic examination can make grounded statements about the social. Similarly, providing evidence for the notion that the social network findings can be seen to exert influence on the linguistic output of the fellowship. The combination of the two perspectives of this study, of social networks and their linguistic correlates, offers an insight into a deeper understanding of linguistic behaviour and its relationship with the social order.

This final chapter is divided into seven sections. Section one takes a look at the findings of the social network analysis and the map that it offers to examine the relationship of the network members under investigation. Section two summarises the SFL analysis and discusses its implications in terms of the relationships outlined in the social network analysis. It pays particular emphasis to how different network members tend to select linguistic options that are reflective of their network positioning. Section three looks at one of the major concerns of this thesis, namely the interconnectedness of language and the social order with particular emphasis on how the two perspectives adopted in this study can be insightful in the examination of these reciprocal notions. In section four attention is turned to the limitations of the present study, and how, with the benefit of reflection, a future study may be improved. Section five discusses the implications of the study and outlines some key areas where this study may be seen to be relevant. Possible areas for future investigation are the focus of section six. And finally the thesis ends with section seven, which offers some concluding comments.

7.1 Social network findings: A summary

The social network analysis found in chapter five shows how the Pagewood Island Solidarity Index has been used as an analytical tool to foreground the different relational ties between the network members. It highlights who are the most central members and who are to be seen as being marginalized. This is described in terms of core, secondary and peripheral members, and in phase 1 it is Holly and Kate who are the core members. They are the members who have the most relational links, who perform the most transactions with other network members. They are the participants who regularly socialise with each other, who support each other in the domestic and child rearing spheres. Liz, a relative newcomer to the island, is a secondary member with fewer links to the other women. Her links are limited due to her overall lack of involvement in community affairs and insufficient time spent on the island to create firm friendship ties with the central members. Laura is the peripheral member of the fellowship. She is brought together with the other network members through her child's attendance at playgroup and, whilst enjoying the company of the other network members, receives the majority of her friendship and support from other fellowships in which she is involved, other social networks where she has greater integrating relational ties.

This research looks at change over time and in phase 2 the orientation has altered. While Laura remains the most marginalized member of the speech fellowship, Liz's position has shifted and she is now a core member along with Kate and Holly. Liz is no longer a newcomer, she and her spouse and children now regularly interact socially with the other central members and their families, enjoy greater involvement in the community and overall Liz has a much greater commitment to the social network. This increased status for Liz is reflected in the greater number of links or transactions that she now has with

the other network members.

The social network analysis gives us a map of the social ties of the Pagewood Island network. It allows for grounded statements to be made about the individual women's relationships to each other. The SFL analysis utilises these statements and examines the correlation of a speaker's social network position and linguistic selection. In the way that previous research has highlighted that lexical variables divide network members (for example, non-standard *what* occurred most frequently in the speech of core members of Cheshire's (1982) Reading research) the SFL analysis presented here shows that other linguistic choices, both grammatical and semantic, can also divide network participants. (For example certain features such as the selection of imperatives in adult-adult interaction occur exclusively in the speech of core members). It is to a brief summary of the SFL analysis that this section now concerns itself with.

7.2 Linguistic investigation findings: A summary

The social positionings of the participants are revealed, not only in the network findings, but also through the SFL analysis. In other word, the linguistic selections made by network members are reflective of network positionings. This was revealed through the employment of the SFL tools focusing on the interpersonal resources of mood, Appraisal and speech function.

Laura, for example, as the peripheral member, only employs, and is only permitted to employ, certain linguistic options. In both phases 1 and 2, she interacts mainly with the children rather than the adults, but in the adult-adult interaction that she does participate in she fails to utilise interpersonal devices that place her in a powerful position. She

does not select imperatives except when talking to her own child. Similarly she does not utilise interrogatives to initiate conversation. Neither is she permitted to nominate herself as Subject. Such selection goes a long way to positioning Laura on the periphery of the network. Throughout she appears marginalized and shows little desire to increase her status. Her marginal status is also reflected in her choice of evaluative lexis and her semantic selections. For example, she only evaluates her own child and selects no attitudinal lexis in adult-adult conversation. As for the semantic stratum, Laura responds to, rather than initiates, the conversation. Her lack of status is highlighted by her inability to make many continuing moves, and further shows her lack of commitment to the group by failure to select strategies such as confirming or clarifying moves and her lack of supporting replies.

Liz's role, on the other hand, is constructed very differently. The social network findings for phase 1: Playgroup position her as secondary member. This, and significantly her desire for core membership, is revealed in the linguistic analysis. Throughout phase 1 she employs linguistic strategies to incorporate herself into the group. She claims her social role (and is allowed to do so by the other participants) and reveals her desire to strengthen friendship ties by employing grammatical options such as polar interrogatives, tagged declaratives and wh-interrogatives. Her Subject choice also suggests her desire for core membership status in that she most frequently nominates a child of one of the core member as the Subject of her clauses. She shows support for the core members by her dominant usage of minor clauses and her use of naming devices to actively engage and encourage support from the core members is further evidence of her social role. In phase 1, although Liz's contribution to the exchange is significant, her choice of grammatical options clearly reveals desire for core

membership and her secondary position. This secondary status within the group is perhaps most obviously highlighted by the fact that these integrating strategies are frequently left unreciprocated.

Liz's non-core status is also revealed in the Appraisal and semantic examination. For instance, Liz employs positive Appraisal devices to evaluate the core member's children, and mitigating strategies to downplay her opinions. Further, as in the interpersonal analysis, her appraising is frequently not taken up by the core members. In the semantics too, her lack of authority is revealed by her greater contribution of responding rather than initiating moves. She is more likely to select supporting, developing and checking moves rather than initiating, confronting moves etc. and these are all highly dependent moves that highlight reliance on core members.

The central members, Holly and Kate, by contrast, not only produce more clauses in the grammatical analysis or a greater number of moves in the semantic interpretation, but the range of linguistic strategies available to them is also far greater. Throughout the exchanges their degree of control over the interaction is portrayed by their linguistic options. They can make statements, questions and give orders to all other participants and their children. They are equally able to show their authority over the interaction via their choice of evaluative expressions. And moreover, the core members utilise powerful semantic categories such as initiating, continuing, confronting, and probing moves. It can be seen that the different pressures and options of the social network allow for different selections from the total linguistic repertoire. In all, their contributions to the exchange, both in terms of quantity and quality of choice are more significant than that of the secondary and peripheral members.

Like the social network analysis, the SFL investigation carried out in this research is also concerned with change. The change apparent in the social network analysis is reflected in the linguistic analysis. In relation to the change in the social network between phase 1 and 2 the focus of enquiry is now firmly on Liz's linguistic output. In other words, it is Liz who has moved from secondary to core member and this shift in orientation is revealed, not only in the social network analysis, but also in her grammatical and semantic selections.

In phase 2 the grammatical patterning is very different from that in phase 1. Liz's increased involvement within the speech fellowship, her shift from secondary to core membership, is revealed by the significant achievement made in the grammatical and semantic selections. Between Liz, Holly and Kate there is now equality of production of many categories, including the grammatical strategies of declarative, polar interrogatives, wh-interrogatives etc. Moreover, Liz can now introduce topics of her choice and her minor clauses are now evaluative as well as supportive. The Appraisal analysis, which reveals differing degrees of use of attitudinal lexis further supports this. Liz is now permitted access to amplification and judging strategies that were previously not available to her. In the semantic interpretation, Liz's focus now is on initiating and she frequently confronts rather than selecting for a greater number of monitoring or supporting moves. In all then, Liz's shift to core status is highlighted by the increased equality in distribution of grammatical and semantic options between the three participants who can now be seen as core members. Furthermore, in this second phase of analysis, the change in Liz's linguistic selections can be seen to contrast to that of Laura. For Laura there is only a slight shift in network position and corresponding lexicogrammatical options and semantic strategies. Both linguistically and in terms of

network membership she remains marginalized.

In summary, the dominant members get to select certain linguistic options that are not available to the more marginalized member(s). And these differing interactional patterns of network members can be seen to reveal their network positions. So it can be said that the linguistic evidence afforded through the use of the tools of SFL support the network findings of the social network analysis. When the two sets of tools are brought together they provide a means to be able to give more weight to the linguistic analysis through the ability to analytically describe the social. When they are employed in analysis it is not just the linguistic behaviour of a group of women and how this is reflected in the relational links between them that is revealed. What can also be seen here is the language and social order relationship. It is in effect putting on display the reciprocal nature of language and the social. And it is to this complementarity between language and the social order that is the focus of the following section.

7.3 The reciprocal nature of language and the social order

The preceding discussion highlighted how SFL provides arguments about how semantic choices allow us to say things about the social standing of the speech fellowship members. It allows focus to be put on how the linguistic selections show a tendency to a particular set of choices or meanings. These semantic drifts or tendencies (Butt, 1983) say a lot about the behaviour of individual network members.

The SFL model offers tools to highlight the interdependency of the linguistic options and the relational ties of the network members, their relationships. The tools allow for talk in terms of the network both shaping and being shaped by the language of its members,

of language creating and being created by the social. Through the notions of the metafunctions, the context of situation, and the relationship of realization between the two, it is possible to start to talk about the reciprocal nature of language and the social order. Language is shaped by the social and at the same time shapes it. This occurs because when we examine language and the social we are not examining two different entities, but rather one phenomenon viewed from two different perspectives. It then becomes evident that language and the social network are, just like language and context, interdependent. They are mutually delimiting in that the language becomes the realization of the members' roles in the speech fellowships. It is then possible to start to talk in terms of language constituting culture. Thus SFL (and its integration with the social network perspective) can be seen as insightful in the interpretation of the linguistic system and social order. The following discussion will expound on this and highlight this reciprocal relationship in relation to the Pagewood Island study.

This study has stressed that the SFL perspective allows for interpretation of the social network as register. From this viewpoint, in phase 1: Playgroup, the linguistic output of the women, the exchange, is the text. This is what is linguistically analysed. This text is set in its context, and the relationships between the participants, the relational ties, constitute the field, tenor and mode of that text. They constitute the *situation* in which the text is embedded which is 'an instantiation of meanings from the social system' (Halliday, 1978:189). Similarly, in phase 2: The Park, the language in the exchange is the text and the situation is the immediate context that is functionally diversified into field, tenor and mode.

As the above SFL summary points out, the social network positionings of the

interactants constrain interpersonal options available to the network members. Put in terms of the texts and the participating members, the position *core member* allows certain linguistic rights and privileges. If you have core status within the group you can employ strategies not available to others. As suggested above, you are more at liberty to say what you like to whomever you choose. At the same time, these rights and privileges reinforce and construe the network position. For example, a member who uses grammatical and semantic devices of power is constantly reinforcing and construing her position as one with core status within the fellowship. She is both enacting her social role and creating it. From the stance of text and situation then, the relationship between the two can be seen as mutually interdependent, one creating and at the same time being created by the other.

Since context may be positioned along the cline of instantiation for the purpose of analysis, it can be examined either at the instance, as in the above interpretation where the text is embedded in the immediate context of situation defined in terms of field, tenor and mode, or it can be viewed further along the cline from the perspective of the situation type and register. Here, in this broader perspective, the social network can be seen in terms of register. In this case, the relationship between the women, the combination of their interactions (reflected in the social network), creates the environment for the possible linguistic output of the speech fellowship. That is to say that the linguistic output is determined by the contextual configuration of the register. Put in simpler terms, the situation type is the relationships between the four women and the register is the talk that goes on between them.

It is important to stress that the joint linguistic traits of the participants go a long way to

realizing the network, they create the social ties of the speech fellowship. Whilst the network is measured in terms of non-linguistic variables such as voluntary associations and attendance at the playgroup, the negotiation of these relationships is largely realized linguistically. In terms of the analysis presented here, the members of the Pagewood Island social network are related to each other in different ways. As in the narrower text-context of situation perspective, those speech fellowship members with the greatest number of transactional links, the core members, have authority over the exchanges. This control is highlighted in the linguistic options available to them as core members. This in turn affects their status. They are core members because they speak in certain ways. Likewise, they speak in certain ways due to their central membership status. Again it is the complementarity of situation type and register that is being put on display.

Register and situation type can be better understood when the focus is changed to a point further along the cline of instantiation, that is to say, when a still wider perspective of the semiotic sphere is taken. When the social network and the language employed by its members is viewed from the stance of the total possible meaning potential in which the text is embedded (the context of culture) it can be seen that the total possible relational ties of the women, their relational potential as it were, probabilistically skew the total possible meaning potential to constitute the total linguistic repertoire of the group. In other words, looking out to the broadest perspective it can be stated that the culture of the network constitutes the total linguistic repertoire of the network. Here, once again, the notion of the one, language, being shaped by and shaping the other, culture, becomes valid for description for the mutual delimitation of language and social order. So, one of the major concerns of this research has been to examine the reciprocal nature of language and social order and the SFL model can be seen to be providing a means for

the social network or speech fellowship to count as the culture of the group. It constitutes the total set of meaning potentials available to the group members.

In summary, an integration of the two notions of SFL and social network as in this present study can help to put the complementarity between language and the social order on display. This thesis hopes to give evidence of the SFL model's ability to highlight the language-culture relationship. The social network model adds further evidence in that it gives weight to the social, it allows for a more comprehensive, analytical description of the relationship. Brought together these two perspectives can be seen as a way of modeling our social universe, a means of offering an insightful examination of both linguistic output and social relations.

Human relations are the main concern of social networks, and language plays a crucial role in constructing the relational ties through which the social network is defined. In a theory such as SFL that treats language as a social semiotic and views it as constituting meaning making behaviour, it is possible to see that analysis of the linguistic patterns selected by network members will constitute the relationships between the network members. An SFL analysis permits language to be regarded as enacting the network member's relational ties, it allows the analyst to put on show how the social network becomes the realization of the linguistic output and how the linguistic output becomes the realization of the social network.

7.4 Limitations of this research

All studies have their limitations and on completion it is always possible to look back and see what improvements could have been made. In the case of the Pagewood Island study some of these improvements are of a theoretical nature while others are issues relating to the practicalities of carrying out such research.

On the theoretical side, the subjective element in the social network Solidarity Index may be criticised. It may be possible to devise a framework that is capable of more universal application. Or equally valid, and more practicable, it would have been beneficial to measure the network ties of other clusters on Pagewood Island and tested the validity of the index criteria chosen. Similarly, this would shed light on the validity of the weighting scale that was used in the present research. While much preparation went into devising both the network strength scale and the weighting of it, including interviews with participants and other islanders, more work is perhaps needed to test for their accuracy. This is a possible starting point for further studies of network analysis and SFL interpretation.

Other theoretical issues include whether a more detailed linguistic analysis would be beneficial. SFL theory offers three metafunctions to allow for linguistic enquiry, the experiential, the interpersonal and the textual. This thesis has been concerned with the building and negotiating of social relationships and its concern has therefore lain with the interpersonal. However, Halliday stresses how these three metafunctions are simultaneously interwoven. They are each crucial to our understanding of language as a meaning making resource. As already stated, the grammar enacts human relationships via the interpersonal. At the same time it construes experience through the experiential

metafunction. These two metafunctions are brought together via the textual which acts as a point of departure for the text. So the grammar is an expression of three different kinds of meaning and all three can say much about each exchange. The Pagewood Island study restricts itself to the interpersonal interpretation, but it may be argued that an experiential enquiry could give valuable insights into how participants are building up their picture of their world, how they make sense of their own slice of reality. Similarly, a textual examination would reveal how the discourse has been organised to allow it to make the meanings that it does. Again, this could be a starting point for further research.

Practical issues include the method of data recording adopted and leads to questions of whether or not video-recording equipment should have been used. At the outset, how to collect data had to be considered. Audio-taping was the method chosen due to its non conspicuous nature and the fact that since interactants would tend to ignore it after a brief period it may interfere less with the communicative behaviour that needed to be captured. Yet, it must be borne in mind that the non-verbal may carry significant pointers to the understanding of that behaviour. The fact that participants apparently understand many things even those that are not mentioned explicitly, leads Cicourel to say that 'the unspoken element may be as important as the spoken ones' (Cicourel, 1973:40). Indeed video taping could have illuminated a great deal, allowing for non-verbal elements to supplement the linguistic output and could be a valuable addition to future study.

7.5 Implications of this study

There are several areas in which this study may have relevance. Not only is it hoped that linguists in the SFL tradition will continue to develop the social network concept into

their description of tenor, but also that social network analysts may see the benefit of making the social network a more powerful tool by including another level of meaning, namely language, to their examination of relationships between social identities. The interconnectedness of social and linguistic roles may also prove valuable in other areas. Any new social practice has to enter into relationship with people in their existing social networks and, as this thesis hopes to have made clear, an investigation into both the language and the social relationships between those in which communication takes place is insightful. Wherever communicative behaviour takes place, social network and SFL analyses may be beneficial. This section details just three areas in which this study may have relevance. These are linguistics in general and the implication of the study on the notion of language playing a large part in the creation of our social reality. Secondly, in the area of education and finally in the teaching of casual conversation to non-English speakers. Each of these issues is briefly discussed below.

7.5.1 The construction of social reality

One of the contributions that this research hopes to have achieved is in revealing how a SFL analysis can display the role of casual conversation in the construction of social reality; to highlight the crucial notion of the centrality of language in the construction of our social universe. Language is not mirroring reality, rather speakers' reality is 'created largely by language' (Hasan, 1996b:14). This notion of language as a shaper of reality is a notion running throughout this research. It rejects the idea of one immutable ultimate reality and instead sees reality as being relative 'to time, to place and above all to people' (Hasan, 1996b:16). The introduction stressed that casual conversation was an ideal site in which speakers negotiate and re-negotiate their role relations. That when we talk with a friend we are not 'chatting about nothing', we are in fact construing our

social world. As Whorf states, when we speak we are not merely 'piling up ...lexations' (1956:83) that 'express what is essentially already formulated nonlinguistically' (1956:207). Speakers in interaction are actively utilising the system of language as a resource. Language is a system of signs that is used as a meaning potential through which we enact our social roles and construe our worlds. As Halliday sums up:

But as language becomes a metaphor of reality, so by the same process reality becomes a metaphor of language. Since reality is a social construct, it can be constructed only through an exchange of meanings. Hence meanings are seen as constitutive of reality. (1978: 191)

In the Pagewood Island study, the women are not in anyway consciously carving out power relations. When Holly tells Laura's child what to do, or when she initiates topics throughout the exchanges she is not knowingly, or openly, negotiating her social roles with her friends. But, through the constant foregrounding of patterns in the grammar and semantics, through the linguistic selections, she is creating her social landscape and positioning herself, and being allowed to do so by others, as a powerful speaker of the network. At the same time she is influencing the behaviour of the other network members. She is positioning others by her choice of grammatical and semantic structures and by her selection of evaluative lexis. Thus in the same way, Holly reveals her solidarity with the other core members and, as a core-member-speaker, is able to influence the behaviour of others. A conception of language such as SFL, with its mapping of culture, allows such behaviour to be revealed through systematic analysis. This research hopes to have added evidence to the view that a linguistic analysis utilising Hallidayan tools of SFL allows revelation of the system of signs as a meaning making device and how this system can display how 'social structures are negotiated, how attitudes and values...are reflected in and modified by casual talk' (Eggins and Slade, 1997:316).

7.5.2 Educational implications

Education is another area where the bringing together of the social network perspective and SFL may be beneficial. With its social perspective on language, SFL is particularly significant in relation to questions about language in education, since language is the 'principle resource available to teachers and students with which to achieve educational goals' (Christie, 2000:184). It is through this semiotic system that students will negotiate classroom understandings, clarify tasks, explore sources of difficulty and assess progress (Christie 2000:184).

As Halliday states, 'learning is, above all, a social process' (1982:12) and education takes place in social environments. In such environments SFL, due to its insistence on the interdependency of language and the social, is a useful resource which offers students 'the opportunity to develop critical awareness' (Christie, 2000:243). It is a means of contributing a resource for 'developing students' awareness both of the fundamentally social nature of the literate practices they are engaged in and of how they are socially positioned by these practices' (Unsworth, 2000:245). Critical investigation of the language of education thus views language as crucial in the classroom where each different subject area has been shown to have its own characteristic language and distinctive literate practices (Unsworth, 2000:245).

The importance of language in education is not, however, limited to the classroom. As

Halliday stresses:

the environment in which educational learning takes place is that of a social institution, whether we think of this in concrete terms as the classroom and the school, with their clearly defined social structures, or in the more abstract sense of the school system, or even the educational process as it is conceived of in our society. Knowledge is transmitted in social contexts, through relationships, like those of parent and child, or teacher and pupil, or classmates, that are defined in the value systems and ideology of the culture. And the words that are exchanged in these

contexts get their meaning from activities in which they are embedded, which again are social activities with social agents. (Halliday and Hasan, 1984:5)

With its emphasis then on the social and relationships, education gains much from a theory of language that sees the culture as a system of meanings concerned with the interconnectedness of language and the social system. It provides, moreover, a tool that can evaluate the language adopted in the educational system and examine its effectiveness. This educational environment can be helpful, not just for student and teacher, but also for doctor and patient, for manager and worker, in deed for all exchanges where interactional skills are crucial to effective communication.

This thesis hopes to point out the relevance of adding a social network perspective to this interpretation. For, as Halliday urges, the whole theory and practice of education depends on investigation of language and social man. In his words, much of the failure of education in recent years ‘can be traced to a lack of insight into the nature of the relationship between language and society’ (Halliday, 1989:12). And whilst SFL provides a grounded way of looking at the social, the addition of evidence from a social network perspective could be very useful.

Examples of the possible application of social network analysis and a SFL enquiry are numerous. In education, a detailed examination of the social network and linguistic output of interactants could be very revealing in an attempt to put on display issues such as the crucial role of an individual speaker’s network positioning in influencing linguistic output. It may also be possible that a social network mapping of relationships between students could be revealing as to how meanings made by the teacher are taken up or negotiated by the students. Moreover, the mapping of the social networks of the teachers in an institution may show how the teachers negotiate the meanings made by

the headmaster, the board of directors etc. Thus, this additional social evidence would be equally viable for teacher-teacher, student-student or student-teacher interaction, and could take place in all types of educational environments including teaching English as a foreign language, a specific area that is discussed below. Similarly, in the medical environment, the network positioning of patients and doctors may help to understanding breakdowns in communication and allow for better, more effective transactions to take place. In the workplace social network maps could prove insightful into how meanings are negotiated by employees and the management. It was Milroy who remarked on the universal application of the social network concept (1987:178) and, as in the present study, social network analysis of the participants could be employed in many situations and prove very revealing when used to add evidence to a linguistic analysis.

7.5.3 English as a foreign language

Casual conversation can be seen as extremely useful in the teaching of English as a second or foreign language. As Eggins and Slade point out, 'without the ability to participate in casual conversation, people from non-English speaking backgrounds are destined to remain excluded from social intimacy with English speakers' (1997: 315). They go on to stress that this is particularly relevant in today's multicultural societies where non-English speakers often are prevented from being able to fully participate in the cultural life of English-speaking communities. The addition of social network analysis and the insights it offers into the importance of the social relations that we enact and construct as we speak may further benefit non-English speakers knowledge of casual conversation. Curriculum design could be complemented by the addition, not only of identification and use of different speech functions, but also by the identification of core, secondary and peripheral members of a speech fellowship. Employment of such

concepts would allow for discussion and practice of appropriate language use in different contexts. Awareness of network positioning could facilitate a learner's acquisition by enabling him or her to learn more about why some conversational strategies may be successful in one instance but may produce awkward silence in another. In short the social network perspective offers a layer of explanation that could be invaluable to the learner in understanding *what* meanings are being made and *why*.

This thesis has concentrated its focus on casual conversation. But the integration of SFL and social network concept could offer equally valuable insights into the investigation of other conversational sites, sites where perhaps the pragmatic goals are more obvious. In addition to the educational settings outlined here, other areas where integrating a SFL and social network perspective could be beneficial include government policy-making. Similarly in the workplace, the relationships of a social network of workers and their linguistic output could reveal interesting issues regarding positioning, decision making and other workplace practice related issues.

7.6 Areas for possible further investigation

The implications of this research that are detailed above lead to many possible areas of future research. Some of these have already been mentioned and are not repeated here. But there are other issues that cannot be dealt with in the present study and which could be addressed in future research. An immediate project is to triangulate the evidence offered already with a further revisiting of the Pagewood Island social network. Equally important, a second issue that would be interesting to follow up is to repeat the study with a different social network from the same community of women. This could provide valuable evidence to reinforce how core network members stand apart linguistically

from non-core members in a speech fellowship. This could lead to other possible future work of repeating the study in other communities, both tightly knit as in the present case and, as Milroy and Milroy (1992) have suggested, more loosely knit environments. Findings from such larger scale studies would securely ground the evidence and allow for more generalised comments to be made. It would also help shed light on the most suitable criteria to be included in the Solidarity Index as mentioned above.

With today's emphasis on corpus linguistics, a larger scale study could also benefit from increasing the amount of data available by taking advantage of the information processing afforded by such corpus linguistics. Examination of change could also be revealing when different Pagewood Island social networks and other social networks in different communities such as those suggested here were taken into account.

Other issues that could be taken up in future research include the role of the children in the relationship negotiation process. This study touches on how the adult participants talk through their offspring, how the different grammatical and semantic options directed at ones own and others children can have bearing on the adult social relationships. For example the question of *who* is permitted to say *what* to *which* child? Such questions can help to throw light on which of the adults is positioned most powerfully, on how the adult are able to negotiate their social relationships through the children. The reality creation that takes place in our casual encounters is often masked by the nature of the casual conversation itself. Future research could be very revealing in its exploration of how this negotiation of social roles and relationships may also be concealed when adults talk through their children. Put another way, it may be fascinating to explore further how adult parents can manipulate their relationships via their offspring.

7.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, this thesis offers a possible contribution toward the formulation of a model that takes into account language and the social order. Its goal is to go some way to approaching a fully integrated model of how language and the social can be studied. By suggesting how the two different perspectives adopted in this study can interact with each other it is hoped that their significance will be noticed and that integrating SFL and the notion of social network will be further developed for use in future research.

The challenge in this thesis was at the outset stated as twofold. Not only is the study looking at the relationships of one particular social network, but also an overall goal was to put on display how the marrying of the two perspectives could be beneficial in highlighting the relationship between language and social order. In its entirety this research is much indebted to the work of Halliday who stresses that it is in our casual conversations that we so often negotiate and renegotiate our social roles and thereby create our social universe:

In the microsemiotic encounters of daily life, we find people making creative use of their resources of meaning, and continuously modifying these resources in the process. (1978:192)

It is through a displaying of this creative employment of the linguistic categories available to individual members of a particular network that this thesis attempts to offer a better description of the social context as an aid to linguistic enquiry. It is hoped moreover, that this research may have gone some way towards highlighting the relationship between language and the social order.

