

SAY WHAT YOU MEAN

.....

DO YOU MEAN WHAT YOU SAY?

Module 4 Assignment SD/01/03

Several units in the Spoken Discourse module commented that the functions of linguistic items are often not predictable simply from a consideration of their forms.

- A) Make a summary of the arguments of the various approaches to the analysis of discourse on this issue (50%)
- B) Choose a written or spoken text and comment on examples which demonstrate that the functions are not predictable from a linguistic form (50%).

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

..... 2

1 DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

..... 3

2 SYSTEMS FOR ANALYZING SPOKEN DISCOURSE

..... 4

2.1 Discourse Analysis of Classroom Interaction

.....4

2.2 Analysis in Second Language Classrooms

8

2.3 Systems for Analyzing Discourse Intonation

8

3 ANALYSIS OF A MOVIE DIALOGUE

..... 11

3.1 Method

.....11

3.2 Discourse with Participants of Equal Standing

.....12

3.3 Discourse with Participants of Unequal Standing

.....14

4 DISCUSSION

.....16

4.1 The Methods of Analysis

.....16

4.2 Form and Function for L2 Learners

.....17

CONCLUSION

.....19

APPENDIX 1 - Transcriptions in order of appearance

in The Matrix 20

BIBLIOGRAPHY

..... 23

INTRODUCTION

Historically, languages were taught using grammatical terminology: interrogatives, declaratives, moodless items and imperatives, and linguistic analysis was based on grammatical systems (Coulthard 1985:120). However, we intuitively know that there are many ways of expressing a thought or of getting information within a given situation and remarks are passed on the way a person has expressed himself with 'He put that well.' or 'She could have been nicer in how she said that.'

While these comments refer to the overall effect of what one has said, language manipulation occurs at the clause level. Dictionaries and grammars can provide isolated definitions and examples of pedagogic use but in context, linguistic items may not

correspond with their form leaving interpretation dependent on the situation in which they are used, the participants and their relationship to each other (Sinclair and Coulthard 1992:9).

For example, the clause "Could you open the door?" is an interrogative in form, inquiring into the ability of opening a door sometime in the past. However, it usually functions as a request.

The imperative "Go jump in the lake" is seldom taken in its literal sense but is instead interpreted as an insult.

Even in exchanges where function and form seem to concord, it is not always so. In the following exchange,

A: What time is it?

B: Five past six.

A: Thanks

(McCarthy 1991:18)

A's move is seen as a question requesting the time and B has complied. However, if A had responded with 'Clever girl!', then we understand that A was actually testing B's knowledge, much like what a teacher or parent might do. If the setting is indeed a classroom, then it would have been unacceptable for B to respond with 'I'm not wearing my watch today'.

It is the participants who must "cooperate with the speaker to the extent of trying to interpret *what the speaker says in the way it was intended to be interpreted*" (Brazil 1992:4).

Such cooperation can be seen in this exchange between Josef (J) and Chris (C). Josef has asked if he can borrow Chris' credit card.

C: Mmm...I've got this one, which is an Access card.

J: And I just tell them your number.

C: You tell them my number...this one here.

J: And they tell me how much.

C: That's right...that's all... that's my name there, and that number.

(McCarthy 1991:19)

Structurally, Josef's utterances are declaratives, but Chris correctly interprets Josef's words as a request for confirmation of credit card use. If Josef knew the process, the exchange would have ended when Chris handed over his card.

Intonation is another way of interpreting the meaning of what has been said. In conversation, people will use short phrases such as 'How interesting' to show interest in what is being said. However, the use of a low-falling intonation can indicate an end to the conversation.

Section 1 of this paper will summarize the various arguments and approaches of analysts with regards to the question of form and function in discourse, with section 2 applying these approaches in an analysis of a movie dialogue. A movie was chosen as the subject of analysis because they are popular all over the world, and where the target language (TL) is a foreign commodity, watching movies is common for gaining exposure to the TL.

Sections 3 and 4 will discuss the usefulness of these systems, the ramifications of the form/function phenomenon for Japanese students, as well as the importance of discourse in the classroom.

1- DIFFERENT APPROACHES TO DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

'...language is fundamentally "a way of behaving and making others behave"..."

(J.R.Firth in Coulthard 1985:1)

Austin, in his definitive work *What we do with words*, studied interactions for their illocutionary force (the meaning of an utterance) and their perlocutionary effect (how the receiver reacts to it) (Levinson 1983:236).

For example, a road sign which states 'Mud on road' is not merely describing a state of affairs but is functioning as a warning of potentially hazardous driving conditions for oncoming motorists. How the drivers proceed - cautiously or unheedingly - is the perlocutionary effect.

J. Sinclair and M. Coulthard , using Austin's work as a starting point, aimed to make a practical and functional description of discourse (Sinclair 1992:79). They began with classroom settings because they exhibit relatively simple patterns of interaction, yet they share similar discourse rules with other situations, allowing the creation of a system relevant for all discourse analysis.

J. Willis adapted their model in an attempt to describe and analyze the unique discourse patterns found in second language (L2) classrooms so that a sound comparison of the types of L2 discourse resulting from language activities and teaching styles could be made (Willis 1992:162).

D. Brazil took a different but related approach to discourse analysis by analyzing intonation. Brazil (1997:2) asserted that intonation was tactically used by speakers, adding additional unspoken information to the utterance. As with the form/function phenomenon mentioned above, interpretation of intonation affects how the exchange will proceed.

These approaches will be considered in the subsequent section.

2 - SYSTEMS FOR ANALYZING SPOKEN DISCOURSE

2.1 - Discourse Analysis of Classroom Interaction

Sinclair and Coulthard had observed that in classrooms, the teacher initiated (I) all exchanges, the students responded (R) and the teacher would follow-up (F) on what had been said or done, creating an I-R-F type of discourse. Sinclair and Coulthard had the I-R-F structures corresponding with the following moves:

Initiation ----- > Opening

Response ----- > Answering

Follow-up----- > Follow-up

(Francis and Hunston 1992:124)

However, teachers ask many questions and make many statements which function differently from their form, as can be seen below:

T: What's this? (holding up a hacksaw) (I)

S1: An axe. (R)

T: No, it isn't an axe. (F)
 June, what is it? (I)
 S2: It's a hacksaw. (R)
 T: Very good. Yes, it's a hacksaw. (F)

Since the teacher has brought the tool to class and followed-up on the first student's response with 'No, it isn't an axe.', he is asking a question to which he knows the answer. The students, in turn, are not providing new information. The functions are, respectively, to test the students knowledge and to demonstrate knowledge.

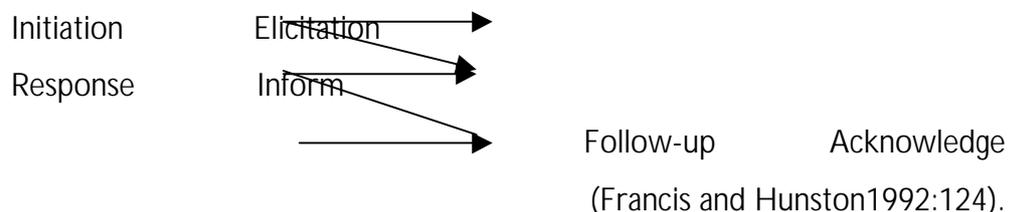
Other interpretive problems arose with the observation that closed and open classes of items existed at the functional level as they do at the level of form (Coulthard 1985:129). While the directive 'Shut the door' is realized with an imperative form, marked versions exist with interrogatives, declaratives and moodless structures:

Can you shut the door?
 The door is open.
 The door.

Any of the above directives can fill the initiating slot in the following exchange:

- A. Can you shut the door? ---> The door is open.
- B. Oh, sorry. (shuts the door) ---> Oh, sorry. (shuts the door)
- A. Thanks. ---> Thanks.

Thus, an initiation can take the form of either an elicitation or an inform. This led to a reformulation of the model, with I - R - F corresponding to these moves:



When creating their system for analysis, Sinclair and Coulthard "decided to use a rank scale... because of its flexibility" (Sinclair and Coulthard 1992:2). They took *lesson* as their highest unit of classroom discourse, which consists of one or more *transactions* and progressed to smaller units as the following model demonstrates:

TRANSACTION

(Lessons are made up of transactions and each transaction is marked off from the surrounding discourse boundary exchanges which consist of a frame and/or a focus.)

EXCHANGE

(Exchanges generally consist of the I-R-F exchange pattern and are realized with *eliciting*, *informing* and *directing* moves, and *boundary exchanges*.)

MOVE

(Moves are comprised of at least one freestanding act combined with a dependent act.)

ACT

(Acts are realized as clauses and take on many different functions within the move, for example *starter*, *eliciting*, *informing*, *clue*, *nominate*.)

According to Coulthard (1985:126), there are seventeen acts, sixteen of which are organized into three categories: meta-active, interactive and turn-taking (Table 1). The seventeenth act is reserved for when the teacher withdraws himself from the interaction and says things such as 'Where did I put my chalk?'.

Table 1

Meta-interactive	Interactive		Turn-taking
marker	informative	directive	cue
meta-statement	elicitation	acknowledge	bid
loop	starter	react	nomination
	accept	reply	
	comment	evaluate	

In the meta-interactive category, meta-statements are akin to focusing moves and loops are realized with terms such as 'Pardon', 'One more time' and 'What did you say?'. The interactive category defines moves as Initiation, Response and Follow-up (Coulthard 1985:127) as is illustrated in Table 2.

Table 2

Initiation	Response	Follow-up
informative	acknowledge	accept
directing	(acknowledge) react	evaluate
elicitation	reply	comment

An analysis of one transaction would look like this:

A: Well (starter)

symbols have been used for thousands and thousands of years. (focus/meta-statement)

Because as long ago as three thousand years before Christ was born - erm-

a group of people used symbols to do their writing instead of, as we write,

in words. (inform)

Do you know who these people were? (elicitation)

I'm sure you do. (prompt)

Joan? (nominate)

B: The Egyptians. (reply)

A: The Egyptians. (accept)

How long ago was that? (elicitation)

B: Five thousand years. (reply)

A: About five thousand years, (accept)

yes. (evaluate)

Yet, further difficulties arose when Wh-elicitations were considered:

Where's the typewriter? -----> It's in the cupboard.

-----> Try the cupboard.

-----> Isn't it in the cupboard?

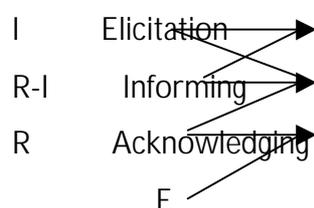
-----> In the cupboard?

All of the responses can be seen as moves giving the requested information although the last two alternatives are eliciting moves themselves, allowing the speaker to respond to the initiating move while indicating uncertainty about the information (Coulthard 1985:138), or, as shown below, simply to request further information:

A. What would you like to drink?

B. Well, what can you offer?

To accommodate such moves, another class was added: Response/Initiation (I-R) (Francis and Hunston 1992:141), resulting in this final model:



2.2 - Analysis in Second Language Classrooms

L2 classrooms differ from 'content' classrooms in that what is being taught is also the medium of instruction, making them more difficult to analyze (Willis 1992:162). While the I-R-F exchange pattern exists, Willis felt that the model, as it stood, was not suitable for L2 classroom analysis. The language was used for two distinct purposes and these purposes needed to be accounted for.

Willis classified discourse into two levels, termed the Inner Circle and the Outer Circle. The Outer Circle is where true and meaningful communication occurs - the explaining and organizing of lessons and socializing; the Inner Circle is where practice of the target language occurs.

An I-R-F exchange in the Inner Circle would be as follows:

T: Look at number 9. (focus)

Can you make the question? (I)

S: What time do you get up? (R)

T: Well done. (F)

In this type of exchange the teacher has asked a question but is actually directing, the pupil is asking a question but functionally is answering a question and the teacher is evaluating rather than replying.

Since all inner circle communication does not resemble the above example, Willis proceeded to subdivide the inner circle into 'inner-dependent' and 'inner-independent', the former relying on directives from the teacher and the latter being the pseudo-interaction which students conduct when doing role-plays or practicing dialogues.

While both circles are unavoidable to some degree in L2 classrooms, Willis concluded that teachers need to be aware of which circle they frequently operate in, and that the phenomenon needs to be taken into consideration when planning lessons if students are to have optimal exposure to real language in use.

2.3 - System for Analyzing Discourse Intonation

The same questions which Sinclair et.al. asked with regards to speech acts have been posed for intonation, namely what is its form and function (Roach 1991:134). While a dictionary shows the stress of individual words and that stress is fixed, "there is no guarantee that those stressed syllables will be prominent when the word is used in an act of communication" (Brazil 1994:8). Where we can find the dictionary entry **communication** with the -ca- as the stressed syllable, we talk about 'ACTS of communication' with reference to the type of communication rather than communication itself; 'acts of communiCAtion' would mean this type of act rather than 'acts of GOD' (McCarthy 1991:95; Brazil 1997:36). Where prominence is placed is the speaker's choice.

Although various approaches to intonation analysis exist, the system proposed by David Brazil "presents a workable description of many pitch phenomena which is based on sound and explicit principles" (Coulthard 1992:37).

To cope with the subtleties of intonation, utterances are broken down into tone-units, allowing an analysis of the individual lexical items and their syllables. The tone units are separated with '/' marks (Brazil 1994:8), each one having a maximum of two prominent syllables, shown in upper case letters. Of the prominent syllables, there is

one tonic syllable, which is underlined. This is the point where there is a significant pitch movement, either rising or falling.

There are five tones which a speaker can choose from: a rising tone, a fall-rising tone, a falling tone, a rise-falling tone, and a level, or neutral tone. Their meaning and their symbols for analysis can be seen in Table 3 (Roach 1991:138; Phonology Course Book 1997:33).

The significance of tone can be seen with this example:

A: Do you know what the longest balloon flight was?

B: No. (with falling intonation).

B's response indicates that he does not know the answer and perhaps does not particularly care, thus ending the conversation. However, if B had answered 'No' with a rising intonation, B would be inviting A to provide the answer (Roach 1991:139). The difficulty lies in B's interpretation of A's question, which leads back to Brazil's statement (noted on page 4) about cooperation between speakers. Was A asking the question because she does not know the answer and was hoping that B did? Or was she attempting to demonstrate her knowledge of interesting trivia?

The difference that tone effects on utterances is demonstrable with the following examples:

- 1) //r+ CAN i HELP you //
- 2) // r CAN i HELP you //
- 3) // r+ COULD you HELP me //
- 4) // r COULD you HELP me //

Tone units 1 and 3 have dominant tones and 2 and 4 have non-dominant tones. Of 1 and 2, 1 could be considered more polite since a dominant tone when offering help seems more sincere than a non-dominant tone. However, the opposite is true when asking for help and 4 would be a more successful request than 3 (Phonology Course Book 1997:40).

Table 3

Tone / Symbol	Tone Group	Meaning
---------------	------------	---------

rising / r+	referring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - more information will follow - an invitation for the speaker to continue -common ground -togetherness -control
fall-rising / r	referring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - indicates a hedged agreement - a response with reservations - common ground -togetherness
falling / p	proclaiming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - there is no more information to come - can indicate the conversation is ended -new information
rise-falling / p+	proclaiming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - indicates strong feelings of approval, disapproval or surprise -new information -control
	neutral	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - indicates that the information is routine, not special - an opt-out

Within the tone unit, there is also a pitch level of either high, medium or low (Table 4). High pitch signifies contrasting information or particularization, low signifies confirmation or concurrence and medium signifies information of an equal nature or a neutral stance. Pitch levels are shown with arrows: up for high pitch, down for low pitch and horizontal for a level pitch.

Table 4

High pitch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - contrasting information - particularization
Medium pitch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - confirmation -concurrence
Low pitch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -a neutral stance -equative

These pitch levels are used by speakers to convey different expectations, as can be seen with the following interrogative, uttered with different pitches:

- (1) // p ARE you SURE // p that THAT'S the so LUtion ↑ //
- (2) // p ARE you SURE // p that THAT'S the so LUtion → //
- (3) // p ARE you SURE // p that THAT'S the so LUtion ↓ //

Example 1, ending with a high pitch, is a request for a decision: 'Are you sure or are you not sure that this is the solution?'. In example 2, the speaker is looking for confirmation that the other person is sure. With the low pitch in example 3, the speaker is leaving the other participant to interpret the question as he wishes, in effect opening a door for discussion. A 'YES' / 'NO' response is not expected, nor is it forthcoming:

Chair : // p --> ARE you SURE // p that THAT'S the so LUtion ↓ //

Discussant: // r MOST ↑ of the folk i've TALKED ↓ to // r aBOUT the provision // p
seem FAIRLY conCERNED // about

Brazil 1997:118)

3 - ANALYSIS OF A MOVIE DIALOGUE

3.1- Method

It was noted that scripted dialogues fit into a quasi-realm of discourse (R.Holland, private communication) as they attempt to mimic real life, yet are not naturally occurring.

At the same time, they reflect real life discourse without containing the 'messiness' inherent in naturally occurring conversations. There are no false starts, there is generally no competition for speaking turns and there is less frequent topic jumping than one finds in conversation between friends.

Various scenes from the movie 'The Matrix' were transcribed using the Sinclair/Coulthard and Brazil methods of discourse and intonation analysis. The dialogues have been recorded as acts, each occupying one line and each act was broken down into tone units with the main and prominent stresses marked, as well as the tone. Pitch was not considered in this analysis for two reasons: firstly, there seems to be a certain amount of overlap in meaning between pitch level and pitch movement; and

secondly, movie dialogues are rehearsed by people with trained voices, thus possibly rendering pitch movement analysis irrelevant (Phonology 1997:45).

Dialogues which are pertinent to discourse where both participants are of equal standing will be examined first, after which dialogues which have one person in a position of control will be analyzed.

3.2 - Discourse with Participants of Equal Standing

The opening scene (Transcript 1), a telephone conversation, exemplifies many of the arguments made in section 2.2.

Cypher initiates the conversation with 'Yeah' but Trinity does not respond with the adjacency pair match of greeting and identification (Sinclair and Brazil 1992:51). Instead, she responds with a question. Cypher does not answer her but reinitiates with a statement followed by Trinity explaining herself, creating an I -> I-R -> I-R -> R exchange.

C: //p+ YEAH// (initiation) I

T: //r+ is Everything in PLACE // (elicit) I-R

C: // r YOU aren't supposed to reLIEVE me// (elicit) I-R

T: // p I KNOW // (acknowledge)

//p+ but i FELT like taking your SHIFT // (reply) R

Cypher's I-R move is a statement but its perlocutionary force is requiring Trinity to explain herself. If her answer had been only 'I know', then Cypher would have asked her 'Why'. The question is the function of his statement. Since taking his shift incurs a certain amount of danger, the illocutionary effect of Trinity's reply is for Cypher to respond with a tag question, demonstrating his knowledge of why she would want to 'take his shift'.

C: // p you LIKE HIM //p DON'T YOU // (comment) I-R

Otherwise, there would be no logical reason for this change in topic. Trinity's response is an evaluating move, rejecting Cypher's initiation:

T: //p DON'T be riDiculous // (reply) R

In the following exchange, Neo (N) is hooked up to a computer where his education will be downloaded into his mind (Transcript 4). Tank's (Tk) moves are

formed as suggestions: 'Let's do something...' and 'How about?'. While both structures are taught to students as ways of making suggestions, in this case, both are functioning as informs of what is to come. Neo's agreement is not solicited; in fact, the camera does not pan to him until after the program has been installed into the computer. This interpretation is reinforced when intonation is considered. Both of Tank's moves have proclaiming (p) intonation which, as was noted previously, includes a meaning of finality.

Tk: // p LET'S do something a little more FUN // (inform)

// p HOW ABOUT // p COMbat TRAIning // (inform)

N: // r+ JUJIstu // (reply)

// p i'm GOing to LEARN // r JJJItsu // (evaluate)

Neo's response is a moodless item followed by a declarative, both functioning as questions. However, they are questions to which no verbal reply is expected. His acts end in referring tones, perhaps informing us of his cynicism or disbelief in what is expected to occur. The only answer forthcoming is the actual downloading of the program into his mind.

The p-tone is effectively demonstrated in another scene (Transcript 5), with Mouse (Ms) trying to strike up a conversation about the unappetizing nourishment. However, all topic initiations are rejected by the others. This is mostly apparent with the p-tone used but in some instances with the lexical selection:

Ms: // p if you close your eyes it almost FEELS like you're eating RUNNY eggs // (comment)

E: //p YEAH // (reply)

// p a whole BOWL of SNOT // (evaluate)

Mouse's initial comment has 'feels' as the prominently stressed word because the gruel neither looks, tastes nor smells like eggs. For anyone unaware of the meaning of 'snot', Epoch's (E) move is one of acceptance and exemplification. However, his lexical choice and his p-tone indicate that he is rejecting Mouse's initiation, not supporting it.

Similar patterning is evident in his exchange with Switch (S). In form, her acts indicate acceptance of his topic, but her tonal choice is not encouraging.

Ms: // r did you ever EAT tasty WHEAT // (elicitation)

N: (nonverbal) (react)

S: // p NO // (accept)

// p BUT technically neither did YOU // (reply)

Ms: //p that's exACTly my POINT // p exACTly // (evaluate)

Since it has already been established that all members have never physically experienced the world as is imprinted in their memory, Mouse knows the answer to his question. The purpose of his question is to lead the talk in a specific direction, one which he will attempt to control. This is confirmed with 'That's exactly my point, exactly' which is functioning as an evaluation of Switch's response - she provided the answer he wanted.

3.3 - Discourse Involving People of Unequal Standing

One criticism of classroom structure is the unnatural stress patterns and the types of questions asked. Educational discourse, unlike natural conversation, has frequent tone units and the questions asked are to check knowledge or to elicit specific information rather than to gain information. While this type of discourse may create a slanted perspective for students on how English discourse unfolds, it occurs in other situations as well.

In Transcript 2, Neo (N) is being scolded by his boss for being late. The first few acts by Mr. Rhineheart (B) have few tone units; however, each time he approaches the crux of the matter, the tone units increase. There are frequent p+ - tones indicating his disapproval and asserting himself as boss:

B: // p you have a PROblem with auTHOriety// P+ MR ANderson//

(meta statement)

//p+ you beLIEVE that you are SPEcial //n that somehow the rules //p+

DO not aPPLY to you // (comment)

// p OBviously you are misTAKen // (inform)

...

. // p the TIME has come to make a CHOICE // p MR ANDERSON // (meta-statement)

// p+ either you CHOOSE to be at your DESK //p+ ON TIME // p from

THIS day FORTH // P or YOU CHOOSE // p+ to FIND YOURself
// p aNOther JOB // (inform)
//p+ do I MAKE myself CLEAR // (conclusion)
N: // p+ YES mr. RHINE heart// (accept)
//p PERfectly CLEAR // (reply)

As all of Mr. Rhineheart's statements are informing Neo of information he should already possess, the acts are functioning as warnings of potential loss of employment, culminating in an either/or statement. Neo, however, has not really been given a choice but has been given a cause/effect inform. B's final act is an interrogative but he knows the answer to the question. His purpose is to close the discussion.

This senior-junior role is further plied when Neo meets Morpheus (M) for the first time (Transcript 3). After Neo has been invited to sit down, with commands:

M: // please// come// sit// (directives)

Morpheus' utterances contain many tone units:

M: //p i IMagine //p that RIGHT NOW// you're feeling//

p a BIT like Alice//p TUMbling DOWN // the RABbit HOLE // (comment)

//r+ mmmm// (prompt)

.....

//r+ you have the LOOK of a MAN//p who acCEPTS what he SEES

//p+ because he is exPECTing to WAKE up// (clue)

// ironically//p this is not FAR from the TRUTH// (clue)

//p do you BELieve in FATE neo// (elicitation)

He is not instructing Neo but is informing him of how he believes Neo feels. We could ask "Why?". As Brazil says, tone is a choice made by the speaker and by choosing to speak to Neo in this manner, he is perhaps leading his thoughts in a specific direction, much like Mouse did with Switch.

His statements regarding his perceptions of Neo are also functioning as clues to the answer Neo is seeking. In a subsequent scene, before the truth is revealed to Neo, Morpheus makes the same allusions to dreams and waking or not waking from them.

Morpheus' question about fate is a 'yes/no' question which has a proclaiming tone not a referring one, which is usually what is proscribed for these questions - Morpheus knows Neo's answer. When he responds with the expected 'No' Morpheus asks 'Why not?' with a referring tone, contrary to the p-tone that is associated with Wh-interrogatives. He has led Neo with his clues and questions, much like a teacher does when he wants to test knowledge or make a point.

His follow-up is an acknowledgment of Neo's response, but at the same time demonstrates that he has rigged the conversation:

//r+ I KNOW //p exACTly what you MEAN // (evaluate)

He has a starting point upon which to commence the main topic - The Matrix.

4 - DISCUSSION

4.1- The Methods of Analysis

From an analytic point of view, Sinclair and Coulthard's system is useful as it focuses on the tactics of the speakers to determine what the purpose of their utterances are. Grammar can be studied and learned but grammars cannot demonstrate the infinite ways structures can be manipulated.

With the categories being limited and not text specific, the system can be applied in a straightforward manner, unlike those proposed by the Conversational Analysts (Coulthard and Brazil 1992:55). If the purpose is to raise learners' awareness to the ways in which language is manipulated, the system could be incorporated as a class activity.

At the same time, having flexibility in act coding can cause problems - would two analysts classify the same act identically? In Transcript 1,

C: You aren't supposed to relieve me.

T: I know but I felt like taking your shift.

is Trinity's act 'I know' an acknowledgment of the truth of Cypher's statement, or is it an acceptance of his question? Even though she explains herself, she was non-committal as she does not inform Cypher of her activities.

Another potentially ambiguous classification is found in Transcript 4:

N: Jujitsu? I'm going to learn Jujitsu?

This was classified as an evaluating act indicating cynicism in what has been hinted will happen. Based on the situation of having been snatched from what appears to be the real world into a world where people enter and exit a computer system through their mind, this seems like the more plausible explanation; but the interpretation that he is looking for confirmation is valid, as well.

This raises a criticism of the system when it was first proposed, that focusing on tactics is the wrong approach for "we cannot appeal to participants knowledge of the world... because it is not available to the analysts" (Coulthard 1985:132). Coulthard had countered the argument that they are appealing without characterizing it but it would seem that in these instances, at least, a certain amount of characterizing is necessary.

I do not feel that categorizing the above examples in either of the ways listed makes much difference to the analysis as a whole since it is the act that is queried not the move, and this is the level which may concern learners more.

One concern to keep in mind is that in some instances analysis is an end in itself (Barry 1982:46). Looking at the transcriptions, this does seem to be a case in point to a certain degree. While discrepancies between function and form exist, an analysis need not be conducted to realize them unless the analysis were to help L2 speakers understand exactly what has passed.

4.2 - Form and Function for L2 Learners

Decoding the intention of target language (TL) speakers is considered problematic for L2 learners. As Brazil points out (1992:2), the primacy of speech is common sense; however, L2 textbooks are based upon the written form of English, focusing on form. Combined with the inner/outer discourse circles of L2 classes, it becomes difficult for learners to speak, write and understand spoken and written English - my own students often get bogged down with the structure of a sentence and fail to see the basic meaning.

While it is clear that the utterances in the dialogues analyzed above contain some form/function discrepancies, the structures are not necessarily complex raising the question as to where the difficulty lies and how best to deal with it, especially if one can assume that the form/function phenomenon is common to most languages.

One possible explanation for the difficulty learners have is that in the early stages of L2 acquisition (SLA), learners do not have sufficient knowledge of the TL grammar to produce illocutionary language (Richards 1982:112). Instead of saying 'I'm thirsty' in an attempt to get a glass of water, they make do with 'Hot. Water, please'. Yet, when their store of grammar and lexical items has increased, they lack the knowledge of the TL conventions necessary for manipulating the language. While they are aware of these conventions, they feel a concern over how they will be interpreted by native speakers. As a result, L2 learners feel discomfort when having to deal with different registers, resulting in discouragement (Richards 1982:116) or second guessing of everything heard or read.

Japanese learners of English get exposure to English on television but its use is often limited to parody. Thus, do they feel confusion as to whether or not it is truly acceptable to use language in novel ways with native speakers?

Currently, discourse is not sufficiently covered by the education system at the secondary and tertiary levels and most texts are contrived to demonstrate lexical and grammatical items. 'Yakudoku', or Japanese Grammar-Translation, is the norm (Gorusch 1998:7). As Gorusch (1998:8) explains, the texts are translated from the TL to the L1 with a focus on matching form, with subsequent discussion in Japanese on the Japanese translation. As a result, learners get limited exposure as to how the language functions in real situations.

How best to deal with the situation is not a simple problem. Stern (1992:205) says that:

"it is not possible to teach a language without culture and
that culture is the necessary context for use."

If students were to conduct an analysis of movies at the movie level, they may become more comfortable in interpreting the meaning of utterances. Providing such exposure may also be beneficial in raising students' interest in the TL in general (Chi-Kim 2001), as well as satiating the desire of many learners to get exposure to the culture of the TL country, as narrow as the view may be. Incorporating real sources as opposed to contrived material could be effective, too.

If translation is to be used in the classroom, educators might focus on translating into the TL and concentrate on meaning, thus helping to raise awareness of the various functions of language (Edge 1998; Lynch 2001).

Whichever approach is taken, if students are to learn how to manipulate the language or simply to understand the differences between what has been communicated in form and what was actually meant, it seems necessary to provide exposure to students of language as it occurs naturally, or at the very least, as it mimics real life. It also necessitates a rethinking of classroom roles, and how lessons are to unfold.

CONCLUSION

This paper has summarized the arguments and systems of some discourse analysts. The systems were applied to the analysis of movie scenes to demonstrate their use, after which a discussion of their applicability was conducted. The problem that form and function causes for L2 learners, especially those who do not live in communities where the TL is the norm, was considered as well.

Since analysis has demonstrated that what we say and what we mean are not the same thing, and that L2 classroom discourse while exhibiting this does not reflect real life discourse patterns, it would seem unquestionable that educators working in foreign language environments need to incorporate more awareness of the form/function phenomenon into the class if student L2 competency is to increase.

APPENDIX ONE

Transcript 1

C: //p+ YEAH// (initiation)

T: //r+ is Everything in PLACE // (elicit)

C: // r YOU aren't supposed to reLIEVE me// (elicit)

T: // p I KNOW // (acknowledge)

//p+ but i FELT like taking your SHIFT // (reply)

C: // p you LIKE HIM //p DON'T YOU // (comment)

// p you LIKE WAtching him // (comment)

T: //p DON'T be riDiculous // (reply)

C: // p we're GONna KILL him // r+ ya underSTAND THAT //(comment)

T: //p MORPHEUS believes HE is the one // (reply)

C: // r+ DO YOU //(elicit)

T: //p+ it doesn't MAtter WHAT i believe // (reply)

C: // p YOU DON'T // p DO YOU // (comment)

T: //r+ did you HEAR THAT // (elicit)

C: // p HEAR WHAT // (reply)

...

Transcript 2

B: // p you have a PROBLEM with auTHORity// P+ MR ANderson// (meta statement)

//p+ you beLIEVE that you are SPEcial //(comment)

//n that somehow the rules //p+ DO not aPPLY to you // (comment)

// p OBviously you are misTAKen // (inform)

// p this company is one of the TOP software companies in the WORLD //p+ because every SINGLE employee underSTANDS// p+ that they are PART

of a WHOLE // (meta statement)

// thus // p+ if an employEE has a PROBLEM // p+ the COmpany has a PROBLEM // (inform)

// p the TIME has come to make a CHOICE // p MR ANDERSON // (meta statement)

// p+ either you CHOOSE to be at your DESK // p+ ON TIME // p from

THIS day FORTH // P or YOU CHOOSE // p+ to FIND YOURself

// p aNOther JOB // (inform)

B: //p+ do I MAKE myself CLEAR // (conclusion)

N: // p+ YES mr. RHINE heart// (accept)

//p PERfectly CLEAR // (reply)

Transcript 3

M: // please// come// sit// (directive)

//p i IMagine //p that RIGHT NOW// you're feeling//

p a BIT like Alice//p TUMbling DOWN // the RABbit HOLE // (comment)

//r+ mmmm// (prompt)

N: //p YOU could SAY that // (acknowledge)

M: // p i can SEE it in your EYES // (comment)

//r+ you have the LOOK of a MAN//p who acCEPTS what he SEES

//p+ because he is exPECTing to WAKE up// (clue)

// ironically//p this is not FAR from the TRUTH// (clue)

//p do you BELieve in FATE neo// (elicitation)
N: //p+ NO // (reply)
M: // r+ WHY NOT // (elicit)
N: //p because i DON'T like the iDEa //p that i'm NOT in control of my LIFE// (reply)
M: // r+ I KNOW// P exACTly what you MEAN //(evaluate)

Transcript 4

Tk: // p NOW // (marker)
// p we're supposed to start with these operAtional programs FIRST // (starter)
// p+ that's major BORing SHIT // (comment)
// p LET'S do something a little more FUN // (inform)
// p HOW ABOUT // p COMbat TRAIning // (inform)
N: // r+ JUJUstu // (reply)
// p i'm GOing to LEARN // r JUitsu // (evaluate)

Transcript 5

Ms: // p if you close your eyes it almost FEELS like you're eating
RUNNY eggs // (comment)
E: //p YEAH// (reply)
// p a whole BOWL of SNOT // (evaluate)
Ms: // r you know what it REALLY reMINDS me of // (meta statement)
// p TAsTy WHEAT // (inform)
// r did you ever EAT tasty WHEAT // (elicitation)
N: (nonverbal) (react)
S: // p NO // (accept)
// p BUT technically neither did YOU // (reply)
Ms: // p that's exACTly my POINT //
// p exACTly //
// p because you have to WONder NOW //
// p now how did the MAchines know what tasty wheat TAsTed like //
(Mouse's monologue)

E: // p+ SHUT UP mouse // (reply)

D: // p+ it's a single cell PROtein combined with synthetic aminos, vitamins

AND minerals// (inform)

D: // p Everything the body NEEDS // (conclusion)

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