SPOKEN VS. WRITTEN MODES OF DISCOURSE

Sapir: writing is 'visual speech symbolism' (1921) *Bloomfield*: 'writing is not language, but merely a way of recording language by visible marks' (1933) *Hall*: 'speech is fundamental and writing ... only a secondary derivative' (1964) *Postal*: 'writing is a crude way of representing linguistic structure than a sign system with a direct relation to the world' (1966) *Fillmore*: written communication is 'derivative of the face-to-face conversational norm' (1981) *Aronoff*: notes 'the undoubtedly correct observation that spoken language is "true" language, while written is an artifact' (1985)

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INTRODUCTION

Before having started working on this topic, I had not realised how extensive this would become. I realised that it is hardly possible to produce a complete list with all the differences that can emerge when comparing written and spoken modes of discourse; and so I decided to have a closer look on some specific features of both modes, which will allow me to do so in more detail. Now, the aim of this paper is to show how speech and writing differ in their primary features, like origin or structuring and, furthermore, to try to show that each mode is equally important, regardless what the beliefs of our literate society are.

I also want to supply a model of analysis for both the macro- and micro-structure of verbal communication. Doing so, I also have to offer an adequate model for analysing the context of speech situations, so that linguistic features could be interpreted in the way they were originally intended.

1. HISTORICAL APPROACH

During the evolution of mankind communication was one of the main features that appeared along with the ability to use tools, or to walk upright, all of which made it possible to distinguish a human being from an animal. In this chapter I now want to have a closer look at the development of forms of communication which mainly are the ability to speak and write. At the same time I want to try to show the differences between speech and writing on a historical basis.

Without doubt the first medium of communication to evolve was speech, or better sound produced by the organs of speech. This form of verbal interaction suited the hunting and gathering tribes best, who at that time led a mobile way of life. Along with that they also could have communicated through pictures, e.g. rock paintings, which could carry different forms of meaning: adornment, marking secret places, ... But these pictures must not be referred to as writing because any pictorial representation can be said to communicate something, or on the other hand, nothing. These pictures only visualise thought-patterns - they do not refer to spoken language.

I think that this point needs a more detailed explanation, which would be to define the term *writing* in a more detailed way (Halliday 1989: 14): Language on the whole consists of three main parts, which would be meaning, wording and sound. If we now take into consideration that writing is part of a language and in most cases it is an alternative to speaking or sound we will have to modify this. It will be better to say that language consists of meaning, wording and expression, which can either be written or spoken. Another thing to point out is that writing can always be read aloud,
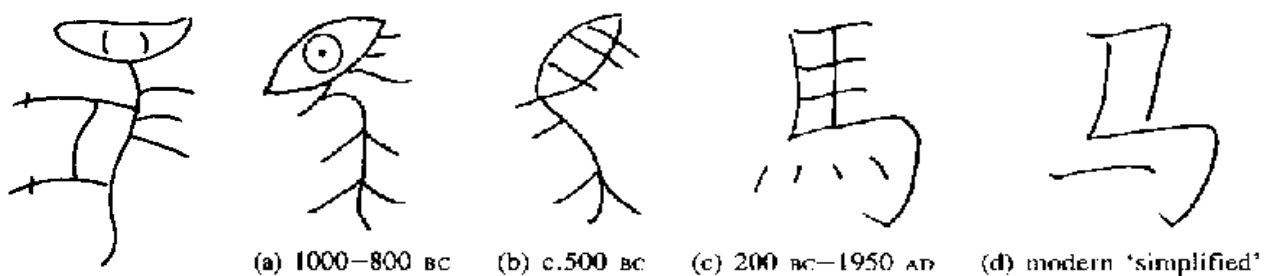
which is impossible with pictures. Nevertheless, there are borderline cases. "There can always be instances that are mixed or intermediate, however clearly defined the categories are in theory; and in the history of writing there must have been many, although none seems to have survived [...]" (Halliday 1989: 14) In the German language, however, there are a few examples: * (for "born on ..."), † ("died on ..."), ∞("married"). In German these signs are called "Wortschriftzeichen". To sum up we can say that writing is a combination of language and visual imagery, which leads to the fact that writing has its beginnings in the times when pictures were interpreted as language.

From Pictures to Letters

This process of reinterpreting representations of things as representation of words started mainly in three different parts of the world 1. in south-west Asia and north-east Africa (Summeria and Egypt); 2. in China; and 3. in Central America with the Mayas. To give an overall view of the different kinds of writing systems I want to outline the characteristics of the Chinese system of writing (Halliday 1989: 16) and later on show how English developed from the ancient Egyptian script.

The whole process of writing starts with having pictures that represent different things, e.g. "a horse", as shown in the figure. It is important to remember that the picture represents the animal, but as soon as the picture stands for a word of a language and no longer for the "thing" itself, it can be called writing. When the pictures change shape, they can for example be simplified, they change from shape to character.

The same process took place with hundreds of other pictorial representations and the basis for the Chinese writing system, a so called charactery , was laid. The technical term for this symbol would

(a) 1000−800 BC   (b) c.500 BC   (c) 200 BC−1950 AD   (d) modern 'simplified'

be logogram. This

means that the written symbol represents a whole word, or more accurately a morpheme, the smallest unit of wording. Once the system was established, the shapes were regularised and simplified. This kind of writing system is perfectly suitable for the Chinese language, which has only monosyllabic words. It is in every respect equal to other writing systems, although totally different. An explanation to this can be found in the historical development of the writing system of the English language.

The first Egyptian writing system, the hieroglyphs, was also a charactery and at first the development was similar to the Chinese script, including phonetic transfer and semantic indicators (Halliday 1989: 19). The problem, however, was that Old Egyptian words did vary in their number of syllables, which means that one long word could be made out of a number of syllables which each itself was also a word on its own. (e.g. *snowball = snow + ball*) The problem that arose, was that in longer words the syllables, or characters, put together caused problems in understanding. To give an example taken from the English language it would work as follows: *cannibal = can [container] + knee + ball*. If we took the characters for these three morphemes to form the word *cannibal* it would make no sense at all, because the word consists of three different syllables, not morphemes. The whole process would only work if the characters were reinterpreted as standing for the syllables [kæn], [ni], [bɔl].

This was exactly what happened to the Egyptian writing system and the whole nature of writing became transformed: A character of a word did not stand for the word itself but for the sound in another word: The character has become a syllabic symbol and the charactery a syllabary. The important thing is, that there is no need for the symbol itself to change, only its function has to change: First the character was used for representing a class of objects (e.g. *can*), then it was reinterpreted, and represents the word *can* which is a lexical item. After being reinterpreted again it now represents the syllable [kæn] which is an element of English phonology. Although this process did not happen fully to the Egyptian language, the step taken is important: "The script has now become a phonological one." (Halliday 1989: 22)

After this change had taken place speakers of other languages borrowed the Egyptian writing system to use it for their own purpose, the people significant for our purpose woul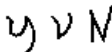d be the Phoenicians. They took over a small number of Egyptian symbols and used them as syllabic signs. They borrowed about 30 symbols and listed them in a fixed order (1. ox character, called "ˀaleph" = /ˀa/; 2. house character, called beth = /ba/). This suited the Phoenician language well because it is a Semitic language, like modern Arabic or Hebrew, where the root of a word consists of usually tree consonants. The vowels added between and the affixes before and after the root of the word distinguish grammatical and lexical meaning. An example for this would be the words *Islam, Muslim, salaam* for which the root is /s-l-m/ and means 'peace'. (Halliday 1989: 23).

The next in line to borrow writing symbols were the Greek, who took over the Phoenician writing system and adopted it to write Greek, which is a different kind of language where vowels and consonants are fixed in the root of a word and where a syllable can consist of a cluster of consonants. For this kind of language a syllabary would be inappropriate, and so the Greeks let each

symbol stand for just a single consonant, without a following vowel. For the vowels they either used Phoenician symbols they had no use for (e.g. aleph, without glottal stop = /a/) or invented new ones. The result was the alphabet (the Greek borrowed the Phoenician names, too, and the name *alphabet* comes from the first two in line; see above), where the symbols stand for single sounds, for phonemes; the basic principle is that one letter stands for one phoneme.

The writing system was adapted to the different Greek dialects and one of those was taken over by the Romans, who adjusted the writing system to their language. So the Latin alphabet we use today was founded. "The symbols of all natural writing systems began as pictures. This is as true of the letters of our alphabet as it is for the characters of Chinese. Every time you write the word man, you are drawing three pictures - water, an ox head, a snake." (Halliday 1989: 24)

Egyptian	Phoenician	Greek	Latin → English
water	/ma/	/m/	M /m/ m /m/
ox	/ʔa/	/a/	A /a/ a /æ/
snake	/na/	/n/	N /n/ n /n/

The English Writing System

The English writing system today is based on the Latin alphabet, but this was not always the case: English is a mixed language, which was exposed to constant outside influence. So for example the Celtic language influenced English Grammar, and Norwegian, Danish, Norman French, Latin, and Greek vocabulary was taken over into the English language. The English had taken over the alphabetic writing system and added some letters on their own, as for example the thorn-rune /þ/, which on the whole was best suited to write Old English. Then the Norman French scribes destroyed this system by not writing letters they did not know. Along with this two phenomena occurred which let the English end up with a writing system that did not wholly represent the spoken language. The first was the internal upheaval during the Middle English period where the language changed but the writing system still reflected the earlier phonological patterns. The second one was the large number of Greek and Latin borrowings which brought new phonological patterns that had to be reconciled with the native ones while the Greek and Latin spelling remained largely the same. The result is a writing system that compromises between the old and the new, the foreign and the native. "It is far from perfect; but it has many virtues - not the least of which is that it is neutral among all the various native and non-native forms of English spoken all around the world." (Halliday 1989: 27)

It is this mixed character that makes English accessible. Firstly it is not a purely phonemic script, although the writing system is phonological. For example we write *photograph*, *photography*, and *photographic* all alike (Halliday 1989:27), even though their phonemic structure is very

different. This kind of morphological rule, the root of the word should be left unchanged, can be seen in hundreds of other similar sets, mostly Anglo-Saxon and Graeco-Roman words. Secondly it is not entirely phonological but partly logographic which allows words that are pronounced the same to be spelled differently. The advantages in this case are that the different spelling allows dialectal neutrality, as said above, and that writing has not to be dependant on an immediate environment, which is always available in speech, while remaining unambiguous. A nice example would be the following two phrases taken from Halliday (1989: 27): *wait for pause after whole lessons - weight four paws after hole lessens*.

Summary and Conclusion

I think that this rather simplified approach on the development of writing and speech states two opposing facts: One is that speech was the first medium of communication to evolve which can be attributed to the needs of the people at that time. But once the mobile way of life was replaced by settlement their needs for adequate communication changed, too: "When some communities took to husbanding and cultivating [...] their patterns of culture underwent certain fundamental changes: population increased, [...], power structures arose, [...] and goods and services were controlled and exchanged." (Halliday 1989: 39) This development raised need for a more durable system of communication, which could be referred to more than once, and so writing had to be invented. This factor is at the same time one of the main differences between speech and writing (although things have changed in recent history with the possibilities to record and video-tape spoken communication). Nevertheless, speech was first to evolve and without it, as history shows, writing systems could not have been developed, since they have to refer to a comparable medium, which in our case has always been speech. Considering these facts spoken communication could be seen as superior.

Secondly you can say that once a writing system had been established, it immediately began to have a life of its own, which can for example be seen in the partial change from charactery to syllabary within the Egyptian system of writing, or the different ways of development writing and speech took in the course of history of the English language. Others claim (Biber 1991: 3,4) that, although writing was invented to deal with needs that speech could not cope with, it was the very factor that caused people's thought patterns to become more complex and abstract. It was the medium that made it possible to discuss texts and also language itself, no matter if it was written or spoken. Therefore you could say that writing is the superior mode of communication.

Throughout the history of man and equally throughout the history of linguistic research both theories have appeared, and either the one or the other thesis was valued as more or less accurate. Here it is important to note that once a writing system has been established in addition to a spoken

form the question whether one is superior or not is redundant. The fact is that mankind nowadays, and equally so in each historical epoch since a writing system was introduced, would suffer great disadvantages if one of the two modes of communication was missing. This cannot only be extracted from the historical approach towards this topic, as shown above, but it can also be seen in the following citation taken from Biber (1991: 9): "[...] the two modes of communication have quite different strengths and weaknesses, and they therefore tend to be used in complementary situations. From this perspective, neither can be said to be primary; they are simply different."

2. PREVIOUS LINGUISTIC RESEARCH

Before we can talk about the results that previous research on the differences between spoken and written modes of discourse produced, we have to discuss two different kinds of analysis, showing the main advantages and disadvantages of each method. The names of both approaches are related to the quantity of data which is analysed. The first, the quantitative study, is based on corpus analysis, whereas in the second, the non-quantitative study, only a few texts of each mode are analysed. In his book on "Variation across Speech and Writing" Biber opts for the use of both methods of analysis at the same time (1991:52) because both approaches have complementary strengths and weaknesses: The former gives a solid empirical foundation to the findings, while the latter can be used for interpreting the results.

The quantitative study is widely used to show the distribution of specific linguistic features, mostly grammatical and lexical features, as for example subordinate constructions, passives, the use of adjectives, adverbs etc. in a representative part - a corpus - of the English language. From the statistical results generated through an analysis researchers now can draw conclusions on how spoken and written texts differ and how a general rule can be formulated. The major problem associated with this method is that it is the researcher who decides on what and how to count, and this may also be an explanation for the contradicting studies presented in Biber (1991:50).

Researchers using the non-quantitative approach want to investigate other linguistic features than grammar or the lexicon as for example thematic cohesion, features of integration and involvement, or the importance of context. The advantage single texts pose in these cases is that an analysis can be of greater detail and depth because the linguistic characteristics of a text can be directly interpreted in terms of their function in the communicative interaction. (Biber 1991:52) On the other hand, only individual texts are analysed and therefore it is hardly possible to make general statements concerning the contrasts between speech and writing.

Nevertheless, overall linguistic generalisations on this topic have been made; but before introducing these, I have to outline several factors which should be taken into consideration when talking about global differences between spoken and written modes of discourse.

Firstly, when talking about generalisations, we should be aware that there is a wide range of different genres within each mode, each of which has a different communicative task. This leads to the fact that some written texts have nearly the same characteristic features as spoken ones: e.g. academic prose vs. lecture. They may also be entirely different: e.g. academic prose vs. face-to-face communication. Secondly, we should pay attention to the writer or speaker of a text, since a member of the academic middle-class will definitely talk or write differently than a member of the lower working-class. Finally, we should be aware of the fact that only a few linguistic features can be taken to serve this task, otherwise the results would not only be highly complex but it would not even be possible to find any feature that could be said to be generally characteristic. "The analyses [...] demonstrate that no single linguistic feature can adequately account for the full range of variation among spoken and written texts." (Biber 1991:54)

Speech vs. Writing

In the recent past a large number of studies has been made to identify specific linguistic features that can be said to be characteristic for either the written or the spoken mode of discourse. According to Biber it is not possible to find overall linguistic characterisations that would fit onto every form of spoken or written text possible. (1991:47) Nevertheless, with the help of the following tables I want to introduce a number of general characteristics which are claimed to be the main differences between speech and writing. Here again I have to emphasise that these findings should not be regarded as definitely binding nor a general scheme that can be applied on every combination of texts possible. (cf. paragraph above) The only aim of this comparison is to point out the main differences that arise when comparing 'ideal' forms of each speech and writing, which may be 'fictional prose' for the written mode and 'face-to-face conversation' for the spoken.

The lowest level of comparison refers to the *physical qualities* of each mode:

Speech	Writing
acoustic	visual
continuous	segmented, linear
volatile	lasting
immaterial	physical
contextualised (time, place)	de-contextualised (time, place)

The next level of analysis shows the *relationship between product and producer*:

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process - product - fusion: brain	process - product - splitting: paper, etc.
part of action	result of action
addressed to somebody	available for anybody

The third level deals with the *communicative features* of each mode:

prosodic, paralinguistic, indexical features	~ punctuation (?)
integral	physical presence missing
concrete	abstract
personally involved	detached

The last level presents *grammatical and lexical differences* between speech and writing:

structurally simple	structurally complex and elaborated
less explicit	explicit
new information given bit by bit	higher concentration of new information
less organised, spontaneous	deliberately organised and planned

On the whole, I would dare to say that these tables more or less resemble the major differences between spoken and written modes of discourse, even if the comparison can be said to be made on an extremely general basis. When leaving the physical qualities aside, there is only one distinction within these opposing pairs that can be said to be absolute: prosodic, paralinguistic and indexical features vs. punctuation. In the following chapter I want to deal with this difference in particular.

3. PUNCTUATION VS. PROSODIC FEATURES

One characteristic of spoken language that is definitely not realised in writing are prosodic, paralinguistic and indexical features. (Halliday 1989:29-31) Prosodies are part of the linguistic system; they systematically contrast grammatical and phonological features of the English language and are spread across extended portions of speech, such as clauses or sentences. Principal types would be intonation, rhythm, and phrasing and pausing. Paralanguage is represented by tamber, tempo, loudness, and facial and bodily gestures. They can be referred to as non-systematic vocal and gestual variations that carry meaning in English speech. The last group includes all characteristics that distinguish one individual speaker from the other and which hardly can be controlled by the speaker: pitch range, resonance, tension and individual preferences for certain prosodic and paralinguistic features.

Theoretically all of them could be realised in written language, although it would be difficult because in contrast to speech, writing is linear and segmented. Moreover, the text would soon become unreadable; but in a specific written genre they are partly presented: in the dramatic dialogue

where thy are called 'stage directions'. However, these features do not exist for the written mode, which has to rely upon another device, which is punctuation.

Punctuation

When the Greek started to use the writing system they had adopted from the Phoenicians, their writing was a string of letters without capital letters or spaces between the words; they also wrote continuously from left to right and back from right to left, starting again with left. Over the centuries innovations were achieved that led writing to its modern form (Halliday 1989: 33): The writing direction was standardised to a left to right succession; spaces between words and capital letters were introduced, and punctuation marks were invented. The last field can again be divided into three sub levels.

The most important function they have to serve is 'boundary marking', where grammatical units are logically separated. The hierarchy according to the size of the different units would be as follows: (word), phrase, clause, sentence. The punctuation marks that could be associated with these units, are as follows: (space), comma, semicolon, colon, full stop. The second is called 'status marking' because the signs indicate a special speech function and the punctuation associated with this would be full stop, question mark, exclamation mark, single and double quote. The last group can be referred to as 'relation markers', which not only serve a minor function but are also difficult to generalise. (Halliday 1989: 34) The dash signals apposition of two elements; the parenthesis marks digression by leaving the main track of the sentence; the hyphen mostly links two words to a compound and finally the apostrophe serves as a place holder for something left out.

Yet we have to analyse, how punctuation relates to grammar: Historically the awareness of a structured language has not emerged until it has been written down; and all grammatical units, etc. we refer to today, have been invented after closely studying and structuring written language. Therefore we can assume that grammar only represents the structure of the written mode of discourse; so punctuation, since boundary markers are associated with grammatical units, could be said to be closely linked to the grammatical system. Therefore, in the process of writing punctuation will in most cases obey grammatical demands. In this case Halliday distinguishes between two different styles of punctuation (1989: 37) which are used according to the mode a writer composes his text in. He points out that a writer could either compose a text in the written mode, when punctuation follows grammar, or according to phonology - the text is composed "with his ear" - when he structures his text prosodically. This again has to be more closely specified. In phonology the relation between clause and tone group is not that strictly fixed as is the relation between grammar and punctuation. It can vary systematically as a means to give structure to a message and in general a

tone group can be said to be a 'unit of information'. Along with this pauses in natural speech are not associated with grammatical boundaries - they are made again to distinguish units of information.

There is hardly any difference as long as clauses match up with tone groups, but if they differ, two possibilities arise which can give the reader the feeling that he would have punctuated differently. Nevertheless, both ways of punctuating a text are possible, and writers normally combine both ways. The following example (Halliday 1989: 37) is meant to outline how these two kinds of punctuation work:

(a)	(b)
Freda leapt down from the gate, and as Sebastian came forward her look of recognition unmixed with any surprise, contrived to suggest that for her, the sudden appearance of someone who had been away for half her lifetime, was the most commonplace event imaginable.	Freda leapt down from the gate and, as Sebastian came forward, her look of recognition unmixed with any surprise contrived to suggest that, for her, the sudden appearance of someone who had been away for half her lifetime was the most commonplace event imaginable.

Text (a) represents an interpretation of the sentence in phonological terms, while in (b) punctuation follows the grammatical structure.

Besides serving grammatical rules there is a further important function punctuation has to perform, which is providing breathing space when a written text is read aloud. While reading a text where the punctuation (except full stops) is missing, the reader will soon be lost within the sentences and end up breathless. Although some linguists argue that this assumption is wrong by claiming that both features are in no extend related, there are, on the other hand, researchers that point out that there are even more prosodic features, than only pauses, visible in a written text. So for example Davis (1994:199-200) assumes that intonation on the whole is present in writing. I think that this is only partly true and strongly depending on the text type and its communicative function. What is more, his thesis is only based upon the transcription of dialogues, which is nothing but actual spoken discourse written down. The most important factor is that a reader interprets the text according to his personal feeling, which parts of the text form the important informational units. He also has to consider the ability of the audience to take in the information given in the text, which means that he has to estimate the knowledge shared by both the text and the audience. A rule I would apply is: the more a reader segments a written text to be read aloud into its informational elements, the closer he will get to the typical intonation patterns of spoken discourse. Concerning this topic Brazil (1992:211-223) suggests five stages of engagement that a reader can apply to a text basing his thesis on the reader's awareness of the communicative possibilities of a text.

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To sum up, I would again say that intonation is only visible in a text when intonation and punctuation match, and that the most important unit of information, is, as far as writing is concerned, always presented at the end of a sentence, since English is an end-focused language.

Prosodic Features

As frequently mentioned in the previous paragraphs, spoken language is structured according to units of information rather than grammatical features. This is carried out by the use of different intonation patterns. Intonation itself is the melodic movement within the lexico-grammatical system that encodes some aspects of the wording and not only quite systematically expresses contras in meaning but the choice of intonation also defines the speech function of an utterance. (Halliday 1989: 48) Intonation is closely related to rhythm, which gives speech its organisation in time and itself is not a unit of meaning. The most important unit of rhythm is the 'foot', the strong, accentuated syllable of a word, which in intonation carries the melody. There are three principles within the wording of a language that determine which syllable of a word is strong. In English these principles would be as follows:

> 1.Words of more than one syllable have an accent on a particular syllable; the accented syllable is strong, others are weak. Long words may have more than one accent.
> 2.Words of one syllable are (a) strong, if lexical ('content' words), (b) weak if grammatical ('function' words).
> 3.Any word, and any syllable or any word, can be strong for special prominence or contrast. (Halliday 1989:53)

The next unit larger than the foot would be the 'tone group', which is a unit of intonation that resembles a meaningful segment of discourse - a unit of information. This group has two significant properties: 'Tonicity', also referred to as 'tonic' or 'tonic nucleus', which contains a particular point of prominence, and the 'tone', which is a specific melodic contour, that is selected according to the speech function.

We now can refer to a tone group as an expression of a unit of information which is divided into new (unknown) and given (known) information, the culmination of what is new, is expressed with the help of the tonic. All information before and after the tonic, as long as it is still in the same tone group, can be referred to as given. That leaves us with the following formula (Halliday 1989: 55): (G) - N - (G) for the spoken mode of discourse. As mentioned before, things are normally different in writing, which proceeds from given to new: (G) - N.

Tone, on the other hand, helps to express certain speech functions. Some general examples for that would be that positive or negative statements (*it's / it isn't Tuesday*) and WH-questions

(*what day is it?*) are signalled by a falling pitch. The intonation pattern used in Yes/No questions (*is it Tuesday?*) is a rising pitch and a level pitch, neither rising nor falling, would show that a message is incomplete (items in a list, or a statement that is followed by *and*).

By looking at these examples the question arises, if there is a relationship between grammar and intonation. Yet again we have to note that grammar only refers to written texts, since it was generated from this mode. So 'statements', and 'questions' would be 'declaratives' and 'interrogatives' in grammatical terms. Halliday explains the relationship as follows: "[...] the clause class and the tone express different meanings, but meanings that are closely related so that there is an unmarked option to combine them [...]" (1989:57) Nevertheless, it is very important to keep the terms apart: 'declarative' and 'interrogative' are grammatical categories while statement and question are semantic classifications.

Summing up the relationship between prosodic features and punctuation, I come to a similar conclusion as in the historical approach onto the differences between speech and writing (Chapter 1): Within each mode the same speech functions are generated differently, although the basis, or better the intention behind an utterance, remains largely the same for both ways of realisation. This can easily be explained by the fact that one mode derives from the other; and therefore I would dare to suggest that punctuation and at last tone resemble each other, and are only contrasted by being realised in a different medium. All other features - prosodic, paralinguistic and indexical - are left out in the written mode or, when necessary, they are replaced by lexical elements.

4. MACRO- AND MICRO-ANALYSIS OF SPOKEN DISCOURSE

Context

Before outlining a model for analysing spoken discourse, there is a very important additional category of analysis that I have to refer to first: the context of a communicative event. Without specifying on the context it would be impossible to interpret the linguistic features associated with the macro and micro levels of communication correctly. The model for analysing this kind of context I have adopted from Biber (1991: 28-33). The main reason for making this choice was that he himself refers to a large number of earlier studies, combining them and updating the components needed for an accurate analysis of the context of a communicative situation.

The model is made up out of eight components, which I first want to outline with the help of the following table. Not only will this make using the model easier, when applied on practice situations, but it also provides a better structured overall view of the specific components.

I. Participant roles and characteristics
    a. communicative roles
    b. personal characteristic
    c. characteristic by group membership
II. Relations among participants
    a. social role relations
    b. personal relationship
    c. extend of shared knowledge
    d. number of participants
III. Setting
    a. physical context
    b. temporal context
    c. superordinate activity type
    d. extend of shared time and space
    e. +/- audience
IV. Topic
V. Purpose
    a. conventional goals
    b. personal interests
VI. Social evaluation
    a. evaluation of communicative event
    b. evaluation of content
VII. Relations of participants to text
VIII. Channel

Some of the components above will need further explanation, so that the reference implied will become more obvious.

I. Communicative roles can either be adressor(s), adressee(s) or audience. Personal characteristics are made up out of stable (personality, interests, beliefs, etc.) and temporary (mood, emotion, etc.) features; and it is this category which influences the individual style of speaking most. Participants must also be characterised by their group membership, which has great influence on their diction (social class, ethnic group, sex, age, occupation, etc.).

II. Social role relation refers to the distribution of social power, the status between the participants. The amount of shared knowledge can be split up either into specific (personal) or cultural / world knowledge; the personal (+/- close) relationship between participants also characterises the amount of knowledge shared. The number of participants, i.e. if you are talking to one person or a large group, influences the way utterances are formulated.

III. Superordinate activity type describes the situation, within which place and time are embedded. The presence or absence of an audience (people listening to the conversation, but not taking place in) may sometimes have great influence onto the course, a conversation takes.

IV. This is what the message is about.

V. The purpose refers to what the participants hope to be the outcome of a communication. This can either be a conventional goal (bargaining session - business result) or a personal one.

The last three components form what is called the 'scene': the psychological setting of communication. If one of these components changes the perception of the communicative event also changes: A shift of purpose and topic within a given setting would cause a change of the perception of the speech activity; and moving to a new setting while holding topic and purpose the same would cause a shift within the perception of the scene. The idea of 'scene' is most important for understanding the differences among communicative situations. To illustrate this I want to give the following example taken from Biber (1991:32): An instructor and students sit in a classroom before

class, having an informal conversation. When time for class passes and the instructor begins to teach, the perception of communicative activity shifts from an informal conversation to a formal discussion. So III and IV remain the same but V changes, also causing a shift in the perception of the scene.

VI. Evaluation of the communicative event refers to the values shared by culture, sub-cultures, individuals, etc.; while evaluation of the content of a message reflects the speaker's attitude (feelings, judgement, tone and manner of speech, his degree of commitment towards the content, ...)

VII. In written discourse the participants can either write /read as slowly or as quickly as they wish to. Speakers and listeners have very few possibilities to interact with the text; nevertheless, this component is an important component of the situation. I think that the more familiar a certain topic is for the participant, the closer will be his relationship to the text.

VIII. Channel, in the end, refers to the medium of the message, which primarily can be written or spoken. The sub-channels available for the further would be restricted to the lexical / syntactic one, while the latter has three sub-channels: lexical /syntactic, prosodic, and paralinguistic.

Once again, I have to emphasise the importance of specifying the situational context of communication: the functional description of language use would be hardly possible. Biber notes on this point: "[...] identification of the salient components of the situation enables an interpretation of the roles played by particular linguistic features within that context." (1991:33) It will be these functions, both macro and micro components of analysis, I want to deal with in the following section of this chapter.

Analysing Everyday Communication

The following model I have taken from Francis and Hunston (1992: 125-141) because it was established to serve the analysis of 'everyday conversation', face-to-face conversation, which is regarded to be the most natural kind of spoken discourse. To shortly introduce this model of analysis, I want to provide a ranking highest to lowest of the different structures given, and at the same time I will try to arrange them according to the macro and micro structure of a conversational event.

The first term in order would be 'interaction'; it could also be generally referred to as 'an act of conversation'. Markers of beginning and end of an interaction certainly are greeting and leave-taking. Some linguists, however, propose not to see these as part of an interaction, but since whole units of transactions can be made up out of greet exchanges, it would not be wise to separate them from the unit of 'interaction'. (Francis and Hunston 1992: 141)

The boundaries of 'transactions', the next category in order, are basically made up out of changes of topics. Besides this, preliminary elements (P), which are along with terminal elements (T) of structure optional in use within transactions, and intonation, in most cases a high key or a proclaiming tone, are the features associated with the beginning of a new unit of transaction. The only obligatory element of transactions is the 'medial' (M), made up out of at least one exchange; concerning the medial, there is no upper limit of exchanges. Therefore, there is little that can be said about the internal structure of transactions, since it can be taken for granted that an 'impossible combination' of exchanges does not exist.

The two structural elements explained above and the category 'exchanges', I would place in the level of macro analysis, since little can be said about their internal structure. The following two ranks, 'moves' and 'acts', can be associated with the micro analytic level, because each one is split up in various different sub-categories. The next paragraph will be a short description of the main features of each rank. Then the next step in providing an adequate model for analysis would be to give a detailed description of each level.

Exchangers are the combination of moves and divided into two large groups, organisational and conversational, which each split into different sub-categories. Moves, that are formed by the combination of acts, are divided into eight categories, of which 1 - 3 form organisational exchanges and 4 - 8 conversational ones. Moves, on the other hand, consist of linked acts, which are the lowest units in this scale. Acts are formed on the basis of grammar and lexis. The most important thing to be noted concerning acts, is that an act must always begin with a new tone unit; that means that acts are separated by tone unit boundaries (pauses, etc.).

In the following tables I want to outline the various sub-features of the micro analytic categories presented above. For better understanding I have put them in reverse order, starting at the lowest level.

Acts: grammar + lexis [statement, question, command are used indicating speech function, not grammatical category]

Label	Symbol	Realisation by	Function
framer	fr	closed class of items (OK, anyway, well, now, good, ...) high key intonation followed by silent stress	mark boundaries
marker	m	same as above (+ oh, erm, ...)	mark onset of move
starter	s	statement, question, command, moodless item	inform, attract intention towards move head
meta-statement	ms	statement, question, command	structure conversation
conclusion	con	statement, question (+ anaphoric reference)	'tie up' topic
acquiesce	acq	yes, other items indicating assent	provide warrant for suggestion

		(+/- verbal), silence	
greeting	gr	closed class (hello, hi, ...) + variants	...
reply-greeting	re-gr	second pair parts of adjacency pairs used in greeting rituals	...
summons	sum	telephone ringing, knocking, ...	attract attention, engage in conversation
reply-summons	re-sum	items used to answer telephone, door, ...	indicate willingness to participate in conversation
inquire	inq	question (no Y/N questions)	elicit information
neutral proposal	n.pr	Y/N questions	elicit decision between Y / N
marked proposal	m.pr	Y/N questions, form of question indicates polarity of expected answer	elicit agreement
return	ret	question, often elliptic	seek clarification of preceding utterance
loop	l	closed class (pardon, what, eh, ...)	elicit repetition of preceding utterance
prompt	p	closed class (hah [rising intonation], come on, ...)	reinforce point of preceding utterance
observation	obs	statement	offer information (part of shared knowledge of participants)
informative	i	statement, Y/N + variants, +/- verbal	supply information, give decision between Y/N
concur	conc	low, mid key Y/N + variants, +/- verbal, repetition, paraphrase	give agreement
confirm	conf	high key Y/N + see above	give assert agreement
qualify	qu	qualified statements, +/- verbal	qualify decision, agreement
reject	rej	statement, Y/N +/- verbal, silence	refuse acquiesce to suggestion, etc.
terminate	ter	low key Y/N, +/- verbal, repetition	acknowledge preceding utterance
receive	rec	mid key Y/N, +/- verbal, repetition	acknowledge preceding utterance as pre-head of move
react	rea	high key Y/N, +/- verbal repetition	(head), indicate pos. endorsement of preceding utterance
reformulate	ref	statement paraphrasing preceding utterance	(head), acknowledge preceding utterance
endorse	end	statement, moodless item	offer positive endorsement
protest	prot	statement, Y/N + variants	raise objection to preceding utterance
directive	d	command	request non-verbal response, action
behave	be	action	= non-verbal response to d
comment	com	statement	exemplify, expand, explain, justify, provide additional inform., evaluate own utterance
engage	eng	mm, yeah, + low, mid key 'echos'	provide minimal feedback, while not interrupting flow of other participants utterance

Moves: acts

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Structure: framing: (signal) + head, all other: (signal) + (pre-head) + head + (post-head)

[The structural elements put in brackets ( ) are optional, all other are obligatory.]

Label	Acts possible for serving as head	Function
framing	(marker), framer	mark boundaries in conversation
opening	(marker), (framer, starter) metastatement, conclusion, greeting, summons, (comment)	opening, concluding conversation, impose structure
answering	(marker), (starter), acquiesce, reply-greeting, reply-summons, reject, (comment, qualify)	indicate willingness to participate in conversation, provide warrant for other participant's structuring moves
eliciting	(marker), (starter), inquire, neutral proposal, marked proposal, return, loop, prompt, (comment, prompt)	elicit information
informing	(marker), (starter, receive), observation, informative, concur, confirm, qualify, reject, (concur, comment, qualify)	offer information, supply answer to preceding eliciting move
acknowledging	(marker), (receive), terminate, receive, react, endorse, protest, (comment, terminate)	provide positive or negative follow-up
directive	(marker), (starter), directive, (comment, prompt)	request immediate or future action
behaving	(marker), (starter, receive, reject), behave, (comment, qualify)	supply action

Exchanges: moves

Label	Structure	Function
1. Organisational:		
a. boundary	Frame (Fr)	mark boundaries of conversation
b. structuring, greet, summon	Initiation(I), Response(R.)	structure conversation, greeting / leave taking, engage so. in conversation
2. Conversational:		
a. elicit	I, (Initiation / Response) (I/R), R, (Follow-up) (F)	elicit information, decision, agreement
b. inform	I, (R/I), R, (F)	offer information
c. direct	I, R, (F)	request immediate or future action
d. clarify	I, (R/I), R, (F)	elicit clarification of preceding utterance
e. repeat	I, (R/I), R, (F)	elicit repetition of preceding utterance
f. re-initiation	I, (R/I), R, (F)	indicating that informing move is still required

Example: telephone conversation (Telefone.txt): complete interaction

The following example is meant to demonstrate how the model explained above could be analysed. The problem that occurs is that I only have the cleaned transcription of the text, so that I sometimes have to guess when labelling acts, moves, etc. But I think that does not make much difference, since the conversation is rather short, so that there can only be few lines where intonation could be a mat-

ter of discussion. However, the example will show how the model of analysis can be applied to a conversation.

Sp.	line of dialogue	act	e.s.	move	e.s.	exchange	ex	tr
*	[ringing of telephone]	sum	h	opening	I	summon	1	1
A:	Meg Owen.	re-sum	h	answering	R	summon		
B:	Oh, hello, Meg.	gr	h	greeting	I	greet	2	
	How are you keeping?	inq	h	inquire				
A:	Oh,	m	s		R			
	I'm fine,		h	answering				
	thanks.		post-h					
B:	You know,	s	pre-h	opening	I	inform	3	2
	you gave my address to a friend of yours?	ms	h					
	The one who does computer software?	com	post-h					
A:	That's right.	s	pre-h	informing	I/R			
	Roger O'Hare,	obs	h					
	that was his name.	com	post-h					
B:	Do you know what I've done?	s	pre-h	directive	R	direct	4	
	I can't find his phone number.							
		d	h					
A:	I'll look it up for you.	s	pre-h	behave	F	inform	5	
	....	be	h					
	It's 01 420 5971.	com	post-h					
B:	Ah,	m	s	acknowledging	F			
	thanks very much.	rec	pre-h					
	I can call him back now.	end	h					
	That's a real help.	com	post-h					
A:	Not at all.	s	pre-h	directive	I	direct	6	3
	We must meet	d	h					
	and have a drink some time.	com	post-h					
B:	Yes,	rec	pre-h	acknowledging	R			
	it would be nice to see you again.	rea	h					
	Good-bye for now.	gr	h	opening	I	greet	7	4
*A:	...	gr	h	answering	R			

CONCLUSION

However our literate society may regard the importance of speech and however an illiterate society may do the opposite, I believe that in each chapter of this paper there is only one hidden message: Although written and spoken modes of discourse can differ in nearly every aspect of analysis, they are absolutely dependant on each other. I only want to give two examples: Firstly, without speech mankind would never have come into the need for another, more durable mode of discourse. And what is more, there would not have been any mode of discourse to refer to. This can be proved by the fact that there is no known example in history, for writing having existed before speech. Secondly and more important, without writing it would not be possible to analyse spoken discourse, and without speech the results of these analyses could not be discussed.

What I want to point out here is, that both modes do serve the same need: They are used for communication; the selection of mode and genre depends the communicative purpose.

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