DISCOURSE FUNCTIONAL FEATURES OF NONVOCAL BEHAVIOUR IN MULTI-PARTY DISCOURSE

BY

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INTRODUCTION

'I would say that the nonverbal is the criterion of life. All life functions through nonverbal signs. Human life functions through two types of signs - non-verbal and verbal.' T.A. Sebeok (1990-296)

Language has traditionally been identified as synonymous with 'verbal', (Rhemata:Greek, Verbum:Latin) or concerned with words (Lèxis:Greek, Lexicum:Latin) and speech (Glotta: Greek, Dictio:Latin), and was defined by F, Saussure (1931) as being articulated and conventional. The object of linguistic studies as 'langue,' - the abstract rules underlying speech itself, meant that language was identified as a system of signs whose values were established through the purely arbitrary relationship between signifier and signified. This led to the virtual exclusion of the nonvocal from linguistic analysis. Nonvocal sign systems, often based on metaphoric relationships of causality, similarity and metonymy between symbol and symbolised, were considered as social expressions of language and as such were external to it.

The study of language from a semiotic perspective however led to an expansion in the field of linguistic studies. Charles Morris in 1946 identified within the study of Semiology the branches of Syntax - the formal relation of signs to one another, Semantics - the relation of signs to the objects to which signs are applicable, and Pragmatics - the relation of signs to their interpreters and included 'biotic aspects of semiosis' within a definition of language. For J.R. Firth it is the concern of the linguist to establish the relations between words and text; their value establishing relations and the internal relations of the context of situation. Both the nonverbal and the verbal action of the participants are constitutive elements of the context of situation

together with the relevant objects and the verbal action. For a full description of a linguistic event it is essential therefore to establish and define both the linguistic systems in operation and their linguistic expression in behaviour. Nonverbal gestures and postures were studied as symbols which functioned within a complex relationship between verbal and nonverbal behaviour.

> 'In many ways these gestures and positions constitute a sufficient alternative to language but they have a value, a property, a renewing effect and creative force that words alone cannot supply.' (1968:77)

B. Malinowski found it essential in his work to deal theoretically with the nonvocal elements of human interaction.

> '...it is very profitable in linguistics to widen the concept of context of situation so that it embraces not only spoken words but facial expressions, gesture, bodily activities, the whole group of people...' (1935-22; cfr: Richie-Key, 1970:124)

He also highlighted the contextualised meaning of words in which the exchange and negotiation of information is measured by the effect meaning is represented in vocal and nonvocal form.

> 'I must ask you to remember the integral role of gesture in speech is just as important for the comprehension of an utterance as the few significant movements or indications that substitute a chosen word' (1965:26; cfr: Sebeok 1990:107).

However Firth defined Malinowski's context of situation as 'context of instance' however and likened it to a colour film of the moment. This was nothing more than: '...a scene, or rather, a realistic piece of behaviour, reproducible in a spoken film, in colour...' (1952:67)

Descriptively, nonvocal acts can be independent-accompanying and substitutive of speech -but in order to understand to what extent they are an independently codified system of communication the notion of context as defined by J. Firth and B. Malinowski must be further refined. A. Scheflen with R. Birdwhistell, following the Paola Alto group's tradition of a structural analysis of behaviour in interaction, developed the notion of context analysis in which

the significance of a unit of behaviour was understood in relation to the context in which it occurs which in turn is defined as whatever situation includes the unit being analysed. The structural units, presentation, position and point, were hierarchically organised into transactions and identified in elements that occurred regularly and concurrently with significant behavioural patterns.

With the work of M A K Halliday language became to be seen as a product of the social process, a social semiotic, in which people act out the social structure.

> 'The construal of reality is inseparable from the construal of the semantic system in which the reality is encoded.' (1981:1)
>
> 'In fact the relationship between text and context is a dialectical one: the text creates the context as much as the context creates the text. 'Meaning' arises from the friction between the two' (1985:47)

The context of situation was further refined into Field - its setting and activity and type of social action, Tenor - the role relationship of the participants, and Mode - the channel of communication and symbolic organisation. Halliday's distinction between prosodic, paralinguistic and indexical features of spoken language in which the nonverbal channel was described as composed of non-systematic, meaning carrying, gestural variations meant however that facial and bodily gestures were grouped together with vocal expressions of timbre, tempo and loudness under the technical name of 'paralanguage'.

It is now generally accepted within linguistics that if a functional relationship is to be found between 'nonverbal' behaviour and 'verbal' utterances a first distinction must be made between vocal and nonvocal. Nonverbal vocalisations, first referred to as paralanguage by G.L. Trager in 1958, include all the sounds made by the vocal organs which are 'nonverbal' in the sense of

not representing words but which function communicatively. Although paralinguistic and linguistic vocalisations share many of the same elements they are contrastively defined as constituting different behavioural acts. The 'nonverbal' components of the verbal act are therefore paralinguistic. They range from language element modifiers such as nasalization, laryngealization to extra speech sounds such as laughter, coughs, yells and whistles. While the prosodic elements are the segmental and suprasegmental features of phonology which are systemisable into mutually defining and meaningful opposites and related to words and their representatives over portions of speech paralanguage is composed of non-systematic meaning carrying speech variations.

Paralinguistic vocalisations are seen as composed of meaningful speech variations carrying indexical features such as pitch, range and resonance and although D. Crystal, J. Laver and D. Abercrombie have all systemised these features into meaningful contrastives and elements of structure, they are generally recognised as non-linguistic patterns of an individual's identity or behaviour since they cannot be described in terms of the segments or phonemes of the sound system of language. Linguistic prosodies on the other hand are generally accepted as the systemisable and functional part of the linguistic system. D. Brazil however has recently developed a description of the significance of many paralinguistic items in interactional terms in which the criterion adopted is one of systematic communicative behaviour. As a consequence the casual relationship between pitch patterns and kinesic phenomena is highlighted which further validates the hypothesis of a potentially independent layer of kinesic form.

> '...we do not often address a question to a group of people and *then* nominate someone to answer it. By the time the final vocative has been reached it will have become clear who is being asked, perhaps by eye-contact, or by some other means' (1983:52)

> '...certain interactionally significant signals for instance, request of back channel support may be carried by the co-occurence of a particular pitch choice and a particular kinesic one, each of which singly has a different significance'. (cfr: Coulthard, M. 1987:46)

The term paralinguistic is particularly confusing however as many authors, for example D. Abercombie, M.A.K. Halliday, D. Hockett and J. Lyons, include nonvocal gestures whilst others, for example, D. Crystal, and J. Laver, restrict themselves to vocal gestures only. As a result of traditional linguistic analysis, which attempts to study 'nonverbal' elements and to define the nature of language according to the proportion of constitutive features of human language (see C.F. Hockett 1968), the nonvocal expression of language, kinesics, has, until recently, been banished to the outer reaches of the edges of language enquiry.

The term kinesics was first used by R. Birdwhistell in 1952 and it is defined here as any nonvocal body movement which communicates by contributing to the organisation of spoken discourse.

The nonverbal act is fundamentally nonvocal in the sense that it must occur in any form of communication and is therefore, in behavioural terms, primary over both nonverbal and verbal vocalisations. M. Richie-Key, while approaching nonverbal communication as a linguist, recognises the multi-dimensional nature of human behaviour and confirms this highly significant point.

> 'In any instance of a communication item occurring as a behaviour event nonverbal communication is obligatory, while speech, or verbal communication may or may not occur concurrently'. (1970:20)

A linguistic description however must determine the extent and nature of the function that nonvocal behaviour has in a communication event. [Figure 1] illustrates the discrete nonvocal elements of the nonverbal act in relation to traditional linguistic analysis which relates the proportion of the constitutive features of language in each language form on a 'verbal/nonverbal' cline. It is suggested that proxemics and the notation system devised by E.T. Hall and physical

contact, studied to effect by A.E. Scheflen in psychotherapy transactions, be added under the heading of nonvocal to the study of kinesics. As can be seen any linear distinction between language and nonlanguage, or linguistic and nonlinguistic, in these terms, becomes difficult to draw, as for example in the case of intonation and accent. Are prosodic elements to be considered verbal components of the vocal signal in that they are not characterised by 'double articulation' and how far are they arbitrary and discrete? Some nonverbal signals are like words in being discrete, arbitrary and semantically invariant, defined as 'emblems' in D. Efron (1941) and P. Ekman and W.V. Freisen (1981) and 'symbolic gestures' in B. Rimé and L. Sciaratura (1982), while others, gaze and aspect for example, are continuous, iconic, and probabilistic in meaning.

What does seem to emerge however is that it is important to realise a distinction between linguistic systems and linguistic behaviour rather than attempting as many authors have done to isolate the features of spoken and written human language in an attempt at a definition of nonvocal behaviour outside a definition of language. Communicative nonvocal behaviour is then considered by definition to be linguistic behaviour. D. Bolinger reiterates this point when he refers to language as a 'seamless grammar'.

> 'If language is an activity, we cannot say that it stops short at the boundary of verbal speech activity for human actions are not so easily compartmentalized. We cannot even say that it stops at the boundaries of speech, for we are informed by our eyes as well as our ears... Audible gesture and visible gesture have many points in common.' (1975:18)

It is hypothesised that as kinesic behaviour and vocal language behaviour share many semiotic functions and linguistic traits and both have signal potential in a communicative event then from a semiotic perspective they are two vehicles of a common symbolic process and as such are

functionally organised in a similar way.

M.A.K. Halliday suggested that the features of the context of situation are expressed through the three macro functional components of the semantic system; experiential meanings, interpersonal meanings and textual meanings in text. This is a useful framework for bringing together different areas of research into nonvocal communication into a semiotic perspective. Although J Lyons separates linguistic behaviour into two main classes of informative and communicative functions, the cognitive and the social, which he suggests correspond to the Hallidayan Ideational and Interpersonal macrofunctions it is further hypothesised that much nonvocal behaviour expresses a Textual function in the structuration of face to face interaction in discourse through creating links with the situation and therefore constructing a form of nonvocal text.

All nonvocal activity which communicates the kinds of role relations among participants, their status and interpersonal attitudes of hostility and cooperation, approval and disapproval, inferiority and superiority or the participant's stake in the matter, are seen by Halliday as belonging to the Interpersonal. Different proxemic positions and distances noted by E.T. Hall and A. Mehabrain, types of gazes, frequencies of minimal engage items such as nods and shakes of the heads, smiles and facial expressions, forward or backward postures expressing interest or lack of interest and folded arms and legs, would be some of the elements to be analysed in signalling these meanings. M. Argyle categorised this type of activity as functional control of the social situation as opposed to that nonvocal activity which supports or substitutes verbal activity and E. Goffman, by pioneering the study into 'face-work' in social interaction, realised that much of this interpersonal mutual monitoring could be realised nonvocally. In the discourse

exchange the Interpersonal is the area in which the negotiation of the transmission of information is located and participatory choices are made. In Hallidayan terms it is expressed through the 'tenor' of discourse.

The Ideational is the information itself, the actual content of discourse, in which representational and logical choices are made. This can also be expressed both vocally and nonvocally in the exchange. P. Ekman and W.D. Friesen's work on gestures encompasses this area of research and will be adopted in the analysis of patterns of kinesic elements in the ideational layer of analysis which are 'lexical' or 'informative' in M. Richie-Key (1970) or 'propositional' in J. Clear (1987). Those indexical features which express, sometimes unconsciously, our hidden beliefs and feelings such as emotive and emphatic movements, which are both accompanying and independent of speech and expressed as grimaces, shrugs, hand gesticulation and gesture etc., will be analysed for position in discourse. J. Clear suggests that nonvocal acts are not normally found as head acts of initiating moves as they are not normally propositional and are therefore not obligatory units and as such are not normally predicting or predicted. J.A.R.A.M. Van Hoof quite clearly talks an opposing position.

> 'Elementary patterns of movement and posture, which I shall call acts form a continuous string in time...they are organised and therefore predictable.' ...Given a certain act, there are quite specific probabilities that consecutive acts will occur...' (1982:363-364).

The linguistic consequences of the occurrence of specific kinesic acts will be examined in the data within a model of discourse.

It is try the exchange which is the unit in which turntaking is predictable however and M. Berry confirms in her systemic analysis of directive and elicitive exchanges that this level of analysis is identifiable with the organisation and structure of interaction itself. Eye-contact

signalling, mutuality of gaze, body positions and movements, speech accompanying gesticulation and specific gestures are all involved in regulating the signals which create and delineate opportunity - assignment rules in interaction management organisation. It is the textual which creates enabling choices and links with the situation, constructing discourse which is realised nonvocally in terms of moves, turns and contributions. K. Richardson defines discourse turns succinctly in terms of structuration and not synchronisation, as she suggests do H. Sacks and the ethnomethodologists, pointing out that not only can a discourse turn be made of more than one contribution but that the reverse is also true. In classroom situations, for example, the teacher may often do both follow-up and next initiation in the same 'turn'. Syntactic and nonsyntactic 'frames' in discourse moves can be realised kinesically as in the 'directive' and 'bid' acts in the 1975 'Sinclair-Coulthard model'. Turntakings, interruptions, 'repairs', attention requesting and holding and relinquishing the floor will be analysed in order to find kinesic patterns which establish principles for recognising boundaries of units of the same and different rank. S. Duncan's segmentation of turn rules in conversation is exhaustive but is restricted to back-channel vocalisations whereas J.M. Sinclair's minimal engage items include kinesic realisations. F. Poyatos proposes a tripartite phonemic, paralinguistic and orthographic transcription analysis of Duncan's turntaking features and a three-level kinesic rotation (head, arms and hands, and trunk and legs) and this deals effectively with both natural and contrived conversation. This is the basic model to be used in analysing the textual layer of analysis. E. Ventola also states that the discourse move is the unit of turntaking, his transcription keeps H. Sacks's 'contributions' as separate, and he postulates that as the boundary marking system in clauses is composed of lexico-grammatical boundary makers so nonvocal action marks discourse boundaries in service encounters. B. Grosz likewise accepts that boundary markers are also realised by nonvocal semiotic codes such as head nods and gestures which both initiate and end units and provide

intrinsic boundaries. Grosz's study shows that, at least in elicited, instructional type of discourse, the use of various markers can be related to boundaries of elements which realise verbally and nonverbally the social action in a situation as well as performing a range of possible other functions. A. De Long finds patterns of predictability in independent kinesic units marking and signalling turn boundaries in preschool children and W. Edmonson distinguishes 'markers' which are a simultaneous accompaniment to speech, 'redefiners' which modify and classify units and 'components' of units which replace or substitute discourse acts. He also accepts that these functions can be realised nonvocally.

G. Bateson and M. Mead were the first to use film recordings in academic anthropological studies of human behaviour and were able to study the role of the nonvocal in the and behavioural characteristics and rituals of the Balinese people. Bateson was one of the founding fathers of the cybernetic approach to communication which further expanded the field of the study of communication.

E. Ventola, following in the Halliday and Hasan tradition, accepts the obligatory nature of the nonvocal action of 'purchase' and 'goods handover' within the generic structure potential of service encounters and laments at the difficulty of finding analysable nonvocal data while commenting on its importance.

> "The most serious problem has been the role which nonverbal activities play in these situations. Non-verbal activities form a vital part of the whole service encounter activity. In this respect video recorded data can be recommended ...
> Since the importance of semiotic aspects for understanding what is going on linguistically in interaction is understood better today, various possibilities of video recording in natural environments should also be seriously investigated. (1987:109)

The difficulties encountered by M. Stubbs and K. Macknight in applying a discourse model of analysis to multiparty discourse highlight the necessity of introducing a new layer of analysis in

order to explicate the organisation of face to face interaction beyond dyadic structures. S. Hunston and G. Francis in their analysis of telephone conversation also comment on the recording of all aspects of conversation.

> "This type of discourse was chosen for two reasons firstly because the lack of paralinguistic features such as gestures and eye-gaze allows us to pre-empt the possible criticism - a valid one in the case of face-to-face interaction that only video-tape recording can capture all the features of conversation"(1987:)

Likewise, J. Gosling justifies the investigation into discourse kinesics

> "In multi-party discourse especially where speakers may address themselves to any participants, it is immediately clear from consideration of soundtrack alone that any attempt to establish addressor-addressee relations is nugatory without reference to visual clues of some kind"(1981:162)

Finally, D. Brazil highlights the importance of nonvocal behaviour for an understanding of discourse interaction.

> 'It is now generally recognised that many of the questions that interest the discourse analyst will be answered only when it is able to integrate the rich resources of 'body language' into his descriptive apparatus.' (1983:40)

The recognition that any behavioural event under observation may have signal value in situation owes much in principle to G. Bateson's application of ideas from information analysis to interactional analysis in which the reciprocal of information transfer was measured in terms of predictability and redundancy. In this way the fact that both 'intentional' interactional gesture and 'unintentional' postural and proxemic acts were observable aspects of behaviour with communicative potential led to an expanded definition of communication.

> 'All behaviour, and not only discourse is communication, and all communication including the signs of interpersonal context - influence behaviour.' Pragmatic data are not only words, their configurations and meanings, but also the concurrent nonverbal facts such as the language of the body.
> ...In this perspective not only verbal expression but all behaviour is communication. Communication and behaviour become synonomous.' (cfr: P. Watzlawick, 1967:99)

D. Mackay identifies four categories of nonvocal signals by making a distinction between those signals perceived and not perceived as being directed or not directed at communication and provisionally defines a communicative event in terms of the effect on the internal functioning of the participants.

> '...an event is not communicative (in the sense in which we intend this term) if it does not have some internal function of organisation in the receiver'. (1972:42)

His conclusion, however, that: 'A communicates with B only while A's action is directed towards an end as far as B is concerned' (emphasis added) is neither adequate nor easily applicable to the study of nonvocal communication. Many signals are not normally consciously produced and received, for example, affect displays, gesticulation, posture, proximity and possibly intonation but are communicated in the nonvocal channel. R. Birdwhitstell succinctly makes the point that:

> 'An individual does not communicate: he engages in or becomes part of communication. In other words, he does not originate communication; he participates in it.'

J R Scott's criticism of this brings to light the delicate question of conscious intent.

> 'I would appeal to our sense of 'entering into' as the indication of a boundary between our intentional systems of attributing meaning and the intentional systems that we recognise as jointly creating meaning for scholarly purposes, it seems to make sense to call the latter 'communication.' (1977:259)

The notion of 'unconscious intent' and E.R. Hilgard's idea of a 'hidden observer' is sometimes used as a means of further correlating communication with intent. It seems however simply to imply that 'unintentional communication' may signal communicative meaning and therefore in fact communicate. This further convalidates the hypothesis that any item of behaviour in situation may have signal value in the sense of transferal of information and is therefore part of a communication system composed of alternative behaviours. Even a kinesic action that is not consciously directed and has no observable effect on participants therefore has a goal. The

business of attracting and checking another's attention, for example, is a communicative sign which is independent of the other's perception of it. Both undirected and unperceived gestural signs therefore may have a communicative function in a definition of communication which encompasses P. Watzlawick's famous statement that we cannot not communicate. J. Reusch and W. Kees following in the tradition of the meta-communication the visits wrote in 1956.

> 'Replacing the older distinction between involuntary expression and intentional statement, we have today come to realise that any form of action, whether verbal or nonverbal has communicative function. As soon as another person interprets a signal with some degree of accuracy, it must be codified in terms that qualify as language.' (1956:48).

L. Laver and S. Hutcheson's solution to the question is to consider purposeful, directed and controllable behaviour which accompanies or substitutes verbal communication as paralinguistic communication and non-purposeful, non-directed and non-controllable behaviour as extralinguistic signalling. However, as intentional states are only observable via their effects any distinction made between nonvocal acts of communicative behaviour and nonvocal acts which do not observably and systematically influence the functions of spoken discourse must consider kinesic elements as independent variables. It is the relations between these variables which constitute meaning. Observation and transcription suggest that kinesic elements including coughs, tics, frowns, involuntary movements, etc, receive their significance in discourse through their relationship with other elements of structure, otherwise units are largely a matter of intuition and subsequently ill defined.

It would seem that the definition of communication most suitable for a structural analysis of interaction must take as excluded the notion that the cognitive consciousness of the transmitter defines the extent and nature of the communicative process.

The distinction made between sign and signal in Semiology clarifies the question by emphasising the role of the interpreter of the sign vehicle in a communicative event.

> 'When a sign token mechanically or conventionally triggers some reaction on the part of the receiver, it is said to function as a signal. (cfr: T.A. Sebeok, 1975:237)

Sign behaviour is defined in the following way: 'Goal-seeking behaviour in which signs exercise control may be called sign behaviour.' (cfr: C. Morris 1971:85) Signs therefore only exercise control if interpreted, either consciously or unconsciously, by the receiver in which case they may be defined as functioning communicatively. If signs are unobserved or uninterpreted by another it is sign behaviour only in the sense of communication with the 'self' in which case in Morris's theory of signs it does not function as a linguistic sign. The communicational nature of a nonvocal sign can then only be objectively interpreted by the subsequent choices from linguistic alternatives made by the receiver and not by intent or by reference to 'inner' processes.
In order to ascertain the occurrence of a nonvocal summons (sum) which can be, and perhaps often is, unconsciously produced and received through headshift, gaze and eyecontact, an analysis of the occurrence of the expected response must be made. In the same way as the expected response to a telephone call (Summons in D. Burton's 1981 model) is to answer the call, occurrence patterns of the expected response to a nonvocal summons, Acknowledge, will be analysed within the data in order to establish the existence and define the status of a nonvocal discourse unit.

In the move towards the observation of all nonvocal action as potential signals however linguists analysed correlations with a focus on the formal properties of language. A synchronicity between syntactic and prosodic structures and nonvocal behaviour was established. R. Birdwhistell's units consisted of kinemes combining to form kinemorphs in turn analysable

into kinemorphic classes and constructions and applied the linguistic systems of the behaviourist 'Smith Trager' model to the study of body movements. In his pioneering study he related speech related movements such as markers to syntactic sequences and kinesic stress to clauses and concluded that the majority of body movements were a code which is analogous to language but functionally independent from it. Correlations were found between structural meanings of verbal form but his units were left empty of a functional framework. A Kendon's speech units were described phonologically as tone units and these were analysed into locution cluster, locution group, locution and prosodic phrase in a hierarchical structure of discourse. Again synchronicity was found with body movements described by the American College of Surgeons. W.S. Condon's and W.D. Osgood's process units and self synchronous unit structures, identified as regularly occurring with the flow of speech, identify synchrony at phonic, syllabic and word levels of speech. Postural positions were related to the paragraph and longer units of discourse, the position of the head and arms to the sentence and an interactive synchronism of hand movements, facial expression and gaze to the word and syntagma was identified. A.E. Schefflen's hierachicic structure of communicational behaviour at three levels corresponds to sentence, paragraph and longer spoken sequences and he suggests that posture may indicate the beginnings and ends of contributions to the interaction. A. Kendon in 1972 used a phonetic transcription to identify speech units in terms of syllables, phrases and larger semantic units but it is in the study of gaze in signalling turntaking in the seminal study with M. Argyle in 1967 that his speech units are described as having an interpersonal function.

G. Bateson explicitly stated the dangers involved in this approach.

> 'to translate kinesics or paralanguagic messages into words is likely to introduce gross falsification due not merely to the human propensity for trying to falsify statements about "feelings" and relationships and to the distortions which arise whenever the products of one system of coding are dissected onto the premises of

> another, but especially to the fact that all such translation must give to the more or less unconscious and involuntary iconic messages the appearance of conscious intent.' (1951:221)

As W.S. Condon understood observational synchronicity between formal language properties, and nonvocal behaviour was established primarily in a search for workable units of behaviour.

> 'The search for units of behaviour, their organisation and their empirical validation, thus constitutes *the* central problem of behavioural analysis. A *method* of segmenting the stream of behaviour, of discovering where information about its order is located, also emerges as a concomitant consideration.' (1976:150)

But identifying synchronicity does not necessarily mean understanding causality. In fact Condon in his search for a syntactic organisation of nonvocal behaviour comments at one point: 'One can be at a loss to find the metaphysical glue which holds it all together in a meaningful syntactic unity.' (1976:157). Kendon on the other hand hints as the necessity of finding a discourse functional framework.

> 'Further, it appears that there might be differences according to the type of speech unit, considered from the point of view of its function in relation to others in the discourse.' (1972: 207-8)

J.M. Sinclair distinguishes between three types of gesture: verbal, visual and physical, and between body movement that is an independent system of communication and nonverbal activity 'where gestures do duty for conventional utterances'.

> 'Since language is a kind of activity we can expect that it gets mixed up with nonverbal actions. Simple, conventional messages are often accompanied by gestures and can sometimes be replaced by them. This type of gesture can be understood without difficulty as filling a position in discourse which would otherwise require a very predictable phrase. Humans do also, like other animals, show an elaborate range of body movements that is not so clearly connected with language, but seems to be an independent system of communication'. (1982:17)

Nonvocal gestures and movement it seems represent an independent system of communication at one level of functioning and are seemingly inextricably related to those gestures which functionally affect the hierarchically organised units of behaviour in discourse either by marking or replacing these units.

Studies in the field of psychology and social psychology have contributed enormously to our understanding of the functions of much nonvocal behaviour. Units of behaviour were not necessarily defined in terms of the observable physical properties and forms of speech. The functions of nonvocal behaviour in the speech encoding and decoding process in communicative expression were examined by A.T. Dittman and N. Freedman. The work of M. Argyle (1981) on the social functions of gaze in signalling information seeking, controlling the synchronising of speech and in expressions of intimacy is another example of the contribution made by psychologists in the identification of the internal mechanisms involved. Argyle (1972) postulates three types of nonvocal communication with different origins and functions. Firstly there are the expressions of interpersonal attitudes and emotive states realising control of immediate social situation which demonstrate a certain universal cultural uniformity. Secondly there are the effects of supporting vocal communication in which kinesics is seen to influence the meaning of the utterance in the same way as prosodic segments. Finally there is the substitution of verbal communication exemplified by sign language. In recognising the multi-functional nature of nonvocal communication Argyle provides a useful theory in which the universal human expressions of emotion, described by C. Darwin as being universal and independent of experience, can be explained in relation to the many other nonvocal signals which are dependent on experience and different from culture to culture. The conclusion that most nonvocal communicative behaviour is used in strict correspondence with the emission, reception and

control of linguistic messages leads to the hypothesis of a global system of communication.

There are, however, many specific nonvocal systems that, while sharing many of the same elements, are identifiable in terms of procedure, for example: Orthography, Braille, images and abstract symbols, gestures, finger spelling, Sign languages (American and British), lip reading, cued speech and computerised systems of communications.

The identification of systems of codifiability led to a useful distinction in procedural terms between digital and analogic forms of communication in which the digital or verbal and arbitrary has a complex and efficient syntactic logic but lacks in the semantics of interpersonal relations and the analogic, or nonverbal and unarbitrary, has a highly developed sematic system but no unambiguous syntax in social relations.

P. Walzlawick defines analog communication in these terms.

> 'What then is analogic communication? The answer is relatively simple: it is virtually all nonverbal communication. This term, however, is deceptive because it is often restricted to body movement only, to the behaviour known as kinesics. We hold that the term must comprise posture, gesture, facial expression, voice inflection, the sequence, rhythm and cadence of the words themselves, and any other nonverbal manifestation of which the organism is capable, as well as the communicational clues unfailingly present, in any *context* in which an interaction takes place.' (1967:62)

However the dichotomy derived from the application of theories developed for the quantification of information transferral in machines is limited in its application to the complexity of human interaction. Human behaviour is vast, myriad and has as yet defied any categorisation and communication is only one of many human activities of which language is only a small part. All language is activity but not all activity is language. Few people would argue for example that appearance is part of language activity even though it may have communicative value as a

signal if it is read as such by the receiver. As communicative nonvocal behaviour is by no means a unifiably coded system of communication but rather 'a system of systems', the linguist must identify and describe those signs which are created to express meaning as coded systems of signals whose values are shared within an identifiable speech community.

The vocal and the nonvocal are two vehicles of a common symbolic process expressed as expressive or symbolic actions which create acts of meaning. As J.R. Firth suggests we must consider words as acts, events and habits. The same could be said of communicative gestures. E. Leach (1972) emphasises the importance of the context of the transfer of information and points out that nonvocal elements sharing the same physical characteristics whilst occurring in different cultures, interpreted by I. Eibl-Eibesfedlt as examples of cultural uniformity of expression, are analogous to spoken language in that their meaning depends on their relationship to other elements and to the cultural context in which they occur. As natural languages do not invest individual sounds with particular meanings we cannot therefore expect universal correspondence between nonvocal signals and responses, in fact linguists are concerned with symbols and types of emission signals and not responses to physical acts of emission as stimuli. Symbolic and expressive gestures or movements are realised not as two separate systems of communication but through functions which operate both in speech and nonspeech. The observation that all languages are based on universal linguistic principles, identified by N. Chomsky, L. Hjemslev, R. Jackobson and C.J. Fillmore, tends to confirm the hypothesis that human beings tend to organise their expressive behaviour 'grammatically' or in the same way as a linguistic system. N. Chomsky for example postulates that cultural conventions form a generative grammar in the production and interpretation of symbolic nonvocal gestures and that there are therefore 'universals' in codings of nonvocal signals.

It is hypothesised that the signal potential of many nonvocal elements will tend to be characterised on a line of expressive movements which mark the discourse units and their boundaries and hence be accompanying of discourse. At the same time however they will have functional potential as discourse acts by substituting vocal discourse units in which resulting patterns will have an efficient syntactic logic resembling the more formal properties of language. For example a frown might mark the boundary of a challenging move, it might also effectively constitute such a move and be interpreted and responded to as such, in which case it would effectively substitute a vocal challenging move. For this to occur it would seem that eye contact or at least mutuality of gaze must be present which would indicate a further category of nonvocal elements having discourse function in the structural organisation of the interaction.

If we consider language as a system of signs then its communicative functions must be analysed in a semiotic perspective. P. Watzlawick stated that every communication has a content aspect, conveyed digitally, and a relationship aspect which is analogic in nature and the discourse analysis framework adopted, following in the tradition of J. Austin and J. Searle, is based on the premise that a congruence can be found between form and function. R. Hodge and G. Knees define discourse well.

> Discourse (in this sense) is the site where social forms of organisation engage with systems of signs in the production of texts, thus reproducing or changing the sets of meanings and values which make up a culture.' (1988:6)

Many nonvocal signals such as many facial expressions, speech accompanying hand movements, bodily postures etc. will affect the discourse structure only indirectly. Those which relate to the interpersonal level of analysis refer to a social process of interpersonal attitudes represented as nonvocal signals regarding status, social control, hostility etc, which refer to

internal processes and has not, as yet, been accounted for in discourse analysis. However kinesic elements such as gaze, eye contact, proximity and head movements in turntaking between utterances also play an important interpersonal role and it is suggested have a textual function in the organisation of non vocal behaviour in face to face interaction. It is nonetheless the ideational function that is most closely connected to the verbal organisation of discourse in that elements such as emblems, icons, gestures, nods and conventional movements transfer information which often replace words or their combinations. These elements resemble words in being discrete, arbitrary and less probabilistic in meaning.

M.A.K. Halliday in 1961 in his exposition of a general theory of grammar postulated three levels of description: Substance, form and context. In 1981 D. Brazil proposed an expansion of the level of form to include intonation as a formal set of contrastive meanings and J. Gosling suggested that the realisation of kinesic form through kinetic substance would also effectively fit into the model. Due to the nonvocal nature of kinesics however he was forced to eliminate 'phonology' as an 'interlevel'. However, in Halliday's 'Categories of the theory of Grammar' kinesics might be defined as 'extra textual' in which case it is not necessary to eliminate the 'interlevel' phonology. The levels of phonology, context and orthography will suffice, in which kinesic form is related to kinetic substance through the interlevel of context: 'Context is in fact (like phonology) an 'interlevel', relating form to extratextual features.' (1961/1981:53). Orthography is defined as nonvocal graphic 'substance': 'If substance is graphic, it is related to form by 'orthography'.' (1961/1981:53) Figure 2 illustrates this.

The school of discourse analysis provides an alternative linguistic approach to the structure of much communicative non-vocal behaviour in that the units, hieracally organised into acts, moves, exchanges, sequences and transactions, are defined in terms of their functions in the

ongoing discourse. Kendon hinted at this in his analysis of talk in a private lounge in a London pub.

> 'It may also be added that the hieracical organization these movements appear to have, may be seen to provide at least a partial diagram of the relations between the units of the speaker's discourse' (1972:207)

Kendon also postulated an order of kinesic elements in his studies on gesticulation, in informal discussions, handshakes in greetings, eye contact in floor apportionment signals, and posture in 'kissing rounds'. The physical elements were described from terms used by the American College of Surgeons for describing joint function.

> 'What emerges is a description of the flow of movement as a series of contrasting waves of movement where within the larger waves (i.e. those that last longer) smaller waves are contained. In fact we can imagine a sort of hierarchy in the organization of movement in which some body parts are more commonly involved in frequent changes than others are.' (1972:182)

W.S. Condon's process units are defined in much the same way.

> 'The change of body parts with each other through a given interval of time as contrasted preceding and succeeding sets of similarly sustained configurations of movements.' (1966:342)

Condon also suggests that movement of larger units or more slowly changing body parts occur at the boundaries of the larger units in the flow of speech. J. Gosling likewise analyzed kinesic movements from physical elements physical position, arms, hands, head, face and eyes, that were organised hierarcichally, and it was argued were structurally organised.

> It is further argued that such mutuality is a state of affairs achieved by a progressive build-up of grosser to finer body movements over time, and that it is an essential precondition for discourse functions which may be realised either kinesically or vocally, or both. (1981:181)

Kinesic units composed of kinesic elements of physical movements which signal discourse units, either by accompanying or replacing, will be categorised and analyzed in the data. These

elements and units of kinesic behaviour, it is argued, have discourse function in that they transfer information available into the communicative metafunctions of the ideational, textual and interpersonal, through the structure of discourse and Figure 3 illustrates this graphically.

It is hypothesised that all observable nonvocal behaviour which expresses the ideational and textual metafunctions of communicative behaviour are systemisable in relation to discourse structure. The original 1975 Sinclair model was designed to explicate classroom interaction which although a form of multiparty discourse is dyadic in its organisation and compared to informal conversation invites a simple type of spoken discourse both in the structure of vocal utterances and in the organisation of discourse roles and conventions.

> 'While it was basic to our theory that the verbal and non-verbal context would affect the discourse, we had no theoretical basis for distinguishing between important and unimportant features and therefore set out to control as many of the potential variables as possible - age, ability, class size, teacher/pupil familiarity, topic of lesson.' (1975:6)

The objective was to describe the structure of a form of spoken discourse and the way language functions are realized through grammatical structure and position in discourse. Due to the nature of the type of discourse analyzed however only a relatively few elements of discourse functional non-vocal behaviour were identified. The nonvocal move in the act 'bid' with the raising of hands to attract the teacher's attention, the nonvocal response of a nod of the head to an informative move in the act 'acknowledge' and 'eye nomination' by the teacher were the first to be recognised. A nonvocal action as the head act of an answering move in a directive exchange was classified as 'react'. 'Non-verbal' surrogates such as nods were appropriate linguistic responses to elicitations and constitute the act 'reply' They may be realized nonvocally as a closed set of conventional non-vocal items as was also hypothesised by J. Austin (1962) for

acts of warning. Videotaped data will be analyzed for recurring patterns of non-verbal signals which may substitute vocal gestures in other discourse acts such as 'markers', 'evaluates' 'nominations' and 'accepts'.

The importance of the role given to the non-verbal action in directive exchange was noted by M. Coulthard and D. Brazil.

> It is not clear whether it is better to regard directive moves as a separate class of moves, or whether to regard them as a sub-class of informing moves concerned with what the speaker wants B to do. Certainly the linguistic options following a directive move are remarkably similar to those following an informing move, and it therefore becomes a question of the significance attached to the non-verbal action! (1981:104-5)

A. Tsui makes an important contribution to the model of analysis in this respect by proposing subcategories of 'Initiating' acts in which elicitations are defined by the nature of the obligatory verbal response or non-verbal surrogate and 'requestives' and 'directives' by the obligatory non-verbal response. 'Requestives' imply an option of compliance whereas 'Directives' do not. D. Burton refers to nonverbal surrogates such as nods in the act 'reply' and attention giving gestures in the act 'accept'. 'Summonses' were nonverbal elements such as door bells, telephone calls etc which also have discourse function by realising a discourse unit. M. Berry expands Halliday's analysis of clause function to the area of discourse units and in doing so provides a first framework for distinguishing between non-vocal action which is linguistic behaviour and that which is not both within and outside a Directive exchange.

> An unnegotiated action is not linguistically interesting per se. An action is only linguistically interesting when it is syntagmatically related to other moves which are linguistically realized. (1981:54)

D. Willis emphasises the role of an appropriate non-verbal action in defining or redefining the

discourse function of the units in a directive exchange by acknowledging and meeting the demands of initiations with directive force.

> '... eliciting moves ... may prompt a subsequent directive exchange, or may be reclassified as having directive force... the reclassification marker has been accompanied by an appropriate non-verbal act.., for an utterance to be regarded as, say, directive in force, requires the co-operation of two participants. The only way we can conform to this principle is by regarding it as being interactive but as having illocutionary force or potential which may or may not be realized.' (1987:37-41)

If we see all action as having potential signal value in communication then non-verbal action that provides an appropriate response in a directive interaction has discourse function as do symbolic and expressive gestural actions which by substituting and accompanying speech constitute and mark discourse units.

Although all behaviour is action, including enunciation for that matter, it may be useful to distinguish between discourse 'act' and physical 'action' in which a discourse act, composed of vocal and non-vocal units of behaviour, is action which is syntactically related to discourse. When Sinclair and Coulthard's 1975 model of analysis was applied to the organisation of less structured discourse in terms of conventions and objectives, different layers of analysis were added, new units were identified and existing units were expanded on.

S. Hunston and G. Francis reflected the need for a systematic approach to non-vocal realizations of discourse functions when in an analysis of everyday conversation they proposed twelve head acts that were realizable non-vocally and eight exchanges of which 'behaving' is intended to encompass the nonvocal action requested by a directive. J. Gosling identified discourse functional non-vocal behaviour as that being principally related to Halliday's interpersonal metafunction.

> Discourse functional information has to do with the management of those aspects of the interpersonal which have to do with the organization of discourse. (1981:161)

The Ideational was considered to be 'pretheoretical' in linguistic terms as no observable or systemisable effect on discourse had as yet been established. As a consequence recurrent features of non-vocal behaviour, and in particular eye nomination, contact and gaze, were identified in the complex management of turntaking speaker nomination, maintenance of speaking rights, turn claims and feedback requests through the non-vocal channel. It was also postulated that eye contact had the potential function of 'framing' boundary exchanges and marking and delineating transaction boundaries. A tentative suggestion of a kinesic rank order relating to discourse structure was made.

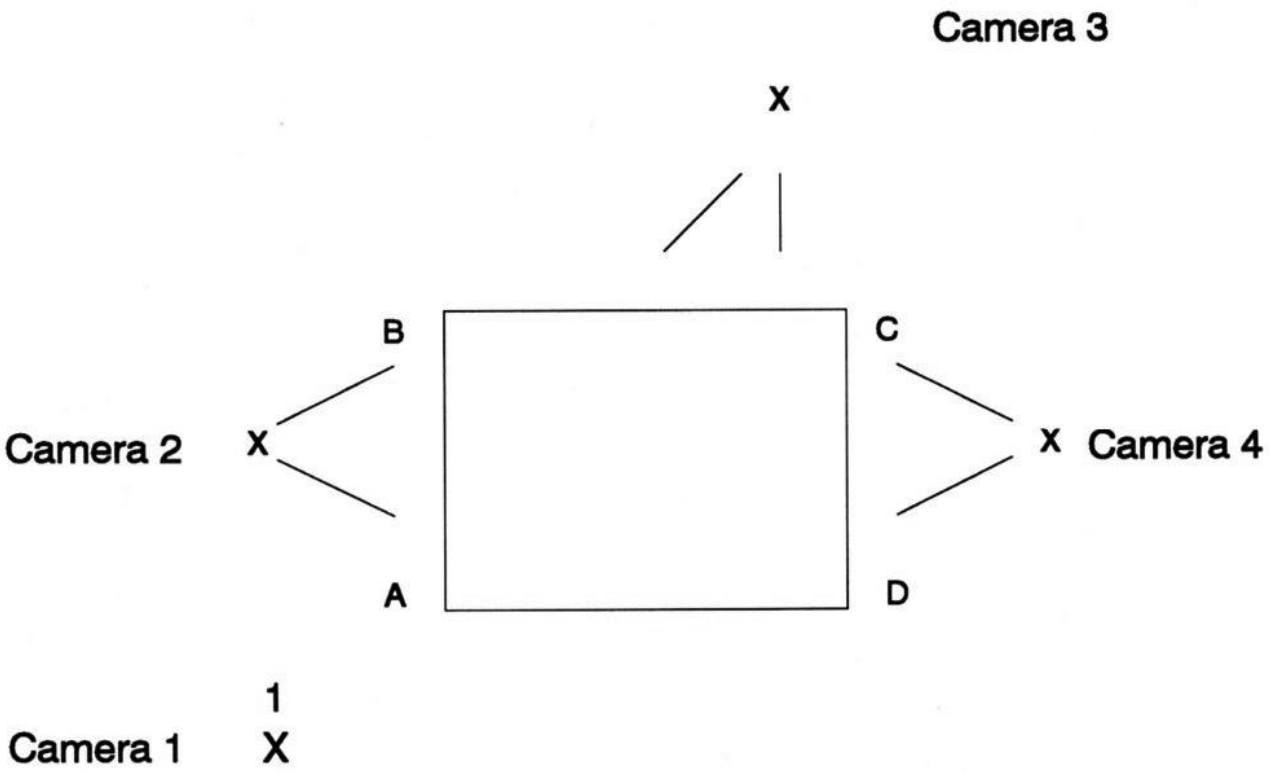
> The problem may be somewhat overcome by positing a hierarchy of kinesic units, partly anatomically derived, but which combine in structural patterns overtime in each individual (as detailed above). These observable structures may then be seen as potentially available to serve as the necessary realisations in at least two individuals, which may then serve kinesic states which in their turn realize discourse function. It is these mutuality states observed through their structural realisations in terms of kinesic rank order which may fit into a model of discourse of the kind recently developed mainly by Birmingham ELR members, and which includes items like transactions, exchanges, moves and acts, with their accompanying intonational, grammatical and cohesive patterns. (1981:177)

Successful moves, or speaker change, were observed and found to be accompanied by kinesic 'phases' involving mutuality between participants through postural change and orientation of body parts, specific head gestures and gaze and eye contact signals in the distribution of turns.

It will be argued that part of this nonverbal activity, the part that is functionally related in terms of discourse as defined by J. Sinclair and M. Coulthard and developed by the ELR department of the University of Birmingham, is linguistically information-carrying with a systematically integrated semantic system and that for a full description of a linguistic event this part of nonvocal behaviour must be fully accounted for.

METHODOLOGY

A meeting around a table to discuss the year's cultural activities and programme of four partners of a private English language school, The Round Table, was filmed from four angles with VHS video cameras. Camera 1 took in the whole group, Camera 2 covered participants C and D, while camera 3 and 4 covered participants A and B.



As the length of the meeting was 1 hour 35 minutes and the quantity of data initially of an unmanageable proportion, and in consideration of A. Kendon's warnings of the influence of the systems of analysis on the interpretation of the model of data analysed, two short kinesic transcriptions of 5 and 2 minutes respectively were made of a stretch of discourse of 8 minutes independently of any assumptions behind the theory of discourse.

The first transcript was an attempt at identifying non-vocal behaviour which was discourse

functional in terms of the Hallidayan textual macrofunction. The second analysed behaviour which realised the Ideational. Although the two analysed transcripts were of two consecutive stretches of discourse, they were connected by a topic change which, in consideration of D. Burton's (1981) comments on the role of topic change in a larger discourse framework, was felt to be a justifiable marker for different transcription analyses. In the search for a working model applicable to other multi-party discourse the data was then scanned for similar kinesic units of behaviour and the resultant transcript analysed for repeatable patterns. The resultant videotape of all the transcripts contains a first viewing from Camera 1 of the whole interaction followed by a synchronised horizontal split screen from Cameras 2 and 4. Camera 3 was found to be superfluous and the audio recording was taken from camera 2 in the second close-up split screen recording.

Transcript A included 4 layers of analysis:

1. A transcript of the speech.
2. An analysis of the discourse framework.
3. An analysis of significant kinetic behaviour in posture, head, hand, arm and finger movement, gesture and gesticulation, gaze and eye contact.
4. An analysis of non-vocal behaviour using Ekman and Friesen's (1986) categories and codings of emblems, illustrators, regulators, affect displays and adaptors. (see figure 4.)

Transcript B adapted the turntaking rules, first devised by S. Duncan (1972) and reformulated by F. Poyatos (1980), (see figure 5) to explicate spoken discourse to include non-vocal behaviour and added the model of turns, moves, contributions, overlaps and parallel subordinate turns (PST) in K Richardson (1981). Turns are uninterrupted stretching speech,

overlaps are turns whose beginning or end simply overlaps the other speaker's speech, while PST is a speech accompanying turn in the sense of simultaneously and totally overlapping the speech of another speaker. Contributions are defined as discourse acts of which moves are formed. A PST can be syntactic or non-syntactic and is, by definition, not sender initial turntaking. For example, the vocalised non-syntactic 'Um' and gaze down constitute an engage in receiver feedback at line 21 in Transcript A (TA : 21). 'So' is a marker within failed receiver turntaking and is accompanied by directed gaze and a vocalised Accept and kinesic. Acknowledge at TA : 23 within sender counter feedback in a supporting move. Syntactic examples of PST can be found at TA : 15, (Inf (add), (Ack)) within receiver feedback, and at a TA : 37 (El (supply)), TA : 39 (com(q)) and at TA : 40 (Acc) all of which are within receiver feedback and are fully overlapped by the speech at TA : 36 in a challenging move.

Overlaps were also found to be principally receiver contributors, for example (Engage) Inf at TA : 4, com(q) (engage) at TA : 37 and Conf [conf], Inf (add), (Term) at TA : 10. Therefore, when a receiver contribution overlaps a sender contribution it was coded Overlap in the left hand column marked Moves and Turns. While a PST does not break the sender's flow of speech and interrupt the sender's turn an overlap marks a turn boundary.

The level of delicacy of the analysis and the complexities of analysing multi-party discourse were such that the Sinclair and Coulthard Model (1975) was adapted and expanded to include many suggestions for additional discourse acts proposed by S. Hunston and G. Francis (1987), D. Burton and M. Montgomery (1981), D. Willis (1987) and A. Tsui (1987). See [figure 6] for a definitive list of acts identified within the data.

The basic Move structure was taken from D. Burton (1981) with several alterations. Burton established the premise of a discourse framework in order to recognise and define the Moves in 'talk' situations.

> "Discourse framework concerns the presuppositions set up in the initiating move of an exchange (that is, any move other than a supporting move), and the interactional expectations dependent on that move... Given this concept of discourse framework, a supporting move is any move that maintains the framework set up by a preceding initiatory move." (1981:70)

This was an essential concept in the analysing and transcribing of kinesic behaviour within discourse structure. For example, lines 29 to 35 in Transcript A (TA : 29-35) are all considered as challenging the presupposition set up in the Bound Opening at TA : 24 of using the Hienemann book Blueprint if they could. The challenging move is, therefore, considered to be formed by 5 turns and two PST (nonsyntactic and syntactic). The Supporting move in TA : 43-58 was a lengthy response by all the participants to the presuppositions set up in the preceding Opening directive and, as such, established a discourse framework composed of numerous contributions. It is, however, interrupted by two embedded Moves at TA : 47/48 and TA : 49/50 which as they interrupt the flow of discourse are described as side sequences after Jefferson (1972). A side sequence, in the sense intended here, is an overlapped exchange embedded within a Move structure and other examples were found at TA : 5/6/7 and TA : 82/87.

Following an idea of bound exchanges postulated by M. Coulthard, M. Montgomery and D. Brazil (1981) Exchanges and Moves which are clearly dependent on preceding Exchanges and Moves were described as Bound. This both added clarity to the description and immediately simplified the transcription. For example, all the contributions in TA : 89-92 were considered bound to the opening move at TA : 87 and were, therefore, part of a Bound Support. The

Concur at TA : 80 in a supporting move was not bound to previous supporting moves but to the Directive Opening at TA : 42 and, therefore, formed an independent Move unrelated to its preceding Move. On the other hand the challenging moves in TB : 24-27 do not constitute one challenging framework of a previous Opening or Supporting Move but each challenges the other. They are, therefore, Bound Challenges.

As a consequence of this Move structure many turns, overlaps and parallel subordinate turns were included within the discourse Move and as a result a sequential transcript of the timing of the utterances within Moves could be recorded. As kinetic behaviour is continuous in nature it was, therefore, more easily transcribed and its relationship to discourse structure more easily analysed.

At points (e.g. TA : 5, 53, 89,91) it was necessary to include an Elicit within a Supporting move but as in all cases the Elicit was a request for confirmation, coded E1 (conf) this was not felt to be a major travesty of the original 1975 Sinclair and Coulthard model.

A further consequence of this 'expanded' discourse framework was that there gradually appeared to be a principal sender of the main presupposition within the Move framework. As a result the contributor of the primary contribution is defined as the sender and was almost always the first contributor in the data. The other participants maintained the framework and were classified as receivers of the principal sender's Move contributions. In multi-party discourse, therefore, there is more than one receiver but only one sender. The sender can easily become the receiver within the next Move, however, e.g. TA : 93-95.

A simplified version of the basic features of turn rules in F. Poyatos (1980), devised in explicate face to face interaction within a Basic Triple Structure of Language-Paralanguage-

Kinesics was applied to the data.

> "If we search our data for the types of behaviours that perform specific functions in the mechanism of conversation, we soon discover, first of all, the preponderance of the Basic Triple Structure - plus kinesically-based proxemic behaviour - within that mechanism; that is the turn rules (claiming, yielding, taking) and counterrules (holding, suppressing) that we are consciously displayed in the course of natural conversation. In addition turn suppressing, feedback, and counterfeedback (i.e. the speakers feedback to the listener's feedback) can also be displayed through the Basic Triple Structure and through proxemics. (1980:235)

The sender and receiver defined as the speaker and auditor is however orientated towards turns as uninterrupted stretches of speech and this is only partially useful in the analysis of discourse structure. As only a part of kinesic behaviour is functional in the synchronisation of discourse (that concerned with the Textual layer) it was decided to redefine the roles contributor. While retaining the rules of interaction in the 1980 model (see Figure 5) it was then possible to analyse the structure and nature of discourse contributions, both vocal and non-vocal, in terms of discourse turns. For example, the kinesic Concur and Terminate at TB : 41, 42 constituted the main acts in a Supporting move and, as such, were considered sender turntaking even though the sender of the contribution was, in fact, the auditor.

Due to the repeatable nature of a relatively small number of kinesic elements and in the search for a discourse functional definition kinesic units, kinesic elements were analysed according to their position in discourse and confirmed by regularly occurring patterns within the data.

Meaningful contrasts between kinesic units were subsequently related to the layers of analysis of discourse turns and contributions and to the more traditional analysis of discourse in terms of acts, moves, exchanges, sequences and transactions. A first important distinction was made

between kinesic units which were accompanying and non-accompanying of speech. Although 'nonverbal' surrogates were found to be non speech accompanying in the Sinclair/Coulthard analysis (1975:63-111) many instances of kinesic discourse acts were found to be speech accompanying in the data. A second important distinction was, therefore, made between the sender and receiver of the discourse contribution within the structure of discourse framework set up within the Move. Sender speech accompanying meant the act accompanied the speech of the sender of the discourse contribution whereas in receiver speech accompanying the act accompanied the receiver's discourse contribution. As kinesic acts were found to be both speech accompanying and non-speech accompanying within turns, defined as a section of uninterrupted speech or vocal contribution, this was not considered as a defining characteristic.

The first characteristic of the nature of the kinesic discourse act is the functionally independent nature of the relationship with the spoken discourse item in the sense of not sharing the same or related identity of discourse function of the vocal act. If there is independence, in the sense intended here, the kinesic elements can be said to form a separate discourse act. If, on the other hand, there is a relationship of shared discourse identity or dependence identifiable units were considered to be only potentially independent acts and were not realised as freestanding items. They operated at a secondary level of functioning and are described as markers. There were instances, however, where it was felt that although the kinesic act shared discourse identity with the vocal act it did not operate within discourse at a secondary level of functioning. This was in cases of speech accompaniment with non-syntactic vocal contributions where propositional content was minimal and they were transcribed as two simultaneously occurring acts, one vocal and one non-vocal.

Examples of markers are at TA : 10, 14, 20, 22, 23, 38, 46, 92 and TB : 11, 16, 26, 40.

In the coding of the transcription kinesic acts are transcribed in round brackets, e.g. (act), kinesic markers have square brackets, e.g. (acc). Moves and Turns are in the left hand column while kinesic behaviour and turntaking rules are marked K and T respectively. Discourse acts are coded A immediately above the speech transcript which is numbered and has the letter of the participant added. Parallel Subordinate Turns (PST) are distinguished by two slanted line (//) while an Overlap is transcribed by one (/).

ANALYSIS

(Com (q)) - Comment. Qualify is taken from Burton (1981) which is itself adapted from Comment in Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). Francis and Hunston (1987) postulated a similar category, Qualify, which was realised by 'non-verbal' items such as Shrugs. However, its position in Move Structure, as head of an Informing move in an Eliciting exchange and post-head in an Answering, Informing or Behaving move was found to be too limiting. The acts (com(q)) in lines 37 and 38 in Transcript B (TB : 37, 38) are non-accompanying of speech and independent while [com(q)] in Transcript A line 20 (TA : 20) is non-accompanying but dependent and, therefore, transcribed as a marker.

(n) - Nomination - identifiable as a turntaking signal of next speaker nomination, was found to be non-accompanying of speech and independent. Examples were found in TA : 9, 12, 42 and TB : 1.

In contrast (sum) - Summons - was speech accompanying and had independent functional identity in the textual layer of analysis. It was identified as a sender signal as opposed to the definition in Burton where: "The producer of the item has a topic to introduce once he has gained the attention of the hearer." (1981:76)

This was interpreted as being a receiver signal. Francis and Hunston seem to accept it as a potential sender or receiver signal.

> "It's function is to engage another participant in a conversation or to attract his/her attention." (1987:114)

(sum) is defined as being a signal of request or checking for feedback. Examples were identified in TA : 12, 19, 38, 45, 49, 55, 56, 64, 68, 69, 70, 75, 76.

The kinesic discourse act (ack) - Acknowledge - identified by Sinclair and Coulthard as also realised by 'non-verbal' gestures and expressions and as having the function of showing that the initiation had been understood, was expanded to include the additional potential function of expressing a desire to contribute to the discourse not simply to react to a directive. It was found, however, that the receiver within discourse structure, as previously defined, did not always realise this additional function. In an attempt to distinguish between discourse unit and discourse unit marker the two considerations of sender/receiver speech accompanying and functional independence were applied to the data. (ack) at TA : 14 was sender speech accompanying within receiver feedback during a Bound opening. Likewise in TA : 21 the head nod was receiver speech accompanying within receiver feedback turntaking, and TA : 23 sender speech accompanying within sender counter feedback. They did not share discourse identity, however, with the vocalised act Accept and were, therefore, classified as units. (ack) at TB : 2 is a good example of a head nod identifiable as a kinesic acknowledge in response to the previous speaker's gaze identified as a kinesically realised nomination. D's previous head nods were receiver feedback and sender speech accompanying and constituted an engage. It is hypothesised that somewhere between D's three initial head nods and the slow, long head nod a decision was made to contribute to the discourse. The vocalised acknowledge at TA : 19 is unaccompanied by any significant kinesic behaviour (gaze for example) but followed by a syntactic contribution, inf (rep) - Informative. Reply and a non-vocal contribution, (sum) - Summons - in which A gazes toward D within receiver feedback in a Bound Supporting move. The subsequent kinesic (ack), also classified as a turnholding signal was a head nod in response to the previous speaker's

receiver feedback. It is non-accompanying of speech and functionally independent both as a response to a kinesic (sum) and in relation to the identity of its related vocalised act - Inf. Informative. Acknowledge is functionally similar to a receive in Francis and Hunston (1987) in acknowledging the previous utterance and indicating a forthcoming appropriate informative.

Following Francis and Hunston, (eng) - engage - was defined as not realizing any element of Move Structure but as:

> "providing minimal feedback while not interrupting the flow of the other participants utterance". (1987:114)

Many instances of kinesically realised engages were not recorded in the analysis as eye contact, gaze and head shifts towards speakers were seen as a form of minimal feedback only to the extent of participating in the discourse by following the discourse structure.

Only one example of a non-vocal bid at T.A:1 was found in the data and its definition was left unaltered from the 1975 Sinclair-Coulthard model.

> "Realized by a closed class of verbal and non-verbal items - ... Its function is to signal a desire to contribute to the discourse." (1975:41)

As opposed to the Summons in Hunston and Francis (1987) it is a signal of the sender's desire to contribute to the discourse by attracting the attention of the other participant and although it shares the function of being a sender (turntaking) signal of next speaker nomination with (nom) it differs in being a signal of self nomination. It is more similar to the summons in the Burton model.

> "Its function is to ... indicate that the producer of the item has a topic to introduce once he has gained the attention of the hearer."(1981:76)

Non-vocal realization of the discount act Accept were found in the data but had to be further refined from the existing discourse models. A difference in function was found to exist between the Sinclair and Coulthard model and the Burton model. In the former Accept had the function of indicating that the sender's act had been heard or seen and that it was appropriate while in the latter an indication of compliance was added. It was felt that due to the more democratic nature of the social roles of the participants outside a classroom teaching situation the latter was more appropriate to the data. Although the act of indicating assent, Acquiesce, in Francis and Hunston included 'non-verbal' items such as shoulder shrugs and was functionally similar to Burton's Accept, its definition as providing a warrant for a suggestion in a Structuring move was felt to be too restricting for an analysis of the data. (acc) in TB : 28, 29, 30 were considered as non-vocal discourse acts because they accompanied nonsyntactic contributions and were felt to be freestanding items. As the propositional content of both the non syntactic and the non-vocal contribution was of the same nature, that of agreement on disagreement, and although they both shared the same discourse identity it was felt that neither was one a marker of the other nor did one have primary function over the other. Rather the instance was an example of two discourse acts occurring naturally together. They were classified (acc) because of the added compliance indicated in a supporting move preceded by a Challenging move. (acc) in TB : 4 is a clearer example of a kinesic act as it is non speech accompanying and does not share discourse identity with its related vocalised act Inf (add) - Informative. Additive.

The acts concur and confirm were adapted from Francis and Hunston (1987) (conc) - Concur - was felt to be distinguishable from (acc) by representing an additional desire to signal termination of move structure through a following terminate. (conc) is identified at TB : 41 and followed by (term) - Terminate - at TB : 42. Whilst the (acc) at TB : 28, 29, 30, 41 are

Supporting moves of a challenging move as is (term) at TB : 42, the gaze down in TB : 42 expresses a signal to the turn sender of not only compliance but also a desire not to contribute further to the discourse. In TB : 31, A's Opening move did not in fact terminate the exchange which was reopened by D at TB : 40. In TA : 38 the head nods were classified as non-vocal markers of the vocalised act concur as they shared the same discourse identity. An example of a concur realized vocally with no significant kinesic behaviour was identified at TA : 43 in the supporting move of a Directive move.

(Conf) - Confirm - is similar to Accept in that it does not imply a following terminate but is different in that confirmation of propositional information does not necessarily imply agreement and compliance. [Conf] at TB : 16 implies compliance as it is a Supporting move to a Challenging move but it is followed by a Bound Opening move at TB : 19. The confirmation of propositional information is not intended to terminate the exchange. In fact as the kinesic elements of head and shoulder shrug form a unit which is not functionally independent of the vocalised confirm the unit is classified as a marker. Likewise [conf] at TA : 10 is not considered to be a discourse act as it accompanies a vocal confirm. However, the kinesic behavioural elements, gaze, eye contact and head nods began with the vocal confirm and continued through the speech pause and into the second syntactic contribution, the vocal at Inf (add) - Informative. Additive. This overlap further confirms the potentially independent functioning of the level of kinesic form. At TB : 16 the head and shoulder shrug were speech accompanying only to the extent of accompanying the non-syntactic 'Um...'. By the time the syntactic contribution, 'yes, he's a member, yes', had begun the above mentioned kinesic elements had in fact eased. 'Um...' was not felt to have any discourse identity and [conf] is, therefore, a marker of the vocal confirmation.

The act (rep) - Reply - was unaltered from the Sinclair and Coulthard model.

> "Realised by statement, question, moodless and non-verbal surrogates such as nods. Its function is to provide a linguistic response which is appropriate to the elicitation." (1975:42)

In the same way as the acts (acc), (conc) and (conf) provide information at the ideational level of functioning (agreement, compliance and confirmation) the propositional content of a Reply realised kinesically was limited to either a negative or positive response to the elicitation. Reply is necessarily a response to an elicitation while (acc), (conc) and (conf) are not. The kinesic elements found in the data to represent (rep) were head nods and headshakes. (rep) at TA : 7 is a head nod as a receiver turn yielding response to the sender turn taking elicit at TA : 6 in a side sequence within a supporting move. There is in fact also a vocalised reply at TA : 6 in response to the elicit in TA : 5 which terminates the main supporting move. The elicit is marked by a gaze toward A and B which is identified as a sender turn yielding signal and classified as (sum). The gaze and eye contact which accompany the vocalised reply at TA : 6 are not considered as marking the reply or responding to the sender's (sum) but as constituting a non-vocal engage. Other examples of vocalised Reply with no identifiable kinesic behaviour were also found at TA : 54 and 64. The (rep) at TA : 52 to E1 (conf) - Elicit. Confirm - at TA : 51 occurred immediately before a vocalised Reply and tends to confirm the thesis of a potentially independent kinesic level of form within discourse structure first hypothesised by Gosling (1981).

(rej) - Reject - adapted from Francis and Hunston had the function of rejecting the underlying presuppositions of the previous act and was found to be part of a challenging move in all instances. As with the other kinesically realized discourse acts a distinction was made

between the kinesic elements forming an act and kinesic units which marked a vocalised act. TA : 27 rejected the presupposition of using the Hienemann book (Blueprint 1) in the Bound opening at TA : 24 in sender counter feedback within a Challenging move. The counter-feedback is a turn of two discourse contributions, one vocalised - com(q) - Comment. Qualify and once non-vocal (rej). Com(q) was accompanied by continuous head shakes which preceded and successed it and by contributing to discourse structure formed a unit which was functionally independent of the vocalised item and was subsequently classified as an act. TA : 41 is a turn of two vocalised acts - Inf (cau) - Informative. Causative and Com (rpt) - Comment. Repeat and one kinesic act (rej). The movement of waving the arm and hand up and outward accompanied the repeated proposition from TA : 17 and rejected the presuppositions set up at TA : 24 (rej) at TA : 67 helps to define the Move as a challenging move as the vocalised act of Inf - Informative - does not itself challenge the discourse framework begun at TA : 66. This defining function further convalidates its primary as a discourse act. Although the kinesic elements of (rej) at TB : 15 are subtle they accompany an Informative of new propositional content and reject the presuppositions at TBill. However, [rej] at TB : 27 and 40, both head shakes, are defined as examples of discourse markers as they both accompany the vocalised Rejects of the com. rpt and el. agree at TB : 26.

(term) - Terminate - adapted from Francis and Hunston has the function of terminating a Move or Exchange. It is a signal of turn yielding as are (sum) and (nom) but while the latter request, check for or nominate next speaker feedback (term) simply concludes the Move structure. It is realized in the data by gaze and faze down accompanied by a downward head shift or nod. The (term) in the first line of Transcript B follows an Inf. (add) and signals termination of an Exchange at an Exchange boundary. This allows B to open a new Eliciting

exchange with a Boundary focus accompanied by gaze towards D, in this case, the producer of the (term). (term) at TB : 42 signals termination of an Exchange and a desire not to contribute further to the discourse and this is responded to by C's uptake at TB : 43 of an opening move within an Eliciting exchange. (term) at TA : 1, 10, 41 on the other hand signal termination of a Move.

Only one example of (rea) - React - defined by Sinclair and Coulthard as a non-linguistic action and by Francis and Hunston as a non-verbal response (behave), was found in the data at TA : 43 in response to the Directive at TA : 42.

See Figure 7 for a list of identified kinesic acts.

Six non-vocal discourse acts were identified as realizing the Hallidayan Textual macro function of discourse structuration (see Figure 8) - the complex management of interaction. The performance of a non linguistic action, React, highlights that not all non-vocal behaviour is kinesic. The unit Engage is included although it is not considered as a discourse act. In all cases (nom) was found to be a discourse sender signal and this was considered to be a defining characteristic. Although the bid in the data at TA : 1 was classified as part of a sender spontaneous turntaking turn in an Opening move as it was unquestioned and syntactically linked to the vocal Elicit it was felt that (bid) was also a potential receiver signal and that examples would be found in other analyses. Acknowledge was found to be both a sender and a receiver signal. The slow, long head movement at TB : 2 was considered a sender signal and as part of the uptake of a Supporting move. It does not constitute an independent Move structure as it is a response to a nominating gaze and immediately followed by a vocal contribution. Note,

however, that the previous three head nods are considered as an Engage. As the nominating gaze defines D as the discourse sender and as it is suggested that there is not intention to contribute to the discourse structure at that point they do not, therefore, constitute a discourse act. The Acknowledge at TA : 37 is a receiver feedback signal to a discourse sender (ack) and does not predict a following contribution. Terminate was found to occur both within receiver feedback, e.g. TA : 10 and sender turntaking, e.g. TA : 1 and the kinesic elements were downward and aside gaze, downward head shift and head nod and at TA : 80 the action of making notes and flipping the pages of a book. Summons was principally a discourse sender signal but examples were found of (sum) within receiver feedback when requesting or checking for further feedback from the sender, e.g. TA : 19 and TA : 53.

The six non-vocal discourse acts at the Hallidayan Ideational layer of macro function (see Figure 8) were identified as responses to discourse sender contributions and, therefore, as discourse receiver signals. Within a systematic approach (see Berry 1981) the information structure of the six acts at the Ideational layer constituted proposition completion and proposition support but not propositional base and were, therefore, not found in opening move positions. As receiver turntaking signals, however, they had both primary and secondary knower status.

In the search for further definition of the unit of structure which forms a kinesic discourse act units were analysed for a relation of meaningful opposition. Accept and Reject provided a contrastive propositional response. Reply was defined as a response to an Elicitation and subsequently had a constructive function at the Textual layer of functioning. Bid and Termination, in indicating the desire to initiate or terminate a contribution to discourse, had a functional relation of opposition. Although Nominate and Summons were both identified as

being potentially sender and receiver signals within discourse, within turntaking defined in terms of speaker and listener they were necessarily sender signals. Acknowledge on the other hand is a receiver signal in turntaking as defined in the analysis. Within the function of prospecting a next speaker contribution Nominate prospected a change by definition while Summons did not. (See figure 9)

Meaningful patterns of kinesic acts within discourse were sought primarily in the search for workable units of kinesic behaviour. A speaker change was often accompanied by a non-vocal first speaker Summon and second speaker Acknowledge, e.g. TA : 13/14, 19/20, 36/37, 64/65. The two (sum) at TA : 55, 56 are followed by an (ack) at TA : 57 in response to the last of the two (TA : 56). However, instances of (sum) with no (ack) before the vocal contribution were found at TA : 38/40 ((sum) - Acc), TA : 38/39 ((sum)- com(q)), TA : 44/45 ((sum) - Inf (add)) and TA : 58/59 ((sum) - m) and (ack) at TA : 57 produced another (ack) at TA : 58. (Sum) was generally a turn yielding behaviour but the gazes and head shifts at non-vocal (sum) position were also found to be turnholding signals in which the speaker is not so much inviting feedback but checking for it. (Sum) at TA : 75, 76, 77 illustrates the use of directed gaze to 'hold the floor' and is significant for its lack of receiver feedback. Within speaker turns a vocal Accept was often accompanied by a non-vocal Acknowledge. In TA : 22, 23 (ack) is in a post head position but in TA : 14 (ack) is in a one-head position. Although examples of vocal Accepts without (ack) were found, e.g. TA : 30, 40, the data suggested that a pattern exists. Following the 1975 discourse model of Move structure consisting of pre-head head and post-head acts, the non-vocal Acknowledge was identified as an optional pre- or post-head to a vocal Accept. Non-vocal Summons is generally found in post-head position as was non-vocal Terminate while the only (bid) in the data was most definitely in pre-head position. The within

turn gaze and eye contact patterns in TA : 11, 12 accompanying the speaker's speech were differentiated from the end of turn pattern which did not accompany speaker's speech in discourse terms by their classification as (sum) as opposed to (nom). In fact it was the gaze and eye contact with B that led to the failed Supporting move at TA : 14. A similar pattern was identified at TA : 75, 76, 77.

These patterns suggest that within turn, headshift, gaze and eye contact are often structured in such a way that final kinesic units may act as next speaker turn nomination after previous units have invited or checked for receiver feedback. In this pattern (nom) is in post-head position and follows (sum). However, (nom) was also found to be in pre-head position, e.g. TA : 42. The outstretched arm and hand and head nod followed by a gaze down classified as (conc) followed by (term) at TB : 41,42 and the vocal concur followed by a (term) at TA : 38 also suggest a pattern in which (term) is in a post-head position with concur as the head act. The possibility of a (nom) predicting an (ack) for example was not confirmed in the data. The nominating directed gaze at TB : 1 and the subsequent long, slow acknowledging head nod at TB : 2 was not repeated at other points. The (nom) at TA : 9 was followed by a series of head nods which confirmed the proposition in the vocal Informative rather than acknowledged the nomination. The head shifts, gaze and eye contact which nominated B as potential next speaker at TA : 12 was succeeded by mutuality of gaze (engage) and a series of small head shakes at TA : 14. The (nom) at TA : 42 was responded to by a Concur, (rea) at TA : 43 with no acknowledging kinesic behaviour. The response to the nominating head shift and gaze at TA : 53 was ~~0~~ gaze and a vocal Informative. At TA : 77 the head shift at (nom) was followed by a vocal Accept at TA : 78 and accompanied by a head shift down and ~~0~~ gaze.

The relation between turn rules and kinesic discourse units was analised principally as a defining one. At the Textual layer (nom) is a turn yielding signal while (bid) was a sender turntaking signal in the data although it was also potentially a receiver signal as described by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975, p67). (Term) is a sender turn yielding signal, e.g. TA : 1, 41, and a receiver turn yielding signal, e.g. TA : 10, TB : 42. (Sum)' can be both turn yielding, e.g. TA : 70, and turn holding, e.g. TA : 68, 69. The one example of a React was as sender turntaking in a Bound Supporting move. (Ack) is a turntaking, feedback and turn holding signal of both discourse sender and receiver.

A degree of defining patterns was also found to exist at the Ideational layer of functioning. (Com(q)) at TB : 37, 38 are independent acts unaccompanied by any vocal act. They, therefore, constitute head acts of the Supporting move and are subsequently sender initial turntaking. (acc) was in most cases part of receiver feedback, e.g. TB : 4, 28, 29, 30, but in TA : 76 as a marker it is part of a simultaneous turn in a Bound Supporting move which suggests its potential as a sender signal. Although (conc) was found in sender counter feedback as a marker at TA : 38 and as head act in a Supporting move and, therefore, as sender initial turntaking at TB : 41 its potential as a receiver signal within discourse was not negated. (Conf) is both part of receiver feedback (TA : 10) and sender turntaking (TB : 16) and in both cases was defined as a marker. (rep) in the analysis was receiver turn yielding (TA : 7), receiver feedback (TA : 52) and sender counter feedback (TA : 92) and although no examples were found in the data it is not too difficult to imagine a non-vocal Reply, in response to a turn yielding Elicit that is a sender turntaking signal. (rej) was sender counter feedback (TA : 27) and sender turntaking at TA : 41, 67 and TB : 15, 27, 40 and as the function was one of rejecting a discourse contribution it challenges previous pre-suppositions and, therefore, constitutes a sender signal.

CONCLUSIONS AND LIMITATIONS

The principle objective has been to ascertain whether kinesic behaviour as a continuum could be described as consisting of a finite number of elements which were systematically realized in the organisation of interaction in terms of units of discourse.

The limited number of meaningful and contrastive kinesic elements and items identifiable at this level of delicacy reflected the hypotheses that the vocalised signal is the primary channel of communication for propositional information of any complexity. However, only with a restricted number of variables was it possible to establish a method of investigation which subsequently identified patterns of organisation in nonvocal behaviour. These kinesic structures and patterns were identified by their contribution to discourse structure and classified according to position and function.

The finer kinesic elements analised were head movements, eye contact and gaze, gesture and gesticulation and they were found to form and mark discourse units principally at the level of act. The complexity of analysis involved at this level in a short transcript of fifteen minutes did not allow an analysis of grosser nonvocal behaviour expressed through proxemics and posture. It was not possible therefore to convalidate the expectation that they would be relatable to the larger discourse units of move, exchange and transaction and therefore be fully hierachical in nature.

It was felt that only through recurring patterns of relationships between behaviourial elements and discourse units could nonvocal units be established and, due to the risk of the

hypothesis influencing the interpretation of the data and subsequent model, the transcription of kinetic behaviour was, in the first instance, made rigidly independently from the analysis of discourse. In this way if a 'scale of linguisticress' were to be applied this behaviour could be described as being 'structural' in the post-Saussurean sense of being composed of linguistic contrasts and mutually defining opposites within utterances described as interaction not simply as sentences.

Relationships of opposition were in fact found to exist between many of the identified units and, although there was a degree of variation between the observed and the expected, emerging patterns of communicative rules began to appear principally at the textural layer. The variation was felt to reflect that 'turn' behaviour not only constitutes the socially determined rules of behaviour but also signals their effect. Turntaking is then seen as being regulated by signals which both reflect and establish opportunity assignment rules. Lengthier analyses would most likely establish predictive rules within different forms of discourse.

The data both confirmed previous models and hypotheses and suggested the existence of new nonvocal units within a fully interactive analysis of discourse. Furthermore the data suggests that ideational discourse functional units do not simply contribute to the context of the vocalised message as do the textually functional units but they form a component part of it. The 'semantic' nature of this behaviour in 'verbal' terms does not detract from the functional role it plays in discourse.

It must be stressed that nonvocal behaviour is multi-functional with a multi-layered semantic system. The fact that psychological functions of expressions of emotions and interpersonal attitudes, self presentation and the communication of personality behind interactive

communication have not been touched upon in this study is not meant in any way to attribute any secondary level of importance to this kind of phenomenon.

The interpersonal function of expressing social roles of dominance, hostility, intimacy etc. was not objectively verifiable in an analysis of data of such a short length, and it was felt that only over longer stretches of discourse would comparative systems of kinetic behaviour be identifiable.

The unified system of communication of the semiologists in which the formulation and interpretation of vocal and nonvocal signs through the codification and decodification of messages between the source and its destination forms part of a global theory of communication which is to be preferred to the Saussurean dichotomy derived from a purely arbitrary relationship between signifier and signified. C. S. Peirce, perhaps the founding father of modern semiology, in fact identifies categories of signs (icon, index and symbol) which establishes conventions which go beyond the arbitrary. This has particular relevance in the ideational layer where many kinetic units were of an 'iconic' or 'emblematic' nature. However, as the semiology of C. Morris, C.S. Peirce, T.A. Sebeok et al defines linguistic structures and elements as the study of vocal and not nonvocal semiotic systems the best model for the identification of discourse functional nonvocal units would seem to be within an expanded definition of 'linguistic' in which studies of areas of analysis around what D. Bolinger calls 'the edge of language' will be conducted.

Figure 1

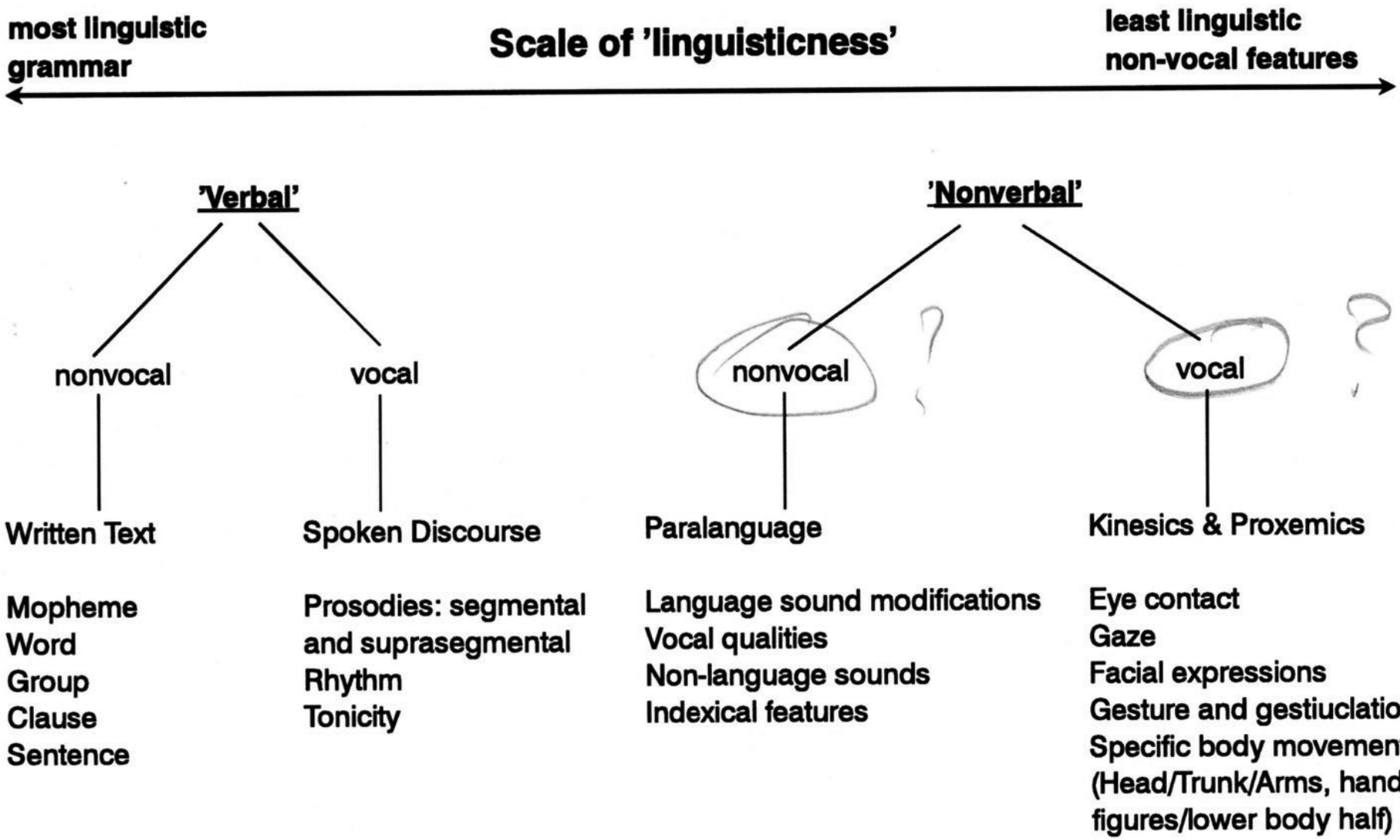

most linguistic grammar
Scale of 'linguisticness'
least linguistic non-vocal features
'Verbal'
'Nonverbal'
nonvocal
vocal
nonvocal
vocal
Written Text
Spoken Discourse
Paralanguage
Kinesics & Proxemics
Mopheme
Word
Group
Clause
Sentence
Prosodies: segmental and suprasegmental
Rhythm
Tonicity
Language sound modifications
Vocal qualities
Non-language sounds
Indexical features
Eye contact
Gaze
Facial expressions
Gesture and gestiuclations
Specific body movements (Head/Trunk/Arms, hands, figures/lower body half)

Figure 2

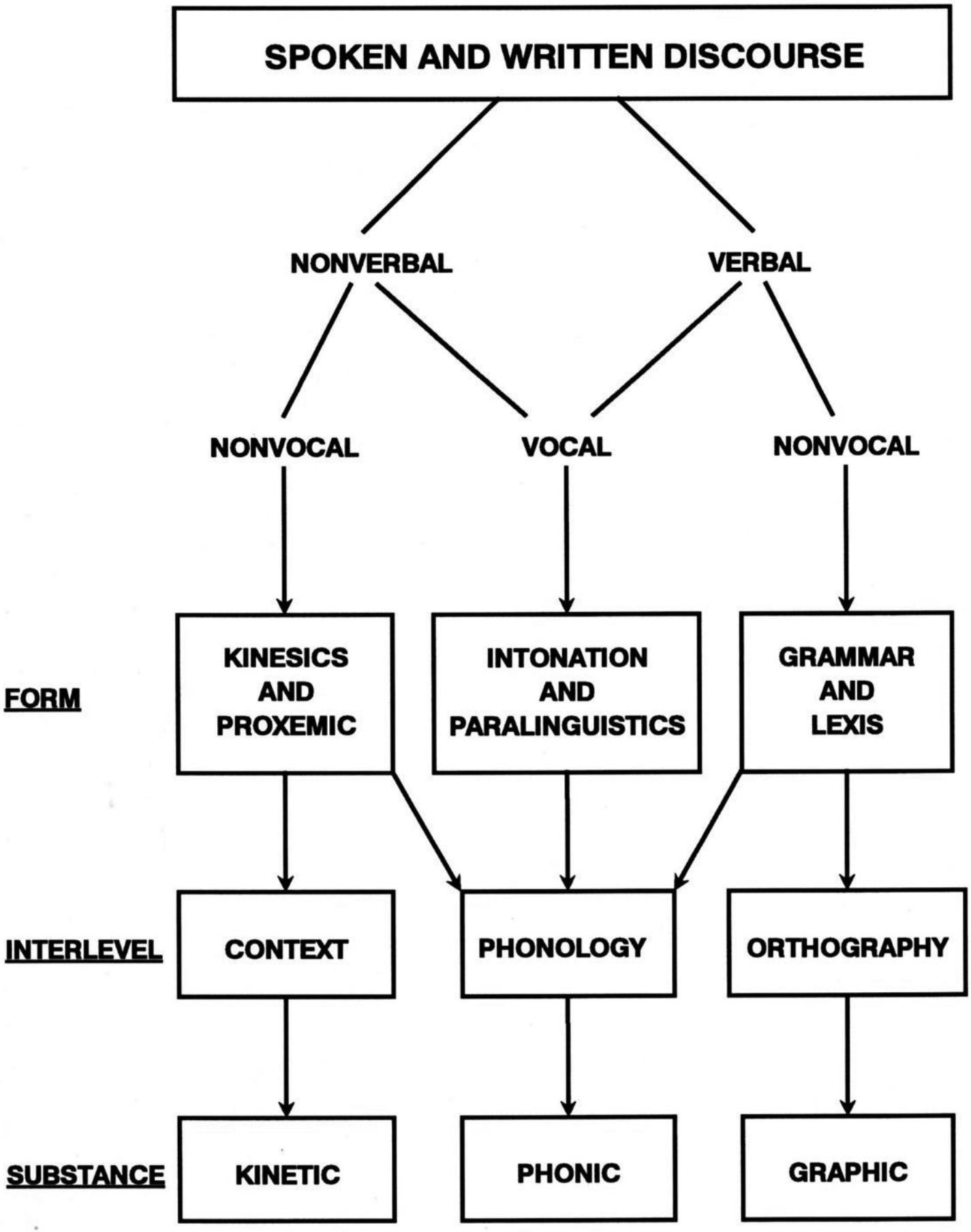

SPOKEN AND WRITTEN DISCOURSE
NONVERBAL
VERBAL
NONVOCAL
VOCAL
NONVOCAL
FORM
KINESICS AND PROXEMIC
INTONATION AND PARALINGUISTICS
GRAMMAR AND LEXIS
INTERLEVEL
CONTEXT
PHONOLOGY
ORTHOGRAPHY
SUBSTANCE
KINETIC
PHONIC
GRAPHIC

Figure 3

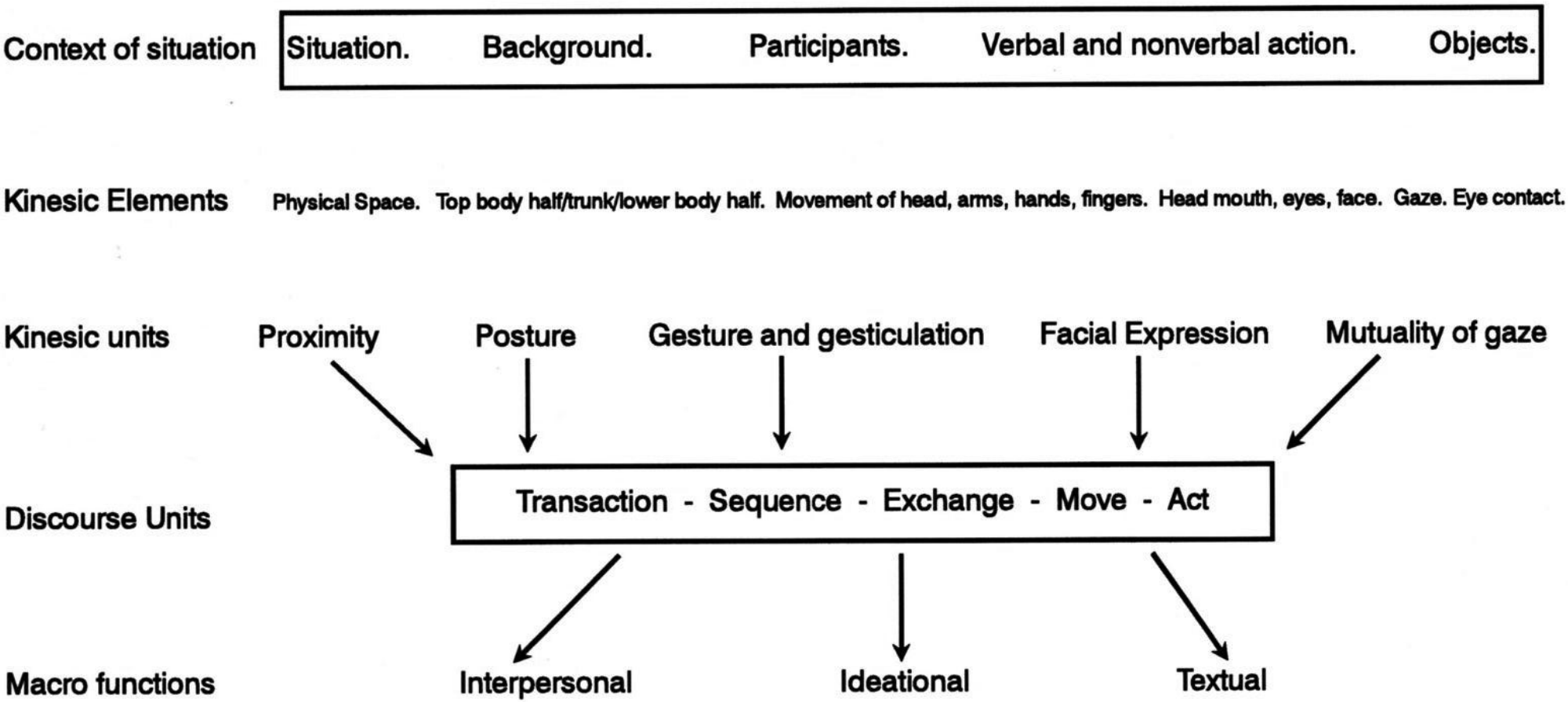
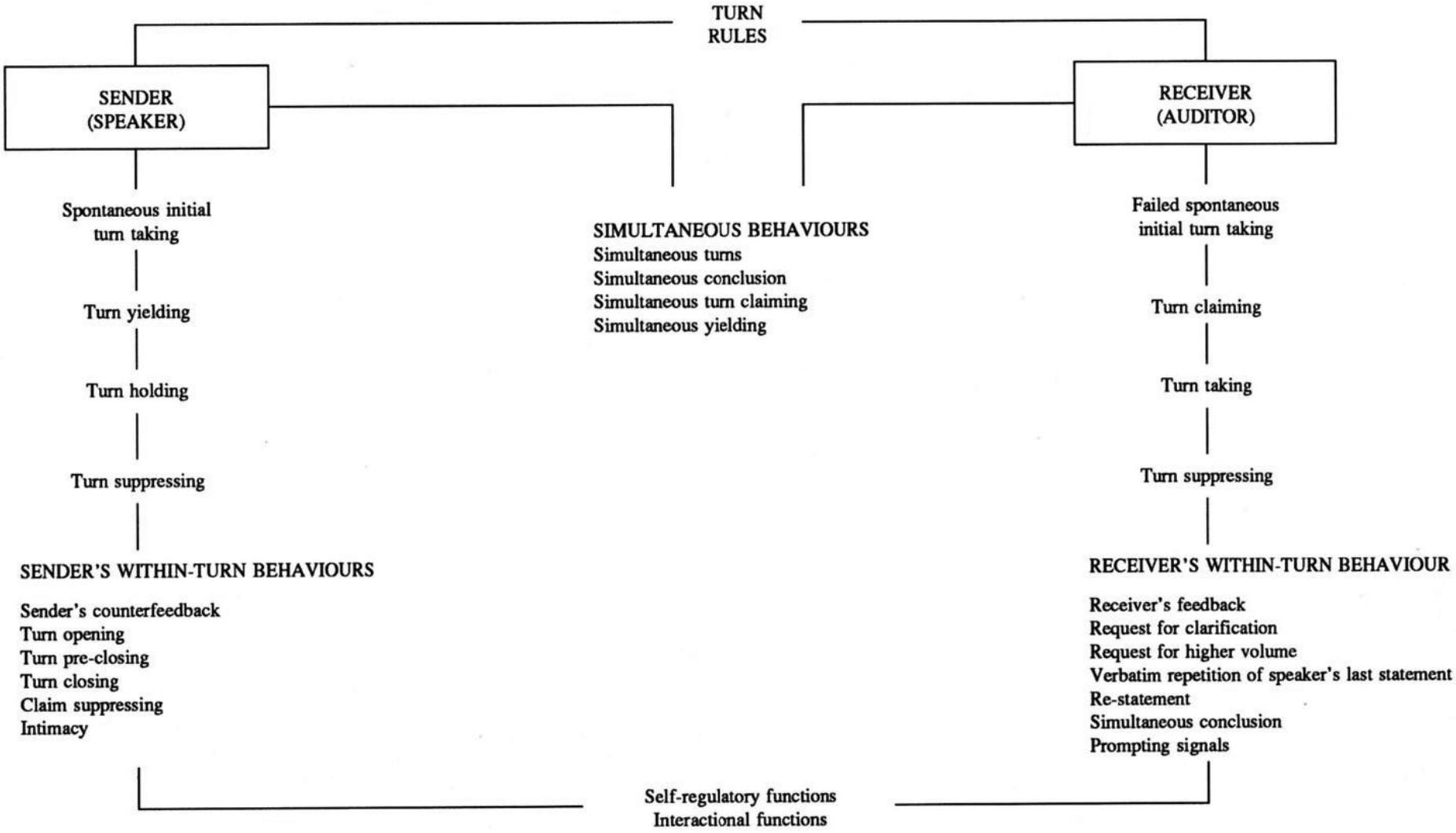

Context of situation
Situation. Background. Participants. Verbal and nonverbal action. Objects.
Kinesic Elements
Physical Space. Top body half/trunk/lower body half. Movement of head, arms, hands, fingers. Head mouth, eyes, face. Gaze. Eye contact.
Kinesic units
Proximity
Posture
Gesture and gesticulation
Facial Expression
Mutuality of gaze
Discourse Units
Transaction - Sequence - Exchange - Move - Act
Macro functions
Interpersonal
Ideational
Textual

Figure 4

	EMBLEMS	ILLUSTRATORS	REGULATORS: Batons, Ideographs, Deictic, Spatial, Kine- tographs, Pictographs	AFFECT DISPLAYS	ADAPTORS: Self., Alter- & Object
USAGE: external conditions	Most frequent when verbal channel blocked; also related to demographic variables	May vary with enthusiasm or excitement; varies with setting and demographic variables	Vary with and partially define roles, orientation of interaction; vary with demographic variables	Culture, social class & family defined affects appropriate for certain settings; display rules incorporate social norms about affect displays	Self adaptors inhibited by conversations, but still prevalent. Adaptors triggered by a feeling, attitude
relations to words	high agreement about verbal definition can be replaced by word or phrase	directly tied to speech, illustrate message content, or rhythmically accent or trace ideas	maintain and regulate back-and-forth conversational flow, not tied to specifics of speech	can repeat, augment, contradict or be un-related to verbal affective statement	can be triggered by verbal behaviour in present situation which is associated with conditions when adaptive habit first learned
awareness	usually as aware as choice of words	within awareness, not as explicit as emblems	periphery of awareness; difficult to inhibit	often highly aware of affect once displayed, but can occur without any awareness	typically not aware of adaptors, although tend to conceal and inhibit
intention to communicate	usually intended to communicate	intentional to help communicate, not as deliberate as emblems	overlearned habits that are almost involuntary	often not intended to communicate but can be; subject to inhibition; can be dissimulated	rarely intended to communicate
receiver feedback	visual attention and direct comment	visual attention and some direct comment or response	other interactant very responsive to, but rarely directly comments on	greater receiver attention; can or cannot be direct comment on	other interactant rarely comments on, and politeness implies lack of attention to
type of information	more shared than idiosyncratic typically communicative, informative & interactive	more shared than idiosyncratic, informative, often interactive & communicative	more shared than idiosyncratic; by definition interactive, usually informative, not often communicative	both shared & idiosyncratic informative, can be interactive communicative only in simulations	both shared and idiosyncratic often informative, not usually interactive, rarely communicative
CODING	Some arbitrarily; some iconic (pictorial, kinetic, spatial) usually not intrinsic. Iconic can be decoded, at least in part, by a foreign culture	Batons & ideographs; rhythmic/iconic; pictographs: pictorial/iconic; deictics: pointing/ intrinsic; spatial & kinetographs: iconic or intrinsic. Vary with culture, social class, etc.	Arbitrary, iconic or intrinsic, we have not clearly specified. Vary cross-culturally and source of misunderstanding which is often not recognised	Some intrinsic, may be iconic as result of display rules; perhaps some arbitrary. Some evokers, blends, display rules & consequences vary within and between cultures	Intrinsic/kinetic or tend to be iconic when fragmented by time. Some similar, some differ across cultures.
ORIGINS	Culture specific learning; specifically taught as verbal language taught.	Socially learned by imitation; vary with ethnicity; cultural and social class differences in type and frequency	Learned but we have not specified when	Relationship between facial musculature & affect and some of the evokers neurophy-siologically programmed. Some evokers, blends, display rules, consequences socially learned	Habits first learned to deal with sensation, excretion, ingestion, grooming affect; or to maintain prototypic interpersonal relationships; or to perform instrumental task.
OVERLAP	Can be based on affect display, or adaptors.	Kinetographs can include an adaptor.	All other categories can serve as regulators but we call acts regulators only if they are not part of another category.		

Figure 5



Adapted from: 'Verbal and nonverbal expressions in interaction: basic features'. Fernando Poyatos (1980).

Figure 6

Identified acts (vocal and nonvocal

VOCAL	NONVOCAL	
M	(m)	- Marker
Term	(term)	- Terminate
Ing		- Informative
Inf (add)		- Informative. Additive
Inf (adv)		- Informative. Adversative
Inf (cau)		- Informative. Causative
Ms		- Metastatement
El		- Elicitation
El (supp)		- Elicit. Supply
El (conf)		- Elicit. Confirm
Rep	(rep)	- Reply
Conc	(conc)	- Concur
Conf	(conf)	- Confirm
Com (q)	(com(q))	- Comment. Qualify
com (rst)		- Comment. Restate
com (rpt)		- Comment. Repeat
Acc	(acc)	- Accept
Ack	(ack)	- Acknowledge
Rej	(rej)	- Reject
D	(d)	- Directive
Req	(req)	- Requestive
Comm		- Commissive
	(nom)	- Nomination
	(sum)	- Summons
	(bid)	- Bid
	(rea)	- React (not kinesic)
(Eng)	(eng)	- (Engage)

Figure 7

Identified Kinesic Acts

(com (q))	-	Comment. Qualify
(nom)	-	Nominate
(sum)	-	Summons
(ack)	-	Acknowledge
(eng)	-	Engage
(bid)	-	Bid
(acc)	-	Accept
(conc)	-	Concur
(conf)	-	Confirm
(rep)	-	Reply
(rej)	-	Reject
(ter)	-	Terminate
(rea)	-	React

Figure 8

Functional classification of kinesic discourse acts

Ideational			Textual		
com (q)	-	Comment. Qualify	nom	-	Nomination
acc	-	Accept	sum	-	Summons
conc	-	Concur	ack	-	Acknowledge
conf	-	Confirm	bid	-	Bid
rep	-	Reply	term	-	Terminate
rej	-	Reject	rea	-	React
			(eng)	-	Engage

Figure 9

Relations of meaningful contrasts between units

(nom)	+	(sum)	—	(ack)
	(bid)		—	(term)
	(acc)		—	(rej)
(vocal)	el		—	(rep)
(vocal)	d		—	(rea)

TRANSCRIPT A

Moves & Turns Exchange Boundary				
Opening 1 turn (2 syntactic contributions + 2 nonvocal contribs. parallel subordinate turn (PST) (non syntactic)	Kinesics & Turn rules	Raised finger Sender spontaneous		Gaze down Turn yielding
	Act	(Bid) Ms El		(Term)
	1:C:	Excuse me. Can anyone else suggest anything else as a basic text?		
	K. T.			Gaze down Receiver feedback (Nonsyntactic parallel subordinate turn)
	A.			Eng
	2.A:			Umm
Supporting 2 turns (2 syntactic contributions) overlap (syntactic) contribution	K T	Picks up book 1 Receiver turntake		Indication: Head (deictic) book 2 (Headway) Receiver turntake continuation
	A.	Inf.	Inf. (add.)	Inf. (add.) (cont.)
	3.A:	This is o/k for beginners/or you've got the erm..		/Headway, you know the Headway
	K T		Gaze to C.	Receiver feedback (overlap)
	A		(eng) Inf.	
	4.D			/There's the Headway, I like the Headway/
Supporting (Cont) 2 Turns + (non syntactic contrib) + 1 non vocal contribution + side sequence	K T	Point and nod to A Sender's counter feedback		Gaze to A & B Sender's turn yielding
	A	Ms	El(conf)	(Sum)
	5.C:	Yeah, we mentioned that, didn't we?		
	K T	Gaze to B Sender turn taking	Peripheral vision, head turn to C Failed turn taking pause	Gaze, E.C. with C (eyecontact) Simultaneous yielding
	A	El		Rep (eng)
	6.A:	You've got that... for beginners....		yeah...
	K T	Head nod Receiver turn yielding		
	A	(reply)		

Moves & Turns Exchange Boundary		
	7.B:	(nod)
Failed Opening	K T	Gaze Failed simultaneous turn
Incomplete Syntactic contribution Exchange Boundary	A	Int
	8.D:	I think the...
Bound Opening 2 Turns	K T	Hand extended towards D Sender turn suppressing — Finger tapping Sender turn holding — Gaze to D Sender turn yielding (after failed simultaneous turn
+ overlap	A	Inf — (nom)
(syntactic contribution)	9.C:	The trouble is the Intermediate Headway is not very good
	K T	Gaze to eye contact and head nods. Gaze down and away Receivers feedback. — Receiver turn yielding
	A	Conf — (conf) Inf (add) (Term)
	10.D:	No, it's not in fact I liked the beginners, I liked the.../ beginners, I liked the...
	K T	Gaze Sender
	A	Inf. (add)
	11.C:	I've used
	K (Cont.) T (Cont.)	and eye contact with A within turn pre-closing — Gaze ∅ turn ending pause — Gaze and eye contact with A Senders turn yielding — Head shift Gaze and eye contact with B Sender's turn yielding
	A (Cont.)	(sum.) — (sum) — (nom)
Exchange Boundary	12.C (Cont.)	the Pre-intermediate which is good
Bound Opening 2 Turns	K T	Takes new book Simultaneous turn — Gaze to B and taps book (Blueprint) Turn claiming — Turn holding — Gaze to B
Syntactic overlap + PST (non syntactic)	A	Inf. — Com.(q..) (Sum)
	13.A:	This is...This is.. — I only prefer this to Headway because I used it last year. There's very little difference I noticed

Moves & Turns Exchange Boundary		
Bound Supporting	K T	Gaze to C & D Head Shakes Simultaneous turn. Turn yielding — Head nod and eye contact with A Receiver feedback
	A	(eng) Inf. — (Ack) Accept
	14.B:	/Headway they're all much of a muchness/ — //yeah//
Failed Bound Opening Parallel subordinate Turn (syntactic)	K T	Gaze to B — ø gaze Receiver feedback — head nod
	A	(engage) — (Inf.) (add) — (Ack.)
	15.D:	//I don't know the book//
Bound Supporting 1 Turn Exchange Boundary	K T	Indicates book 2 by hand Spontaneous initial turntaking (sender)
	A	Inf. (add.)
	16.C:	This is what Sarah was using at school
Bound Opening 1 Turn	K T	ø gaze — Head extended to C and shrug Spontaneous turn taking (sender) — Turn suppressing (A)
	A	(Inf. (rpt.) Inf. (add) Inf. (add.) Inf. (add.)
	17.D:	I don't know the Blueprint, I have a sort of..but if I'm going to have to teach anything here. I can't use Blueprint because I can't stand it
Failed Bound Opening + Turn Overlap (syntactic)	K T	Gaze to C Failed spontaneous initial turntaking (receiver)
	A	Inf.
	18.A	/But there are different levels/
Bound Supporting (one nonsyntactic) one syntactic & one non-vocal contribution) Failed bound opening (one syntactic contrib.)	K T	ø gaze (Gaze at book 2) — Gaze to D Turntaking (receiver) — Receivers feedback
	A	Ack. com. (rpt.) — (Sum.) Inf.
	19.A:	No/but they are different levels anyway.../ I've used Headway...

Moves & Turns Exchange Boundary		
Failed Reopening 1 Turn 2 Non vocal, (one syntactic) contribution	K T	nod to A Turn holding (sender) Gaze aside Grimace
	A	(Ack.) Inf Inf. (add) com (q) [com]
	20.D:	/I can't stand Abbs and Freibain, I don't know why. Goes against my sort of.../
Failed Opening PST (non syntactic)	K T	Gaze to D (hand on chin forward lean) Failed spontaneous initial turntaking (receiver)
	A	
	21.A:	//SO//
Bound Supporting	K T	Gaze and Eye contact and head nod to D Receiver turn taking Gaze and head shift to B
	A	Accept. (ack) comm. (q.)
(two syntactic contributions) + PST (non syntactic) + non vocal contribution Exchange Boundary	22.A:	/Oh yeah, no, you either like the ones or that hates, you know
	K T	Gaze and eye contact with A. Head nod and shake. Sender's counter feedback
	A	Accept (Ack.)
	23.D:	Yeah
Bound Opening 1 Turn	K T	Gaze to book Spontaneous initial turn taking (sender) Indicates book 2 by hand (deictic)
	A	Inf.
	24.A:	No, the idea was to try and use the Hienemann if we could/because
Challenging Overlap 1 Turn	K T	Picks up and shows book 2 Spontaneous initial turn taking (sender)
	A	Inf.
	25.B:	/But this is more expensive as well
	K T	Gaze to B Mutual gaze Receiver turntaking
	A	Inf (add.)
	26.A:	Oh that costs fifty thousand

Moves & Turns Exchange Boundary		
	K T	Mutual gaze with C. Continuous head shakes Sender's counter feedback
	A	comm. (q.) (rej)
	27.B:	So Headway is best from that point of view.
Challenge 1 Turn	K T	Gaze to book - leafs through book Spontaneous initial turn taking (sender)
	A	Inf.
	28.A:	But this lasts for two years
Challenge	K T	ø gaze. Hand extended to indicate book 2 Spontaneous initial turn taking (sender)
	A	Inf. Inf. (add.)
1 Turn	29.C:	I don't like this anyway because its full of Italian
+ PST (nonsyntactic)	K T	Gaze to C Receiver feedback
	A	Acc
	30.A:	Yeah
	K T	Head shift right to C Gaze to A ø Gaze smile Receiver feedback
	A	Com. (rpt.) (engage)
1 Turn	31.D:	yeah its full of Italian
	K T	Gaze and head shift towards C Gaze to D forward posture Receiver feedback
	A	Inf. (add.) (sum) (sum) Inf. (add.)
1 Turn	32.A:	That's why I chose it for my students They're not very good (laugh)
	K T	Hand extended to book Gaze to A Failed spontaneous initial turntaking (receiver)
	A	(eng)

Moves & Turns Exchange Boundary		
PST (syntactic) (Failed	33.C:	//Its, its, I mean...// laugh
	K T	ø gaze Gaze to B Receiver feedback
	A	Com. (rpt.) (engage)
1 Turn	34.C: (cont)	As I say Sarah was using it.
	K T	looks at book Gaze to C Receiver feedback (engage)
	A	(com. (rst.)
	35.B:	We don't want it with Italian in it
Challenge	K T	Mutual gaze at book Head shift to B and mutual gaze Negative hand illustrator Headshake and shift to B, mutual gaze and eye contact. Spontaneous initial turntaking (sender) Sender turn holding Sender counter feedback
	A	Inf. com. (rpt.) Inf. (add) com. (q.)
2 Turns	36.A:	No you can get the ordinary, no you can get the ordinary one, Blueprint One,which has no Italian in it at all, which is No it's only half the year you see,
	K T	Head shift to A mutual gaze. Gaze aside and return Gaze aside and return to eye contact Head nod Receiver feedback Receiver feedback
	A	(eng) El. (Supply) Com (q.) (Ack.)
PST (syntactic) + overlap (syntactic) + non vocal contribution	37.B:	//which is// /and it doesn't cost fifty thousand
	K T	Head nod indicates book Continued gaze towards B Gaze to C Gaze to C Head nods, gaze down Sender counter feedback (cont.) (sum)
	A	Com. (rpt.) (sum.) Com. (rpt.) com. (rpt.) conc [conc] (term)
2 Turns	38.A:	(cont.) So this is for two years because this is... yeah, this is for two... yeah, this is for two years as well, yeah
	K T	Gaze to book Receiver feedback
	A	com. (q.)
PST (syntactic)	39.B:	(cont.) //This is for school//

Moves & Turns Exchange Boundary		
	K T	Eye contact with A Receiver feedback
	A	Accept (eng)
incomplete PST (syntactic)	40.C:	//Yeah it goes on to//
Challenge	K T	ø gaze Gaze at book Hand and arm wave up Gaze ø Spontaneous initial turntaking (sender) Turn yielding (sender)
	A	Inf. (cau.) com (rpt) (rej)
Exchange Boundary	41.D:	If I have anything to do with it - I'm not using that at school (term)
Bound Opening (Directive)	K T	Gaze to C Spontaneous initial turntaking (sender)
	A	(nom.) D
	42.B:	Put Headway down then.
Bound Support	K T	Gaze at book 2 Writes notes Spontaneous initial turntaking (sender)
	A	Comm N.V. Action (rea)
Turn	43.C:	Stick with Headway
	K T	Gaze to D Head shift to A Simultaneous turn Turn yielding
	A	com (q.) (sum) (sum)
Overlap (syntactic)	44.B:	And then depending on.../
	K T	indicates with pen Head shift to C ø gaze Head extended Head shift to C Head nod & grimace Simultaneous turn Turn holding Turn holding (deictic)
	A	Inf. (add.) (sum.) (com (q.)
Overlap (syntactic)	45.D:	/I don't mind using___... and I don't mind using this And I don't mind using Headway. I can cope with all three, but I can't cope with that/
	K T	Gaze and outstretched hand to D Hand on chin Gaze or smile to D Receiver feedback Receiver turn suppressing Receiver feedback
PST (Syntactic)	A	(Reply) Reply
+ Overlap (non syntactic)	46.A:	at least Headway's Oxford, and then Uh hu

Moves & Turns Exchange Boundary		
Bound Opening (Directive)	K T	Points to book and gaze to A. Hand on chin Spontaneous initial turntaking (sender)
	A	Req (nom)
	47.C:	Can you get hold of a copy of resources for me?
Bound Support	K T	Hand on chin. Head nods Receiver feedback
	A	Comm [comm]
	48.A:	I'll get one this evening
Bound Opening	K T	Gaze to book 3 Reaches over and takes book 4 Spontaneous initial turn taking (sender) — Head nods and head shift and gaze to C Receiver feedback
	A	El. (conf) (Ack.) (sum.)
	49.D:	Ooh. Can I have a look?
Bound Support	K T	Head shift east towards book 4 Receiver's feedback
	A	Inf.
	50.A:	Oh, that's Ruth's
Bound Support (continued) (43)	K T	Arm extended indicate book, Gaze to D, Head shift and gaze to D Spontaneous initial turntaking (sender) cont. Turn holding
	A	Com. (q.) (sum) El. (conf)
Overlap & turn	51.C:	(and I'll pick out)...because we've got all these Headway books here, haven't we?
Turn	K T	Head nod Mutual gaze with C Receiver feedback
	A	(rep) Reply (Eng)
	52.D:	I think so, yeah, I think we got the whole collection
	K T	Head shift to B Gaze to B Receiver feedback
	A	Com. (q.)
	53.A:	Well, Joy's got the beginners, haven't you?

Moves & Turns Exchange Boundary		
Turn	K T	ø gaze Receiver feedback
	A	Inf
Turn	54.C:	At home, yeah
Support (continued)	K T	Gaze to B Thumb indicates behind Gaze to A Receiver feedback Skimming through book 3
	A	Inf. (add.) (sum.) com (q)
Turn	55.D:	I've brought a whole stack of Headway no one's using it, typical.
	K T	Gaze to D Gaze to A Sender feedback
	A	(eng) Inf. (add.) (sum.)
Turn	56.C;	Yeah I brought mine
	K T	Gaze to C Receiver feedback
	A	Com. (q.) (Ack.)
Turn	57.A:	Intermediate as well I think
Challenge	K T	Gaze to A and head shift and gaze to D and then B Sender feedback
	A	com (q.) (Ack.) (sum)
Turn	58.C:	It's the book we've got loads of and nobody's using it. (laugh) Um.
Failed Opening	K T	ø gaze Head shift and gaze to C Gaze to B Spontaneous Initial turntaking (sender)
	A	M Inf. (sum) (eng)
Turn	59.D:	Ok, So we're going to say to this man/...

Moves & Turns Exchange Boundary		
Challenge (continued)	K T	Gaze to D Receiver feedback
	A	Inf. (add.) (eng)
Overlap	60.B:	(cont.) /Well I've done it to death as well
	K T	Gaze to B, arm extended, hand outstretched from left to right Receiver feedback,
Turn	A	com. (q.) (eng)
Turn	61.A:	That's the trouble when you're using it left right and centre
	K T	Gaze to book, taps and lifts up book Gaze to D Receiver feedback
	A	Inf. (add.)
Exchange Boundary	62.A: (cont)	I'm using this here because I thought/...
Opening	K T	Headshift, gaze and eye contact with C Spontaneous initial turn taking (sender)
	A	Elicit (Supply) (nom)
Turn	63.D:	/When do you have to get in touch with this man?
Support	K T	ø gaze, picks up paper, gaze to paper Head shift and gaze to D Spontaneous initial turn taking (sender)
	A	Reply (sum)
	64.C:	Well I don't how exactly he said something about having everything ready between seven to ten days.
Supporting	K T	Head turned right, gaze down and towards C Directed gaze to B Sender spontaneous initial turn taking
	A	(Ack) Inf (cau) (eng)
	65.D:	Well, we'll have a couple of days to find out about/...enrolment
Challenge	K T	Sender spontaneous initial turntaking
	A	Inf
	66.B:	/We'd have done best starting at the beginning of/February

Moves & Turns Exchange Boundary		
Challenge	K T	Head shake, gaze away and towards book, glances through book Sender spontaneous initial turntaking — Directed gaze to B Turnholding
	A	(Rej) Inf. (eng)
Exchange Boundary	67.D:	/Oh yeah, he'd have asked someone else to find out about better prices or something... I don' think he can find/...
Opening	K T	Gaze to notes — Head shift — Directed gaze to B — Gaze away Sender spontaneous initial turntaking — Turnholding — Turnholding
	A	Inf. (sum) Inf (add) (sum)
	68.C:	/Urm...he looked quite impressed by the prices. He said he'd spoken to somebody but he didn't say who and I
	K T	Redirected gaze to B — Head shakes Turnholding
	A	(sum)
	69 (ci cont)	didn't feel it was quite the thing to ask but he said, you know, the prices were ridiculous or words to that effect.
Challenge	K T	Gaze to C — Eye contact B and then A Sender spontaneous initial turntaking — Turnyielding
	A	Inf (adv) Com (rpt) Sum
	70.D:	Our prices are ridiculous. It's our prices which are ridiculous
Challenge	K T	Head nods and extended left arm and hand and gaze to notes. Makes notes Simultaneous turns, — Turn yielding
	A	(Ack) Inf (term) N.V. action
	71.C:	Well it's the other way around...
	K T	Simultaneous turns
	A	Inf
Exchange Boundary	72.A	They're reasonable prices, that's why, they're reasonable prices but erm...
Opening	K T	Arms outstretched or table head shift and gaze round to D Sender spontaneous initial turntaking
	A	Inf (sum) Inf (add)
	73.C:	Erm...what I was hoping to do was to sort of knock up...the problem of course is that things got to be written in Italian

Moves & Turns Exchange Boundary		
Failed Opening	K T	Eye contact with C, head shakes, gaze down Sender spontaneous initial turntaking — Continuous head nods
	A	(Ack) Com(q) (com (q)) (term) (Ack)
	74.D:	Well, we'll have to get in touch...
Opening (cont)	K T	Gaze to A Gaze to B Gaze to A Gaze to D ø gaze Sender turn holding Sender turn holding
	A	(Sum) Inf (add) Inf (add) (sum) (sum) Inf (add) (sum)
	75.C;	I'll try and knock it...now Gabreilla's going to be here tomorrow evening, I'll try and get it down on paper for then so that she can check it
	K T	Gaze to A Gaze to A Gaze to B, hands imitate keyboard, Gaze to D Gaze to B and then A Sender turn holding Sender turn holding
	A	(sum) (sum) (sum) (sum) (sum)
	76.C: (cont)	So we don't make any horrible gaffs and then hopefully she could also do it on computer and make it look posh, which I can't do, it
	K T	Head shift to D Turn yielding
	A	(nom)
	77.C: (cont)	Would take me about three days/to type it
Support	K T	Head shift down, ø gaze Head nod down, Gaze to B and head nods Sender spontaneous initial turntaking Turn yielding
	A	Acc. Com (q) Turn taking
	78.D	/yeah, we'll give that to Gabriella to do, we can do the lessons she can do the.../
Challenging	K T	Sender spontaneous initial turntaking
	A	Inf
	74.B:	/She thinks the secretary should do it.
Challenge	K T	Gaze towards B, extended arms and hands Gaze to A
	A	(Ack) Inf (sum)
	75.C:	Well, we're not talking about a book, you know, only a couple of pages

Moves & Turns Exchange Boundary		
Support	K T	Outstretched heads Simultaneous turns
	A	[Acc] Acc
	76.B:	Yeah, I know
	K T	Head shift and gaze to C Gaze away, Head wobbles, Eyes upwards Gaze to C then B Gaze back to C Simultaneous turns Turn holding Turn holding
	A	Acc (eng) Inf(add) (sum) (sum)
	77.D:	Yeah, I know but to do things on a computer its surprising you think oh it's in the computer, make it look pretty, then it cancels it for you
	K T	Eye 'blinks' Right hand extended Turn holding
	A	Inf (add)
	78.D: (cont)	It sounds wonderful but its../I mean if...(undecipherable)...
	K T	Gaze to D Gaze to C Gaze to B
	A	Com (q) (sum) (sum) (sum)
	79.A:	/Well, I can't cope with an electric typewriter let alone cope with a computer. I can use the...(undecipherable)
Supporting	K T	Head shift gaze to notes Makes note Sender spontaneous initial turn taking Turn yielding
	A	conc (term)
	80.C:	Alright, we'll probably go for the Headway.
Failed Opening	K T	Shows book to group held in right hand Simultaneous turn
	A	Inf
	81.A:	This is excellent/...
	K T	Gaze to B. Head shift and gaze to C and hand segments in air)///). Return glance to C. ø gaze. Gaze toward direction of C. Simultaneous turn Turn yielding
	A	(eng) Inf. (sum) (term) (sum)
	82.D:	/There was another book coming out////...and I was very interested in... that was Oxford University Press

Moves & Turns Exchange Boundary		
Opening	K T	Shows book to B
	A	El. com (q) Inf (add)
	83.A:	/Do you know this? It's great, for beginners.
Supporting	K T	Gaze toward book Sender turn taking
	A	rep
	84.B	NO
Reopening	K T	Shows book to D and gaze toward D Sender turntaking
	A	Com (rpt) com (rpt)
	85.A:	This is great...for complete beginners
Supporting	K T	Head nods Sender turn taking
	A	(Ack) Inf
	86.D:	I've seen it
Opening (cont)	K T	Head shift to C Gaze to B and A ø gaze Sender spontaneous initial turntaking Turn holding
	A	Com (rpt) (sum) (sum) com (q) (term)
	87.D (cont)	Oxford University Press had a new thing coming out and it's meant to be this year. It looked good.
Bound Supporting	K T	Gaze to D Sender spontaneous initial turntaking
	A	El. (cont) (Sum)
	89.B:	For beginners?
	K T	Head nod 3 hand segments in air Hand segments in air Receiver feedback
	A	(rep) rep. com (q)
	90.D:	Mmm...the whole course,...the whole thing. It's a sort of course you can follow

Moves & Turns Exchange Boundary		
	K T	Gaze and EC to D. Point finger down Receiver feedback
	A	El (conf)
	91.C:	Coming out now?
	K T	Gaze and EC to C and head nods Sender counter feedback
	A	rep [rep]
	92.D:	Coming out now!
Opening	K T	Raised head. Hand on chin. Gaze toward D Sender spontaneous initial turntaking
	A	El. (sum) El (supp)
Bound	93.A	Is Josephine doing the painting...Is she coming?
Supporting	K T	Sender taking
	A	rep Inf (com) com (q)
	94.D:	She said she might come from January. I'll have to remind her. That painting course//
PST	K T	Continued gaze to D Receiver feedback
	A	Com (q)
	95.A:	//She's very elusive//
	K T	Gaze down and open eye movement Gaze toward A Small continuous head shakes Turnholding
	A	com (q) Inf (add) (eng)
	96.D: (cont)	It's going to be best of all. No, she's travelling all the time, she was at every single place under the sun, you could never
	K T	Emphatic head nods (/) Gaze (cont) to D Head shift toward C, head nods and ø gaze Turnholding Turn yielding
	A	(sum) (term)
	97.D: (cont)	Get hold of her. She was at Palérmo, Messína, Reggio Calábira, She's got a huge area to go around...(cont. on transcript B)

TRANSCRIPT A - Dialogue

1:C:	Excuse me. Can anyone else suggest anything else as a basic text?
2.A:	Umm?
3.A: (cont.)	This is o/k for beginners/or you've got the erm.. /Headway, you know the Headway
4.D	/There's the Headway, I like the Headway/
5.C:	Yeah, we mentioned that, didn't we?
6.A:	You've got that... for beginners.... yeah...
7.B:	(nod)
8.D:	I think the...
9.C:	The trouble is the Intermediate Headway is not very good
10.D:	No, it's not in fact I liked the beginners, I liked the.../ beginners, I liked the...
11.C:	I've used
12.C (Cont.)	the Pre-intermediate which is good
13.A:	This is...This is.. I only prefer this to Headway because I used it last year. There's very little difference I noticed
14.B:	/Headway they're all much of a muchness/ //yeah//
15.D:	//I don't know the book//
16.C:	This is what Sarah was using at school
17.D:	I don't know the Blueprint, I have a sort of..but if I'm going to have to teach anything here. I can't use Blueprint because I can't stand it
18.A	/But there are different levels/
19.A: (Cont.)	No/but they are different levels anyway.../ I've used Headway...
20.D:	/I can't stand Abbs and Freeibain, I don't know why. Goes against my sort of.../
21.A:	//so//
22.A: (Cont.)	/Oh yeah, no, you either like the ones or that hates, you know
23.D:	Yeah
24.A:	No, the idea was to try and use the Hienemann if we could/because
25.B:	/But this is more expensive as well

26.A:	Oh that costs fifty thousand
27.B:	So Headway is best from that point of view.
28.A:	But this lasts for two years
29.C:	I don't like this anyway because its full of Italian
30.A:	Yeah
31.D:	yeah its full of Italian
32.A:	That's why I chose it for my students They're not very good (laugh)
33.C:	//Its, its, I mean...// laugh
34.C:	As I say Sarah was using it.
35.B:	We don't want it with Italian in it
36.A:	No you can get the ordinary, no you can get the ordinary one, Blueprint One,which has no Italian in it at all, which is No it's only half the year you see,
37.B:	//which is// /and it doesn't cost fifty thousand
38.A:	(cont.) So this is for two years because this is... yeah, this is for two... yeah, this is for two years as well, yeah
39.B:	(cont.) //This is for school//
40.C:	//Yeah it goes on to//
41.D:	If I have anything to do with it - I'm not using that at school
42.B	Put Headway down then.
43.C:	Stick with Headway
44.B:	And then depending on.../
45.D:	/I don't mind using___... and I don't mind using this And I don't mind using Headway. I can cope with all three, but I can't cope with that/
46.A:	at least Headway's Oxford, and then Uh hu
47.C:	Can you get hold of a copy of resources for me?
48.A:	I'll get one this evening
49.D:	Ooh. Can I have a look?
50.A:	Oh, that's Ruth's
51.C:	and I'll pick out...because we've got all these Headway books here, haven't we?

52.D:	I think so, yeah, I think we got the whole collection
53.A:	Well, Joy's got the beginners, haven't you?
54.C:	At home, yeah
55.D:	I've brought a whole stack of Headway no one's using it, typical.
56.C;	Yeah I brought mine
57.A:	Intermediate as well I think
58.C:	It's the book we've got loads of and nobody's using it. (laugh) Um.
59.D:	Ok, So we're going to say to this man/...
60.B:	/Well I've done it to death as well
61.A:	That's the trouble when you're using it left right and centre
62.A:	I'm using this here because I thought/...
63.D:	/When do you have to get in touch with this man?
64.C:	Well I don't how exactly he said something about having everything ready within a seven to ten days.
65.D:	Well, we'll have a couple of days to find out about/...enrolment
66.B:	/We'd have done best starting at the beginning of/February
67.D:	/Oh yeah, he'd have asked someone else to find out about better prices or something... I don't think he can find/...
68.C:	/Urm...he looked quite impressed by the prices. He said he'd spoken to somebody but he didn't say who and I
69 (c: cont)	didn't feel it was quite the thing to ask but he said, you know, the prices were ridiculous or words to that effect.
70.D:	Our prices are ridiculous. It's our prices which are ridiculous
71.C:	Well it's the other way around...
72.A	They're reasonable prices, that's why, they're reasonable prices but erm...
73.C:	Erm...what I was hoping to do was to sort of knock up...the problem of course is that things got to be written in Italian
74.D:	Well, we'll have to get in touch...
75.C;	I'll try and knock it...now Gabreilla's going to be here tomorrow evening, I'll try and get it down on paper for then so that she can check it
76.C: (cont)	so we don't make any horrible gaffs and then hopefully she could also do it on computer and make it look posh, which I can't do, it
77.C: (cont)	would take me about three days/to type it

78.D	/yeah, we'll give that to Gabriella to do, we can do the lessons, she can do the.../
74.B:	/She thinks the secretary should do it.
75.C:	Well, we're not talking about a book, you know, only a couple of pages
76.B:	Yeah, I know
77.D:	Yeah, I know but to do things on a computer its surprising you think oh it's in the computer, make it look pretty, then it cancels it for you
78.D: (cont)	It sounds wonderful but its../I mean if...(undecipherable)...
79.A:	/Well, I can't cope with an electric typewriter let alone cope with a computer. I can use the...(undecipherable)
80.C:	Alright, we'll probably go for the Headway.
81.A:	This is excellent/...
82.D:	/There was another book coming out////...and I was very interested in... that was Oxford University Press
83.A:	/Do you know this? It's great, for beginners.
84.B	No.
85.A:	This is great...for complete beginners
86.D:	I've seen it
87.D (cont)	Oxford University Press had a new thing coming out and it's meant to be this year. It looked good.
89.B:	For beginners?
90.D:	Mmm...the whole course,...the whole thing. It's a sort of course you can follow
91.C:	Coming out now?
92.D:	Coming out now!
93.A	Is Josephine doing the painting...Is she coming?
94.D:	She said she might come from January. I'll have to remind her. That painting course//
95.A:	//She's very elusive//
96.D: (cont)	It's going to be best of all. No, she's travelling all the time, she was at every single place under the sun, you could never
97.D: (cont)	Get hold of her. She was at Palérmo, Messína, Reggio Calábira, She's got a huge area to go around...(Cont, on transcript B)

TRANSCRIPT B

Exchange Type	Challenging Move	Act	Kinesics	Opening Move	Act	Kinesics	Supporting Move	Act	Kinesics
Exchange Boundary							D: She's got an absolutely huge area to go around	Inf (add) (term)	head nods (marker)
Boundary Focus				1.B: Talking about this painting course	meta (sum)	Gaze to D			
Elicit				When are we going to offer some money to...	elicit				
Marker				Gaze to D	(nom.)		B/A: Gaze to D)	(eng)	
							3 head nods 2.D: (Slow, long headed nod) well, he said he would do it gratis but I don't think we should let him. 3.A: No, I think he should get something	(eng) (Ack) Inf Inf (add) Acc	
Supporting							4:D: (Head nod) I think we should pay him as we pay ourselves	(Acc) Inf (add)	Small head shakes
Bound Opening Inform				5.D What I worked out for the, not for him, for others now, on the courses I had worked it out on a very modest thing. thirty thousand lire an hour, right, and that obviously doesn't include IVA' so we'd end up with something like twenty two thousand which we have to share, working it out that way if we manage each month until June to take in four million, we pay ourselves twenty two thousand net for an hour.	Inf. Inf. (add.)	fingerpoint (Deictic) fingers circled (illustrators) hand gesture (regulators) finger gesture (illustrators) hand gesture (regulators) Head nods prosodic markers on prominence (Regulators)			
Failed Opening				6.B. Well, what is er...	el	Ø gaze			
				7.A. Yes, but we've got to consider him	Inf.				

Exchange Type	Challenging Move	Act	Kinesics	Opening Move	Act	Kinesics	Supporting Move	Act	Kinesics
Bound Opening				8.D. (Cont) That's basing it on the course we're doing now	com (rpt)	outstretched arm and hand to B. Turnholding			
Inform	9.A: We've got to consider as well that he is using our premises as well <u>you know</u> How will we pay him?	Inf. (com)	Outstretched hands						
Inform	10.D. He's doing us a favour Anne.	Inf							
Inform	11.A: (Forward posture, outstretched arms, hand segments) <u>No</u>, we pay <u>him</u> we pay us, well obviously then <u>you know</u> we can say well, you know he's using the place as well, give us a bit of discount.,	[rej] [rej] inf com (q) com (rpt)	hand gesture (deitic) hand gesture illustrator						
Failed Opening				12.D: Well what...	E1				
Inform	13A (cont.) because we're paying the rent but you know...	inf (add) ((com) (q.))	hand gesture				14.D: yeah?	Ack	Slight head nods
Bound	15.D: But he's a member too	(rej)	inf Slight head shakes and eye blinks		Inf.		C: (Gaze from D to A) 16.A: er...yes., he's a member, yes. 17.D: eh!	(Engage) [conf] conf conc [conc]	Head and shoulder shrug Head nod
Bound Opening				18.B: I don't think he can offer less than thirty thousand	Inf.		19 A: No	Acc (eng)	Gaze to B
Inform	20.A: (cont.) No, what I mean is depending on how many students he has got.				com (q)	Gaze to D writing emblem	D: (postural congruency)		writing emblem

Exchange Type	Challenging Move	Act	Kinesics	Opening Move	Act	Kinesics	Supporting Move	Act	Kinesics
Bound Opening				21.A: How many has he got? 5?	El.		22.D: I think he's got 6 now 23.A: Or 6 or whatever he's got anyway	Rep. Rep. com (rst)	
Request	24.A: (cont.) You should ask him to contribute to the rent or electricity or something.	Elicit (Commit)							
Inform	25.D: He's paying the rent for us. He's paying the rent for us.	Reply com (rpt)							
Inform	26.A: He's the one paying. He's got to get the money back though hasn't he?	com (rst) Elicit (agree)							
Inform Exchange Boundary	27.D: No, he's just going to get a teacher's wage, he's not going to get any less or more, he's doing it for us, he's not going to say, I want to come down to your school so I can...	rej [rej] rep Inf (adv) com (q)	one head shake				28.A: uh, hu, 29.A: oh, yes 30.A: No...	Acc (Acc) Acc (Acc) Acc (Acc)	Head nods, head and shoulder shrug Head nods Head nods
Elicit				31.A: Did you tell him about leaving the lights on and things like that?	El.		32.D: I told him and he said he turned the lights off for them and they'd left this...open	rep Inf.	eye movement (deictic) extended arm and point (deictic)
Failed Opening				33.A: Which one?	El.				

Exchange Type	Challenging Move	Act	Kinesics	Opening Move	Act	Kinesics	Supporting Move	Act	Kinesics
Inform							34.D: He said he did leave the gate open, he said he found it open, and he left it open, because he found it open he left it open. The lights as we said he turned out the lights for them, er shut the er gate	Inf. com (rpt)	Prosodic markers - hand box (righthand) (illustrator) outstretched hand gesture (deictic)
Inform				35.A: No, that door is broken have you noticed?	El.	head nod (deictic)	36.D: He said he shut the door beside the office 37.A: (Head shake) 38.D: (Intake of breath and look aside) 39.A: Because that one is completely broken, it's open all the time and Salvo took the lock out of the front door, you know the front door, there Salvo took the lock our two weeks ago.	Reply (com (q) (com (q) Inf. (add) com (q) Inf (add.)	Point (hand) (deictic) directive head nod (deictic) Finger circle (illustrator) Pointfinger
Inform Exchange Boundary	40.D: ...but you can't possibly say anything about him using the place we employ him on our premises, it's got nothing to do with him	rej [rej) Inf. (add.) (term)	head shakes hand out and in movement (deictic) gaze down				41.A: Head nod and outstretched hand towards D. 42.A: Gaze down	(conc) (term)	

Exchange Type	Challenging Move	Act	Kinesics	Opening Move	Act	Kinesics	Supporting Move	Act	Kinesics
Elicit				43.C: What about this programme?	El.		44.B: Yes we have to, because Pizzini wants the programme.		

TRANSCRIPT B - Dialogue

D: She's got an absolutely huge area to go around

1.B: Talking about this painting course

When are we going to offer some money to...

2.D: (Slow, long head nod) well, he said he would do it gratis but I don't think we should let him.

3.A: No, I think he should get something

4.D: I think we should pay him as we pay ourselves

5.D What I worked out for the, not for him, for others now, on the courses I had worked it out on a very modest thing. Three thousand lire an hour, right, and that obviously doesn't include IVA' so we'd end up with something like twenty thousand which we have to share, working it out that way if we manage each month until June to take in 4 million, we pay ourselves twenty thousand net for an hour.

6.B. Well, what is er...

7.A. Yes, but we've got to settle it with him

8.D. That's basing it on the course we're doing now

9.A: We've got to consider as well that he is using or premises as well you know

10.D. He's doing us a favour Anne.

11.A: (Forward posture, outstretched arms, hand segments) No, we pay him we pay us, well obviously then you know we can say well, you know he's using the place as well, give us a bit of discount.,

12.D: Well what...

13A because we're paying the rent but you know...

14.D: yeah?

15.D: But he's a member too

16.A: er...yes., he's a member, yes.

17.D: eh!

18.B: I don't think he can offer less than 30.000

19 A: No

20.A: No, what I mean is you count how many students he has got.

21.A: How many has he got? 5?

22.D: I think he's got 6 now

23.A: Or 6 or whatever he's got anyway

24.A: You should ask him to contribute to the rent or electricity or something.

25.D: He's paying the rent for us.
He's paying the rent for us.

26.A: He's the one paying.
He's got to get the money back though hasn't he?

27.D: No, he's just going to get a teacher's wage, he's not going to get any less or more, he's doing it for us, he's not going to say, I want to come down to your school so I can...

28.A: uh, hu,

29.A: oh, yes

30.A: No...

31.A: Did you tell him about leaving the lights on and things like that?

32.D: I told him
and he said he turned the lights off for them and they'd left this...open

33.A: Which one?

34.D: He said he did leave the gate open, he said he found it open, and he left it open, because he found it open he left it open.

The lights
As we said he turned out the lights for them, shut the gate

35.A: No, that door is broken have you noticed?

36.D: He said he shut the door beside the office

37.A: (Head shake)

38.D: (Intake of breath and look aside)

39.A: Because that one is completely broken, it's open all the time and Salvo took the <u>lock</u> out of the front door, you know the front door, there Salvo took the lock our two weeks ago.

40.D: ...but you can't possibly say anything about him using the place we employ him on our premises, it's got nothing to do with him

41.A: Head nod and outstretched hand towards D.

42.A: Gaze down

43.C: What about this programme?

44.B: Yes we have to, because Pizzini wants the programme.

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