

This is an Open Access document downloaded from ORCA, Cardiff University's institutional repository: <https://orca.cardiff.ac.uk/id/eprint/128790/>

This is the author's version of a work that was submitted to / accepted for publication.

Citation for final published version:

O'Grady, Gerard 2021. Intonation and exchange: A dynamic and metafunctional view. *Lingua* 261 , 102794. 10.1016/j.lingua.2020.102794

Publishers page: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.lingua.2020.102794>

Please note:

Changes made as a result of publishing processes such as copy-editing, formatting and page numbers may not be reflected in this version. For the definitive version of this publication, please refer to the published source. You are advised to consult the publisher's version if you wish to cite this paper.

This version is being made available in accordance with publisher policies. See <http://orca.cf.ac.uk/policies.html> for usage policies. Copyright and moral rights for publications made available in ORCA are retained by the copyright holders.



2
3 **Introduction**

4 Kretzschmar (2009) notes that the defining feature of what he labels British Neo-Firthian
5 linguistics is a focus upon text as a unit of analysis. Within Neo-Firthian approaches he
6 identifies both Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and the Birmingham School of Discourse
7 Analysis. It is my aim in this chapter to build upon the work of SFL scholars who have
8 incorporated and modified Birmingham School Exchange Structure and illustrate how the
9 further incorporation of intonation into the description of exchange structure allows us to
10 describe the dynamics of text flow across a discourse. In this paper I restrict my focus to the
11 close examination of a single dialogue between two University undergraduate students and
12 a short extract of competitive talk between political rivals involved in a pre-election televised
13 debate. This will allow me to examine the functioning of exchange structure in two very
14 different types of speech: one conversational and the other argumentative. I anticipate that
15 the former, but perhaps not the latter, will adhere to what Burton (1978: 140) labelled the
16 polite consensus model of conversation and that hence the latter will prove more of a
17 challenge to the model. Before I examine the data however I will first briefly sketch out the
18 original Birmingham School System as well as pointing out a number of problems and
19 suggested modifications to the original system in order to illustrate how consideration of
20 intonation allows us to describe both the dynamics of textual flow and how speakers manage
21 their interactional needs on a moment by moment basis. I will argue that in cooperative
22 discourse that the definition of an exchange be expanded to include the negotiation of
23 affiliation as well as action and information.

24
25 **1 Exchange Structure.**

26 Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), based upon their investigations of naturally occurring
27 classroom discourse, proposed a model of exchange structure in order to establish a grammar
28 of discourse analogous to the clause grammar proposed by Halliday. Their grammar was
29 underpinned by two principles Rank and Tactics (or adjacency). The discourse ranks posited
30 are from highest to lowest: LESSON > TRANSACTION > EXCHANGE > MOVE > ACT with the
31 higher ranks being filled by the lower ones. In this chapter, I will focus on the EXCHANGE as
32 the highest rank to be discussed. Sinclair and Coulthard argue that ACTS, the lowest rank in
33 the hierarchy, most closely equate with clauses and MOVES with sentences.

34
35 Example 1, taken from the cooperative dialogue¹ illustrates a number of problems with the
36 above descriptions which are chiefly caused by attempting to describe the flow of spoken
37 discourse without taking due account of the phonic channel. The first is that as B's response
38 is a minor clause it is a move which is realised by a single act in a manner analogous to the
39 phone /aɪ/ which may realise a phoneme in a word such as *tide*, a syllable in a word such as
40 *idea* or the word *eye*. A solution to help distinguish between acts and moves, not itself without
41 problems as will be seen below, is to redefine acts and moves in terms of a used grammar of
42 speech (Brazil 1995) and not exclusively ground their identification solely in terms of
43 lexicogrammatical categories. Thus an act is realised as a tone group which does not in and
44 of itself constitute a turn, a move as a tone group or series of tone groups which are

¹ Examples from the cooperative dialogue have speaker labels A and B while those from the political dialogue have speaker labels GB, DC and NC. Made up or altered examples are asterisked.

45 coterminous with an independent clause. Below I will describe moves in relation to
46 increments. An exchange must contain a completed increment and may contain other
47 optional moves.

48

49 Increments are units of speech which map out movement word by word from an initial state
50 to a target state. An initial state refers to the relevant background state of knowledge prior
51 to the act of speaking assumed by the speaker to be shared between the interlocutors². Upon
52 completion of the telling increment, the speaker has achieved target state: the state assumed
53 to be shared by the speaker and hearer after the articulation of the increment. Between initial
54 and target state the speaker may pass through numerous intermediate states. Increments are
55 formally identified by having fulfilled three criteria. The first is that the speaker has satisfied
56 a grammatical criterion by producing a string of speech which satisfies grammatical
57 expectations and has the potential to represent a meaningful independent contribution to
58 the discourse. The second is that the increment contain a tone group containing a falling tone.
59 The third is that the increment, in the context in which it was uttered, represents a telling or
60 an asking, see (Brazil 1995, Author 2010, Author et al forthcoming) for further details.

61

62 Berry (2016:44) identifies an exchange as containing the negotiation of a single proposition
63 or proposal and so example 1, with Birmingham coding is a telling exchange while example 2
64 is an asking exchange.

65

66	1	A: | I <u>don't</u> like <u>\concrete</u> either |	Inform
67		B: | uh <u>\no</u> |	Respond
68		A:	(Feedback)

69

70

71 Speaker A produces an Informing move (I) realised as a single tone unit which B responds to
72 by acknowledging receipt of the information through an optional responding act (R). In this
73 particular case there is no optional feedback, or as Frances and Hunston (1992: 123) describe
74 it follow up move (F) – though one could easily imagine one such as *yeah*. Thus, in telling
75 exchanges such as 1 only the informing move is obligatory. However, in the redefined terms
76 proposed here, as neither speaker has produced a falling tone which would have indicated
77 the exchange of information there is no completed exchange³.

78

79	2	B: I is it <u>Venice</u> that's <u>\sinking</u> |⁴	I	move
80		A: | <u>\Ya</u> |	R	act = elided move
81		B:	(F)	optional unrealised move

82

83 Conversely in 2, there is a complete asking exchange as B's first contribution contains a falling
84 tone and along with A's following contribution satisfies the grammatical criterion. B's y/n
85 question realised as a tone group with a falling tone signals B's intention to inform the hearer

² In light of the discussion on knowledge in section 2 we will see that these definitions will require some adjustments.

³ I will revisit this example in Section 3 as example 16 and suggest a possible solution as to how code this example.

⁴ The significance of A's falling tone vis-à-vis the assumed information states of the interlocutors will be described below in Section 3.

86 that a confirming responding move is required. A's response completes the exchange as there
 87 is no overt F move. Though once again it is easy to imagine one such as *thanks* and indeed a
 88 further follow up such as *you're welcome*.

89
 90 Even the two basic examples presented above illustrate a number of serious shortcomings
 91 with Exchange structure as originally proposed by the Birmingham School. The first of which,
 92 alluded to above, is the lack of consideration of intonation, a point partly remedied by the
 93 incorporation of David Brazil's model of Discourse Intonation, most clearly set out in Brazil
 94 (1997) (especially see relevant chapters in Coulthard and Montgomery (1981)). However,
 95 Brazil's insistence that intonation functioned to signal a speaker's moment by moment
 96 assessment of the state of knowledge shared between speaker and hearer was not fully
 97 developed in order to make the exchange more dynamic. Nor was there any consideration of
 98 how intonation choices signal information structure and hence allow the speakers to manage
 99 the context (see Author 2016). Furthermore, Brazil's view of prosody enables what Berry
 100 (1981a: 120) criticised as non-metafunctional thinking. She indicated her astonishment at
 101 Sinclair and Coulthard's claim that they had found a metafunctional approach to the analysis
 102 of discourse to be not "a useful starting point" (1975: 12). In a series of publications, (1981a,
 103 b, c and 2016) she outlined her view of the exchange as containing three aspects: Textual,
 104 Interpersonal and Ideational. To illustrate, I have re-presented examples 1 and 2 as 3 and 4
 105 and coded for all three metafunctions.

106
 107 While the full meaning of Berry's coding will be explained when and as needed we can see
 108 that the three metafunctions are coded independently. The textual metafunction retains the
 109 original I R F coding while the interpersonal metafunction codes knowledge roles. K1 and K2
 110 refer to speakers occupying the primary and secondary knower slots respectively, "f" to
 111 follow up and "d" (example 5) to deferred. Speakers in K1 position transfer knowledge while
 112 those in K2 position receive it. On the ideational layer the "p" refers to a proposition with "b"
 113 and "c" as base and complete respectively. Mandatory elements following Berry are
 114 underlined.⁵

		Text	Int	Id
116				
117	3 A: | I <u>don't</u> like <u>Vconcrete</u> either |	<u>I</u>	<u>K1</u>	<u>pc</u>
118	B: | uh <u>Vno</u> |	R	K2f	ps
119	A:	(F)		
120				
121	4 B: I is <u>it Venice</u> that's <u>sinking</u> |	<u>I</u>	<u>K2</u>	<u>pb</u>
122	A: | <u>Ya</u> |	<u>R</u>	<u>K1</u>	<u>pc</u>
123	B:	(F)	(K2f)	(ps)

124
 125 It can be seen even from these two examples that the 3 different metafunctional aspects can
 126 be disaggregated. For instance, in (3) the obligatory K1 and pc moves correspond with the
 127 textual move I but in (4) they correspond to R. If we consider a made up example in the

⁵ O'Donnell (1990) and Martin (2000), based on data that does not fully conform to the polite consensus model, have suggested revisions to Berry's coding. Martin's revisions pertain to the interpersonal metafunctional layer while O'Donnell's focus is on both the ideational and the interpersonal layers. In the chapter I will critique both views and ultimately incorporate some of O'Donnell's suggested revisions to the ideational layer – see also discussion about dynamism below.

128 context of a quiz or school geography lesson in (5), we can see further disaggregation between
 129 the obligatory elements on the interpersonal and ideational layers. The K1 move corresponds
 130 with F and ps which codes proposition support. In this example the teacher/quizmaster tests
 131 the respondents knowledge of which city is sinking. He/she assumes the role of the primary
 132 knower but only imparts the relevant confirmatory information once the student/contestant
 133 has had an opportunity to speak.

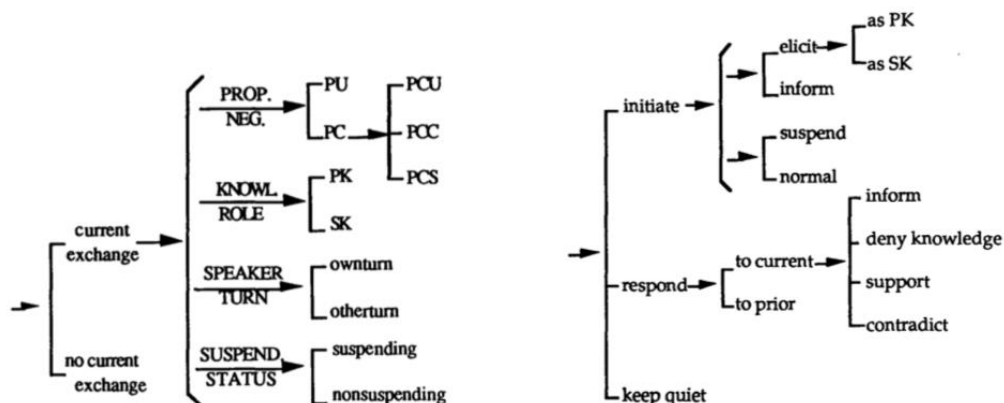
134
 135 *5 Teacher/Quizmaster: Is Venice sinking? I dK1 pb
 136 Pupil/Contestant: Yes. R K2 pc
 137 Teacher/Quizmaster: Yes, that's right. F KI ps
 138

139 2 Dynamic Exchanges

140 While Berry's coding provides an elegant and comprehensive account of exchange structure
 141 and shows how it can be incorporated within an SFL framework, a number of issues remain
 142 outstanding. The first of which is O'Donnell's (1990) point that Berry's work leads to a
 143 description of the product rather than the process.⁶ Models such as Berry's work detail the
 144 choices available in the text as it unfolds and while it is as O'Donnell (1990: 305) concedes
 145 more dynamic than a superficial reading would suggest, he (O'Donnell 1999) notes that truly
 146 dynamic models go further and model the effect an utterance has on the context by for
 147 instance increasing or decreasing the probability of future utterances. Berry (2016:36)
 148 acknowledges O'Donnell's point, but notes that for text analysts such as herself there is a
 149 trade-off between full descriptive adequacy and ease of use for the analyst.

150
 151 O'Donnell's (1990) revised model consists of two strata: one of which explicates all the
 152 possible moves while the other describes the exchange context and represents the various
 153 points of the exchange structure on the ideational, interpersonal and textual levels. The
 154 context of the exchange licenses the behaviour potential and generates the exchange move
 155 by move, while actualised moves modify the context of exchange by limiting which choices
 156 are available. In other words O'Donnell's model is able to do more than set out the options
 157 that are available at particular points in the discourse. It shows how prior utterances
 158 increase/decrease the probabilities of various options being taken up in the following
 159 discourse. Figure 1 illustrates:

160
 161



162

⁶ See Bartlett this volume for a useful classification of degrees of dynamicity.

205 to a big question |

206

207 These examples illustrate how O'Donnell's coding on the ideational layer illustrates the
208 options open to speakers in real time and also show how speaker utterances constrain or
209 prospect further choices. In (6) the speaker, who assumes the K2 role produces an
210 uncompleted proposition which is completed by his interlocutor. In (7) the speaker presents
211 herself as the primary knower and produces an unsupported complete proposition.⁹
212 Conversely in (8) A produces a PCS move. However, in both cases irrespective of whether the
213 complete proposition was supported or not, it has succeeded in modifying the context by
214 achieving target state. In example (9) GB assumes the role of secondary knower and assumes
215 the K2 role. The proposition is completed by DC but does not receive support from GB. Finally,
216 in (10) NC assumes the role of secondary knower and produces a PU move. GB as primary
217 knower, however does not directly address the question and produces a PCC move. This
218 constrains NC to himself assume the primary role and produce a further PCC move in a
219 separate exchange. It is clear that the description of exchange structure above is capable of
220 modelling text dynamically. Each option unfolds as a direct result of the previous one and
221 following moves are constrained or afforded by previous ones (Martin 1985). Truly dynamic
222 models, however, must be able to separate some aspects of the context from the here and
223 now (O'Donnell 1999: 95). I will reserve judgement as to whether the model described above
224 is truly dynamic until after a discussion of the roles of primary and secondary knower and the
225 moves associated with such. In the next section we will also see the importance of considering
226 the ideational layer in terms of serial tactic relations¹⁰ (Martin: 2000).

227

228 Muntigl (2009) is an important reinterpretation of knowledge and knowledge roles within and
229 between exchanges. He notes that the early work on exchange structure examined
230 transactional discourses such as teachers' in-class interactions with students and that this led
231 to a view of conversational interaction, criticised by Grosz and Sidner (1990: 421) as the
232 *master-slave assumption*, where the speaker is the master who transfers knowledge to the
233 hearer. Instead he rejects the view that knowledge is a resource capable of being transferred
234 and argues it is rather a resource which speakers in their interactions may claim higher, lower
235 or no access to on a moment by moment basis.¹¹ On pages 260-61 Muntigl provides the
236 following definitions:

⁹ I do not have access to a video recording, so it is possible that the other speaker produced a non-verbal PCS contribution by a head nod or another body gesture.

¹⁰ A further potentially fascinating point would be to extend Martin (2000: 38)'s view that exchange structure should be examined metafunctionally as tiers of orbital and serial (ideational), prosodic (interpersonal) and periodic (textual) structure. This leads him, also Eggins and Slade (1997), to consider the possibility that exchange boundaries depend on whether the speakers wish to close down the exchange or maintain the discussion. He suggests that in pragmatic discourses, such as those examined by the Birmingham School, mood choices signal closure while in casual conversations where interpersonal relations are at risk they use Appraisal (Martin and White 2005) to keep the exchange open. Thus, in casual conversations the interpersonal layer dominates and exchange boundaries are signalled by shifts in Appraisal systems and targets. Unfortunately, limited space does not allow for an examination of how Appraisal telos is realised prosodically in speech and how this may help speakers keep track of contextual factors beyond the here and now and how knowledge is negotiated and contested in extended stretches of spoken discourse.

¹¹ Muntigl's claims emerge from a detailed and careful reading of the conversation analytical social epistemological literature and illustrates the importance for Systemic Functional Linguists in reading work

265 A: | \Ya | R ↑K2 K1 PC

266

267 Speaker B positions herself as the secondary knower but her selection of falling tone positions
 268 her as projecting an expectancy that A will confirm the truth of her proposition that *the place*
 269 *that is sinking is Venice*. Her initiating move positions both conversational partners as being
 270 responsible for the proposition that *Venice is sinking*. Had A wished to contest B's
 271 presumption politeness would have dictated that more than a minimal response was
 272 required. In other words, the secondary knower does not require the primary knower to
 273 transfer any knowledge. Instead what seems to be at stake is that B wishes to check that she
 274 and her hearer are on the same page. Rather than tell that *it is Venice that is the location of*
 275 *the sinking* she prioritises social relations by not presuming to tell something which B is likely
 276 to know.

277

278	12			B	A
279	B:	| I <u>read</u> an <u>article</u> in the / <u>Guardian</u> |	I	↓KI	↑K2f
280		| I <u>think</u> it was erm / <u>yesterday</u> |		↓KI	↑K2f
281		| um - <u>where</u> |¹²			
282		| they were talking about <u>climate</u> change and \ <u>flooding</u> |		KI	K2f PCU

283

284 In (12) the speaker produces an initiating K1 move which realises a completed proposition
 285 which is unsupported. However, her selection of rising tone suggests that she is open to a
 286 challenge: A is projected epistemically as having access to the knowledge of where and when
 287 the article was published. On the other hand she signals that she has full access to the
 288 knowledge of the content of the article and does not prospect a challenge. Her proposition
 289 neither requires nor receives support from the secondary knower.

290

291	13			B	A
292	B:	| I <u>guess</u> cause the <u>british</u> climate is \ <u>relatively</u>	I	↓ ¹³ K1	K2f
293		| sort of \ <u>unextreme</u>|		K1	K2
294		| we kind of got <u>away</u> for however long / <u>building</u>		↓K1↑K2f	
295		| pretty / <u>bad</u> buildings |		↓K1	↑K2f PC
296	A:	| \<u>Ya</u> |	R		↓K2f PCS

297

298 In 13 B produces a completed proposition which is supported by A's K2f move. But A's
 299 selection of a non-falling tone suggests he is downplaying his role as secondary knower. Thus,
 300 his support of the completed proposition is signalled as no more than signalling that he has
 301 no reason to contradict B's proposition and is prepared to accept it. He does not claim
 302 independent knowledge of the standard of British building.

303

304	14			GB	DC
305	GB	| but the \ <u>issue</u> here is | <u>will</u> you <u>continue</u> to \ <u>fund</u> the police |	I	↑K2	↓K1 PU
306	DC	| \<u>Yes</u> of course |	R		↓K1PCC

307

¹² The level tone signals that the speaker was planning the rest of their utterance and hence I have not coded it on the interpersonal level.

¹³ The evidential guess signals lowered epistemic responsibility.

308 Consideration of prosody shows that 14 is not as straightforward as it seemed when
 309 presented as 9. GB's first contribution assigns the role of primary knower to DC but at the
 310 same time boosts his own epistemic positioning. In the immediately previous cotext he has
 311 expressly mentioned DC's refusal to expressly state that he will maintain levels of police
 312 funding and hence implied that DC is not committed to maintaining such levels of funding. In
 313 the initial move GB signals that he has rights to claim access to knowledge, including that of
 314 DC's future plans, and hence he lowers DC's rights. DC's K1 contribution realises a
 315 contradiction. His selection of a fall-rise downplays his initial epistemic positioning while
 316 realising an implied challenge to GB's prior assertion. In the following discourse he extends
 317 his argument and states his commitment to police funding.

318					
319	15			NC	GB
320	NC	| <u>Gordon</u> \Brown | what are you \going to <u>do</u> |		I	K2 K1 PU
321	GB	| It would be more \helpful |		R	K1
322		| if you would <u>support</u> <u>identity</u> \cards |			KI
323		| for \foreign nationals |			↓KI
324		| <u>instead</u> of \opposing them |			KI PCC
325	.....			
326	NC	| I'm just \asking | for a <u>simple</u> , <u>honest</u> <u>answer</u> |		I	KI PCC

328 NC projects himself as secondary knower and produces an incomplete proposition which
 329 presents GB as being required to do something. However, GB, while prepared to take up the
 330 expected role, does not complete the proposition. Instead his proposition is a challenge
 331 where he produces a sequence of K1 contributions. In one he downplays his epistemic
 332 responsibility perhaps to raise the issue that NC is opposed to all forms of identity cards. This
 333 coupled with his use of irrealis construes Clegg as being politically unhelpful and functions as
 334 a negative social identity face-attack on Clegg's political competence. By lowering Clegg's face
 335 he simultaneously boosts his own (Spencer-Oatey 2005).

337 Now that we have considered knowledge not in terms of a resource which is passed like a
 338 parcel between speakers but rather as a resource which speakers can assume and assign
 339 responsibility for it is time to re-consider example 1 reprinted as 16.

340				A	B
341	16				
342		A: | I <u>don't</u> like \concrete either |	I	↓K1	↑K2f PaU ¹⁴
343		B: | uh \no |	R	↓K1	↑K2f PaS

345 A assumes the role of primary knower but his intonation choice downplays his epistemic
 346 responsibility. He does not expand the common knowledge he shares with B by telling her
 347 that like her he is not a fan of concrete but instead suggests that they both have prior access
 348 to knowledge of the other's likes. B as secondary knower in the K2f move similarly signals that
 349 she did not have to be told of the non-liking of concrete. And by so doing she also signals that
 350 she too is primarily interested in maintaining and developing the interlocutors' social
 351 relationship. There is no transmission or negotiation of a new proposition. Instead A and B
 352 signal their affiliation by lowering their own claim to knowledge and thus boosting their

¹⁴ The addition of "a" to the coding "PU" signals that the utterance is affiliative.

353 hearer's responsibility for knowledge. Hence while there is no exchange of knowledge or
354 action there is an exchange of affiliation and we can tentatively label this exchange a
355 complete affiliative exchange. Such a move has consequences for our earlier definition of
356 increment and our stipulation that an increment results in the achievement of target state as
357 will be explained below.

358

359 Target state was defined above as the state assumed by the speaker after the completion of
360 the increment and one of the three criteria was the presence of a falling tone which signalled
361 that an act of telling has occurred. Yet as our review of Muntigl (2009) has illustrated
362 knowledge is better considered in terms of a resource which people lay claim to rather than
363 as a transferable commodity. Furthermore, our evaluation of our own access to knowledge is
364 not invariant but rather partly depends on our previous social and physical interactions (Nagel
365 2014). And while the definition of knowledge or information remains highly contestable
366 within the epistemological literature¹⁵ it clearly relates in some manner to individual beliefs
367 of what conversational partners think. Thus, I propose the following redefinitions.

368

369 *Initial State:* The degree of accessibility to knowledge and the right to make a claim to
370 that knowledge as positioned by a speaker. Initial state exists prior to the
371 commencement of the increment

372 *Target State:* The degree of accessibility to the updated knowledge and the right to
373 make a claim to that knowledge. Target state is achieved after the satisfaction of an
374 increment. In discourse each target state feeds into the following initial state.

375 *An increment:* is a stretch of speech which fulfils three criteria:

- 376 (i) The satisfaction of grammatical expectations; the grammatical chain must be
377 able to form an utterance which can stand on its own;
- 378 (ii) The grammatical chain must contain and be finished by a fully formed tone
379 group;
- 380 (iii) In the context in which it was produced it must represent an acknowledgement
381 that both speakers have claims on the updated knowledge resource.¹⁶

382

383 Using these re-defined terms we can see that example (16) above fulfils the criteria to be
384 classed as an increment. The target state reached is joint interlocutor access to the knowledge
385 that they share the same view of concrete.

386

387 It is time now to reconsider what a truly dynamic exchange system would look like.
388 O'Donnell's (1999) point is that for an exchange to be dynamic the options available to the

¹⁵ To illustrate Plato's classical definition of knowledge stated that for knowledge to exist it must be true, believed and justified but famously Gettier (1963) challenged the classical definition by providing counter examples to the argument that true justified belief always amounts to knowledge. Needless to say Gettier's counter examples have divided opinion and have been accepted by some and resisted by others. In summary it is hard to disagree with Nagel (2014: 56) who wryly writes that "Trying to get a clear definition of knowledge out of the conflicting ways we intuitively speak of it is like trying to identify the make and model of a car composed of assorted scrap parts."

¹⁶ I thank an anonymous reviewer for pointing out a problem with the issue of acknowledgement. As he or she correctly notes an acknowledgement can be realised tacitly through the lack of a challenge. And thus the realisation of an increment must be contingent on the lack of future challenge. This is, however, not so surprising when we consider that contexts are constantly being updated and negotiated.

389 speaker on a real time basis must be both prospected by previous moves and by the longer
390 term discourse history. Two resources for keeping track of a longer term discourse history are
391 increments themselves and spoken information structure. As noted above each initial state is
392 the sum of the previous target states: thus increment boundaries represent locations where
393 interlocutors are able to keep track of shared epistemic rights. Halliday and Greaves (2008),
394 amongst numerous other scholars, state that each tone group contains a tonic syllable. The
395 tonic syllable is the focus of the tone group and presents the lexical item it is contained in as
396 being not recoverable from the context.¹⁷ Hence tonic items present the nub of the
397 propositions for instance in example 14 above GB by choosing not to make *police* tonic signals
398 that the identity of the object of the verb *funded* is Given in the discourse. In other words, the
399 previous context has established that in the context of speaking the verb *funded* prospected
400 the police. More generally the target state achieved incorporates the speaker's expectation
401 of which items are already established in the discourse. A fully worked out model which is
402 beyond the scope of this chapter therefore needs to incorporate tonicity choices in order to
403 map how speakers keep track of what is New and what is Given in the discourse.

404

405 In the next section, I will examine the suggested model against two short texts: the first a
406 conversation between university acquaintances discussing a recent winter flood in the UK and
407 the second an extract from a televised political debate between rivals. The conversational
408 data presented in Extract A consists of 14 exchanges while the political debate presented in
409 Extract B consists of 5 exchanges. Full details of the data and how they were coded is available
410 in Author (2016 and 2014) respectively.

411

412 3 Data and Discussion

413 In the data below, increment boundaries are indicated by #, bracketed K slots indicate a
414 positioning of a speaker into a knowledge role which was not overtly taken up. On the
415 ideational layer the coding $x^+ =$ refer to the tactic relations of enhancing, extending and
416 elaborating (Halliday and Matthiessen 2014: 444). However, here I use this notation in a
417 slightly informal manner to signal semantic and not grammatical relations. The relations are
418 summarised below.

419

420 *Enhancing*: One move expands another by embellishing the previous information:
421 qualifying it with some circumstantial feature of time, place, cause or condition.

422 *Extending*: one move expands another by extending beyond the previous
423 information: adding some new element, giving an exception to it, or offering an
424 alternative.

425 *Elaborating*: One move expands another by elaborating all or some of the previous
426 information (or some portion of it): restating the information in other words,
427 specifying the information in detail, commenting on the information, or exemplifying
428 it.

429

EXTRACT A: CONVERSATIONAL DATA

¹⁷ This is not to say that lexical items found in the pre-tonic may not also be presented as New in certain circumstances. Nor does it suggest that the other intonation systems, lexicogrammatical realisation, Thematic positioning and contextual factors are not relevant to a full account of the unfolding of information structure. Nor does it mean that the tonic item is actually New to the discourse only that is presented as such, for full details see Author (2016).

430	EX1			B	A	
431	B:	| I don't like \concrete either | #	I	↓K1	↑K2f	PaU
432	A:	| uh /no |		↓	↑	PaS ⁼
433	.....				
434	EX2			A	B	
435						
436	A:	| I read an article in the /Guardian |	I	↓K1	(k2f)	PCU ⁺
437		| I think it was erm /yesterday |		↓	↑	+
438		| um -where |				x
439		| they were talking about climate change and \flooding | #			↓	
440	.....				
441	EX3			A	B	
442	A	| and -one of the |	I	K1	(K2f)	PCU ⁺
443		| ideas that that was \proposed |				
444		| which was quite /interesting |		↓	↑	=
445		| was um the idea of /floating cities |		↓	↑	=
446		| which \submerge |			↓	x
447		| when it's really bad /weather | #		↓	↑	x
448	.....				
449	EX4			A	B	
450	A	| and -ermm |				
451		| um like it 's got all the -new like |	I	↓K1	(K2f)	PCU
452		| it's \got |				
453		| all the \new technology and that kind of |		↓	↑	+
454		| and -erm |				
455		| sort of assumes that new tech/nology |		↓	↑	+
456		| which will help it all to continue to be /developed |		↓	↑	=
457		| and that kind of \thing | #			↓	=
458	.....				
459	EX5			A	B	
460	A	| but I think it is quite an interesting /idea |	I	↓K1	↑	PCU ⁺
461		| to try and cope that kind of /thing |		↓	↑	x
462	B:	| that's really \cool | #	R	↓	↑K2F	PCS ⁺
463	.....				
464	EX6			B	A	
465	B	| Is it Venice that's \sinking |	I	K2		PU
466	A:	| \ya | \ya | #	R		K1	PC ⁼
467	.....				
468	EX7			B	A	
469	B:	| they've got those \big |	I	K1		PU
470		| like those like \giant |				+
471		| \airbags |		↓	↑	
472		| that they ...				x
473		| \pump up don't they |		↓	↑	
474		| to like rise the ...				x
475	A:	| lift \houses out of water | #	R	↓	↑K2f	PCS
476	.....				

477	EX8			A	B	
478	A	| it's \ya |	I	K1	(K2f)	PCU ^x
479		| cause I don't think like /erm |				
480		| you \know |				
481		| as the flooding \continues |		↓	↑	x
482		| \assuming that |				
483		| climate change does \exist |			↓	+
484		| and that /kind of thing |		↓	↑	=
485		| -Ermm | you know, you're going to \get |			↓	+
486		| like \sanitation problems |			↓	+
487		| and that kind of \thing | #			↓	=
488	.....				
489	EX9			A	B	
490	A	| and it's just going to get more and -more |	I	K1	(K2f)	PaCU ⁺
491		| difficult to \deal with | #		↓	↑	
492	.....				
493	EX10			B	A	
494	A	| -Ermm |¹⁸				
495	B:	| \ermm | it's \almost that yeah |	I	K1		PCU
496		| we kind of need to \apply all our technology |		↓	↑	+
497		| and things like \that |				=
498		| creating better \buildings |				x
499		| that can kind of wi \withstand |				=
500		| a bit more of an \onslaught #				
501	A:	| \ya |	R	↓	↑K2f	=
502	.....				
503	EX11			B	A	
504	B:	| I guess cause the British climate is \relatively |	I	↓K1		PU ⁺
505		| sort of \unextreme |				
506		| we kind of got away for however long /building |		↓	↑	+
507		| pretty /bad buildings |		↓	↑	
508	A:	| \ya |	R		↓K2f	PCS ⁼
509	B:	| that cant really \take flooding and stuff | #	I	↓K1	↑	PCS ⁺
510	.....				
511	EX12			B	A	
512	B:	| I think like you know you've got the \British obsession |	I	↓K1		PCU ⁺
513		| with the \weather as well | #		↓	↑	
514	A	| \hm |		R	↓	K2f PCS ⁼
515	.....				
516	EX13			B	A	
517	B:	| when that kind when the \flooding happens you know |	I	K1	(K2f)	PCU ^x
518		| even if it's yu in this \case it was you know |				x
519		| quite a lot of /flooding but |		↓	↑	x
520		| even when it's a couple of \centimetres |			↓	x
521		| in the local town or \something |			↓	x

¹⁸ I have not coded this filled pause as part of an exchange structure.

522	| it will be in the news for \weeks | #			↓	+
523	.....			
524	EX14		B	A	
525	B | /erm | you \know |	I	K1	K2f	PaU
526	|anything to do with the weather /immediately |		↓	↑	
527	|makes the top /news | #		↓	↑	+
528	A: | \hum |	R	↓	↑K2f	PaS ⁼
529	.....			
530					

531 The proposed coding is highly effective in showing how the two speakers cooperate to create
532 a seamless conversational interaction. Yet, there is little evidence that either party to the
533 conversation has (i) intended to alter their interlocutor’s state of assumptions or (ii) had their
534 own state of assumptions radically altered. This finding is in line with somewhat speculative
535 claims that phylogenetically language emerged as a form of social glue and that the
536 transmission of information is a latter development (Corballis 2017: loc1827).

537
538 Of the 14 exchanges, 3 of them, exchanges 1, 9 and 14 do not contain any overt telling. Rather
539 the speakers project their affiliation to a shared way of looking at the world. In this short
540 extract neither speaker produced a disruptive move such as a query or challenge. Textually
541 each exchange consisted of one or two moves with follow up moves neither sought nor
542 provided. Exchange 11 is the one possible counterexample to the canonical sequencing in
543 that A’s supporting R move is prior to the completion of B’s initiating contribution. However,
544 A’s move does not attempt to take the floor or supress B’s right to speak; she acknowledges
545 her affiliation with B and his words.

546
547 Within each exchange the speakers structure their information as a series of tone groups
548 which extend, enhance and elaborate. Excluding the exchanges which do not contain a falling
549 tone and were coded as affiliative, all of the initiating contributions contain a tone group or
550 groups which extend what was said before. Thus, propositionally, for an initiating move or
551 moves to be successful it would appear necessary that they contain a tone group or groups
552 which move beyond the previous information. Ideationally the R slot is filled by content which
553 elaborates the prior information and goes beyond the prior information except in exchange
554 5. B’s response by not merely agreeing with A’s prior turns extends the information by
555 signalling B’s emotive response. In exchange 7 the responding move represents a PCS slot on
556 the ideational layer but at the same time unusually in an exchange it completes a telling
557 increment. Functionally the speaker completes the proposition expressed in the initiation and
558 signals his positive affiliation with it.

559
560 Interpersonally the speaker’s selection of falling tone signals to boost their or decrease their
561 interlocutor’s epistemic rights.¹⁹ In no case, does either speaker attempt to lower their

¹⁹ As Table 1 indicates intonation is not the sole means by which epistemic rights are boosted or lowered. But in the data studied here it is the most effective means. With the exception of the opening moves of exchanges 11 and 12 the lexical resources for lowering self or boosting others epistemic rights corresponds with the intonational choices. And as will be seen in Extract B only intonational choices are employed to signal accessibility to epistemic rights. Thus, in my discussion I focus mostly on the intonational projection of epistemic rights,

562 interlocutor's knowledge claims. On the contrary they frequently lower their own claims in
 563 order to boost their interlocutor's claim to knowledge. This once again has the effect of
 564 presenting the discourse as one between equals and one where participants do not infringe
 565 on their partner's conversational rights. Now that I have illustrated the proposed model in
 566 cooperative discourse I will test it in a short example of argumentative discourse.

567
 568
 569
 570

EXTRACT B: POLITICAL DEBATE

571	EXA			NC	DC	
572	NC:	| David \Cameron |	I	K2		PU
573		| what would the \cap be |				+
574	DC:	| well you'd set the \cap |	R	↓	↑K1	PUC ⁺
575	.....				
576	EXA1					
577	NC:	| \no |	I [suspend]	↑K2	↓	PU ⁺
578		| what's the \number |				=
579		| is it /ten |				=
580		| is it ten /thousand |				=
581		| is it ten /million |				=
582	DC	(No you set the cap every ...)	R	↓	↑K1	PUC
583		| no If you have a \cap |				=
584	.....				
585	EXA2					
586		I if you want to let me answer the /question |	I suspend]	↑		PUC ⁺
587	.....				
588	EXA3					
589	NC:	| just a \number |	I [suspend]	↑K2f	↓	PU ⁼
590	.....				
591	EXB					
592				DC	NC	
593	DC:	| you're reminding me of Gordon last \week |	I	K1	(K2f)	PCU ⁺
594	DC	| It's like uh ... another \replay |	# I	K1	(K2f)	PCU ⁼
595	.....				
596	EXC			DC	NC	
597	DC	| The \fact is |	I	K1	(K2f)	PCU ⁺
598		| every \year |				x
599		| you need to \talk with |				+
600		| the health /authorities |		↓	↑	+
601		| the housing \authorities |				+
602		| the education \authorities |		↓	↑	+
603		| and \business |				+
604		| and set a \cap |				+
605		| to \achieve |		↓	↑	+
606		| a very big \reduction |		↓	↑	+
607		| in overall immigration \levels |	#		↓	+

608	.....				
609	EXD			DC	NC	
610	DC	| That can be / <u>done</u> |	I	↓K1	↑ (K2f)	PCU ⁺
611		| we've done it in our \u <p>ast |</p>			↓	+
612		| we can do it again in our \u <p>future | #</p>			↓	+
613	.....				
614	EXE			DC	NC	
615	DC	| What's \u <p>required |</p>	I	K1	(k2f)	PCU
616		| is political \u <p>will |</p>				+
617		| from a party that's prepared to make the \u <p>difference | #</p>				x
618	.....				

620 In extract B there are 5 exchanges and as with extract A I will examine them metafunctionally.
621 Four of the exchanges consist of only initiations and the hearer's response if any is not
622 verbalised.²⁰ Unlike extract A there are no exchanges aimed at projecting affiliation over
623 information transfer. In exchanges B to E the speaker completes a proposition which is
624 unsupported by the other interlocutor. Structurally the speakers build up their propositions
625 by adding facts to the existing knowledge base. In exchange A where both speakers make
626 overt verbal moves, the speaker in the R slot produces a challenge. His response is not
627 prospected by the question. For instance, NC's proposition is *that DC supports a cap on*
628 *immigration and that the only thing at issue is the number of the cap*, but DC response does
629 not provide an actual number. Indeed, his full response in exchange C is similarly non-
630 compliant. Exchange A consists of NC unsuccessfully requesting DC to provide a number. And
631 while DC produces the prospected response, he does so by seeming to produce an irrelevant
632 proposition. Prima facie he seems to flout Grice's Maxim of Relevance/Relation (1975: 47)
633 but by doing so he actually produces a subtle inference that by asking for a number NC shows
634 himself to be somewhat childish. He repeats the point in exchange B. Exchange A remains
635 unfinished as the embedded suspending exchanges are themselves unresolved and hence it
636 does not realise a movement from an initial state to a target state.

637
638 NC and DC frequently attempt to contest their interlocutor's epistemic rights presumably to
639 cast doubt on their political opponent's position. In exchange A, by assuming the K2 role, NC
640 presents himself as a secondary knower and DC as the primary knower. DC takes up the role
641 but his response does not proffer the requested information. Instead his response casts doubt
642 on the sense of NC's question and by so doing NC is presented as having less access to the
643 knowledge resource than might have been expected. NC in the initiating act of the suspending
644 exchanges A1 and A3 challenges DC's assertion and even though he continues to present
645 himself as the secondary knower and DC as the primary knower he contests DC's assessment
646 of their respective access to knowledge and boosts his own epistemic claims while reducing
647 DC's claims. DC's willingness to respond as the K1 knower shows that he regards himself as
648 having primary epistemic rights and his contradiction signals his assessment that NC has little
649 or no access to the required knowledge. His second initiating move in A2, however, contains
650 a rising tone which signals that he wishes to boost NC's epistemic rights. But crucially these

²⁰ The limited number of overt responses is likely to be the result of the strict and pre-agreed rules of the political debate as well as the vigilant policing of the moderator. Thus, as we will see non-preferred or disruptive behaviour occurs on the other two layers.

651 rights do not concern the proposition *of whether or not it is possible to assign a definite*
652 *number to the proposed immigration cap* but rather to the norms of polite conversational
653 behaviour. NC is presented as knowing that polite conversationalists do not interrupt before
654 they have been answered and hence DC implies that NC's boorish behaviour is not what
655 would be expected.

656
657 Exchange C functions as DC's answer to NC's questions in Exchange A. DC presents himself as
658 the primary knower and assigns the K2f slot to NC. Four of the tone groups in the exchange
659 contain rising or fall-rising tone and hence signal DC's uncertainty and conversely boost NC's
660 epistemic rights. While this may seem somewhat odd in an exchange where DC is expected
661 to provide information, it is in fact a clever means of impinging on NC's political face. He is
662 presented as having knowledge that in deciding on an immigration cap, relevant authorities
663 would need to be contacted. In other words, lowering or boosting an interlocutor's epistemic
664 rights is a double-edged sword which may be used to support or infringe on an interlocutor's
665 face.

666 667 **4 Conclusion**

668 Consideration of the two extracts has shown us that a three-metafunctional coding of
669 exchange structure is able to reveal how prior moves prospect and constrain following moves.
670 We have seen that in cooperative dialogues there may be no transfer of knowledge but rather
671 speakers may signal their affiliation and shared social understanding and have suggested that
672 this may indicate that the origin of language functioned as social glue and not to transmit
673 information. This is a point worth developing. Structurally we have seen that each completed
674 exchange contains an increment though there is no requirement for a falling tone in affiliative
675 exchanges. Additionally to complete an exchange, one of the moves must extend beyond the
676 previous knowledge base. Yet, while this provides a dynamic representation of the discourse
677 there has yet been no overt account of how speakers' keep track of the discourse history and
678 of how they raise and lower their own and their interlocutor's claim to access knowledge
679 within and between exchanges. This is where increments come into their own as a powerful
680 device for keeping track of the previous discourse choices. Every initial state is not produced
681 in a vacuum but rather builds upon the sum of the previous target states realised in the
682 discourse. Furthermore each achieved target state represents a contingent point in the
683 discourse which incorporates the speaker's expectation of which items are already
684 established in the discourse. This enables the speakers to keep track not only of the
685 immediately prior move/exchange but of the entire discourse history and assists them in
686 knowing what future moves are possible. For instance, in exchange C the initial state prior to
687 DC's talk contains the following information: *DC has proposed a cap on immigration and that*
688 *NC regards this as inappropriate as it is impossible to quantify a cap.* Hence DC's contribution
689 in exchanges C to E modify this existing initial state and further contributions are constrained
690 and prospected by DC's contributions.

691
692
693
694 .
695
696
697

698 References

- 699 Berry, Margaret. 1981a. Systemic linguistics and discourse analysis: a multi-layered approach
700 to exchange structure. In Malcolm Coulthard & Martin Montgomery (eds.), *Studies in*
701 *discourse analysis*, 120-145. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- 702 Berry, Margaret. 1981b. Towards layers of exchange structure for directive exchanges.
703 *Network 2*: 23-32.
- 704 Berry, Margaret. 1981c. Polarity, ellipticity and propositional development. Their relevance
705 to the well-formedness of an exchange. (A discussion of Coulthard and Brazil's classes of
706 move.) *Nottingham Linguistic Circular* 10: 36-63.
- 707 Berry, Margaret. 2016. Dynamism in exchange structure. *English Text Construction* 9: 33-55.
- 708 Burton, Deirdre. 1978. "Towards an analysis of casual conversation. *Nottingham Linguistic*
709 *Circular*. 7.2: 131-164.
- 710 Brazil, David. 1995. *A Grammar of Speech*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 711 Brazil, David 1997. *The Communicative Value of Intonation in English*. Cambridge: Cambridge
712 University Press.
- 713 Corballis, Michael, 2017. *The truth about language. What it is and where it came from* [Kindle
714 Edition] Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- 715 Coulthard, Malcolm & Martin Montgomery 1981, *Studies in discourse analysis*, 1-50. London:
716 Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- 717 Eggins, Suzanne & Diana Slade. 1997. *Analysing Casual Conversation*. Cassel: London.
- 718 Francis, Gil. & Susan Hunston. 1992. Analyzing everyday conversation. In Malcolm Coulthard
719 (ed.) *Advances in Spoken Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge.
- 720 Gettier, Edmund L. 1963. Is justified true belief knowledge? *Analysis* 23, 121-123.
- 721 Grice, H.P. 1975. Logic and conversation. In: P. Cole and J.L. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and*
722 *Semantics 3: Speech Acts*, 41-58. New York: Academic Press.
- 723 Grosz, Barbara. J. & Candace L. Sidner. (1990). 'Plans for Discourse'. In P. R. Cohen,
724 J. Morgan and M. E. Pollack (eds), *Intentions in Communication*, 417-445 Cambridge, MA:
725 MIT Press.
- 726 Halliday, M. A. K. (1967). *Intonation and Grammar in British English*. The Hague:
727 Mouton.
- 728 Halliday, M. A. K. and Greaves W. S. (2008). *Intonation in the Grammar of British*
729 *English*. Equinox: London.
- 730 Halliday, M.A.K. & Christian Matthiessen. 2014. *Halliday's introduction to functional*
731 *grammar*. 4th Edition. Abingdon/New York: Routledge.
- 732 Kretzschmar, W. A. 2009. *The linguistics of speech*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- 733 Martin, James, R. 1985. "Text and Process: two aspects of human semiosis." In J. D. Benson &
734 W. S. Greaves. (eds.) *Systemic Functional Approaches to Discourse*. 248-274. Norwood, N.J,
735 Ablex.
- 736 Martin, James, R. 2000. Factoring out exchange: Types of Structure. In Malcolm Coulthard,
737 Janet Cotterill & Frances Rock (eds.) *Dialogue Analysis V11: Working with dialogue*. 19 - 40.
738 Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
- 739 Martin, James, R. & Peter R. R. White. 2005. *The Language of Appraisal: Evaluation in English*.
740 London: Palgrave.
- 741 Muntigl, Peter. 2009. Knowledge moves in conversational exchanges: Revisiting the concept
742 of primary vs. secondary knowers. *Functions of Language* 16: 225-263.
- 743 Nagel, Jennifer. 2014. *Knowledge: A very short introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 744 O'Donnell, Michael. 1990. A dynamic model of exchange. *WORD* 41: 293-327.

745 O'Donnell, Michael. 1999. Context in Dynamic modelling. In Mohen Ghadessy (ed.) *Text and*
746 *Context in Functional Linguistics*, 63–99. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
747 Sinclair, John & Malcolm Coulthard. 1975. *Towards an analysis of discourse*. London: Oxford
748 University Press.
749 Spencer-Oatey, Helen. 2005. (Im)politeness, face and perceptions of rapport: Unpacking their
750 bases and interrelationships. *Journal of Politeness Research* 1. 95–119.

751
752
753
754