บทสนทนาในวรรณกรรมนานาชาติภาษาอังกฤษ:

การเปรียบเทียบการสนทนาระหว่างพ่อแม่กับลูก

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นาย โรเบิร์ต ทรอยเยอร์

DIALOGUE IN WORLD ENGLISH LITERATURES:

A COMPARISON OF PARENT-CHILD CONVERSATIONS

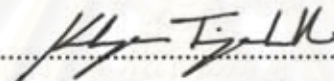IN SHORT STORIES FROM THREE VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

Mr. Robert A. Troyer

A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy Program in English as an International Language

Inter-departmental Program

Graduate School

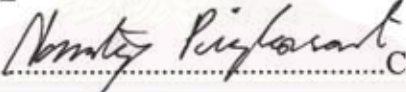Chulalongkorn University

Academic Year 2007

Thesis Title	DIALOGUE IN WORLD ENGLISH LITERATURES:
	A COMPARISON OF PARENT-CHILD CONVERSATIONS
	IN SHORT STORIES FROM THREE VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

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นาย โรเบิร์ต ทรอยเยอร์: บทสนทนาในวรรณกรรมนานาชาติภาษาอังกฤษ: การเปรียบเทียบการสนทนาระหว่างพ่อแม่กับลูกในเรื่องสั้นในสามวิธภาษาของภาษาอังกฤษ (Dialogue in World English Literatures: A Comparison of Parent-Child Conversations in Short Stories from Three Varieties of English) อาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: ผู้ช่วยศาสตราจารย์ ดร. สุดาพร ลักษณียนาวิน. อาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์ร่วม: ผู้ช่วยศาสตราจารย์ ดร. คารินา โชติรวี. 358 pp.

ในภูมิภาคเอเชียตะวันออกเฉียงใต้นั้น นับได้ว่าประเทศมาเลเซีย สิงคโปร์ และฟิลิปปินส์เป็นประเทศที่มีนักเขียนที่สร้างสรรค์วรรณกรรมในท้องถิ่นโดยใช้ภาษาอังกฤษเป็นจำนวนมากที่สุด ภาษาอังกฤษที่ใช้ในประเทศมาเลเซียและสิงคโปร์นั้นนับเป็นวิธภาษาหนึ่งซึ่งแตกต่างจากภาษาอังกฤษที่ใช้ในประเทศฟิลิปปินส์และวิธภาษาที่ใช้กันอย่างแพร่หลายในประเทศอื่น ๆ งานวิจัยเรื่องนี้วิเคราะห์เรื่องสั้นที่เป็นนวรรณกรรมร่วมสมัยจำนวนทั้งสิ้น 39 เรื่องที่แสดงให้เห็นถึงปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างพ่อแม่และลูกที่ยังอยู่ในวัยก่อนวัยรุ่น เรื่องสั้นเหล่านี้เขียนเป็นภาษาอังกฤษโดยนักเขียนท้องถิ่นในประเทศมาเลเซีย สิงคโปร์ ฟิลิปปินส์ และทวีปอเมริกาเหนือ การวิเคราะห์บทสนทนาระหว่างพ่อแม่กับลูกในเรื่องทั้งหมดใช้การวิเคราะห์ตามลักษณะทางภาษาศาสตร์โดยใช้กรอบแนวคิดตามทฤษฎีพลวัจนะ (speech move) และทฤษฎีวัจนกรรม (speech acts theory) การวิเคราะห์นี้ยังพรรณนาวิธีการที่ผู้เขียนแสดงให้เห็นถึงความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างพ่อแม่และลูกโดยการสื่อสารโดยใช้วัจนภาษาและอวัจนภาษา

การวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลเชิงปริมาณและการวิเคราะห์รายละเอียดแสดงให้ถึงความแตกต่างในการสื่อให้เห็นถึงปฏิสัมพันธ์ระหว่างพ่อแม่และลูกที่ต่างกันโดยผู้เขียนที่มีวัฒนธรรมต่างกัน ถึงแม้ว่าผลของการวิเคราะห์จะแสดงให้เห็นถึงลักษณะทางสัมพันธสาร (discourse characteristics) ที่เป็นสากลระหว่างพ่อแม่และลูก บทสนทนาในวรรณกรรมมาเลเซียและสิงคโปร์แสดงให้เห็นถึงความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างพ่อแม่กับลูกที่เป็นลำดับชั้น ในขณะที่วรรณกรรมทวีปอเมริกาเหนือสะท้อนความสัมพันธ์ที่มุ่งเน้นที่การเลี้ยงดูลูกแบบสมภาคนิยม ส่วนวรรณกรรมฟิลิปปินส์แสดงความสมดุลระหว่างคุณค่าทั้งสองข้างต้นโดยมีลักษณะของการสนทนาที่แสดงปฏิสัมพันธ์มากที่สุด งานวิจัยเรื่องนี้แสดงถึงวิธีการใช้วรรณคดีภาษาอังกฤษสากลโลก (World English literature) ทั้งที่เป็นนวรรณกรรมร่วมสมัยและวรรณกรรมแบบวัจนลีลาในการเปรียบเทียบข้ามวัฒนธรรมและการศึกษาหน้าที่ทางสัญนิยม-สังคมของวรรณคดี

หลักสูตร: <u>ภาษาอังกฤษเป็น</u>	ลายเซ็นนิสิต ....
<u>ภาษานานาชาติ</u>	อาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาหลัก ....
ปีการศึกษา: <u>2550</u>	อาจารย์ที่ปรึกษาร่วม ....

##4789678020: ENGLISH AS AN INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE.
KEYWORDS; WORLD ENGLISHES / LITERARY STYLISTICS / SOUTHEAST
ASIAN LITERATURE IN ENGLISH / DIALOGUE / DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

ROBERT TROYER: DIALOGUE IN WORLD ENGLISH LITERATURES:
A COMPARISON OF PARENT-CHILD CONVERSATIONS
IN SHORT STORIES FROM THREE VARIETIES OF ENGLISH.
THESIS ADVISOR: ASST. PROF. SUDAPORN LUKSANEEYANAWIN, PH.D.
THESIS CO-ADVISOR: ASST. PROF. CARINA CHOTIRAWE, PH.D. 358 pp.

Within the Southeast Asian region, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines
maintain the largest communities of writers of locally produced English fiction. The
English used in Malaysia and Singapore can be regarded as one variety, distinct from
Philippine English and other more widely used varieties. This research analyzed 39
contemporary works of literary short fiction which depicted interaction between
parents and their pre-adolescent children. The stories were written in English by local
authors in Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines, and North America. Stylistic analysis
employing a framework of discourse (speech) moves and acts was applied to all of the
parent-child dialogues in the stories. This analysis describes how authors depict these
relationships through the literary representation of verbal and non-verbal
communication.

Quantification and detailed analysis of the data reveal differences in how
parent-child interactions are portrayed by authors in different cultures. Though
universal aspects of parent-child discourse were found, the Malaysian and
Singaporean dialogues were oriented toward hierarchical status relationships, and the
North American stories portrayed relationships which were oriented toward
egalitarian parenting while the Filipino stories demonstrated a balance of the two
values but with the most interactive conversational style. This research demonstrates
how Stylistics and contemporary English world literature can be used for cross-
cultural comparisons and exploration of the sociosemiotic function of literature.

Field of Study: English as an
    International Language
Academic Year: 2007

Student's Signature ....
Advisor's Signature ....
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Centuries of Western colonialism and international commerce as well as the
more recent expansion of global travel and communication have led to the spread of
Western literary genres to other parts of the world. The growth of English as an
international language and its official status as a second language in many countries
has engendered local communities of English creative writers in many places. Thus,
the medium of English fiction can serve as an object of study for cross-cultural
research. As M. A. K. Halliday writes in *Language as a Social Semiotic*, "A work of
literature is its author's contribution to the reality-generating conversation of society
… and its language reflects this status that it has in the sociosemiotic scheme" (1978:
182). A cross-cultural comparison of texts can be performed using methods of
stylistic analysis which are inherently contrastive.

This research involves a study of the dialogue present in contemporary literary
short stories written in English and published in Singapore, Malaysia, the Philippines,
and North America. The aforementioned countries in the Southeast Asian region are
part of what Kachru (1986, 1992) refers to as 'Outer Circle' countries in which
English serves as an official second language.[1] Due to historical reasons discussed in
Chapter II, Singaporean and Malaysian English can be regarded as one variety of
English (sharing similar norms of usage) though Singaporean and Malaysian cultures
are distinct from each other and will be addressed separately in this research. The

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[1] Kachru's 'Inner Circle' refers to countries where English is the native language (UK, USA, Canada,
etc.) while the 'Expanding Circle' refers to countries where English is an important foreign language
(China, Egypt, Thailand, etc.), and these complete his 'Three Circles of English': the Inner, Outer, and
Expanding circles. See Chapter II for a more detailed discussion.

historical and present status of English in Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines is such that these three countries support the largest communities of writers and readers of locally produced English fiction in Southeast Asia. While these countries are located in the same geographical region, they have distinct cultures which contrast in the degree to which social values are endorsed. Since this research seeks a wider cross-cultural application, stories from the USA and Canada were also analyzed for comparison with an influential Western culture and variety of English.

In cross-cultural research, social values are described as orientations toward the poles of cultural dichotomies such as individualism—collectivism, equality—hierarchy, or Low Context Communication—High Context Communication. In general, cultures that are highly individualistic also seek equality among individuals. Often due to the divergent backgrounds of such people, context plays a lesser role in communication—rather the explicit meanings of words are relied upon to convey messages. On the other hand, highly collectivist cultures tend to reinforce social hierarchies. The stability of traditional relationship structures in these cultures typically leads to communication that is rich in contextual significance so that much of the meaning of messages is implied and/or conveyed non-verbally.

A primary indicator of cultural difference is parenting practices. Studies in cross-cultural psychology and parenting reveal that orientations toward social values are both explicitly and implicitly taught to children from their infancy. During early childhood (ages 2-5) as children's language faculties progress rapidly, the pragmatic aspects of communication are also socialized as children interact with their parents and other family members. By pre-adolescence (ages 6-12), children are expected to interact appropriately with adults and peers. Thus, the language that parents and children use to converse with each other is a reflection of socio-cultural values. This

research sought out contemporary short stories containing dialogue between parents and pre-adolescent children by a variety of authors in each country to be used for cross-cultural comparison. The comparison reveals that orientations toward the aforementioned value dichotomies (especially the equality—hierarchy scale) are present in these dialogues.

Drawing on the fields of Conversation and Discourse Analysis and Speech Act Theory, a stylistic analysis using a framework of discourse moves and acts was applied to the dialogue present in thirty-nine stories. The analysis focused on the discourse roles of initiator and responder in conversational exchanges between parents and their pre-adolescent children as represented in dialogue. *Initiations* and *Responses* were classified according to their function: Initial moves in exchanges (following Tsui, 1994, and Francis and Hunston, 1992) can serve the purposes of *Organizing* the talk, *Eliciting* information, *Requesting* or *Directing* behavior, or *Informing*. These moves can be followed by Responses that serve *Positive*, *Negative*, or *Challenging* functions. Additional analysis considered the amount of speech produced and authors' portrayal of non-verbal communication in the dialogues.

The amount of speech produced by parents and children, and the types of moves they make (i.e. how they initiate and respond to each other) characterize the discourse roles of parents and their children. Though there appear to be universal aspects to these roles, variation due to differences of cultural value orientations was present in different cultures. Literature, which is a reflection of and contributor to cultural values, conveys these orientations, especially in the representation of dialogue between parents and their children.

1.2 Definition of Terms

- *contemporary*: the period of time within the twenty-five years preceding the study (1980-2005).

- *cultural dichotomies*: value scales upon which cultural groups are oriented.

  hierarchy—equality: hierarchical (or authoritarian) cultures value status differentiation among members whereas egalitarian cultures value equality among members.

  collectivism—individualism: collectivist cultures value interdependence and give priority to group goals whereas individualistic cultures value independence and personal ambitions.

  High Context Communication (HCC)—Low Context Communication (LCC): HCC cultures rely heavily on implied meaning, shared assumptions, and non-verbal communication whereas LCC cultures employ more explicit verbal messages to convey meaning.

- *dialogue / represented conversation*: multi-turn verbal interactions between two or more speakers (characters) that are represented in fictional narratives; also referred to as represented speech—the word 'represented' clarifies that this 'spoken' element in fiction is a created representation of speaking (rather than a non-fictional report of speaking). As this study deals with multi-turn interactions in fiction, the generic term 'reported speech' which can apply to single utterances will not be used. Though language and literature studies traditionally distinguish between 'direct' and 'indirect' speech (and more specific methods of representation), specific types of representation are not analyzed in this research.

- *discourse acts*: the smallest discourse units of conversational interaction. Labels for the acts used to realize the discourse functions of initiating and responding moves consist of terms such as *report, offer, threat*, etc. 'Acts' here is not to be confused with traditional Speech Act Theory's analysis of the illocutionary force of single utterances. 'Acts' here refers to utterances that fulfill the functions of a move in the context of a given conversational exchange.

- *discourse moves*: the minimal functional units of conversational exchanges which are realized as one or more discourse acts.

- *discourse functions*: a classification of discourse moves according to their function in conversational interaction

  Initiating moves: the 'first turn' in conversational exchanges—moves that can open up an interaction by *Organizing, Eliciting, Informing, Requesting*, or *Directing*, all of which prospect certain *Responding moves*.

  Responding moves: the 'second turn' in conversational exchanges—moves that are prospected by initiating moves and which may themselves prospect certain responses. Responses are classified here into three mutually exclusive categories designated as *Positive, Negative, or Challenging* depending on their function in the discourse.

  Follow-up moves: optional 'third-part' of a conversational exchange in which the first speaker Acknowledges, Endorses, or Concedes to the second speaker's Response.

  Continuing moves: moves that serve the same function of a previous move but serve to extend, enhance, or elaborate upon the previous.

- *English short story*: a fictional prose narrative written in English with
  generally fewer than 20,000 words. In this paper the phrase *fictional prose
  narrative* is often shortened to one word (*fiction, prose, or narrative*) or
  simply *short story*, *story*, or *work* (meaning a 'work' of literary creation).

- *literary*: used here to denote the fact that all the stories used in the study have
  been selected by editors for inclusion in published anthologies—
  furthermore, all of the works have either won a literary award, been
  reprinted after initial magazine or journal publication, or were written by an
  author who had previously won a literary award.

- *New Varieties of English (NVEs)*: using Kachru's terminology, the varieties of
  English present in 'Outer Circle' countries in which English functions as a
  second language.

- *realistic fiction*: "literature that deals with the ordinary, commonplace world in
  preference to the world of exceptional circumstances. Characters are neither
  rich nor heroic, settings are prosaic rather than exotic, a plain style of
  description is used, and yet there is a serious grappling with moral, social,
  and psychological dilemmas and a normal range of other themes and
  moods." (Lynch and Rampton, 2005: 754)

1.3 Research Questions

1) What discourse interactions (turns, moves, and acts) are present in
   conversations between parents and pre-adolescent children as represented
   in contemporary literary short stories written in Southeast Asian varieties
   of English and American English?

2) a. Do these interactions encode socio-cultural orientations between the
parents and children?

b. Among these dialogues, does the degree of socio-cultural orientation
signaled in the discourse interaction differ among different cultures?

3) What can the discourse interaction in these dialogues reveal about
contemporary literary representations of parent-child relationships in these
cultures?

1.4 Objectives

1) to apply methods of spoken discourse analysis to the conversations
between parents and pre-adolescent children represented in the dialogues
of a collection of contemporary literary short stories written in different
varieties of English from different cultures (Malaysia, Singapore,
Philippines, and North American)

2) a. to determine the socio-cultural orientations encoded in the dialogues
from each culture

b. to compare and contrast the discourse interaction and socio-cultural
orientations in these dialogues from different cultures

3) to draw conclusions based on the above analysis about representations of
parent-child relationships portrayed in the dialogue of contemporary
English literary short stories from Southeast Asia and North America.

1.5 Hypotheses

1) The discourse interaction between parents and pre-adolescent children in
contemporary short stories from Southeast Asia and North America is

amenable to methods of spoken discourse analysis (turns, moves, move
and act types and functions).

2) a. The socio-cultural values of the Southeast Asian dialogues will be
oriented toward hierarchy, collectivism, and High Context
Communication whereas dialogues in the North American stories will
be relatively oriented toward equality, independence and Low Context
Communication.

b. Furthermore, within the Southeast Asian cultures, the dialogues from
Malaysia will reveal the most hierarchical, collectivist, HCC
orientations while the Filipino dialogues will be the least oriented
toward these values.

3) Author's representations of parent-child conversations in the dialogue of
short stories from different cultures are influenced by:

- traditionally different attitudes toward parent-child relationships
between Southeast Asian cultures and North American culture

- the historical, cultural, and linguistic ties between countries

1.6 Scope of the Study

The study is comprised of a discourse move analysis of the conversations
between parents and pre-adolescent children as represented in a collection of
contemporary English literary short stories from three different varieties of English
(Malaysian/Singaporean, Filipino, and North American). The Southeast Asian
dialogues will be drawn from a sample of available authors and stories published
within the past twenty-five years in the Philippines, Singapore, and Malaysia. The

North American dialogues will be purposively selected from a similar collection of stories published in the United States.

There are several reasons for the choice of these specific varieties. The North American sample is representative of an influential inner circle variety of English. In contrast, Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines constitute all of the outer-circle countries in Southeast Asia. While NVE Literatures in other regions (i.e., India and Africa) have been more extensively studied, less attention has been devoted by scholars to English fiction produced in Southeast Asia. Furthermore, the English varieties of Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines each have distinct cultural and linguistic influences which should be reflected in the conversational interaction among characters in stories from these countries.

As it would be impossible to address every aspect of the spoken elements in English writing, the following limitations clarify and justify the scope of the proposed research. This study will examine:

- only fictional texts (which represent conversational interaction to a greater extent than typical non-fiction)

- contemporary fiction (i.e., published within the last 25 years) in order to reflect current usage of English in linguistically dynamic outer circle countries

- literary short stories, which allow for highly contextualized analysis of a wider range of authors than studies of novels or plays

- stories of the 'realistic' genre set in contemporary times in the respective countries

- North American, Singaporean/Malaysian, and Filipino varieties of English, which represent one inner-circle variety and two outer-circle varieties both of which have varied cultural and linguistic influences

- the conversations represented in the stories (dialogues), which demonstrate interpersonal communication as opposed to the stories' passages of narration, which are mainly monologic

- discourse turn, move and act analysis that clarifies the interactional roles of conversational participants

1.7 Significance of the Study

This study reveals the cultural differences that are reflected in how fictional characters talk to each other in the dialogues of stories. Analysis of the function of discourse moves and acts demonstrates how parent-child relationships are linguistically constructed in different ways in different cultures as reflected in literary works. Such findings serve as a concrete example of how the English language has been both adopted and adapted to suit the literary expression of writers in various cultures of Southeast Asia. Furthermore, this study illuminates how qualities of parent-child interaction are expressed through functional discourse moves. This study also provides stylisticians with a feasible methodology for the analysis of discourse moves in fictional dialogue that is sensitive to both the verbal and non-verbal interaction of characters.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF BACKGROUND THEORY AND RESEARCH

2.1 Introduction

To present a complete overview of this research, the following background
information has been divided into several sections that account for multiple
theoretical and methodological perspectives. Section 2.2 briefly acknowledges the
central topic of this research: literature's semiotic role as a socio-linguistic
achievement. Section 2.3 explores culture in depth by addressing cross-cultural
analysis, cultural influences, and parenting practices in different countries. Following
that, Section 2.4 discusses English's role as an international language and Southeast
Asian Literature in English. Section 2.5 introduces the object of study (dialogue in
fiction) and provides an overview of methods of Conversation Analysis (CA) and
Discourse Analysis (DA). Section 2.6 presents socio-linguistic parameters of variation
that are relevant to this study. There a special emphasis on the language socialization
of children in different cultures ties in closely with Section 2.3. Finally, Section 2.6
ends with considerations when interpreting the results of Conversation and Discourse
analysis. These various facets of the research should serve to provide the essential
context for this cross-cultural study of parent-child dialogues in English short fiction.

2.2 Language and Literature as a Social Semiotic

Stories are cultural artifacts composed of language. As M. A. K. Halliday
writes, "A work of literature is its author's contribution to the reality-generating
conversation of society … and its language reflects this status that it has in the
sociosemiotic scheme" (1978: 182). Thus, both the content and the language of

literary works reflect and shape peoples' views of society and social interaction just as authors' works are a reflection of the attitudes and interests of their community of readers. This study seeks to demonstrate these ideas by analyzing how conversational interaction between parents and pre-adolescent children is represented in the dialogue of literary short stories composed in English but in different parts of the world, namely North America and three diverse cultures of Southeast Asia.

2.3 Asian and Western Cultural Differences and Parenting Practices

2.3.1 Cross-Cultural Comparisons

The following sections will discuss at length differences of culture and family relationships (i.e., parent-child relations) in North America and the three Southeast Asian cultures examined in this study. Various comparative frameworks will be presented in order to demonstrate not only broad cultural differences between Western and non-Western cultures, but also within Asia, historical and culturally salient distinctions between Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines.

Definition of Culture

According to Shiraev and Levy (2001) there may be hundreds of definitions of culture. Their working definition describes culture as, "a set of attitudes, behaviors, and symbols shared by a large group of people and usually communicated from one generation to the next" (5). In the first half of this definition, the communal nature of culture is highlighted while the second half recognizes one aspect of how culture is passed on and learned. One implication of the latter is that culture is dynamic, evolving over time—much like language which can be explored synchronically or diachronically. Also, the term culture can be used broadly to indicate race, ethnicity,

or nationality or narrowly to refer to any group of people characterized by shared customs and values such as the Deaf Community (Mio, Barker-Hackett, and Tumambing 2006) or a sub-group within a larger culture.

Just as the users of a language at any one period in time display a range of variation, Shiraev and Levy point out that, "no society is culturally homogeneous" (2001: 5). Thus, no matter what the size of the cultural cluster being described, there will be some dissimilarities. Triandis (1995, cited in Mio, Barker-Hackett, and Tumambing 2006) distinguished between idiocentrism and allocentrism. Idiocentric describes the behavior of an individual or group whose perspective matches that of the broader society's. Allocentric then refers to those whose actions or views are at odds with those of the cultural group with which they identify. This idocentrism/ allocentrism dichotomy allows for culture to be viewed as tendencies for the majority of a group to conform to orientations along various dimensions of culturally salient categories (Triandis 1996, cited in Shiraev and Levy 2001).

Western and Non-Western

"For many years now, journalists, political scientists, sociologists, and psychologists have discussed the differences between two major cultural clusters of attitudes called Western and non-Western values" (Shiraev and Levy 2001: 282). Distinctions between these two groups goes back to at least the first decades of the twentieth century to characterizations of Western civilization as valuing work, achievement, efficiency, and consumption of material goods while non-Western civilizations value respect for tradition, reverence to authority, and overall stability in society. More recent, empirically based research has clarified these differences and revealed additional contrasts of which the two most frequently mentioned are Western

individualism and non-Western collectivism. Such studies, many by cultural psychologists, use scales of cultural dichotomies to conceptualize different dimensions of cultural salience.

The following discussion will elaborate upon two different frameworks for describing cultures with emphasis on contrasting Western and non-Western. As these are very broad cultural groups which contain distinct sub-groups, whenever possible, analysis specific to North American culture (Canada and the United States) will be offered when discussing the West. Likewise, when possible during discussion of non-Western cultures, specific comments about Singaporean, Malaysian, and Filipino cultures will highlight the differences between these three sub-groups.

Hall (1976, 1999): High and Low Context Communication

One very influential framework for distinguishing between cultures is Edward Hall's (1976, 1999) continuum from high-context of communication to low-context of communication.

> A high-context (HC) communication or message is one in which most of the information is either in the physical context or internalized in the person, while very little is in the coded, explicit, transmitted part of the message. A low-context (LC) communication is just the opposite; i.e., the mass of the information is vested in the explicit code. (Hall 1999: 47 cited in Mio, Barker-Hackett, and Tumambing 2006: 93)

Western cultures tend to be very LC while Asian cultures tend to be very HC. Hall attributes much of the HC of Asian cultures to the influence of the Chinese written language which in addition to its use in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Singapore, was adapted in Japan and Korea. Within Western cultures, Hall and Hall (1990) rated North America as more LC than England. Thus, when applying this research to North

America, Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines, it can be reasoned that a continuum containing these four cultures would appear as follows:

HC----- -Malaysia------Singapore------Philippines------North America------LC

The Philippines, with its native languages less influenced by Chinese and with its long history apart from mainland Asia and subsequent colonization and influence by Western cultures (Spain and the US) should hypothetically fall closer to North America on the scale than Singapore (with its heavy Chinese influence) and Malaysia both of which were colonized by England (which is characterized as more HC than North America). Matters of Asian colonialism and western influence are discussed in more detail below.

Hofstede (1980) and Triandis (1996): Cultural Dimensions

Geert Hofstede (1980, cited in Shiraev and Levy 2001 and Mio, Barker-Hackett, and Tumambing 2006) in his influential survey of over 100,000 IBM employees in 50 different countries identified four cultural dichotomies, summarized as follows.

Collectivism .... Individualism
High Power Distance .... Low Power Distance
Masculinity .... Femininity
High Uncertainty Avoidance .... Low Uncertainty Avoidance

Except for Masculinity/Femininity, the meanings of these four dimensions should be self-evident. Masculine cultures pursue responsibility, decisiveness, liveliness, and high ambition whereas Feminine cultures seek caring, consensus, and gentleness. A current website associated with Geert Hofstede and ITIM, an international consulting firm that utilizes Hofstede's concepts, features a table that provides an index to these

cultural values for 67 countries (ITIM 2006). Table 2.1. displays the figures for the

countries relevant to this study. Chart 2.1 combines the figures for Individualism

(black bars) and Uncertainty Avoidance (white bars).

Country	Power-Distance	Individualism	Masculinity	Uncertainty Avoidance
Singapore	74	20	48	8
Malaysia	104	26	50	36
Philippines	94	32	64	44
Canada	39	80	52	48
United States	40	91	62	46

Table 2.1 Hofstede's Cultural Dimensions: Relevant Findings (ITIM 2006)
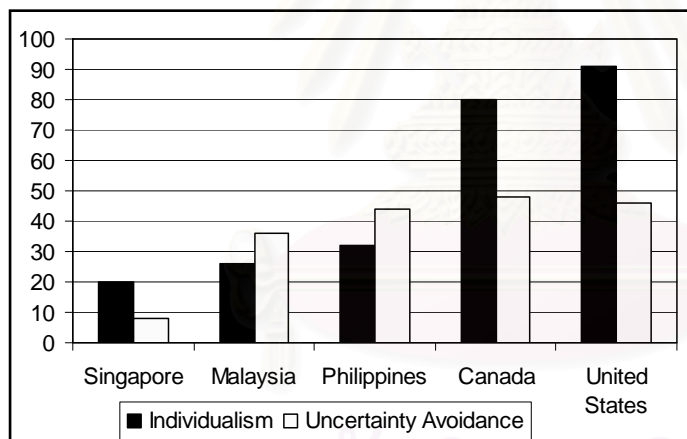
Chart 2.1 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Individualism and Uncertainty Avoidance

As shown in Chart 2.1, Canada and the US rate much higher in Individualism

than the non-Western countries though among Singapore, Malaysia and the

Philippines, there is a respective increase for this index. Regarding Uncertainty

Avoidance, Malaysia and the Philippines rate closer to Canada and the US than

Singapore although both of the former have lower values than the North American

countries. Chart 2.2 combines the figures for Power-Distance (black) and Masculinity (white) from Table 2.1.
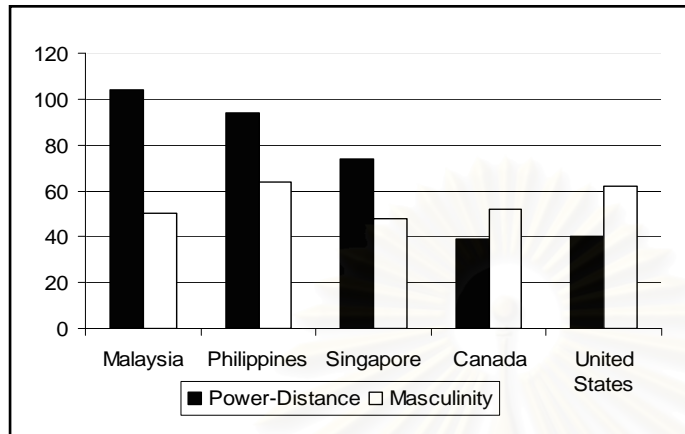
Chart 2.2 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Power-Distance and Masculinity

The countries' ratings for Power-Distance and Masculinity show trends that are different from those in Chart 2.1. All of the non-Western countries rate far higher than Canada and the US for Power-Distance, but in this case Singapore assumes the position closest to the Western cultures. As for Masculinity, the Philippines and the US rate highest followed by Canada, Malaysia, then Singapore.

Harry Triandis, "perhaps the most respected name in this area [of research]" (Mio, Barker-Hackett, and Tumambing 2006: 63), refined the individualism-collectivism continuum (Triandis 1996). Rather than a work-related perspective, his studies sought a broader application by combining two seemingly related cultural dimensions ('syndromes' in his terminology). To the individual-collective dichotomy (placed on one axis) he adds a 'horizontal-vertical' level which is very similar to Hofstede's Power-Distance index (to the other axis). If the above figures for Individualism and Power-Distance are roughly placed on this chart, Canada and the US would be very far in the bottom right corner as cultures that are highly

individualistic and egalitarian. Malaysia would be the farthest away in the top left

corner with Singapore and the Philippines in the same quadrant but both closer to the

middle though on different scales. Chart 2.3 below illustrates these orientations. If,

however, Hofstede's other factors (Uncertainty Avoidance and Masculinity) are

considered, the Philippines would be more similar in these cultural terms to North

America than Singapore.

Authoritarian	(vertical) Egalitarian	(Horizontal)
Collectivism	Malaysia Singapore Philippines	
Individualism		Canada USA

Chart 2.3 Five Countries' Relative Placements on Two Cultural Scales

2.3.2 Colonialism, Culture, and Linguistic Influence

While the previous section presented a synchronic view of contemporary

culture in North America, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines, the following

discussion will highlight historical differences of colonization, cultural influence, and

the spread of English in these three SEA countries which have contributed to the

cultural and linguistic differences discussed above.

Malaysia and Singapore

The Malaysian peninsula, East Malaysia on the northern coast of Borneo, and

what is now Singapore were mainly populated by ethnic Malays and indigenous

peoples until the nineteenth century. Along with the establishment of four British

colonial outposts (previously occupied by the Portuguese and then the Dutch) in the

late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, large numbers of Chinese and Indians

also arrived. In the first half of the nineteenth century, English schooling was introduced in the settlements, but as Patke (2003) explains, the British did not provide equal access to all citizens. Having learned from experience in India that providing a common language can lead to nationalism (and, thus, anti-imperialism), the educational policy discriminated against ethnic Malays and favored Chinese citizens.

Britain did not extend its influence beyond the outposts to the rest of the Malaysian states until 1914. By that time, "The towns became overwhelmingly Chinese, with minorities of Indians… [while] Malays remained predominantly rural" (Platt 1982:386). A pidginized Malay (rather than English) became the lingua franca though in the colonial centers English and the social and economic benefits of the language and of British culture were an advantage. By 1931 "only about .65 percent of the total population (possibly two percent of school-aged children) then had attended or were attending an English-medium school" (ibid: 387). In summary, before the independence of Malaysia and Singapore, the cultural milieu of the area was predominantly Malay, though in the multi-ethnic cities the Chinese and Indian populations and Western colonizers exerted their cultural influence and established the presence of English.

Political upheavals in the mid-twentieth century led to significant differences between Malaysia and Singapore. After several changes of governance and affiliations during the twenty years after WWII, Malaysia achieved sovereignty in 1957, and Singapore emerged as an independent nation in 1965. During the time leading up to independence in Malaysia, English-medium schools had increased in popularity to about 90 percent, but over the subsequent decades this number fell as the government established Malay as the national language with English as a compulsory but merely utilitarian subject. This is just one sign of legislation of a Malaysian

nationalism that, "sought to gather the plurality of its communal cultures into the fictional enclosure of a national cultural in a national language" (Patke 2003: 72). By establishing Malay as the official language and relying on Islam as the dominant religion, the majority population of ethnic Malays sought to control the country following colonization and the influx of Chinese and Indian immigrants though these minority cultures had thrived there for several generations.

 The   cultural implications of Malaysia's language policies following independence were far-reaching. While Malaysia's development into a nation-state was similar to that of other postcolonial societies, Patke (ibid) asserts that it differed in the degree to which it attempted to abandon Western influence. He describes Malaysia's nationhood as, "a long drawn-out recoil from what it associates with Western culture": a nationhood, "which has been reinforced by the nexus between the national language and the culture derived from the national religion" (75). The effect that these policies had on the use of English for creative writing are discussed below in Section 2.4.2. Concerning communication in general, the effects of this encouragement of cultural maintenance in Malaysia are evident in Sallah's (2005) study of the Malay communication style. She reports that Malays have maintained a very low-context of communication culture. This is despite current globalization and economic and workplace developments that are pushing their social and business communication toward more high-context patterns. This is the cultural-historic background to the findings of the cross-cultural research discussed above.

By comparison, Singapore (one of the primary colonial-era outposts) became a more multi-ethnic, multi-lingual society though ethnic Chinese have made up more than 75% of its population since 1970. Singapore's language policy has been distinctly different from that in Malaysia with the city-state endorsing four official

languages: Mandarin, Malay, Tamil, and English. This policy is a reflection of the country's cultural composition with, "the three Asian languages … considered as symbols of Asian culture… [while] English is recognized for its utilitarian value and as an interethnic unifying force" (Platt 1982: 389).

Thus, two important cultural differences divide Malaysia and Singapore. First, the latter has shown a greater acceptance of Western values, and second, the 'Asian' values are primarily Chinese and Confucian. In more than forty years since independence, Singapore has advanced from a third-world city to a modern, industrialized state. As Chang (2003: 101) demonstrates in his analysis of legislation, economics, and culture, "[Singapore's] government has played a crucial role in materializing this transformation; but the role is grounded in a set of state values." These values are arguably a unique hybrid of Oriental connectionism (interdependence), conservatism, and status hierarchies along with Western independence, liberalism, and egalitarian social order. "The complex of Singapore's state values as a whole is neither purely Western nor purely Oriental" (ibid), yet as the cross-cultural studies cited above have shown, Singapore remains oriented toward traditional Asian values.

Using government policies (especially language policy) and the permeation of English (traditionally British English) as a measure of the influence of Western culture on these two countries, Malaysia can be characterized as less accepting of foreign influence and more interested in creating a homogenized (Malay-centered) society. Singapore, on the other hand, while intent on maintaining an intercultural Asian (Chinese-centered) identity, is more open to Western influence.

The Philippines

Prior to Western colonization the two large and over 7000 smaller islands of the Philippines were not a single political kingdom but a group of settlements connected by commercial trading and populated by indigenous cultures influenced by Malays (with their Indian and Arabic roots) and to a lesser extent Chinese. "When Spain established her first permanent settlement in the Philippines in 1565, she imposed on the Filipino people the Spanish monarchy and the Roman Catholic religion, and along with the two came all the feudal institutions that represented European civilization…" (Lumbera and Lumbera 2005: 36). Thus, the authority of the Spanish Church and State began to unify and socialize the people of the Philippines. By the eighteenth century, elements of Spanish culture came to symbolize higher socio-economic status, and with the rise of a Filipino middle class and the development of a complete educational system in the mid-nineteenth century, many more people had access to, "the trappings of European culture in terms of education, clothes, food, ornaments and social graces" (ibid: 39).

In 1898 at the Treaty of Paris, Spain ceded the Philippines to the United States, but it was not until 1902 that the US declared that the insurrection of the Philippine-American war had ended. Despite, or in reaction to, anti-American sentiments, the US quickly implemented a more effective socialization plan than Spain did previously. English became the instructional medium of all schools. Along with American teachers,

> English opened the floodgates of colonial values through the conduit of textbooks originally intended for American children; books and magazines beamed at an American audience that familiarized Filipinos with the blessings of economic affluence in a capitalist country; phonograph records that infected young Filipinos with the same

concerns and priorities as American teenagers; and films that vividly recreated for Filipino audiences life in the U.S. (ibid: 95).

Political, economic and ethical issues aside, American education and the artifacts of American culture were available to and generally accepted by all but the most remote and poor populations of Filipino society.

During the decades after independence in 1946, U.S. ties to the Philippines remained strong due to trade agreements, educational exchange programs, and US military bases that continued the importation of American goods and culture into the country. In the 1990s the Philippine government mandated the withdrawal of US military troops from the American air and naval bases in the Philippines (Clark Air force Base and Subic Naval Station). Due to the history and depth of US involvement in the Philippines, the ties between the two countries remain strong despite the softening of formal agreements and increased connections between the Philippines and the rest of the world.

In summary, Filipino society, with its deeply entrenched connections with the West, particularly Spain, Latin and North America, should, as shown in several of Hofstede's measures, more closely resemble Western culture than either Singapore or Malaysia. Such similarities and differences, reflected in history, language, and the broader culture, will impact other areas of people's lives such as the relationships between parents and children and how these relationships are portrayed in literary works.

2.3.3 Culture and Parenting Practices

<u>Western and Asian</u>

In keeping with the broad distinctions between Western and non-Western cultures discussed above, "American psychologists have often defined maturity in terms of individualistic qualities such as autonomy, independence, and initiative," with successful families being those who prepare children for these ideals (Cooper, et all 1993: 73). Other cultural traditions, including those of Asians, however, see the goal of family relationships as fostering, "collective support, allegiance, and obligation" (ibid). The following discussion will offer support for these distinctions by addressing North American and Asian parenting practices.

<u>North America</u>

In cross-cultural research comparing Western cultures to each other, Harkness and Super (2006) use a variety of techniques to formulate 'ethnotheories' (principles of social order and systems of belief) for parent-child relationships. In one study, they analyze data from interviews with parents in order to classify the parents' descriptions of their children. Interviews with parents from six Western countries revealed *commonalities* of descriptions of children's personalities and behaviors as shown in Table 2.2.

Australia Italy		Netherlands	Spain	Sweden	USA
Sociable 15%	Sociable 9%	Sociable 7%	Sociable 8%	Sociable 11%	Sociable 10%
Loving 8%	Loving 9%	Loving 8%	Loving 10%	Loving 6%	Loving 8%
Active 11%	Active 6%	Active 7%	Active 6%	Active 10%	Active 7%
Strong-willed 6%	Strong-willed 10 %	Strong-willed 8%	Strong-willed 7%	Strong-willed 5%	Strong-willed 6%

Table 2.2 Common Descriptions of Children's' Personality and Behavior

Without comparative data to non-Western countries, these descriptions offer only a limited perspective though "strong-willed" seems to be an index to the Western value of individualism. Harkness and Super's research is more revealing for its contrasting of American parenting beliefs and practices to those of other Western cultures. Their list of *culture-specific* descriptions that were used by American parents consists of *Intelligent* 6%, *Cognitively Advanced* 5%, *Asks Questions* 8%, *Independent* 5%, *Rebellious* 5%, *Adaptable* 5%. These are in stark contrast to the descriptions by parents from the other countries who used terms like *Happy, Easy, Enjoys Life, Calm, Agreeable, Well-balanced*. It should be noted that some countries' descriptions did include indexes to Western values such as *Seeks attention, Persistent*, and *Alert*.

Likewise, Harkness and Super's analysis of ethnotheories of infant sleep revealed the cultural influence in American parents. "For the American parents, in contrast [to Dutch], ethnotheories of infant sleep were connected to other broad-ranging cultural models such as the idea of independence, which could be encouraged in the child through sleeping through the night apart from the parents" (ibid: 11). Furthermore, during interviews American parents rather than focusing on the amount of sleep interruptions for the child, emphasized their lack of sleep and were guided by the assumption that children must regulate their own sleep patterns and that parents are, "captive to the child's individual behavioral style" (ibid: 10). Interviews and parents' diaries revealed that American families rarely ate meals together and had to try to spend time together. Parents saw 'special time' or 'quality time' as important for parents and children to get to know each other which reveals an underlying assumption of parent-child autonomy. Also, rather than children implicitly being

involved with the parents' lifestyle, American parents sought ways to interact with their children 'on their level' by engaging in activities that interested their children.

When viewed through Triandis' framework of Individualism-Collectivism on one axis and Horizontal (egalitarian)-Vertical (authoritarian/hierarchical) on the other axis, all of the above data reveals that American parent-child relationships place extremely high value on intrinsic individualism and the fostering of autonomy while acting in a relationship where the needs, interests, and contributions of parents and children are seen not only as equal, but often controlled by the child.

<u>Asia</u>

Similar to the earlier comments about Asian culture and child raising, Suvannathat, et al. (1985: 336) assert that, "traditionally social organization in many Asian countries has tended to be of an authoritative type; children are expected to give absolute obedience to their parents and even as mature adults are subject to parental control." This is in sharp contrast to the above description of North American parenting practices.

Cooper et al (1993) contrast differing family values among ethnic groups in the US. Their study analyzes data collected from two Western heritages (European American and Mexican American) and three Asian (Chinese, Filipino, and Vietnamese Americans). They cite Wong's (1985) assertion that traditional Chinese culture and Confucian values of family harmony, face-saving communication, respect for hierarchy, conformity, and obedience to authority, "have been found to persist even as Chinese immigrants have experienced declining patrilineal kinship, scattering of extended families, and increased reliance on fictive kinship" (Cooper et al. 1993: 74). The lasting influence of these traditional beliefs is relevant to Chinese culture not

only in this study of American immigrants but also when considering the ethnic and cultural make-up of contemporary Singapore.

Questionnaires in Cooper et al's (1993) study use rating scales to assess adolescents' degree to which they perceived the presence of "familistic" (i.e. collectivist and hierarchical) values to be held by themselves and by their parents and grandparents. While all respondents endorsed the statement, "Family members should make sacrifices to guarantee a good education for their children," they differed in their endorsement of the following: "Older siblings should help directly support other family members economically." Adolescents who were ethnic Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese, and Mexican American endorsed this statement more strongly than European American adolescents. However, Filipino and Mexican adolescents reported endorsing this value *less than their parents,* whereas Chinese and Vietnamese adolescents reported sharing their parents' strong endorsement of this value.

Concerning the use of family members as references in decision making, Chinese, Filipino, and Vietnamese (and to a lesser degree Mexican) adolescents reported that they and their parents endorsed consultation of other family members more than the European families (though all these adolescents tended to be less firm in the tradition than their parents). When asked about their comfort level in discussing sensitive topics with parents, European, Mexican, and Filipino American students, "on the average, reported feeling comfortable discussing sexuality, dating, and marriage with their mothers, whereas Chinese and Vietnamese American students reported feeling somewhat uncomfortable" (ibid: 78).

Cooper et al's (1993) attitudinal study supports the major distinctions already discussed between Western and non-Western culture by demonstrating that the former is more individualistic and egalitarian while the later is more collective and

hierarchical. Furthermore, the contrast between Chinese and Filipino Americans is relevant to the earlier distinctions made between Singapore/Malaysia and the Philippines. In this study the Filipino adolescents demonstrated a closer affiliation with Western family values than the Chinese and Vietnamese students.

2.3.4 Conclusion

The methods and recent findings from the field of cross-cultural psychology describe and confirm canonical differences between Western and non-Western cultures (including differences in parenting practices). A multidimensional, orientational approach to culture allows for finer distinctions with which it is possible to describe cultures relative to each other in terms of individualism, hierarchical stratification, and communication style. Such characterizations place North American and Malaysian cultures at opposite ends of the spectrum with Filipino and Singaporean cultures in the middle though several measures orient the Philippines closer to North American culture. Furthermore, this research recognizes that culture is mutable and constantly evolving due to the influences of cultural contact. Thus, the current state of a culture can be better understood with reference to its history. In Southeast Asia, this cultural history is inextricable from the politics of colonization, independence, and language.

2.4 World Englishes and Literature

2.4.1 World Englishes and English in Southeast Asia

Kachru's distinction between *inner, outer,* and *expanding* circles of English (1986, 1992—see Figure 2.1, below) is relevant here because traditional literary studies have focused on the works of *inner circle* countries where English is the

common native language (UK, USA, and Canada). However, the unifying effect of
English as a world language and the adoption of Anglo-European literary forms in
postcolonial societies has led to interest in English literature composed in outer circle
countries where English is a second language (India, Nigeria, Singapore, etc.).

The distinction between outer circle and inner circle recognizes both the
historical role and the current state of English. Within the Southeast Asian region, the
three countries with either the longest history or most deeply entrenched use of
English are Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines[1].

The "Expanding" Circle

China, Brazil, Egypt, Indonesia, Israel, Japan, Korea, Nepal, Saudi Arabia, Taiwan, Thailand, Russia, Zimbabwe, etc.

The "Outer" Circle

Bangladesh, Ghana, India, Kenya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Philippines, Singapore, Tanzania, Zambia, etc.

The "Inner" Circle

UK, USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand
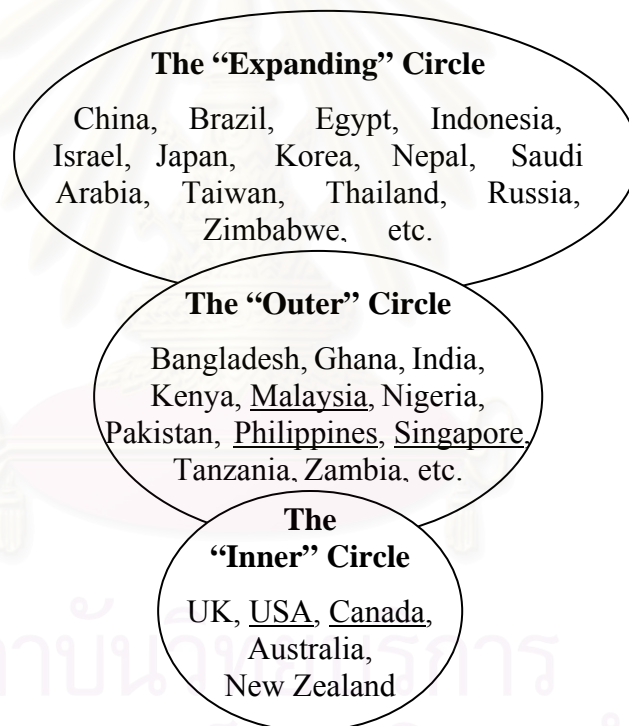
Figure 2.1 Kachru's Three Circles of English (1986, 1992)

Malaysian and Singaporean English

Malaysia and Singapore with their intertwined histories of British colonization,
constitute one variety of English—or very similar varieties (Trudgill and Hannah

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[1] Though Hong Kong shares a similar colonial legacy, it's populace does not support a substantial
English creative writing community such as is present in the three countires included in this study.

2002). This designation, though arguable, is due to the similarity of native (substratum) languages (Chinese, Malay, and Tamil) along with historically British-normed standards. However, it is important to recognize contemporary differences between the use of English in these two countries.

Following the educational and language policies discussed in Section 2.3.2, the permeation of English in Malaysia reportedly declined following independence (Pennycook 1994 cited in Jenkins 2003). The subsequent success of Malay (Bahasa Malaysia) as a national lingua franca, which unified the eighty languages spoken in the country, has allowed for the renewed promotion of English in the educational system. As a result, distinctive norms of usage (which are fewer than in Singapore) tend to be influences from Malay. Furthermore, proficiency varies widely with the most competent speakers being the elite of Malaysian society who have always had access to English-medium schools (Jenkins ibid). It is mainly this speech community, with members from all three major ethnic groups, that is involved with creative writing in English (Augustin 1982, Le Page 1984, and Lim 1984 cited in Lowenberg 1992).

In Singapore, on the other hand, bilingual education has been the practice since 1956. According to older policies, when English was the main medium of instruction, Chinese (Mandarin), Malay, or Tamil were the second language, but if one of the latter were the primary language, English was secondary. In recent decades, however, English has gradually been mandated as the primary language of instruction in all schools with other languages serving as additional subjects. Thus, bilingualism in Singapore means proficiency in English and one of the other official languages (Pakir 1994 cited in Rubdy 2001)—what Kachru terms "English-knowing bilingualism" (Kachru 1982: 42 cited in Rubdy ibid).

Officially English is used for instrumental and pragmatic functions—employment, technology, and global information exchange while 'mother tongues' are cultural anchors. The norms for all four official languages are exoglosic, flowing mainly from the UK, China, Malaysia, and India (Rubdy 2001). However, Gupta (2001: 6) maintains that, "the majority of children in Singapore now come to nursery school at the age of 3 years already able to speak English." Due to the social and educational mobility offered by English, parents are increasingly using English with their children. A year 2000 Educational Ministry study of Chinese Primary One pupils reported that for 43.2 percent, English was the most frequently spoken language at home (ibid). Furthermore, English in Singapore is no longer limited to any one social class or ethnic group; it has become a language "known and used across the community" (ibid). In fact, the current debate about English in Singapore is about the development and use of the local variety of Colloquial Singapore English (informally Singlish) versus Standard English (Gupta 2001, Rubdy 2001).

Philippine English

A recent (2004) issue of the journal *World Englishes* was devoted entirely to Philippine English. The forward (by Bolton and Bautista) to the collection of articles, which range from ideological concerns to bilingual education to sociolinguistic variation to national literature, is subtitled *Tensions and Transitions*. 'Transitions' in Philippine English refers to developmental stages as English changed from an imposed colonizer language to a chosen tool for social organization, economic advancement, and cultural expression. As in countries such as India, English serves as a link language for people who speak multiple, unintelligible indigenous languages of which there are about 90 in the Philippine islands (of the Austronesian language

family) (Trudgill and Hannah 2002). English is co-official with Pilipino (a form of Tagalog) for government, law, and education. This has unavoidably led to 'tensions' as access to these services may be limited outside of the main islands and cities where fluency in English (not to mention Pilipino) is limited.

Despite this conflict, the country, "has long been recognized as one of the leading English-speaking societies in Asia, and in the past the claim was often made that the Philippines was arguably the third largest English-speaking society in the World" (Bolton and Bautista 2004: 1). Whether or not this claim was ever or is still true, Filipino's proficiency in English (and the country's economic malaise) has led to a diaspora of Filipino workers (mainly in the service industry) all over the world. In the words of a Filipino poet, "… English is ours. We have colonized it too" (Abad, et all 1997: 170 cited in Bolton and Bautista 2004: 1).

Thus, the transition of English to a chosen medium of communication embraced by Filipinos has led to the extension of Filipino culture through increased contact between the Philippines and other Western as well as non-Western countries. Just as the ease of physical transportation via the growth of air travel over the past forty years has allowed the Filipino diaspora of workers, so too has the growth of electronic and telecommunications facilitated increasing connections between the Philippines and the rest of the world by the use of English. The outsourcing of call centers from English speaking countries to the Philippines and the growth of internet speed and accessibility have ensured that English remains a key factor of both the economy and culture in an increasingly globalized Philippines.

The perspective offered by World Englishes and Kachru's three circles of English provides a framework for examining the historical and contemporary linguistic influences in Southeast Asia that are relevant for this research. Due to the

inherently close relationship between language, culture, and literature, insights from the above discussion will be used to explain some of the differences that are exhibited among the parent-child dialogues from different countries. It is, for example, hypothesized that the discourse present in the dialogues in the Filipino stories will more closely resemble that of North American stories than the dialogues present in Singaporean and Malaysian stories. The longer and more strongly established influence of North American English in the Philippines (which entails more cultural influence as well) is one explanation of such differences.

2.4.2 English Literature in Southeast Asia

The history of English literature dates to 7th century England. The widening use of the English language in non-native contexts throughout the 17th and 18th centuries led in the 19th and 20th centuries to the adoption of Anglo-European literary genres by writers throughout the world. Thus, in many countries where English has become the second language, English poetic forms, theatrical performances, and prose novels and short stories have been accepted by readers and molded by local creative writers to suit their literary expression.

Even though works of English literature are created by individuals in expanding circle countries where English remains a foreign language (China, Egypt, Brazil, etc.), this study will focus on outer circle countries. This emphasis allows the research to draw on the wider variety of authorial voices that are present in these contexts and to reflect their local literary communities of English writers and readers. Thus, this study can claim to be an authentic account of the sociosemiotic function of language and literature.

Though the field of Postcolonial studies has embraced literary production as one aspect of the effects of European colonialism, and this research examines literature that falls into this category, use of the term 'Postcolonial' implies emphasis on the colonial experience and authors' reactions to it. This study, however, takes as its subject contemporary literature produced decades after these nations achieved independence. In Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines, authors have increasingly set aside their Postcolonial language issues and settled down to write stories; when composing, they use the language which their educational experience has made them most comfortable with and which offers them the widest readership.[2] Furthermore, the subject matter of the stories analyzed is domestic conflict and relationships which are largely a-political. Thus, the terms 'world English literature' or 'literature in New Varieties of English' (NVEs) will be used instead of 'Postcolonial' because they are less suggestive of political agendas and place more emphasis on the object of study. Nonetheless, relevant insights from Postcolonial studies will be drawn on to explain the development of English fiction in outer circle contexts.

While attention has been paid to the long history of English literature in India and to the mid-20th century English writing of African and Caribbean authors, less research has focused on contemporary communities of English creative writers that exist in Southeast Asia. Tay (1991) reported that study of the English literature of the region is a neglected area of research which deserves future attention. This region, historically rich in cultural influences, is a prime location in which to study the intersection of language and culture as expressed in locally produced English literature. Malaysians, with their Indian and Muslim influences, and the

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[2] This does not imply that conflict surrounding the language in which authors write has ceased to be an issue of cultural and political concern. These topics, however important though, are not central to this cross-cultural study of how parent-child relationships are portrayed in compemporary literature.

predominantly Chinese culture of Singapore both adopted British English standards whereas the linguistically diverse islands of the Philippines, formerly influenced by Spanish culture, have closer ties to American English.

The English Short Story in Malaysia and Singapore

The first English short stories in the region appeared in a Singaporean magazine published from 1897 to 1907 (Holden 1998). However, following those initial writings, short stories and English creative writing in general were hardly present in the local literary scene. In Malaysia the adoption of Bahasa Malaysia as the national language and educational medium in the 1950s effectively put a halt to the publication of local English literature that was being produced. Patke reports that, "The rise of nationalism in Malaysia as a modern state bears an inverse relation to the life of poetry in English in Malaysia as a country" (2003: 72). Many English writers left the country, and those who stayed faced a growing decline in readership. The author Wong Phui Nam claimed,

> Not many Malaysians know the language well enough to make them want to take a serious interest in literature written in English. I think that, as a language for serious reading, English can account for no more than two or three percent of the population. (Daizal 1998: 243 cited in Patke 2003: 74).

Regarding short stories, Quayum's (2003) comprehensive bibliography of Malaysian literature in English lists four titles in the 1960's (three anthologies and one collection by a single author), and a single anthology in the 1970's. This trend began to change in the 80s with three collections and another anthology. The 90s saw an incredible increase in production with nineteen collections and four anthologies. The twentieth century brought the addition of the Silverfish New Writing series which

features short stories and poetry mainly from Malaysia but including contributions from Singapore and Australia. As of this writing, Silverfish Books (in Kuala Lampur) was still producing a monthly newsletter distributed via email containing the latest news of the local English publishing scene and information about their workshops: the Silverfish Books Writing Programmes. Lowenberg (1992) demonstrates methods of 'nativization'(Kachru 1986) that Malaysian creative writers draw on to display ethnic identity as they adapt English to their local context.

Production of English short fiction in Singapore followed a similar general pattern. In 1978, following decades with little or no production, Robert Yeo edited a two volume set of recent short stories in English, and Catherine Lim published the first collection of stories by a single author. Loh's (2001a and b) summary of the next twenty years informs us that other writers followed suit with steadily increasing numbers. Through the early 1990's local literature, formerly less respected, became more popular—earlier collections of stories were reissued and new authors, as well, experienced rising sales. In recent years, however, the number of authors producing short stories has fallen as many authors have devoted themselves to the novel genre.

As of 1998, the National Book Development Council's National Short Story writing competition was no longer held, but winners for the biannual Golden Point award, the biannual Singapore Literature Prize for short fiction, and the Singapore Youth Short Story Competition were still chosen. Small press journals carrying stories are still common; however, the ezine *Quarterly Literary Review Singapore* (QLRS), established in October of 2001 and featuring from one to four short stories by predominantly Singaporean writers in each issue, lasted only about five years. Considering that Singapore's population is a modest 4.4 million, the output and consumption of English short fiction in this country reveals that short stories are a

significant part of their contemporary literary community. For more detailed accounts

of publishing in the last decade, *The Journal of Commonwealth Literature* provides an

annual review of literary publications in Singapore and Malaysia compiled by local

scholars.

The English Short Story in the Philippines

Though Filipino writers' initial creations of prose fiction were in Spanish near

the close of the nineteenth century, their shedding of one colonial cloak, embrace of

Tagalog, and subsequent fall to another foreign power led to a change of course in

Philippine literature. In the early twentieth century, literature in Tagalog flourished

and with the American's establishment of the University of Philippines (UP) in 1908

and encouragement of English-medium education, Filipinos lent their creativity to

English particularly excelling at the short story genre. First attempts along with the

beginning of English language magazines and the UP Writer's Club in the 20s were

followed by successes in the 30s which won acclaim from American critics.

Production accelerated until WWII when the Japanese occupying forces pushed

for Tagalog as the national language and instituted their language in schools—for

several years there was no creative publishing in English. Along with independence in

1946 and renewed contact with America, English writing remerged. In 1949 and

1950 the *Philippine Free Press* and the Carlos Palanca Memorial Literary Awards

(both of which honor short story writers) were established, respectively. Hidalgo

(2004) from whom this summary is drawn, hails the 60s as a time of great

accomplishment for writers of short stories in English. Progress was thwarted again,

but this time by internal political strife. The unrest of the late 60s, the declaration of

marital law in 1972, and the subsequent Marcos dictatorship led to a sharp decline in the quantity and quality of English creative writing though it did continue.

The fall of Marcos in the early 80s and the rise of 'People Power' brought renewed vigor to the writing scene as, "literature enjoyed an unprecedented flowering. New magazines and newspapers were established. New publishing houses welcomed manuscripts from both established and new writers" (Hidalgo 2004: 163). The contemporary period, from which the stories analyzed in this study were selected, has been one of increasing output despite the lack of audience growth. Along with the older generation of authors, younger writers are publishing as they experiment with both traditional and post-modern styles and address the gamut of contemporary topics and themes with freedom that was not available in a more conservative past. Hidalgo attributes this to the proliferation of English creative writing programs, including graduate degrees and writer's workshops, at several influential universities.

2.4.3 Conclusion

The expansion of Western culture (for better and worse) into Southeast Asia introduced new literary forms to the region. The use of English and presence of English education waxed and waned throughout the mid-twentieth century as the Philippines, Malaysia, and Singapore gained their independence from the United States and Great Britain respectively. As postcolonial attitudes toward English changed, the language came to be accepted not as an imposition but as an international tool in a world of increasing globalization.

The multiple perspectives of cross-cultural studies, historical-political influences, and the development of English converge on the study of the production of English short stories in the region's outer circle countries. Malaysia and Singapore,

though sharing similar varieties of English that look to British norms of usage, have had different national ideals and correspondingly different language policies and educational mandates. This has led to the maintenance of more traditional values in Malaysia and less production of local English fiction. Singapore, where multilingualism and English education were more readily embraced, can be seen as a hybrid of Asian (mainly Chinese) and Western influences. Though the writers in the latter nation have produced more English short stories, both countries experienced significant growth in their close-knit creative writing communities. The Philippines, on the other hand, has a longer, more involved history of (American-influenced) English and can claim the short story genre as its English authors' greatest local achievement.

Despite these differences, what the English writers in these Southeast Asian countries share is a common language and genre—English prose fiction. Tay (1991: 329) emphasizes that future research in SE Asian Englishes calls for, "better teamwork, the kind of teamwork that recognizes equal partnership… between specialists in language and specialists in literature." This research aims to fill this role; thus, it is through the common medium of the English short story that this study explores how differences of culture are embedded in literature. The portrayal of parent—pre-adolescent child relationships as represented in dialogue is one manifestation of the sociosemiotic function that these stories serve in their respective literary communities.

2.4 Stylistics

2.4.1 Linguistics, Literary Stylistics, and Dialogue in Literature

Speaking and listening are regarded by linguists as the fundamental linguistic skills with reading and writing assuming less central roles (Crystal 1987: 123) though all are, "equal manifestations of language" (177). Brown and Yule (1983: chapter 1) discuss at length differences between the spoken and written mediums that are relevant to discourse analysts. Though linguistic analysis is generally associated with the study of naturally occurring speech and authentic texts, linguists have also sought to account for literary expression. Likewise, literary scholars have sought to use methods of linguistic analysis to describe the creative works that they study.
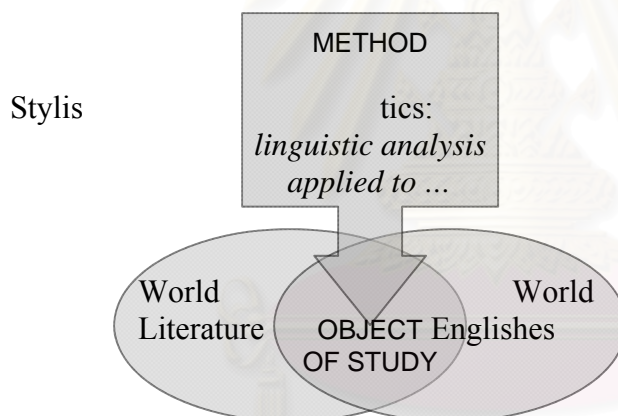
Figure 2.2 The Relationship Between Stylistics and World Literature in English

The field of Stylistics is rooted in the application of current linguistic methodologies to the study of literary texts (Leech and Short 1981). From a Stylistics perspective, any spoken or written text can be seen as existing on a continuum ranging from typically spoken features at one end to typically written forms at the other (Short 1996: 181). A practiced speech delivered in a formal setting may contain many linguistic features of typically written texts whereas in prose fiction the presence of spoken features can often be seen in the narrative and more clearly in

passages of represented speech. Figure 2.2 illustrates the relationship between

Stylistics as a method of linguistic inquiry and the literature being studied in this

research.

Nearly all works of prose fiction contain represented speech, commonly termed

direct and indirect speech, much of which is not single utterances by one speaker but

multi-turn conversations (or dialogues) between characters.[3] Academic research in

Stylistics provides specific analysis of types (or methods) of speech representation in

fiction (Leech and Short 1981, Fludernik 1993, Short 1996, Semino, Short, and

Culpeper 1997), its effects on characterization and the relationship between the

narrative and the characters' voices (Leech and Short 1981, Short 1996), and literary

conventions of dialogue presentation during different time periods (Page 1988). While

such studies take a profitable *grammatical* and often sociolinguistic approach to the

analysis of speech in fiction, interest in and the advancement of linguistic pragmatics

over the past twenty-five years has provided literary scholars with new ways of

approaching the conversations represented in plays and prose fiction.

The fields of Conversation Analysis (CA) and Discourse Analysis (DA) and

related studies offer a wealth of descriptive and analytical apparatus that can be

applied or adapted to the study of characters' interactions in prose fiction. Leech and

Short (1981) and Short (1996) provide detailed overviews with examples of how

various methods of oral discourse analysis can be applied to the speech represented in

fiction. Burton (1980, 1982) develops a DA framework (based on the 'Birmingham

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[3] The creation of literary dialogue has been addressed in non-academic writing in several commercially available handbooks for writers which offer instruction in how to create successful dialogue in fiction (Chiarella 1998, Kempton 2004, Stanbrough 2004, Turco 1991, 2004) though these books are not reviewed in this study.

School'[4] of DA) for application to dramatic scripts and dialogue in fiction. Toolan (1985, 1998, 2000) advocates the use of a minimalist discourse move analysis (based primarily on Halliday's functional-semantic methodology) for describing literary dialogue. What these approaches share is an emphasis on the discourse interaction of characters in fictional narratives. Interactions are described not only by the conversational 'turns' of traditional CA, but by detailed analysis of the functional 'moves' and 'acts' that make up each participant's turns in a dialogue. These two researchers' approaches are critically discussed in more detail below.

By focusing on the dialogue in contemporary stories, this study emphasizes the aspect of prose fiction that is closest to typically spoken language which is continually evolving in outer circle contexts. Such rigorous study of the dialogue in NVE literature was directly called for by Kachru (1991) who argued for a more complete analysis of speech act representations in NVE fiction.

2.4.2 CA/DA Frameworks Applied to Literary Dialogues

There are a number of ways, corresponding to the different levels or linguistic units of language, in which researchers approach the interpersonal aspect of conversations: *semantic* analysis of lexical items such as vocatives or vocabulary that carries evaluative and attitudinal meanings, *grammatical* analysis of mood choice which may or may not be reciprocal between interactants, and the function of *genres* of talk such as storytelling or gossiping (Eggins and Slade 1997). In between the latter two levels (syntactic and generic) is the level of *discourse structure*. It is at this level

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[4] 'Birmingham School' of Discourse Analysis is commonly used to refer to the influential approaches to DA developed by Coulthard, Sinclair, Brazil, Burton and Berry at the University of Birmingham in the mid to late 70s and throughout the 80s—despite Sinclair's (1992) statement that, "I would like to deny any suggestion that there is a 'Birmingham School' of discourse, in the sense of a group of scholars working in a co-ordinated manner, increasing the dimensions of a shared position."

where Searle's insights (1969) into the performative nature of language (speech acts) combine with CA and DA views of language as a means through which people maintain interactional social order (Have 1999). As Sinclair (1992: 83) states, "discourse analysis prioritizes the interactive nature of language."

Eggins and Slade, in their overview of approaches to analyzing conversations, point out the differences of perspective between sociologists and linguists: "Sociologists ask 'How do we do conversations?' and recognize that conversation tells us something about social life. Linguists, on the other hand, ask 'How is language structured to *enable* us to do conversation?'" (1997: 7). Using insights from both fields, this study applies linguists' frameworks of analysis to the conversations represented in works of literature in order to explicate the social meanings of literary dialogue. Figure 2.3 below illustrates the relationships between these theoretical perspectives.
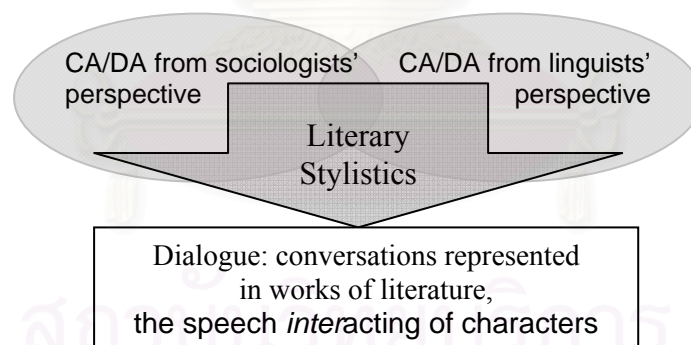
Figure 2.3 The Relationship between CA/DA Approaches and Dialogue in Literature

Several stylisticians have demonstrated how CA and DA methods can be profitably applied to the dialogues in drama and prose fiction. As referred to above, Leech and Short (1983) and Short (1996) offer overviews both theoretical and practical of how to apply speech act theory and basic CA practices (as well as other pragmatic perspectives such as Gricean maxims and theories of politeness) to the

represented speech of characters. Many articles have been published along these lines of inquiry. Studies of character interaction have been carried out using Grice's cooperative principle and conversational maxims (Herman, 1994, studying James Joyce). Politeness and face theories have been used to discuss the work of Flannery O'Connor (Hardy 2003) and scenes from some of E. M. Forster's novels (Buck 1997). Myers (1983) uses speech act theory to analyze characters' speech in a novel by Ursula LeGuin, and Troyer (forthcoming) applies Eggins and Slade's (1998) framework to a short story by Sherman Alexie.

What most of these studies in pragmatics share is an emphasis on close analysis of selected passages with detailed explanations of the characters' verbal interaction strategies. Such methods effectively highlight the relationships between characters and the functions of dialogue while explicating the work as a whole; however, they are less able to capture the interactive nature of conversational exchanges in a way that is quantifiable, thus making them less amenable to broader stylistic comparison and contrast.

Burton's (1980, 1982) Framework

The first and most detailed studies in which structural DA was applied to literature are from Burton (1980, 1982) in which she applies an adaptation of the Birmingham School of DA to passages from plays. Her introduction (1982: 86) is worth quoting at length.

> Conversations are complicated, but orderly and rule-governed events.
> Drama dialogues, in that they are always designed specifically to be
> 'overheard', to carry information about plots and themes and character
> traits, and in that they may also be constructed according to the constraints
> of poetic style, are even more complex. However, they are nonetheless

also orderly, highly patterned, and available for interesting systematic description in terms of linguistic analysis. All sorts of interesting topics in the current work in discourse analysis (the linguistic examination of the organization of spoken and written texts) could profitably be pursued here, in relation to the ways in which dramatic dialogues are made, and the ways in which they convey certain effects to their readers and audiences.

Burton's methodology is a development of the Birmingham School of DA, which is based on Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) observations of teacher-student interaction. Burton (as others have since) posits a broader, more inclusive categorization of Exchanges, Moves, and Acts which can be applied to any conversational situation (the Birmingham School's functional-systemic framework is discussed in more detail below).

In this system, any transaction between two speakers must be made up of at least one exchange. A conversational exchange must contain at least two moves: the first speaker uttering an Opening, Bound-Opening, or Re-opening move to which the second speaker can respond with a Supporting or Challenging move. Each move is composed of at least one act. Acts are the smallest building blocks of conversation, and Burton classifies them into twenty-one types that can account for all basic functions of conversational interaction. Though indebted to speech act theory, 'acts' here does not refer to Searle's theoretical notions of the force of individual utterances but to the discourse function of utterances in the context of a particular conversation. A sample of Burton's method of analysis is shown in Example 2.1.

Due to the relatively large number of act functions (twenty-one) classified in this framework, and since some acts can realize Opening, Supporting, or Confronting moves depending on the context, an analysis of only the move structure is probably the most profitable application of this approach for stylistic analysis of the pragmatics

of dialogue (though more detailed research could examine the occurrences and contexts of acts as well). Unfortunately, the minimal move categories of Bound-, Re-, and Opening Moves followed by either a Supporting or Confronting Move is a limited characterization of the interaction present in a conversation.

		Exchange	Move	Act	
1 Gus	*I want to ask you something* pre-topic		opening	metastatement
2 Ben	*What are you doing out there* topic 1		opening	elicitation
3 Gus	*Well, I was just*		support	reply
4 Ben	*What about the tea?* topic	2	opening	elicitation
5 Gus	*I'm just going to make it*		support	reply
6 Ben	*Well, go on, make it*		bound-opening	directive
7 Gus	*Yes, I will.*		support	react

Example 2.1 Burton's (1982) Analysis of Harold Pinter's *The Dumbwaiter*

What is needed is a more specific taxonomy of initial and responding moves which is more useful for descriptive analysis. Furthermore, any comparative analysis that foregrounds stylistic differences between characters, works of fiction, authors, or time periods, should be amenable to quantificational study. Burtons's scheme, while successful for raising the awareness (in readers, teachers, and students) of what characters are doing when they interact in specific scenes and how authors create dialogue, is of limited value for broader stylistic comparisons.

Toolan's (2000) Framework

Another stylistician who has contributed to the application of this kind of structural discourse analysis to fictional dialogues is Michael Toolan (1985, 1990, 1998, 2000). While building on the work of Burton (as well as Grice and CA

methods), he criticizes Burton's twenty-one categories of discourse acts as being excessively detailed yet also lacking systematic discrimination—i.e. there are too many categories and the distinctions between them are not always clear. Toolan proposes a simplified schematic based on a functional-systemic approach to verbal interaction and applies this to passages from plays with the aim of, "developing a stylistics of fictional conversation, drawing eclectically on the work of a variety of theorists" (1985: 193).

	Actions (proposals: intention to do)	Information (propositions: intention to know)
Giving (speaker to addressee)	**Undertaking** *Can I give you a hand?*	**Inform** *I mustn't do any heavy lifting.*
Seeking (speaker from addressee)	**Request** *Will you give me a hand?*	**Question** *Have you got a good hold?*

Prospected **Responses** to the four Initial Moves

Undertaking—	**Acknowledgement** (accept / decline)
Request—(	**Acknowledgement** +) non-verbal performance
Inform	—**Acknowledgement**
Question—Infor	m

Table 2.3 Toolan's (2000) Scheme of Basic Discourse Moves.

His framework (shown in Table 2.3) proposes four basic initiating moves classified according to whether the reference is mental or physical (action or information), and whether the orientation of the exchange is to or from the addressee (giving or seeking). He also includes one class of responding move: the acknowledgement. Thus, within Toolan's framework, five types of discourse move can describe the unfolding production of conversational interaction in dialogue.

Below in Example 2.2 is a sample of Toolan's analysis of the 'Interrogating Stanley'

scene in Pinter's *The Birthday Party*.

MCCANN. Nat. **Request**

GOLDBERG. What? **Question**

MCCANN. He won't sit down. **Inform**

GOLDBERG. Well, ask him. **Request**

MCCANN. I've asked him. **Request**

GOLDBERG. Ask him again. **Request**

MCCANN (to STANLEY). Sit down. **Request**

STANLEY. Why? **Question**

MCCANN. You'd be more comfortable. **Inform**

STANLEY. So would you. **Inform**

    Pause.

MCCANN. All right. If you will I will. **Acknowledge; Inform/Undertake**

STANLEY. You first. **Request**

MCCANN *slowly sits at the table, left*

MCCANN. Well? **Question**

STANLEY. Right. Now you've both had a rest you can get out! **Request**

MCCANN (*rising*). That's a dirty trick! I'll kick the shit out of him! **Inform;**
                 Inform/Undertake

GOLDBERG (*rising*). No! I have stood up. **Acknowledge; Inform**

Example 2.2 Toolan's (2000) Analysis of Harold Pinter's *The Birthday Party*.[5]

     Toolan's discussion reveals that at the beginning of the scene, McCann is the

prominent speaker, initiating exchanges and making more speech moves than the

other two characters combined. This continues as McCann begins to ask more

questions, but then the role of initiator of the questioning shifts to Goldberg and the

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[5] Harold Pinter's plays are often cited for both their 'realistic' portrayal of verbal interaction and their
theme of collapse of communication through language. Thus, stylisticians have sought to apply CA/DA
to Pinter's works in order to explain how he achieves these effects in dialogue.

scene is composed of mainly 'proposition-based' language (information exchange).
Stanley's responses, however, are usually questions themselves rather than the
informs that would be expected—at least until near the end of the scene where his
shift to informs as question replies signal his submission to his interrogators. Soon
Goldberg's and McCann's moves turn to informs as they verbally abuse Stanley and
call into question his very existence—a proposition foregrounded by Stanley's
reduction to silence or the uttering of "grunts and gurgles, and ambiguous physical
outbursts" (193).

While this analysis offers a way of approaching how this dialogue works
stylistically, most of Toolan's more insightful comments come from attention to the
content and grammar of the lines and *ad hoc* classification of responses rather than
from his discourse move framework. For a more detailed discussion of the merits and
limitations and a longer example application of this methodology see Toolan (2000).

In his conclusion, Toolan acknowledges that his paper merely presented, "one
simple move-scheme . . . to the near-total neglect of other analytical approaches,"
such as Gricean maxims and their exploitation, relevance principles, etc., but he ends
with the following.

> My defense must be that those are familiar models, and this is not—
> although it is hardly entirely new since it amounts to a hybrid
> development of speech-act and Hallidayan accounts. … What I chiefly
> claim is that, if the scheme has any general validity, its simplicity and
> ease of use (particularly by students of dialogue, literary or otherwise)
> are its strength; it can be a foundational analytical device, and a
> springboard to the more detailed interactional analysis which we
> ultimately require. (200)

This research takes the position that the discourse move framework Toolan employed was a step too far in the right direction from Burton's scheme. The use of a move-level analysis that does not rely on an extensive categorization of acts to be descriptively useful is the strength of his approach. However, by not distinguishing in his coding between initiating and responding moves, and by not classifying responses, he greatly reduced the descriptive power of the move framework.

The strength of a functional discourse move/act analysis is its ability to describe, "how the patterns of confrontation and support expressed through conversational structure enable interactants to explore and adjust their alignments and intimacy with each other" (Eggins and Slade 1997: 169). While Burton's and Toolan's application of these methods to literary dialogue represent admirable first steps, recent research into methods of analyzing conversation can provide more useful frameworks that can exploit the above strengths of a CA/DA analysis.

Chapter III presents an analytical framework that systematically categorizes functional Initiating and Responding move types. This methodology is based mainly on Tsui's (1994) analysis of English conversation in the Birmingham School tradition. Insights are also drawn from Francis and Hunston's (1992) modifications of the early Birmingham School work. Some terms and features of the framework are also influenced by or derived from Eggins and Slade's (1997) elaboration of Halliday's functional-systemic approach as applied to casual conversation. Likewise, Tannen's (1990) paper on silence and its relevance to fictional dialogue contributed to development of the framework for this research. In order to provide a complete background to the methods used in this study, an introduction to the Birmingham School of DA and more detailed summary of the frameworks developed by Tsui and Eggins and Slade are provided below.

2.4.3 Other CA/DA frameworks

Introduction to the Birmingham School of DA

The methods of structural DA developed by Sinclair, Coulthard, and Brazil in the mid to late 1970's (initially as descriptive apparatus of classroom teacher-student interaction) and modified by Burton and Berry in the early 80's contribute at least two major theoretical notions to the field of CA/DA in response to traditional CA theory and practice. Firstly, they criticize CA's notions of turn, pair, and sequence for being inadequate to describe the interactive nature of conversations in their entirety. CA practitioners, mostly from sociology and ethnography backgrounds, are more concerned with describing the interesting features of conversations they observe. Linguists, on the other hand, typically prefer to formulate global theories that can be used to successfully analyze their data. Turns, pairs, and sequences, though valid units for the former purpose, are not adequate for reliably capturing conversational organization.

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) develop a ranking of levels that can be used to analyze interactions. The concept for the system is borrowed from Halliday's (1961) descriptive units at the grammatical level. Thus, they posit the *act* as the smallest unit of functional discourse structure. At least one *act* must be present to form a *move* which is the smallest free unit of discourse. Two related *moves* by different speakers form an *exchange*. *Exchanges* typically are composed of a three-part structure—Initiation, Response, Follow-up—though follow-ups are not always present. One or more related *exchanges* are termed a *transaction*. Most people engage in a series of transactions throughout the day, and certain situations, such as a classroom lesson, involve a predictable series of transactions. This hierarchical system of transaction—

exchange—move—act is capable of reliably analyzing the structure of spoken discourse.

Secondly, at the exchange level, this approach recognizes that conversations are not essentially organized into pairs of utterances (as CA purports) but are better described by a three-part structure of Initiation, Response, and Follow-up moves. This theory was initially criticized because Sinclair and Coulthard's original work was with classroom teacher-student discourse in which the teacher elicits a response (Initiation) which a student answers (Response) which is then followed by the teacher's appraisal of the student's answer as correct or not (Follow-up) (Tsui 1994). However, much research demonstrates that Follow-up moves are common in several varieties of structured talk as well as in everyday conversations—utterances such as 'yah', 'uhu', 'sure', 'okay' often serve as the third part of an exchange which allows the initiator to signal that the exchange was successful. These important moves are not accounted for by the 'pair' unit of traditional CA. In reviewing developments of this theory over the previous twenty years, Sinclair (1992: 85) highlights the debate between these two perspectives.

Is conversational discourse made up essentially of two-move structures or three-move structures? The conversation analysts (Sacks MS; Schegloff 1973) talk in terms of adjacency pairs, such as question and answer. Much observed talk is of this kind, and certain types of conversational routine have routinely two moves in their exchanges.

On the other hand, classroom discourse, which was our original reference point, is noticeably three-move. So are quiz games, interrogations, many service encounters and a lot of everyday talk. The problem is not going to be resolved by a majority vote—by counting up whether the greater quantity of talk is two-part or three-part in its exchange structure. We must seek an explanation of the variability of the exchange.

Sinclair reasons that because Follow-up moves serve a different function from Initiations and Responses, they must be accounted for in structural descriptions. However, he also recognizes that depending on the situation, the presence or lack of a Follow-up move will be marked. Sinclair proposes that the following rule be used for describing exchange structure:

$$I \quad R^n \quad (F^n)$$

I = Initiation, R = Response, F = Follow-up; $n = 1, 2, 3$, etc. for recursive moves.

This makes the Follow-up optional and optionally recursive which is in accord with Francis and Hunston's (1992) observations. Also, by marking Response moves as optionally recursive, Sinclair accounts for what CA would call clarification sequences in which a Response prospects another Response in order for the conversation to continue (though Francis and Hunston (ibid.) prefer to label such moves as R/I moves in order to reflect their discourse function).

Within this framework, there are two types of exchanges: Organizational and Conversational—the former being an optional element of transaction structure the function of which is to structure the talk; Organizational exchanges contain an Initiating Opening move. Conversational exchanges can be initiated by the following move types: Eliciting, Informing, Directing, and they can be responded to by Eliciting, Informing, Acknowledging, or Behaving moves (Francis and Hunston 1992). All of the above move types are functionally distinguishable within the context of an exchange. A more detailed characterization of move types is provided below in the discussion of Tsui's modification of these categories. At the bottom level of discourse structure, acts are the units which realize moves, of which different scholars in this tradition posit anywhere from 21 to 32 different functionally determined acts.

Another strength of the Birmingham School approach is that the theory allows for multiple moves and acts per turn. Move types are classified according to the 'head act' of the move (if more than one act is present). Likewise, the problem of double-coding (which results from ambiguity of linguistic forms and imprecision of descriptive frameworks) that other speech act coding systems suffer from is solved by reliance on both prospection and retrospective classification. Tsui (1994) cites Sinclair and Coulthard's original concept of 'continuous classification' and their assertion that an utterance's meaning lies in its predication of what comes next in the conversation. Likewise, the type of response produced by a second speaker is an indication of the discourse value of the preceding utterance.

The approach taken in this research accords with the Birmingham School's methods, especially as developed in Francis and Hunston (1992), Sinclair (1992), and Tsui (1994). Because the strengths of Tsui's approach were seen as the most relevant for the purposes of this analysis of fictional conversations, the following discussion summarizes Tsui (1994) whose work offers a way of simplifying the Birmingham School approach by focusing on conversational move functions and proposing a classification of Responses.

Tsui (1994)

The first contribution from Tsui that will be discussed summarizes part three of her book in which she characterizes her classifications of Initiating discourse moves and acts.[6] The strength of Tsui's approach is that she focuses on the moves of

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[6] Tsui only uses the term 'discourse acts' though she is addressing both the move and act level.

conversational exchanges in order to create a specific classification of move types that can initiate as shown in the top half of Table 2.4 on page 56.[7]

While Tsui's taxonomy of Initiations is only slightly different from previous Birmingham School work, her classification of Responses is unique. Her approach follows from Burton (1980) who originally suggested that Responses can be divided into Positive and Challenging types depending on the relationship between the Response and the Initiation that preceded it. Tsui takes this concept further. Positive Responses remain those which 'fully fit' the pragmatic presuppositions of conversational structure presented by the Initiating move, and Challenging Responses remain those that challenge the prospections of the Initiation. However, Tsui accounts for Responses that seem to fall between these two categories (such as declining an offer which is not the same type of challenge as non-compliance with an order).

As her taxonomy of Initiations indicates, Requests (and also Elicitations to commit) prospect optional acceptance which is preferred and unmarked. Therefore, non-acceptance of offers, non-compliance with requests, etc. are classified as Negative Responses while hedging or refusing to choose are called Temporalizations. Tsui also differentiates between three different functions of Follow-up moves and the optional fourth exchange move of Follow-up 2 which serves a turn-passing function. The bottom half of Table 2.4 outlines Tsui's framework of Response classification and Follow-up moves.

The main advantages of Tsui's work over that of others in the Birmingham School is her simplification of the overall framework. By emphasizing functional classification of the moves and acts of conversational exchanges rather than the systematic relationships between levels of discourse structure, her work is easily

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[7] For differences between this framework and earlier Birmingham School work, see Coulthard (1992).

1. INITIATING move types	acts
Eliciting *prospection:* *verbal or NV equivalent*	**inform**: seeks a piece of information from addressee **confirm**: seeks confirmation of speaker's assumption **agree**: seeks agreement with expressed proposition **commit**: seeks verbal agreement to a commitment **repeat**: seeks repetition of previous speaker's move **clarify**: seeks clarification of previous speaker's move
Requesting *prospection:* *NV + optional verbal* *+ or – comply*	**for action**: seeks addressee action for speaker benefit **for permission**: seeks speaker action for speaker benefit **offer**: seeks speaker action for addressee benefit **invitation**: seeks addressee action for addressee benefit **proposal**: speaker+addressee action for benefit of both

Directing
prospection:
 	
NV + optional verbal
strongly preferred
comply
dispreferred non-comply
	instruction: action in speaker's interest;
	    speaker has authority/right
	threat: action in speaker's interest;
	    speaker has no authority/right; negative consequences
	    of non-comply brought by speaker
	warning: addressee benefit, negative consequences of non-
	    comply not brought by speaker
	advice: addressee benefit, positive consequences of comply

Informing
prospection:
 	
verbal or NV equivalent
	report: gives a factual account of events or affairs
	assess: evaluation of something
	    (not one of the participants in the conversation)
	compliment: positive evaluation of others
	criticize: negative evaluation of others
	self-criticize: negative evaluation of self
	express: verbal or non-verbal expression of feelings,
	    emotions, and ritualistic phatic acts

RESPONDING move types	
Positive	fully-fitting: follows the pragmatic presuppositions and fulfills the illocutionary intent of the Initial move
Negative	not fully-fitting: follows the pragmatic presuppositions but does not fulfill the illocutionary intent
Temporalization	acknowledges the pragmatic presuppositions, but puts off the expected response until later
Challenge	challenges the pragmatic presuppositions of the Initiation
FOLLOW-UP 1 move types	Optional and optionally recursive third moves of an interaction
Endorsement	enthusiastically endorses the positive outcome of the interaction; prospected by positive responses
Concession	accepts the negative outcome of the interaction; prospected by negative responses
Acknowledgement	minimal acknowledgement that the response (positive or negative) has been heard, understood, and accepted, and that the interaction is felicitous
FOLLOW-UP 2 moves	Turn-passing: utterance subsequent to a first follow-up move which serves to pass the turn to the other speaker

Table 2.4 Tsui's (1994) Classification of Conversational Moves and Initiating Acts

applicable to a variety of conversational data. Furthermore, her specification of types of Initiating, Responding, and Follow-up moves achieves a balance between generality and specificity that is not present in previous CA/DA analysis of fictional conversations (see Toolan and Burton cited above). In order to offer a more inclusive summary of relevant approaches to analyzing conversations, the following discussion will address aspects of Eggins and Slade's (1997) work which are applicable to this research.

Eggins and Slade (1997)

The analysis of casual conversation developed by Eggins and Slade (1997) is an elaboration of Halliday's functional-semantic interpretation of dialogue. From their perspective, relationships between speakers are signaled on multiple linguistic levels; thus, in separate chapters they discuss lexical items that signal appraisal and involvement, grammatical classes of clause structure, functional speech moves (i.e., the discourse level), and genres of talk, all of which add up to a comprehensive approach to conversational interaction. Because they take into consideration multiple linguistic levels, Eggins and Slade are confident that the elaborate schemes of exchange structure posited by the Birmingham School are not necessary. The following summary, however, only addresses their framework for move analysis.

turn/move	speaker	text
1	David	This conversation needs Allenby.
2	Fay	Oh he's in London so what can we do?
3/a	Nick	We don't want—we don't need Allenby in the bloody conversation.
3/b		'Cause all you'd get is him bloody raving on

Example 2.3 Excerpt from "Allenby" (Eggins and Slade 1997: 170)

Their approach to the interactional structure of conversation is centered on the *move*. For Eggins and Slade, "the move is regarded as a functional-semantic reinterpretation of the turn-constructional unit (TCU) of CA. The end of a move indicates a point of possible turn-transfer, and therefore carries with it the idea that the speaker 'could stop here'. A move is a unit after which speaker change could occur without turn transfer being seen as an interruption" (1997: 186). More specifically, move boundaries are signaled by clause structure and prosodic criteria. Types of moves are synonymous with *speech functions*, which describe what interactants are doing in relation to each other. Example 2.3 is the beginning of a conversation discussed by Eggins and Slade.

As Eggins and Slade point out, when David said, "This conversation needs Allenby," he was not merely producing a declarative clause, he was making a conversational move, in this case stating his opinion. This has implications for the roles and relationships between these speakers. In spontaneously giving his opinion, he asserts his role as an initiator and a giver of information (rather than as a reactor/responder or a seeker of information who asks for others' opinions). Fay positions herself as both a cooperative interactant who supplies additional information while also mildly confronting the appropriateness of David's comment (it's not possible for Allenby to be here, so why suggest it?). Nick, however, directly contradicts David's opinion by negating his proposition.

Eggins and Slade succinctly state the reasons for performing move analysis: "To account for how people construct relationships with each other through talk, we need then to go beyond the topics they talk about or the grammatical and semantic resources they deploy. We need to be able to give functional labels to the activities they are achieving as they talk to each other: activities such as 'questioning',

'challenging', supporting', 'stating opinions', etc." (177). Their classification of move types begins with Halliday's suggestion that, "dialogue is a 'process of exchange' involving two variables: 1) a commodity to be exchanged: either information or goods and services, and 2) roles associated with exchange relations: either giving or demanding" (180) (recall Toolan's framework, above). Equally important is the differentiation between Initiating and Responding moves. Figure 2.4 on page 60 presents a summary of Eggins and Slade's classes of speech functions which are arranged into a systemic framework. The categories toward the left are the most inclusive while movement toward the right entails subclassification. Eggins and Slade emphasize that their establishment of speech function categories is linguistic and data-driven (not intuitive), drawing on functionality as well as grammar and semantics.

There are several advantages of this framework for move analysis. Firstly, it avoids the complex exchange structures employed by the Birmingham methods while placing emphasis on move function analysis. Concerning their speech function categories, one in particular, seems to be especially useful. Eggins and Slade's class of prolonging and appending Continuing moves accounts for their observation that, "very often we do not say all that we want to say in one single move" (196).

A Continuing move occurs when a speaker adds to his or her contribution by elaborating (to clarify, exemplify, or restate), extending (to offer additional or contrasting information), or enhancing (to qualify the previous move with details of time, place, cause, condition, etc.). In the case of prolonging, the Continuing move(s) occurs in the same turn; appending occurs when a speaker adds to his or her previous move after another speaker's turn (i.e. continuing the previous turn as if the intervening turn did not occur). Francis and Hunston's (1992) elaboration of Sinclair and Coulthard's framework only recognizes verbal actions such as these at the Act
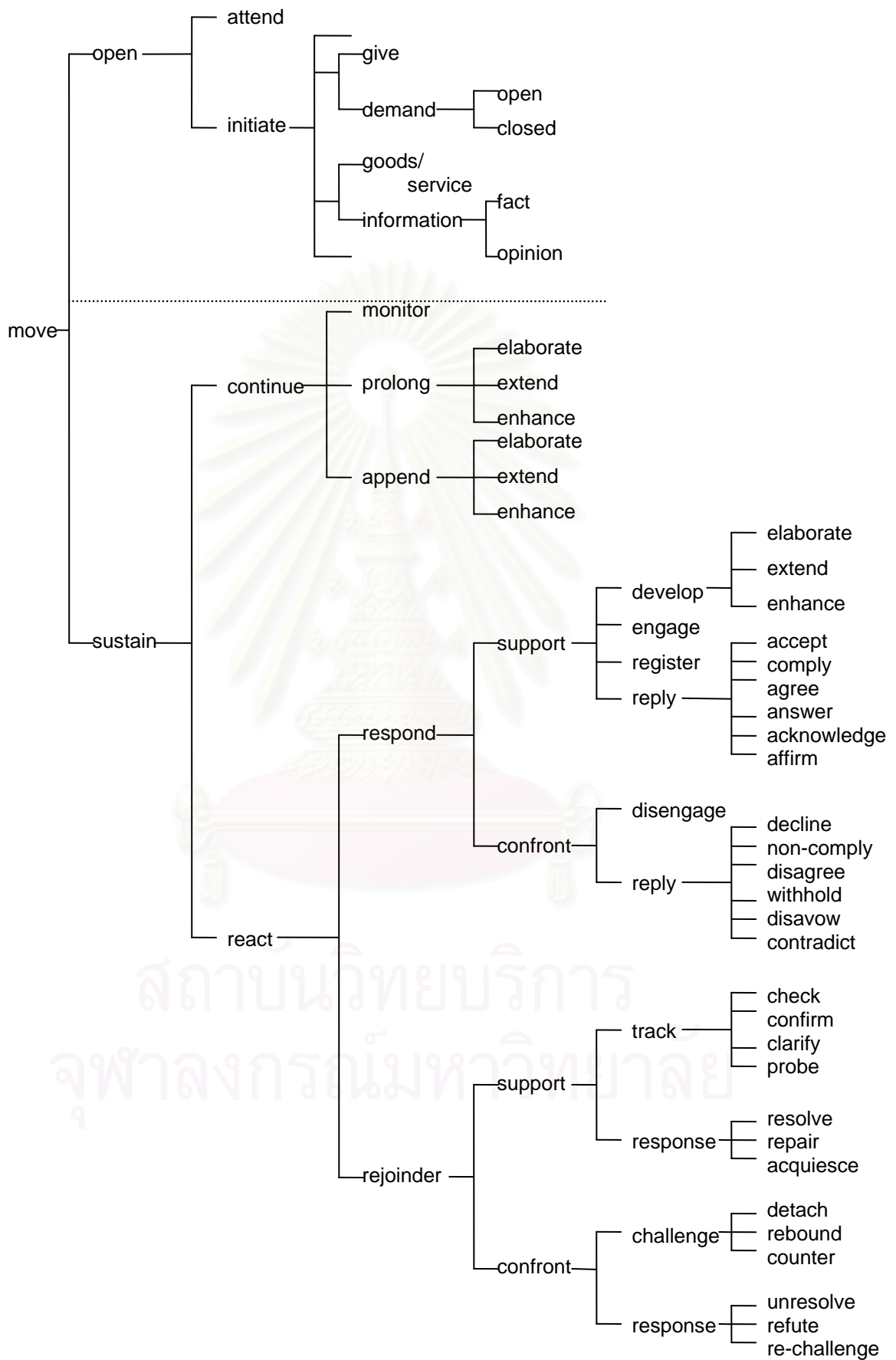
Figure 2.4 Complete Schematic of Eggins and Slade's (1997) Speech Functions

level (subsidiary to head moves), referring to them as 'comments', the function of which are to "exemplify, expand, explain, justify, provide additional information, or evaluate one's own utterance" (133). By giving these conversational items the status of moves, Eggins and Slade place greater importance on speakers' continuations of their own moves.

However, there are disadvantages of using this framework which I discovered when applying it to dialogue in a previous study (Troyer forthcoming). To begin with, the classification of Initiating moves is not specific enough to provide insight with familiar terms about what speakers are doing when they begin a conversation. As shown above, the Birmingham School approaches provide more detailed and traditionally descriptive apparatus. Similarly, the categories of reactions (responses vs. rejoinder and support vs. confront), though useful, are a less clearly differentiated taxonomy than Tsui's classes of Positive, Negative, and Challenging. Thus, the framework developed for this research is based primarily on Tsui's (1994) elaboration of the Birmingham methods, but Eggins and Slade's (1997) framework contributes the class of Continuing moves.

The review of CA/DA approaches contained above, is not meant to encompass all methodologies in these fields such as coding systems developed for speech act tagging of large corpora (i.e., the DAMSL (Dialogue Act Markup in Several Layers) scheme (Jurafsky 1997)) or other CA/DA traditions. However, the summary of Burton's and Toolan's approaches to fictional dialogue and the review of some recent developments in the CA/DA field provide background for the methodology of this research which is described in Part III.

2.4.4 Conclusion

One goal of literary Stylistics is to account for and empirically explain readers' intuitions about how a work of literature becomes meaningful. The application of linguistic analysis to narrative texts provides rigorous methodologies which can result in insightful explications of what authors do that is effective. Accordingly, all the insights to be gained from fields of Speech Act Theory, Conversation Analysis, and Discourse Analysis can serve the purposes of literary Stylistics. Several scholars have contributed to this endeavor, yet despite their successes, the methods employed can be improved by more carefully adapting current CA/DA approaches for the task at hand—the analysis of literary dialogue. One aim of this study was to establish a more feasible and theoretically sound framework that can be applied by students and scholars for the analysis of dialogue.

2.5 Sociolinguistics and Discourse

2.5.1 Contrastive Analysis and Social Dimensions of Language Use

Jucker (2004) writing from the perspective of Contrastive Pragmatics, emphasizes the importance of specifying a *tertium comparationis*, or common platform or paradigm of reference, when performing cross-cultural comparisons of interaction. Thus, the researcher must take into consideration the sociolinguistic parameters along which usage varies—i.e. age, gender, status, solidarity, formality of situation, etc.—especially in cross-cultural studies (Goddard and Wierzbicka 1997). Holmes (2001) identifies four different social dimensions for linguistic analysis, each of which can be represented by figure 2.5 below.

This study examines dialogues between parents and pre-adolescent children in order to highlight patterns of interaction (expressed by analysis of turns, moves, and

acts) in intimate (high solidarity) relationships among participants with unequal

status/authority[8]. Furthermore, the dialogues between parents and children in the

fictional stories used in this study generally occur in the kinds of informal, domestic

situations created in contemporary short stories of 'realistic' genres (see definition of

terms) and feature conversations that offer a relatively balanced combination of

referential and affective content. Thus, conversational patterns exhibited by parents

and pre-adolescent children in Singaporean, Malaysian, Filipino, and North American

stories can be described in order to compare and contrast the discourse structure of

conversational styles in these different cultures/varieties of English.

The solidarity-social distance scale

Intimate_____Distant
(High solidarity)   (Low solidarity)

The status scale Superior   (High status)

Subordinate (Low status)

The formality scale   Formal (High formality)

Informal (Low formality)

The referential and affective function scales

High information content_____*Referential*_____Low information content

High affective content_____*Affective*_____Low affective content

Figure 2.5 Sociolinguistic Interaction Scales

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[8] A slightly different approach to Holmes (2001) 'Scale of status' is Tannen's (1993) labeling of this social dimension as 'hierarchy—equality'. Thus, rather than viewing interactants as having relatively higher or lower 'status', they are viewed as oriented toward *hierarchy* (the belief that oneself is ranked socially higher than the other) on the one hand or toward *equality* (of social ranking) on the other. Though the same concept is addressed, Tannen's terminology is a more appropriate description of the social relationship of parents and their children.

2.5.2 Social Roles and Discourse Roles

> People constantly create and renegotiate their relationships with each
> other in the process of interacting, via *discourse moves* that make
> claims to *equality, inequality*, solidarity or detachment. But there are
> situations in which social roles are relatively fixed in advance, and in
> which people are expected to use and interpret discourse in relatively
> pre-set ways. … A common, usually pre-set pair of discourse roles
> consists of those of server and client … Another such relationship is
> that of teacher and student; another is that of *parent and child*.
> (Johnstone 2002: 119, *my emphasis*)

As indicated by Johnstone, above, the roles of *parent* and *child* are encoded in
the types of discourse moves these participants typically make in conversations. The
universal appeal of this concept may be one reason for an apparent lack of detailed
studies of parent-child discourse move interaction. One goal of this research was to
hypothesize about, and offer proof of, the kinds of discourse moves which distinguish
these roles and to demonstrate that such roles are culturally created.

The aim of this section of the paper is to assert that patterns of discourse
structures can index culturally salient values of authority and autonomy in specific
social relationships, namely that of parents and their preadolescent children. This
thesis will be supported firstly by defining the conversational interactants (which will
determine many of the variables listed above) and secondly by discussing the
connection between discourse structures (patterns of interaction) and participants'
ideologies along the dimensions of authority and autonomy. To these ends, a range of
examples are presented from the fields of psychology and language socialization (and
especially the cross-cultural aspects of these fields) with additional insights from
sociolinguistic gender studies.

Adults and Children

> People have an embodied existence in a physical world…. People are
> biological organisms, with the innate capacity for language, and there
> are physical constraints on what they can do. Thus young children
> whose brains and vocal apparatus have no yet matured sufficiently for
> them to deploy the linguistic resources of their community are not
> social actors in the same way that adults can be said to be. Even at this
> stage of life, however, a human being's existence is fundamentally
> social. (Sealey 2000: 123).

While Sealey's perspective emphasizes some basic truths of parent-child
relationships, it is worth noting, however, that the dichotomy of child-adult is not
bipolar but is a representation of the continuum of successive life stages. Although
these stages are biologically determined, there is also a socially conventional aspect to
the progression from child to adulthood. What it means in behavioral terms to act as a
child or as an adult and the social norms of when and how the transition from the
former to the latter occurs varies across cultures and can be understood in terms of
social roles. "Social roles are sets of behaviors that individuals occupying specific
positions within a group are expected to perform" (Shiraev and Levy 2001: 305), and
"adults assign children to some roles and disallow others" (222). Adults are cast in the
role of authority figure which entails that others (children) will be obedient to them.
"This type of behavior is usually based on a belief that those with authority have the
right to *issue requests* and *give such orders*" (316 *my emphasis*).

As the introductory quotation from Sealey's (2000) study of children, language,
and the social world highlights, these role assignments are primarily determined by
ineluctable consequences of our physical and chronological development—adults
must assume an authoritative role over any infant. This authority decreases as the

child grows into adulthood and autonomy. Within this universal pattern, there is room

for variation though, and levels of autonomy (individualism-collectivism) are

culturally oriented. Likewise, expectations concerning social alignments that signal

degrees of authority (hierarchy-egalitarianism) contrast across cultures. Differences

along both of these social dimensions are reflected in the discourse structures used

between adults and children. After a brief discussion of the relevant stages of

childhood development and some universal aspects of parent-child discourse,

pertinent findings from cross-cultural and gender research are presented.

<u>Stages of Childhood Development</u>

Developmental psychologists generally divide childhood into the following

stages: infancy (birth-18 months), early childhood (18 months-5 years), and middle

childhood or preadolescence (6-12 years). These approximations are based on widely

accepted theories of behavioral and cognitive development ranging from Erikson to

Piaget and Vygotsky (Bee and Boyd 2004). Most important to this study is children's'

linguistic development. Sealey (2000) points out that the vast majority of research

into language acquisition and socialization focuses on infancy and early childhood

when children make easily discernable changes and are heavily influenced by their

speech community (also Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). Sealey acknowledges though

that the field of sociolinguistics is increasingly paying attention to age-grading as a

significant way of exploring the social categories people use to intuitively classify

speakers. Romaine (1984) described these age-related roles as the expectations we

have of, "characteristic linguistic behaviors which are appropriate to and typical of the

different stages in the speaker's lifespan" (104, cited in Sealey 2000: 129).

Sealey states that any experienced speaker of English should be able to determine which of the following utterances were said by (a) a very young child, (b) a speaker in middle childhood, and (c) a mature speaker:

(1) she said well we'd wanted to move in she said within six weeks / she says could you do that? so Mandy said well if you really wanted to so she said yes / it was obviously a confirmed sale and everything went through all right

(2) I'm not—(pretend cry). Mummy—off. I'll tell my Daddy come back home.

(3) well erm we were allowed to bring a game in and we played them all afternoon and we watched the jungle book / the jungle book the video

While these examples mainly differ at the level of vocabulary, syntax, and topic rather than discourse moves or acts, the important point is that there are significant differences between *early* and *middle* childhood language. Sealey cites Hoyle and Adger's observation that, "the difference between younger and older children is largely attributable to developing communicative competence" (1984: 4, cited in Sealey 2000: 132). Furthermore, as language socialization studies have shown, norms of usage are socialized during infancy and early childhood (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). By the preadolescent stage, however, children have attained a high degree of (and are expected to conform to norms of) communicative competence.

> Children find themselves participants in various of the social settings in which routines are repeated and into which linguistic formulae are often tightly woven, and they gradually learn the schema and frames associated with them. As apprentices in these enterprises of the wider social world, they are excused a certain degree of ineptitude, but are gradually made aware of the costs of asserting their personal interests in contexts where their social location and membership of a collectivity [i.e., pupil, child] is more salient (Sealey 2000: 124).

As Clancy's (1986) study of Japanese mothers demonstrates, mothers' early insistence on repetition to gain their young children's attention and their ensuring that young children comply with requests lead to older children, who in middle childhood, responded immediately and with compliance. "As the years pass, this reluctance to refuse requests will not only shape the children's view of the mother-child relationship but will provide them with a model for using indirection when refusing others" (ibid: 245). Similarly, cross-cultural analysis of adult-child teasing exchanges show that routines and strategies encouraged during early years were acquired by children in middle years (Schieffelin 1986, Eisenberg 1986, Miller 1986).

A cross-cultural study of discourse structures exhibited between parents and preadolescents (middle childhood) will, thus, afford a window into a unique period of socio-linguistic development that has received little attention—the ages of approximately 6-12 during which children, having acquired the linguistic system and pragmatic norms of usage, begin attending school but have not yet reached the period of radical physical and behavioral changes that define adolescence. Parent-child interaction during middle childhood should clearly reveal both universal patterns of discourse structure that index hierarchy and autonomy as well as culturally specific gradations of these values.

<u>Adult and Child Roles and Language Socialization</u>

"To be a child seems commonly to be in an 'immediate' relationship of command and obedience." (Hood-Williams 1990: 163, cited in Sealey 2000: 135). "When children push against the boundaries which govern what is acceptable for them to say to an adult, where are these boundaries located? And what are the patterns of language in use which constitute the discourses available to be deployed … The

entities [social conventions] we are dealing with at this level are much less visible to us as social actors" (Sealey 2000: 111). These constraints are the roots of many sociolinguists' comments on the universally lower status of children—a status that is reflected in non-reciprocal usage at the levels of pronoun reference, terms of address, expressions of politeness, etc. (Sealey 2000: 132-3).

This research was guided by the assumption that children's roles are also marked by differing patterns of discourse moves which follows from the belief that, "… an understanding of children's status and speaking rights… enters into the form and structure of what they say" (Burman 1994: 141, cited in Sealey 2000: 134). The fact that preadolescent children are sensitive to hierarchical role relationships is evidenced by studies of children's role-plays in which they manipulate all levels of language to convey behaviors of various speakers (Andersen 1990, Ervin-Tripp 1986, Garvey 1977, cited in Sealey 2000). Likewise, children in directed role-plays are reluctant to play the 'baby' role and in undirected role-plays tend to adopt roles that move them up the social hierarchy (Sealey 2000).

Sealey (145) also cited Goodwin's (1990) claim that the study of sequences of requests and directives indicates the connection between linguistic structure and social action. Sealey's own study revealed that children were frequently the recipients of directives issued from parents, especially in the area of prohibiting behaviors that were undesirable to the parent, "such utterances being in themselves markers of the role-relationship" (146). Informing moves are also seen to be a reflection of parental status as, "parents also have the right—and the duty—to regulate the children's behavior in less censorious ways, informing them of matters of hygiene, safety, cultural norms, and so on …" (147). On the other hand, "If the topics of adults' directives to children are frequently children's behavior, those of children's requests

to adults are, like many requests, their own local needs and wishes. The dependence associated with child status is evident in children's need to ask more powerful others to do or provide things for them" (Ervin-Tripp 1977: 165, cited in Sealey 2000: 148).

Sealey's study falls within the broad field of language socialization which is grounded in the belief that people acquire language through interaction during the process of becoming a part of society. This can happen at any time in a person's life when they acculturate to a new social group and acquire new linguistic codes. One area of emphasis in the field of language socialization is dedicated to discerning patterns of adult-child interaction that lead to communicative/pragmatic competence (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986 and Kramsch 2002). Parenting practices are, thus, tied to language and to culture and worth examining for how they encode ethnotheories (principles of social order and systems of belief). In the introduction to their analysis of the contribution of routine interactions to a child's early language learning Peters and Boggs state that, "teaching children to participate in speech events in certain ways helps to inculcate cultural values" (80). This follows from their main thesis that, "culturally formulated ways of communicating motivate both linguistic and social development: that in learning how to speak appropriately a child learns both language and social rules" (80).

One example of how social roles are reflected in discourse is evidenced by Heath (1986) who demonstrates that one role that children are socialized to is that of 'reader'. By encouraging, discouraging, and modeling behaviors with and toward written language, parents inculcate in their children how to interact with text in a literate world. Her study of three different communities of differing social and ethnic make-up reveals that the role of 'reader' that children developed varied from group to group. One element of the role is the discourse moves available to children as readers.

In the lower-class community referred to as "Roadville", children's roles developed through three stages, which were reflected in their discourse. In the first stage children being read to were framed as responders to literal questions about the book being read that were asked throughout the reading session. Gradually, as the children aged they passed to the second stage in which their role became that of audience member whose job was to sit quietly, in order to be entertained, informed, and instructed during the reading which was followed by questions that required them to state sequences of story content that they remembered. In the third stage children's' role as a reader became more individual and activity oriented. Rather than being read to, they were given simple stories to read and workbooks with questions, exercises, games, etc. to respond to. Thus, the role of child-reader is lower than parent-reader on the hierarchical scale (adults direct and elicit while children respond positively) but shows increasing autonomy (as the amount of verbal questions they need to respond to deceases).

By contrast, children in "Maintown" (a middle-class neighborhood) were, from an early age, not only placed in the role of listener and responder to questions, but were also encouraged to use their knowledge of what books do to invent and share their own stories. By preschool age these children would initiate without adult elicitation their own factual and fictive narratives. By three years old, they had learned (been socialized) to not only listen quietly while being read to, but to formulate their own questions which they would ask of the adult following (or during a break in) the reading. In this case the role of child-reader is more egalitarian and individualistic as the children initiate both informing and eliciting moves. Such contrasts highlight how social roles (in this case that of being a reader) are not only a product of cultural language socialization, but also that an essential element of such

roles is the discourse moves and patterns of interaction that are available to those who fill the roles.

Language Socialization Across Cultures

The purpose of the previous section was to highlight the processes of language socialization and the universal aspects of parent-child relationships that may be reflected in the discourse structures of their conversations. This section builds upon these assumptions by introducing a cross-cultural perspective which clarifies the thesis that within the universal pattern of relationships there are distinct cultural differences.

As mentioned above, authority and obedience are two sides of the same coin, or rather two sides of a an exchange structure in conversational interaction: the issuing of directives and compliance to them. It stands to reason that in hierarchically structured, collectivist cultures, obedience and, thus, the issuing of directives from parents and compliant responses from children will be more frequent than in egalitarian, individualist cultures where rates of children's initiations and challenging responses should be higher.

In a nine-country study in which parents were asked to say what characteristics they considered most desirable in their children, parents from the U.S. and other industrialized countries stressed the importance of personal independence and self-reliant behavior while parents from less industrialized nations indicated the importance of obedience while not endorsing independence. (Kagitcibasi 1996, cited in Shiraev and Levy 2001: 317). "Experiments also show that in general, children from Western technological societies are less cooperative than children from Latin American, African, and Middle Eastern countries" (ibid: 322). When realized as

functional discourse moves, independence is enacted to a certain degree by all initiations, but especially by directing moves; likewise, cooperation is enacted by positive responses.

According to Klingelhofer (1971, cited in Shiraev and Levy 2001) most traditional African cultures desire obedience from children, a quality that is essential for the survival of children in harsh environments. Similarly, Mayan children in Guatemala showed respect for adults by learning not to give advice to elders (Berger 1995, cited in Shiraev and Levy 2001). However, "most Western concepts of child-rearing judge obedience critically and condemn most forms of adult-child coercion" (Shiraev and Levy 2001: 223). Hess et al. (1980, cited in Shiraev and Levy 2001) in a comparison of Japanese to American mothers, report that American mothers expected assertive behavior from their children earlier than Japanese mothers while the later expected their children to control their emotions and express courtesy at an earlier age. Clancy's (1986) study of communicative style in Japanese pointed to the collectivist cultural influence and need for empathy and conformity as giving rise, "to certain characteristics of Japanese communicative style, such as the use of indirection both in giving and refusing directives" (245).

In a comparison between the North American and East Asian orientations toward communication patterns based on Yum (1999), the East Asian orientation is characterized in part by linguistic codes which differ depending upon who is involved and the situations while North American orientations feature less differentiated linguistic codes (cited in Mio, Barker-Hackett, and Tumambing 2006: 96). As the above examples indicate, this differentiation can be at the level of discourse move structure.

Peters and Boggs's study of Hawaiian families also demonstrates the effect of cultural values on discourse in a traditional hierarchical society. Their review of literature cites Boggs (1985) and Howard (1974) for their description of the hierarchical mode of speaking which is, "marked by the adult's possessing the sole right to initiate or frame the situation, to escalate or terminate the interaction, and to evaluate the child's responses unilaterally." This communicative style was evident in a variety of adult-child situations and, "reflected in the adult's requests for information, commands, and scolding" as well as in children's refraining from escalating requests (Peters and Boggs 1986: 91-3). Peters and Bogg's analysis of verbal play shows that contradictions from adults and children were present when the adults wanted to express, "a mood of egalitarianism with their children. It is to be noted, however, that adults reserve the right to initiate and terminate these routines" (93).

In Samoan society, the use of imperatives has both a social and semantic variable. Demands or requests for goods (using the verb for 'bring/give') are not socially restricted; however, demands or requests for summoning others (using the verb for 'come') are, "normally directed from high- to low-status persons or between peers." Caregiving practices as well as observation of and interaction with others of varying social rank contribute to children's acquisition of this sociolinguistic knowledge of which discourse moves are available to them (Platt 1986: 128). Likewise, "it is often the mother who summons sibling caregivers or young children, rather than vice versa"(131).

Studies of Western parent-child discourse have also demonstrated the universal aspect of parent-child interaction. In Anderen's (1986) description of the speech that children ascribed to the roles of father, mother, and child, while role-playing with

puppets, she mentions several elements that are related to culture and discourse moves. The speech of fathers as portrayed by the children was composed of sentences that were, "shorter than the mothers' but longer than those of the children they portrayed. Speech as father contained the greatest proportion of direct imperatives, and–even excluding one-word answers to yes/no questions—a large proportion of their turns were single-utterance turns" (154). Furthermore, the fathers, in contrast to the portrayal of mothers, usually did not rationalize to children directives and other speech acts by explaining themselves. Mothers also used fewer direct imperatives and longer utterances with more multi-utterance turns, "largely because the mothers qualified or explained almost everything they did or requested" (155). Children on the other hand, in acting out their own style, showed the lowest mean length of utterance and more responsiveness to mothers than fathers.

Andersen carries her analysis of directing moves further by applying syntactic analysis to those directives that requested an action. Of these speech acts, the pretend fathers used many more imperatives than the mothers or children, which is in accord with Gleason's (1975, cited in Andersen 1986) observations of real-life interaction. Mothers used declarative and imperative forms equally while children used a combination of declarative, imperative, and interrogative forms. Thus, it is clear that gender and hierarchical roles are embedded in the discourse structures accorded to the different roles that children and their parents embody in spoken interaction. Given the differences of cultural orientations between Western and non-Western cultures, it can be hypothesized that such features of discourse will be even more differentiated in non-Western cultures.

In two studies of teasing—Eisenberg (1986) among Mexican families and Miller (1986) among American families—several contrasts are evident. Within the

contexts of teasing exchanges, Eisenberg explains, "that children were allowed to talk back and challenge adults during teasing also marked the sequences as play, since speaking assertively was clearly inappropriate for children in other contexts. Children who challenged adults or were heard doing so … were considered *malcriados* 'poorly raised' or *groseros* 'rude'" (186).

Furthermore, the only time a child could tease an adult was when he/she was allowed to do so by repeating a tease issued by another adult. Teasing is shown to have several functions, among them the reinforcement of social alignments and social control of children, both of which are achieved in part through patterns of interaction: initiating with informing moves and responding with challenges.

Miller (1986) reports that among the American families studied, during teasing exchanges, after an initial turn from the adult the two exchanged a series of denials, counterclaims, or counteractions which continued until one speaker yielded or they reached a stalemate or negotiation of resolution, turned to argument, or lost interest and changed the subject. The particular style of American adult-child teasing and the reasons that American parents reported for encouraging such interaction are an index to the cultural values of individuality and egalitarianism. Reasons for teasing reported by the mothers revolved around encouraging children to be independent by challenging authority and to express anger and defend oneself (204). Though teasing behavior exhibited by children was only acceptable within those contexts, American children were allowed to progress from countering a teasing statement to initiating teasing exchanges which adults accepted as they played along with them by arguing back (206-7).

Broverman and associates (1970, cited in Mio, Barker-Hackett, and Tumambing 2006: 102) performed an influential study in which mental health professionals selected personality traits of mentally healthy adults in general, adult males, and adult females. Agreement from both male and female respondents was found in which adults (and male adults) were characterized as objective, dominant, and 'feelings not easily hurt' while female adults were described as having the opposite traits. Though the emphasis of the study is on gender differences, the research design reveals and verifies implicit assumptions about children—they are subjective, submissive, and their feelings are easily hurt. Furthermore, these findings suggest that much research into gender roles and discourse can also be applied to parent-child role assignments and perceptions, which will vary along gender lines of mother-father and son-daughter.

In their overview of the use of speech acts and discourse moves in gender studies Eckhert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) state that, "we find it useful to see speech acts as kinds of social moves that are part of larger, socially accomplished plans of action" (133). They cite work by Coates (1996), Tannen, and Goodwin (1980, 1990) that explores how social hierarchies and/or egalitarianism are created in and between genders through the acts of giving commands and seeking permission (differentiation that signals hierarchy) and the use of suggestions or proposals for joint action ('requests' in Tsui's framework) which are signals of egalitarian relationships. Likewise, they cite Sheldon (1992) who demonstrated gender differences and the use of negotiating (sequences of tracking and positive responses) for equal cooperation as opposed to arguing (challenging moves). Furthermore, the issuing of evaluative informing moves are an index to hierarchies in relationships as shown in Ochs and Taylor (1995, cited in Eckhert and McConnell-Ginet 2003) who studied family

conversations, in which the fathers performed most of these moves. Gender considerations are, thus, important to analysis of parent-child relationships and cross-cultural studies because these relationships also vary along the dimensions of authority and autonomy.

Summary

Despite the universal qualities of authority and autonomy in parent-child relationships, status hierarchies and degrees of independence vary across cultures. These dimensions of cultural values determine the roles of 'parent' and 'child' which are socialized in early childhood and manifest themselves in middle childhood (pre-adolescence). These roles are linguistically realized by speakers' use of discourse moves in conversations. Authority and autonomy are signaled by a speaker's use of short, unexplained initiations of directing moves and by responses that challenge. Lesser degrees of these values are shown by initiations of eliciting moves, continuations of informing moves, requesting moves and responses that seek negotiation of meaning (tracking). The least degrees of authority and autonomy are signaled by positive responses to other's initiations.

Using the discourse move analysis framework described in Chapter III, a parent-child dialogue can be described as being oriented toward either *hierarchy* or *equality*. Such a distinction does not imply that either orientation is inherently better than the other. Rather these are descriptive terms that can be applied to different communicative styles exhibited by parents and children in different cultural contexts.

Hierarchically oriented dialogues exhibit the following traits:
    parents: <u>Initiations</u>: higher frequency of Directing, Eliciting, and
        Organizing moves in comparison to the child and few Continuations of

these moves; higher number of Directing than Requesting moves from the parent

   Responses: higher frequency of Negative and Challenging Responding moves in comparison to the child; higher number of these moves than Positive moves from the parent

children: Initiations: higher number of Informing than other initiating moves and greater amounts of requesting than directing

   Responses: higher number of Positive than Negative or Challenging moves

Equality oriented dialogues are indicated by the inverse of the preceding hierarchical traits. Thus, children in this style of interaction will exhibit move behaviors associated with parents in hierarchically oriented discourse and vice versa for the parents.

In positing this analysis, it must be emphasized that just as the social dimensions of language variation mentioned above are continuums, so does the hierarchy-equality scale describe a cline rather than a bi-polar dichotomy. This idea is essential to one hypothesis of this research which was that the parent-child dialogues in Filipino stories would more closely resemble those in North American stories than those in the Malaysian and Singaporean dialogues; it was hypothesized that dialogues from the different cultures would be ranked upon the scale as follows:

Hierarchical_____Egalitarian

   Malaysian   Singaporean Filipino   North American

When discourse moves are analyzed not in isolation, but relative to each other and the speakers (parents or children), a discourse analysis framework such as the one proposed below, which was developed mainly from Tsui (1994), can be used to characterize the functional roles of different speakers in conversational interaction. This type of analysis can be used for cross-cultural examination of how parent-child

conversations (represented in fictional dialogues) reveal cultural orientations toward

equality and individualism on the one hand or hierarchy and collectivism on the other.

2.5.3 Ambiguity of Linguistic Strategies

As stated clearly by Tannen (1993), any discourse analyst must be cautious of

assigning predetermined meanings to specific linguistic strategies. She provides

several examples of how commonly analyzed features of gender discourse such as the

use of interruptions, silence versus volubility, topic raising, and adversativeness can

be differently interpreted on a power/dominance scale. For example, interruptions,

commonly assumed to be a marker of dominance by the speaker using them, can in

other contexts be a sign of equality as one speaker interjects supportive questions or

comments during the other speaker's turn. This perspective is a good indication of the

general mistrust that CA practitioners have of linguists' propensity to theorize and

create formal rules of conversational interaction. For a detailed account of the

traditional CA perspective and its proponents' reluctance to generalize beyond the

context of a specific pool of data see Ten Have (1999).

While parents who permit and/or encourage their children to talk a lot signal an

equality oriented discourse, it may not be true that a parent who talks more signals

hierarchical discourse. In the latter case, the parent may be talking more because he or

she is repeating (Continuing) requesting moves in order to persuade a child who

refuses to obey. Thus, the measurement of amount of words, turns, or moves (which

will be considered in this study) is a less accurate description of the discourse than a

comparison of types of moves. When a mother Initiates three Requesting moves (note

that these are not stated as Directing moves but as Requesting which are less

hierarchical) to a daughter's one Response which is a Challenging move (a non-

2.5.4 Conclusion

Language varies according to socially salient aspects of interlocutors' identities. The enculturation of this variation creates discourse roles: conventional forms of interaction between certain speakers. One such pair of roles is that of parent and child. These discourse roles are defined in part by patterns of speech moves and acts which are available to the speakers. Though the biological relationship between parents and children requires that parents use moves that allow them to exert their authoritative status, especially when children are unable to care for themselves as individuals. Cultural practices determine how quickly a child become independent and the degree of authority that parent maintain as child ages. Thus, the interaction between parents and their children at the pre-adolescent stage will vary across cultures.

In societies that value hierarchy and interdependence parents will continue to play the role of initiator who gives directions, provides information with the freedom to respond positively, negatively, or with challenges to children's' elicitations and the ability to evaluate interactions with follow-up moves. An unequal balance will be observed because their children's' roles will be limited to that of positive responder who initiates requests. In contrast, the parents and children in cultures that value equality and independence will exhibit discourse roles that are more balanced, with children using moves and acts that are more typically assigned to parents. It must be noted though that due to the variety of discourse interaction that is possible in different situations, the implications of certain moves and acts can be ambiguous. However, a cross-cultural analysis of a specific set of discourse roles such as parents and their pre-adolescent children can reveal underlying social values.

2.6 Conclusion

Not only is literature significant as a sociosemiotic index of the culture which produces it, but within contemporary fiction, representations of the conversations between characters carry special weight as they foreground the spoken elements of the language in the narrative of the stories. This emphasis is not only on the spoken word though—it is more importantly the literary creation of the verbal dance of characters who are negotiating their social roles. These roles, in the case of this study those of parents and their children, are reflections of cultural and linguistic performance which in literature in NVEs are tied to the role of English as an international language. Parent-child discourse can be characterized as being oriented toward either hierarchy (and collectivism) or toward equality (and individualism). Methods of Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis can describe and clarify the creation of these social roles and orientations and lead to comparisons that can benefit cross-cultural communication and understanding.

CHAPTER III

ANALYZING AND CODING CONVERSATIONAL EXCHANGES

IN A CORPUS OF LITERATY DIALOGUE

3.1 Stages of Research and Preliminary Procedures

1.   *Obtain stories from Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and North America*. This was accomplished over a one-and-a-half year period. The Singaporean and some Malaysian stories were obtained from a bookstore specializing in local authors while I attended an academic conference in Singapore. Additional Malaysian stories were collected from anthologies available online from a Malaysian publisher. The Filipino stories were collected from anthologies I purchased at a specialty bookstore in Manila and from volumes which are housed at the University of the Philippines, Dilliman campus. As for the American stories, most of the previous ten years of *America's Best Short Stories* were already present in my personal collection—the remaining volumes were available online from Powell's Books in Portland, Oregon, USA. Concerning the Southeast Asian stories, every effort was made through online searches of bookstores, scholarly works, library databases, and literary websites, as well as on-location research to obtain sufficient and representative literary short stories to be used in the study.

2.   *Read the collected stories in order to find those with parent-child interactions*. Though done at intervals as stories were collected, approximately one year was spent reading over 500 short stories from the four countries of which 403 met the criteria for inclusion (see Sections 1.2 and 1.6), and a final 39 contained parent to pre-adolescent child dialogues.

3.　　*Create the corpus of parent-child discourse moves*. Though completed at intervals, about four months were spent manually entering or electronically cutting and pasting the lines of dialogue, analyzed as functional moves, into the spreadsheet to be used for coding. In this respect, the coding of fictional dialogue is easier than coding actual speech, for there are seldom overlapping turns to account for. Each move contained a label indicating its country (*S*, *M*, *P*, or *NA*), story number from a separate index, conversation number within the story, turn number within the conversation, and move (*a*, *b*, *c*, etc. when multiple moves per turn were present) for example: P2.4.1b = Philippines, story #2 from the index, conversation #4 in the story, turn # 1, second move (b) of the turn. The entry for each move also contained an indication of the speaker and hearer (i.e. *F to D* for father to daughter, or *S to M* for Son to Mother, etc.). See Appendix B for a summary of the coding procedures.

In addition, a code for the method of speech representation was also included in which *ds* = Direct Speech, *is* = Indirect Speech, *nrsa* = Narrative Report of Speech Act (Semino, Short and Culpeper 1997), and *NV* for non-verbal. Lower-case codes indicated spoken forms while non-verbal (NV) was placed in upper-case for easier visual distinction. This coding was necessary to distinguish verbal from non-verbal discourse moves which are discussed below in Section 3.3.4.

4. *Code each move for its discourse function*. Nearly three months were spent coding the moves and acts and entering the labels into the spreadsheet. During the entire process of stages 3 and 4, the corpus was repeatedly checked against the original sources for accuracy, and each discourse move was reviewed in light of the move analysis framework and guidelines developed for move classification. Furthermore, the 'sort data' function of the spreadsheet was used to group moves according to function, speakers, and method of representation in different

combinations for analysis. These procedures ensured standardized and accurate recording, labeling and coding of each of the more than 800 moves in the corpus of parent-child dialogues.

5. *Analysis and writing of the results of the study*. This process required approximately five months during which the data was analyzed manually to create tables for comparison and contrast, charts that illustrate important findings were designed, and results and discussion of the study were written with the inclusion of example dialogues from the original works and moves from the corpus.

3.2 Text Selection

Concerning the literary status of English short fiction, the form is a literary genre that has grown in popularity over the past two-hundred years. Some of the most prominent American literary figures of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were ardent writers and theorists of the short story. Today in North America over 300 magazines publish more than 3000 works of short literary fiction annually (not to mention the hundreds of collections from individual authors, anthologies, and local, regional and national contests). Short story critics, theorists, and practitioners have pointed out the avant-garde nature of the form while stressing that the length of a work of literature is no measure of its complexity or literary value.

The English short story has been adopted by Southeast Asian writers for over a century. After its brief emergence in Singapore/Malaysia one-hundred years ago and subsequent disappearance, it reemerged in the 1970s and has grown in popularity since. In the Philippines, the first English short fiction appeared during the 1920s, and awards for English short stories have been presented annually for more than fifty years. Currently, all three of the Southeast Asian countries in this study support a

market for English short fiction in magazines and journals, the best of which (as determined by editors, publishers, and awards judges) receive awards and are published in collections and anthologies.

This study examines short stories, by different authors, originally published from 1980-2005 in North America, Singapore, Malaysia, and the Philippines. The criteria for selection (publication in an edited anthology or authorship by an award-winning writer) ensure that the stories were accepted and valued as literary works by the local writing community. In order to address, as this study does, the sociosemiotic function of literature, it is necessary that the works included are a reflection of standards held by the communities of writers. Most of the stories considered (especially the Filipino and North American stories) either won awards or were written by authors who had previously won literary awards.

Due to the imbalance of number of stories available (from literally thousands in North America to around 200 in the Philippines and less than 100 in Malaysia and Singapore), the sampling began with the Southeast Asian stories. Table 3.1 below indicates the number of stories collected by the researcher from each country, the amount of stories by male and female authors, and the number of different authors present in the sample. At this stage of research, author's gender and the number of different authors was considered in order to shed light on the demographics of writers in the four writing communities and to seek any correlations between author gender and the types of relationships presented in stories.

As Table 3.1 below shows, Singaporean and Malaysian English writers are more often women than men. In the Philippines, the writing community is made up of more men than women, and within this group, there are a few male authors who are more commonly anthologized than others (as seen in the difference between the

number of stories and the number of different authors). On the other hand, in the US

where the gender selections for *Best American Short Stories* was equal during the

years studied[1], there were fewer different female authors.

ma	total stories consulted	# of stories by author gender		# of different authors represented	
		le	female	male	female
Singapore	28	12 (43%)	16 (57%)	9 (43%)	12 (57%)
Malaysia	40	18 (45%)	22 (55%)	16 (46%)	19 (54%)
Philippines	128	71 (55%)	58 (45%)	48 (52%)	45 (48%)
N. America	207	103 (50%)	104 (50%)	83 (52%)	76 (48%)

Table 3.1 Summary of the Sample of Short Stories Consulted

Turning to the stories with dialogues used to create the corpus, Table 3.2 below

shows the percentage of stories from the collection which contain dialogues between

parents and their pre-adolescent children. This ranged from 8.5-12.5% in all countries,

and there is a greater tendency for all these stories to be written by female authors

(27) than male (12).

ma	total stories consulted	# of stories with parent—pre-adolescent dialogue	# of stories and author gender	
			le	female
Singapore	28	3 (10.70%)	0	3
Malaysia	40	5 (12.50%)	1	4
Philippines	128	11 (8.59%)	5	6
N. America	207	20 (9.66%)	6	14

Table 3.2 Details of the Stories Containing Parent-Child Dialogues

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[1] Whether this was a concious decision made by the editors is unknown; thus, it is unclear whether this gender equality was caused by actual equality in the writing community, or a result of editors catering to a value held by the reading public, or both factors.

Of the nearly 200 Southeast Asian stories, all but two are available in the following anthologies which were obtained as described above.

<u>Philippines</u>

Don Carlos Palanca Memorial Awards for Literature: An Anthology of Winning Works, The 1980s Short Story. 2000. Pasig City: Anvil Publishing, Inc.

Mindanao Harvest: An Anthology of Contemporary Writing. 1995. J. A. Lim and C. Godinez-Ortega (eds). Quezon City: New Day Publishers.

The Best Philippine Short Stories of the Twentieth Century. 2000. I. R. Cruz (ed). Manila: Tahanan Books.

The Likhaan Book of Poetry and Fiction 1995. 1996. G. H. Abad and C. P. (eds). Manila: Univ. of the Philippines Press.

The Likhaan Book of Poetry and Fiction 2000. 2002. J. N. C. Garcia and C. Ong (eds). Manila: Univ. of the Philippines Press.

The Likhaan Book of Poetry and Fiction 2002. 2004. M. PL. Lanot and C. M. Pacis (eds). Manila: Univ. of the Philippines Press.

<u>Singapore and Malaysia</u>

25 Malaysian Short Stories: Best of Silverfish New Writing 2001-2005. 2006. N. Sivagnanam (ed). Kuala Lampur: Silverfish Books.

In Blue Silk Girdle: Stories from Malaysian and Singapore. 1998. M. A. Quayum (ed). Selangor D.E., Malaysia: Universiti Putra Malaysia Press.

Nineteen: A Collection of Stories by Women. 2003. J. Lau (ed). Kuala Lampur: Silverfish Books.

Old Truths, New Revelations: Prizewinning ASEAN Stories. 2001. K. K. Seet (ed). Singapore: Times Books International.

The Merlion and the Hibiscus: Contemporary Short Stories from Singapore and Malaysia. 2002. D. Mukherjee, K. Singh, and M. A. Quayum (eds). New Delhi: Penguin Books India.

The two stories not present in the above collections are by a Singaporean and a Filipino writer, respectively, both of whom had previously won literary awards. Both stories are available from online literary journals devoted to contemporary writing in the two countries. Of these two, only the Filipino story contained dialogue between a parent and pre-adolescent child.

The North American stories are drawn from the annually published anthology *Best American Short Stories* from 1995-2004. Since its inception in 1915, the series has been the premier showcase for new short fiction for almost a century. Each volume contains twenty to twenty-two stories (selected by a series editor and guest editor) from the approximately 3000 short stories published every year in literary journals and magazines in the US and Canada. These 207 stories were surveyed to determine which ones contain dialogue between parents and their pre-adolescent children, thus, comprising the North American sample. A complete list of the stories is provided in Appendix A.

Despite the fact that the number of Southeast Asian stories included for analysis is limited by local production and the availability of anthologies, the total numbers of stories consulted are consistent with those of other quantificational Stylistics studies (Semino, Short, and Culpeper 1997 and Baker and Egginton 1999). Furthermore, one limitation of many studies in literary Stylistics is their analysis of short passages, singular works, or works by one author. The representation of speech in literature is, however, conventional and has changed significantly since the earliest English prose fiction (Page 1988); thus, large-scale analyses are necessary to reveal the typical features that define literary conventions. The two main advantages of using contemporary short fiction in such a study were that the dialogues analyzed are in the context of the entire work which contributes to accuracy of Conversation and

Discourse Analysis coding, and using stories by many authors ensures a more reliable description of literary conventions.

3.3 Research Instruments/Methodology

3.3.1 Discourse Move Framework

This study follows the Birmingham School's belief that traditional Conversation Analysis' division of conversations into turns, pairs, and sequences as the fundamental units of conversation is not adequate to analyze the discourse of interactions in their entirety. Thus, rather than turns, pairs and sequences, the functional-systemic approach applied in this study analyzes conversations into exchanges, moves, and acts. An exchange is minimally composed of at least two related moves by two subsequent speakers, and a move is composed of at least one functional act. It should be noted that this use of 'act' is different from Searle's notion and that of most speech act theory. Thus, in this study 'act' and 'move' refer not to the 'speech act' of logical-philosophical approaches that focus on semantic analysis of selected utterances, but to 'discourse moves and acts' which describe the interactive functions of utterances in exchanges.

The discourse analysis framework employed in this research is presented in Table 3.3 on page 92. This structure is derived mainly from Tsui (1994) (Sections 1.2 to 4 on Table 3.3). Her detailed characterizations of Initiating moves, her distinction between Requests and Directives, and her original approach to Responses all make her framework very useful for the task at hand—to describe the interactions between characters in fictional dialogue. This move/act taxonomy is unencumbered by the complex rank and level system which underpins the Birmingham School approach. The details of that system are more suited to explorations of larger patterns

1. INITIATING move types	acts
1.1 Organizing *verbal or NV equivalent [reply summons or greeting, comply with metastatement, acknowledge conclude]* these moves begin organizational exchanges which are distinguished from the classes of conversational exchanges which follow below	**1.1.1 greet**: closed class of ritualized greetings and closings **1.1.2 summon**: typically non-verbal moves that seek to engage someone in a conversation **1.1.3 metastatement**: seeks to impose structure on a conversation and to obtain a warrant for doing so **1.1.4 conclude**: seeks to end an exchange though not necessarily a conversation
1.2 Eliciting *verbal or NV equivalent* to bring about an obligatory verbal response or its non-verbal surrogate [which will inform, confirm an assumption, agree that a proposition is true, commit to a present or future action, or clarify a previous move]	**1.2.1 inform**: seeks a piece of information from addressee **1.2.2 confirm**: seeks confirmation of speaker's assumption **1.2.3 agree**: seeks agreement with expressed proposition **1.2.4 commit**: seeks verbal agreement to a commitment **1.2.5 repeat**: seeks repetition of previous speaker's move **1.2.6 clarify**: seeks clarification of previous speaker's move
1.3 Requesting *NV + optional verbal* *+ or – comply* to provide the option of compliance or non-compliance (though the former is preferred) through a non-verbal response which may be accompanied by a verbal response [request, invite, ask permission, offer]	**1.3.1 for action**: seeks addressee action for <u>speaker</u> benefit **1.3.2 for permission**: seeks speaker action for <u>speaker</u> benefit **1.3.3 offer**: seeks speaker action for <u>addressee</u> benefit **1.3.4 invitation**: seeks addressee action for <u>addressee</u> benefit **1.3.5 proposal**: speaker+addressee action for <u>benefit of both</u>
1.4 Directing *NV + optional verbal* *strongly preferred comply,* *dispreferred non-comply* to bring about a non-verbal response (which may be accompanied by a verbal response) from the addressee without giving him/her the option of non-compliance [order, command, instruct]	**1.4.1 instruction**: action in <u>speaker's</u> interest; <u>speaker</u> has authority/right **1.4.2 threat**: action in <u>speaker's</u> interest; speaker has <u>no</u> authority/right; negative consequences of non-comply <u>brought by speaker</u> **1.4.3 warning**: <u>addressee</u> benefit, negative consequences of non-comply not brought by speaker **1.4.4 advice**: <u>addressee</u> benefit, positive consequences of comply
1.5 Informing *verbal or NV equivalent* to provide information, report events or states of affairs, recount personal experience, or express beliefs, evaluative judgments, feelings, and thoughts—a minimal response of verbal or non-verbal acknowledgement is prospected	**1.5.1 report**: gives a factual account of events or affairs **1.5.2 assess**: evaluation of something (not one of the participants in the conversation) **1.5.3 compliment**: positive evaluation of others **1.5.4 criticize**: negative evaluation of others **1.5.5 self-criticize**: negative evaluation of self **1.5.6 express**: verbal or non-verbal expression of feelings, emotions, and ritualistic phatic acts

2. RESPONDING move types	
2.1 Positive	fully-fitting: follows the pragmatic presuppositions and fulfills the illocutionary intent of the Initial move
2.2 Negative	not fully-fitting: follows the pragmatic presuppositions but does not fulfill the illocutionary intent
2.3 Challenge	challenges the pragmatic presuppositions of the Initiation

3. FOLLOW-UP 1 move types	Optional and optionally recursive third moves of an interaction
3.1 Endorsement	endorses the positive outcome of an interaction; prospected by positive responses
3.2 Concession	accepts the negative outcome of the interaction; prospected by negative responses
3.3 Acknowledgement	minimal acknowledgement that the response (positive or negative) has been heard, understood, and accepted, and that the interaction is felicitous

4. FOLLOW-UP 2 moves	turn-passing: utterance subsequent to a Follow-up 1move which serves to pass the turn to the other speaker
5. CONTINUING moves	a sub-classification that indicates a move that continues a previous move
6. ADDITIONAL ACTS	subsidiary acts which precede the head act of the move
6.1 Turn Managing	vocatives, etc. which serve to capture the turn or secure attention
6.2 Delays	silences which precede a Responding or Follow-up move

Table 3.3 Discourse Move and Act Framework for the Study

of discourse structure; however, this research is focused on accurately characterizing the moves made by characters in exchanges.

The following definitions also specify the functions of the main move types.

> **Initiate (I):** the first moves by one speaker in an exchange, they prospect an obligatory verbal or non-verbal response depending on the type of Initiation

> **Respond (R):** a second speaker's move which is syntactically, semantically, or functionally linked to a previous speaker's move. Syntactic linking involves clause structure and ellipsis. Semantic linking includes reference to the topic and comment of the previous moves. Functional linking addresses the relationship between the prospection of the previous moves and the subsequent Response.

> **Follow-up (F1 or F2):** the minimal third part of an exchange in which a speaker endorses, concedes to, or acknowledges the previous speaker's Response (F1) or passes the turn back to the other speaker (F2)

> **Continue (C):** occurs when one speaker follows an I, R, or F move by a move which serves the same function <u>and</u> is linked to the topic and comment of the previous move—Continuing moves elaborate, extend, or enhance a previous move.

A few modifications to Tsui's work have been made for its use in this study. Most importantly, in the original Sinclair and Coulthard model (1975) and in Francis and Hunston's (1992) elaboration, two types of exchange are proposed: *Organizational* and *Conversational*. This allows the researcher to distinguish between those moves which are used to begin, structure, and end conversations from those which constitute the actual conversation. Tsui, in simplifying the framework by eliminating the distinction between Organizational and Conversational types of

exchanges, classified acts such as greetings as Eliciting moves along with all Initiations.

Though she justifies this modification for her purposes, the interests of this research are better served by maintaining the distinction between moves that organize the interaction and moves that constitute the interaction. This is achieved simply by adding one class of moves to Tsui's taxonomy of Initiations: *Organizing* moves as shown in 1.1 on Table 3.3. The criteria for Organizing moves is drawn from Francis and Hunston's (ibid.) 'Summoning', 'Greeting', and 'Structuring' moves which are part of Organizational exchanges. Because these can be easily distinguished from Tsui's original four categories of moves, this modification added discrimination to the framework with little extra complexity. The sub-classification of Continuation which is based on Eggins and Slade (1997) was also included in order to account for units that, though they are separate moves, serve the same function as a previous move by elaborating, extending, or enhancing.

The subsequent explanation of how to use the framework (Sections 3.3.2 and 3.3.3) demonstrate its applicability to the accurate description of the interaction of characters in fictional dialogues. The largest structure is the exchange, which following the Birmingham School, is typically composed of three moves: Initiation, Response, Follow-up. In keeping with Sinclair's (1992) call for flexibility in this format, the rules for an exchange are:

$$I \quad R^n \quad (F1^n) \, (F2^n).$$

I = Initiation, R = Response, F = Follow-up; $n = ^1, ^2, ^3$, etc. for recursive moves. Thus, an exchange typically consists of at least one Initiation move and one Response move, but responses that prospect responses can create a loop which may or may not be completed with a Follow-up.

3.3.2 Determining Move Boundaries

The following example text was taken directly from "Tragedy of My Third

Eye" by C. Lim in which an adult man speaks with a pre-adolescent girl[2]. Example

3.1 which follows demonstrates how this dialogue would appear in the coding system

described above. For a summary of coding system, see Appendix A.

> *Just as I was walking past him on the sidewalk, he spat.*
>   *'Pui! You! So proud for what? Why don't you friend my*
> *daughter?' he hissed at me in Hokkien. 'You know what kind of woman*
> *your mother is?'*
>   *I could only gaze at the dark patch on my convent blue uniform*
> *where his spittle had landed.*

<div align="right">(Lim 2002: 200)</div>

ref	speaker	text	rep
S7.2.1a	M to G	he spat. Pui!	NV
S7.2.1b		You!	ds
S7.2.1c		So proud for what?	ds
S7.2.1d		Why don't you friend my daughter?	ds
S7.2.1e		You know what kind of woman your mother is?	ds
S7.2.2a	G to M	… gaze at the dark patch …	NV

ref = reference number of the move, M = Man, G = Girl , rep = method of speech
    representation

Example 3.1 Moves in an Exchange in "Tragedy of My Third Eye" (Lim 2002: 200)

As briefly discussed on page 43, move boundaries in spoken interaction are

signaled prosodically (by tonal units), syntactically (by clause structure), and

functionally (by discourse structure) (Eggins and Slade 1997). Consideration of each

of these factors in conjunction with a taxonomy of move types provides for a reliable

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[2] This dialogue (pre-adolescent girl and an adult acqaintance) was chosen for purposes of
exemplification though it was not included in the parent-child corpus.

move analysis. The linear format of written fictional dialogue simplifies the task of determining speakers' turn boundaries because few authors attempt to imitate the overlapping speech of real conversation. However, many turns contain multiple moves and dialogue lacks audible prosody that can determine move boundaries and functions. Authors (as well as readers and move analysts) must, therefore, rely on the following techniques for signaling prosody in dialogue.

1) narrative indication of manner of voice or rhythm
- lexical items such as *he hissed*.
- punctuation marks (exclamation, quotation, and question marks) and text formatting (CAPital LETTERS, *Italic script*, **bold face**, or underlining).

Just as I was walking past him on the sidewalk, he spat.
'Pui! You! So proud for what? Why don't you friend my daughter?' he hissed at me in Hokkien. 'You know what kind of woman your mother is?'
[m   y underlining of Lim 2000: 200]

- placement of the reporting clause (i.e. *she said*, in direct and indirect speech which can come before, after, or in the middle of the reported speech). In the example above, *he hissed* could have been placed before, after, or between any of the punctuated 'utterances'. Interruption of a series of moves can be used to indicate a verbal pause which in real speech marks a move boundary.

2) syntax and lexis
As in the example above, the rhythm and pauses of real speech is suggested through short exclamations (including representations of sounds such as the act of spitting—*Pui*), phrases, elliptical or complete clauses, as well as the stress patterns of words and their combinations.

Move boundaries are also signaled by clause and phrase structure and conventional punctuation marks. This syntactic information helps indicate that the unit of discourse has a specific function which allows it to be recognized as a move. In the example above, *You!* as the object of an imperative elliptical clause signals a distinct move (it functions to Initiate an interaction by securing the attention of the hearer). If the punctuation of this and the following clause were changed to, "You so proud for what?", *You* would cease to be an imperative as it would be interpreted as the subject of the interrogative clause, thus, producing one move (an Elicitation) instead of two moves.

To summarize Eggins and Slade (1997), most moves are clauses; however, some are not. In order to test whether or not a spoken word, phrase, or clause is in fact a move, rhythm, syntax, and the function of the clause in the discourse can be consulted. In written representations of speech, rhythmic indications of move boundaries are signaled by punctuation and other visual cues. Thus, a discourse unit is a move if it is distinguished orally (in speech) or visually (in written dialogue), serves one of the discourse functions (as specified by the analytical framework), and could potentially be followed by speaker change without being considered an interruption.

3.3.3 Describing Move Functions

Language is multifunctional: this fact is an advantage for the user but a challenge for the analyst who seeks a simple functional description. Nonetheless, coding moves is possible when following a general principle and some specific guidelines. The general principle for performing a functional analysis of spoken discourse is that within the research framework, a primary function can be indisputably determined for each unit of language. This is not to say that a word,

phrase, move, or turn has only one function, but that the perspective imposed by the framework (its functional emphasis) will determine which function is deemed the most important. This is where specific guidelines for analysis become crucial.

As stated above, any turn must contain at least one move. The primary function of a turn is determined by its 'head move' which must be either an Initiation, Response, or Follow-up (Coulthard 1992). A description of turns would specify that each turn be coded as primarily I, R, F1 or F2 depending on its head move. This research, however, was concerned with the interactive nature of language at *the level of the discourse move*. Because of this emphasis, strict attention was paid to determining the function of not only the head move of a turn, but to every move. Thus, it is possible for one turn to contain more than one I, R, F1, or F2 move. If a move serves the same function as a previous move, it is coded with a 'C' for Continuation. Such moves are accounted for in Eggins and Slade's (1997) framework and in other Birmingham school approaches, but not in Tsui's (1994) more general categorization. Because the act of continuing a move is an indication of topic control, analysis of this feature was included in this study.

The following list of move labels were used to code the moves in the corpus (numbers in parentheses refer to Table 3.3; also see Appendix B).

I:Org = Initiate:Organizing move (1.1)
I:Elic = Initiate:Eliciting move (1.2)
I:Req = Initiate:Organizing move (1.1)
I:Dir = Initiate:Organizing move (1.1)
I:Inf = Initiate:Organizing move (1.1)

R:Pos = Response:Positive (2.1)
R:Neg = Response:Negative (2.2)
R:Chal = Response:Challenge (2.3)

F1:End = Follow-up 1:Endorsement (3.1)

F1:Con = Follow-up 1:Concession (3.2)

F1:Ack = Follow-up 1:Acknowledgment (3.3)

F2 = Follow-up 1 (4)

Appending the letter C to the end of any of the above codes indicates that the move is a Continuation (i.e. I:Org:C, R:Pos:C, etc.) (#5 on Table 3.3).

The first moves of the first turn of an exchange are by definition Initiations. Analysis of Initial moves (Tsui 1994, and Francis and Hunston 1992) shows that within this class there are a number of functions which can be determined: Organizing, Eliciting, Requesting, Directing, and Informing. Just as turns must be composed of at least one move (and can contain more than one), a move must be composed of at least one act (the 'head act'). For this study, the head, or primary, act of each move was coded in a separate column of the spreadsheet because such specification aids in determining the primary function of the move.[3] The list of Initial move and act functions (with descriptions) used in this study is given in Table 3.3 (p. 92).

The second turn of an exchange will be composed of at least one Response move. Responses are classified according to how well they accord with the presuppositions of the preceding Initial move. This is the strength of this discourse move framework: it describes the relationships between moves rather than moves in isolation. The primary functions of Responses are termed: Positive, Negative, and Challenging (see Table 3.3, p. 92, based on Tsui 1994). Positive Responses are those which fully-fit the presuppositions of the Initial move Negative Responses partly

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[3] Subsidiary act functions of moves include (1) Turn Management (or Manipulative) utterances such as vocatives to draw attention to the move, and (2) Delays, which are marked silences that precede a move.

match the presuppositions, but offer slightly dispreferred replies; Challenges are

directly contrary to the presuppositions of the Initiating move.

ref	speaker	text	rep	move	act
S7.2.1a	M to G	he spat. Pui!	NV	I:Inf	express
S7.2.1b		You!	ds	I:Org	summon
S7.2.1c		So proud for what?	ds	I:Elic	inform
S7.2.1d		Why don't you friend my daughter?	ds	I:Elic:C	inform
S7.2.1e		You know what kind of woman your mother is?	ds I:Elic		inform
S7.2.2a	G to M	gaze at the dark patch	NV	R:Chal	

Example 3.2 Dialogue Analysis of "Tragedy of My Third Eye" (Lim 2002: 200)

In Example 3.2, the man makes several Initial moves in what can be interpreted

as an attempt to draw the girl into a confrontation. The non-verbal act of spitting on

the girl is a conventional expression of anger and contempt: an Informing move and

expressing act. Move S7.2.1b seeks specifically to engage the girl in a conversation:

an Organizing move. Move S7.2.1c seeks a verbal response of information from the

girl: an Elicitation which is Continued in move 1d. Though not all of these moves

receive a Response, they have discourse value and are included in the coding and

analysis. In this study, Initial moves that do not receive a response are termed

'abandoned' moves; they are discussed in detail in Chapter IV.

The context of the story and the text just prior to the man's speech indicates

that he believes the neighbor girl thinks herself too proud to be friends with his

daughter. There is a logical/semantic connection between *So proud for what?* and

Why don't you friend my daughter? However, these are two distinct moves. The

speaker's turn could have ended after the first question without a perceived

interruption—alone *So proud for what?* functions to Elicit a verbal response of information. The following *Why don't you friend my daughter?* elaborates on the question by substituting a specific example (*don't friend my daughter*) for the abstraction *proud*. This relationship would be easier to perceive if the dialogue were in standard English such as, "Why are you so proud? Why won't you be friends with my daughter?" Thus, the second question, though a distinct move, functions as a Continuation of the previous move. Eggins and Slade's use of the move category of Continuing moves captures this relationship between moves by one speaker whereas traditional Birmingham school analysis would label both moves as separate Initiations or one move with two acts.

Move   S7.2.1e, *You know what kind of woman your mother is?*, however, is a new Initiation. It introduces an entirely new topic: the girl's mother, who had not previously been mentioned in the story. This topical change along with placement of the direct speech reporting clause and a full stop after the previous moves indicates that move S7.2.1e is a new Initiation (not a Continuing move) though its function is the same as that of the previous moves. Finally, the girl's response to the man is to remain silent and disengage by not looking at him. The man's moves S7.2.1b-1e, however, all strongly prospect a verbal response. The girl's non-verbal action is clearly, in terms of this descriptive framework, a Challenge.

Example 3.3, below, presents another typical interaction with two exchanges: 1) I R; 2) I R, C:R, C:R; and the Initial move of a third exchange which is unacknowledged in the text. Move P1.1.1 by the Mother (M) is a Requesting move despite the fact that it is in declarative form. Given the context of the situation (the mother has for some time been attempting to leave with the daughter) the prospected response is not that of an Informing move which is typically followed by a minimal

acknowledgement that the information was received. Rather, P1.1.1 clearly prospects

a non-verbal action. However, the Mother's move is not a Directing one—since it is

stated as a conditional declarative, it does provide for the option of the Daughter's

refusal. Normally, a Response of non-compliance to a Requesting move would be

labeled R:Neg instead of R:Chal. However, the Daughter's move P1.1.2 is not merely

an example of choosing not to comply. The Daughter asserts her opinion

(Informing:report) which directly challenges the mother's presupposition that the

Daughter cares about being alone.

ref	speaker	text	rep	move	act
P1.1.1	M to D	If you don't come with me you'll be all alone in here,	ds I	:Req	action
P1.1.2	D to M	I don't care.	ds	R:Chal	
P1.1.3	M to D	But why don't you want to come?	ds	I:Elic	inform
P1.1.4a	D to M	Because.	ds	R:Chal	
P1.1.4b	D to M	began crying	NV	R:Chal:C	
P1.1.4c	D to M	Because. Because. Because.	ds	R:Chal:C	
P1.1.5	M to D	Then I don't know what to do with you,	ds I	Inf	report

Example 3.3 Dialogue Analysis of "The Fruit of the Vine" (Torrevillas 2000: 17)

Move P1.1.3 begins a new exchange in the conversation when the Mother seeks

a verbal response of information from the Daughter. While it may be tempting to

interpret this move as a Response to the Daughter's Challenge in move P1.1.2, there

are several reasons for labeling it as the Initial move of a new exchange.[4] As stated

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[4] Of course, in a broad sense, every new turn after one with an Initial move is a Response to every
previous move in a conversation. The purpose of Discourse Analysis, however, is to seek more specific
analysis and description. By specifying that an entire conversation is a transaction and that transactions
are composed of smaller, identifiable units, termed exchanges, the Birmingham School approach,
provides a more detailed account of what speakers do while conversing. Traditional CA theory,
likewise, uses 'adjacency pairs' and various 'sequences' to describe identifiable exchange units within
a conversation.

above, the Mother had been trying to persuade her daughter to come with her. In

move P1.1.1 the Mother informed the Daughter of the consequences of not coming

with her. The Daughter is the topic of both clauses of which the comments can be

paraphrased as 'not come' and 'alone'. The Daughter's Response in P1.1.2 could be

more fully stated as, "I don't care that I'll be alone if I don't come." If P1.1.3 were

simply "Why?" (an elliptical clause) which would be interpreted as, "Why don't you

care that you'll be alone?", it would clearly be a Response to move P1.1.2. However,

P1.1.3 uses a question with a complete clause to begin a new exchange. Though the

topic is still the Daughter, the comment is not the consequences of staying, but the

reason for not wanting to leave.

The function of the first exchange was to get the Daughter to leave by stating a

negative consequence of staying; the function of the second is to understand the cause

of the Daughter's resistance. Furthermore, if the second exchange were entirely

removed, the Mother's move P1.1.5 would still be coherent. These semantic,

syntactic, and functional differences all signal that this transaction is composed of two

exchanges not just one.

Typically, an I:Elic:inform is followed by an Informing:report which would be

coded as R:Pos if it provides the information that was prospected. The Daughter's

Response in move 4a, despite being a verbal utterance, does not carry specific enough

informational content to fulfill the pragmatic presuppositions of the I:Elic:inform (the

presupposition that the second speaker knows or is willing to share the information);

thus, it is an R:Chal. This is Continued as the Daughter begins to cry (an

Informing:express) which is an enhancement of her Challenge by adding non-verbal

expressive meaning to the previous verbal move (a result of the infelicitous exchanges

between Mother and Daughter). In move 4c the Response is then elaborated by

repetition of the one-word response in move 4a.

Move 5 by the mother is an attempt at another exchange by making an

I:Inf:report. The introduction of a new topic (the mother as the subject of the clause)

signals Initiation of a new exchange. It should be explained here that of all the Initial

move types, Informing moves carry the weakest prospection for a Response. After an

I:Informing move, an R:Pos should be a minimal move of acknowledgement that the

I:Inf was received and understood. On the other hand, a second speaker's silence

accompanied by non-verbally withdrawing is an R:Chal. In intimate relationships,

however, such acknowledgments are not always present. Alternatively, sometimes a

second speaker follows an I:Informing with a move that seeks to begin a new

exchange that is topically related to the first speaker's I:Inf. Example 3.4

demonstrates this.

ref	speaker	text	rep	move	act
M22.3.4b	F to S	See the three longitudinal lobes?	ds	I:Elic	agree
M22.3.4c	F to S	That's where its name comes from.	ds	I:Inf	report
M22.3.5	S to F	How old is it?	ds	I:Elic	inform
M22.3.6a	F to S	This one's from the Silurian period, or maybe the Ordovician.	ds	R:Pos	
M22.3.6b	F to S	It lived in the sea.	ds	R:Pos:C	
M22.3.7	S to F	Was it hard to find?	ds	I:Elic	inform

Example 3.4 Dialogue Analysis of "The Geology of Malaysia" (Yin 2006: 63)

Move M22.3.4b is the Father's Initiation of a new exchange. The Son's

Response, presumably a non-verbal affirmation, is not present in the narrative. One of

the primary theories of this research is that dialogue is not a mirror of real speech, but

a representation in which the author presents the most significant elements of discourse interaction. Therefore, moves that might be captured by a video camera in real-life but may not be present in fictional dialogue are not accounted for in this research.[5] Using the context of the story and dialogue, we can assume that the son either exhibited a non-verbal move or that in this case one was not needed. The next move, in which the Father provides information, also is not followed by a prospected response (a minimal acknowledgement), but this time for the reason mentioned above: the son shows that the information was heard and understood by Initiating a new exchange on the topic. In this sense, producing an Eliciting move on the same topic is a substitute for giving a minimal acknowledgement.

Again, it is tempting to label such a move as a Response; however, there are several reasons not to. This research is concerned with the discourse roles of participants in conversations. To code such moves as Responses would align the speaker with the role of Responder rather than that of Initiator. Given the weak prospection for an acknowledgement of an I:Informing move (especially in intimate relationships) this would be misleading; the Son's move at 5 is more significant as an Eliciting move (its primary function) than as a Response of acknowledgement. This can be also explained by referring to the semantic content of the Son's question which introduces a new comment on the topic: the age of the object being examined. A move that is primarily a Response would refer back to both the topic and comment rather than prospect forward to new information. Furthermore, removing the exchange in moves 5 to 6b would not truncate the previous exchange or hinder move 7 which for the same reasons as above, initiates another exchange.

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[5] An exploration of such differences between real conversations and literary dialogues is an area deserving of further research as it is an indication of the semiotic value of certain discourse moves.

The weak prospection of I:Inf for a Response of acknowledgment has several implications for the coding of dialogue. First, as mentioned, the primary function of the following move may be to Initiate a new exchange. Second, in fictional dialogue, where seemingly banal exchanges such as greetings are frequently absent, Responses to some moves may be ignored by the narrator. As mentioned above a video recording of a real conversation would capture a verbal or non-verbal Response to an I:Inf that could be coded as R:Pos or R:Chal; for example, the son's inferred affirmation after move 4b. This research, however, demonstrates that narrators/authors present only what they believe to be the most significant parts of spoken interaction in their dialogues.

ref	speaker	Text	rep	move	act
P44.6.1	M to D	ask her to sit on her lap	nrsa	I:Req	action
P44.6.2	D to M	play silly games	NV	R:Pos	
P44.6.3	M to D	Who is my kamatis? ds		I:Elic	inform
P44.6.4	D to M	Me	ds	R:Pos	
P44.6.5a	M to D	Kiss	NV	F1:Endo	
P44.6.5b	M to D	Who is my sibuyas?	ds	I:Elic	inform
P44.6.6	D to M	Me	ds	R:Pos	
P44.6.7	M to D	Kiss	NV	F1:End	

"At other times her mother asked her to sit on her lap and they would play silly games."

Example 3.5 Dialogue Analysis of "Lizard" (Villanueva 2000: 684)

Though Follow-up (F1 and F2) moves are an optional part of an exchange and their frequency in conversations is variable, they are occasionally present in parent-child conversations. Possible F moves are given in Table 3.3 on page 74. Example 3.5 demonstrates an interaction between a Mother and Daughter that contains three distinct Exchanges in which the last two contain Follow-up moves. In this case, a non-

verbal action—a kiss from the mother—serves as an Endorsement of the daughter's Positive Response to her I:Elic:informs. To code such moves merely as Responses would fail to recognize the discourse role played typically by parents and teachers in which the Initiator has the authority to comment on the validity of a Response while ending the exchange. Note also that move P44.6.1 of Example 3.5 is not reported in direct speech (ds) but as a narrative report of speech act (nrsa). The move as it appears in the text of the story is shown at the bottom of the example.

Up to this point, the description of the interactional function of moves in an exchange has been relatively simple. Even in Example 3.4 where the structure is

Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 1	Speaker 2
I^2	I	R, R:C	I

there are simply two Initial Informing moves that do not need significant acknowledgement followed by a typical exchange (I R C:R) and then the Initial move of a new exchange which is not completed. All of the examples above conform to the rule for allowable elements in an exchange: I R^n $(F1^n)$ $(F2^n)$ given that each move type can be continued. However, this rule does not seek to acknowledge that exchanges can overlap. It is entirely possible for a second speaker to provide a Response and to Initiate a new exchange in one turn as illustrated below.

	Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 1
Exchange 1	I^n	R^n	(F1)	(F2)	
Exchange 2		I^n	R^n	(F1)	$(F2^n)$

This is where the description of moves becomes difficult. As hinted at in the discussion of the weak prospection of Initial:Informing moves: (1) Almost all

Response moves are realized by utterances that could be Initial moves if they were in the first turn, and (2) as stated above, a second turn must have a Response as the head move, but a second turn may also contain additional Responses, Continuations, or Initial moves. The question becomes, *how can a descriptive analysis distinguish between R and I moves in a second speaker's turn?* Answering this question is essential to any reliable analysis of the discourse interaction between speakers. Example 3.6, on the next page, displays an exchange structure and an example coding with thicker lines between speakers to make turn changes easier to see.

This dialogue begins with the Father's apology to his Son. This move (M35.7.1a) is followed by second Initial move (M35.7.1b) which is Continued. Moves M35.7.1c and 1d enhance the topic and comment of 1b (without the context of 1b, moves 1c and 1d would not be coherent). The Son's Responses, rather than being Positive (acknowledgements that the information in turn 1 was received) present moves that are related to the topic and comment of M35.7.1b but that offer contrasting propositions. The Son's move M35.7.2a is a Requesting move (see move 3c where the Father clarifies that he cannot comply with the request) despite the fact that moves 1b-d stated the impossibility of the son continuing his education. Move M35.7.2b is a new Response (rather than a Continuation) of the previous because it is an Informing move that directly contradicts the information in M35.7.1b. Move M35.7.2c is a Continuation because it returns to the topic of 2a ('I') and extends it. Likewise, M35.7.2d Continues 2b by merely restating it.

	Speaker 1	Speaker 2	Speaker 1	Speaker 2
Exchange 1	I^2 $I{:}C^2$	R^2 $R{:}C^2$	R^2 $R{:}C$	
Exchange 2			I I:C	R R:C

ref	speaker	text	rep	move	act
M35.7.1a	F to S	Sorry, son.	ds	I:Inf	express
M35.7.1b	F to S	I can't let you go.	ds	I:Inf	report
M35.7.1c	F to S	There's no money.	ds	I:Inf:C	report
M35.7.1d	F to S	The fees are too much.	ds	I:Inf:C	report
	S to F	But Apek,	ds		tm
M35.7.2a	S to F	I want to go.	ds	R:Chal	Req:action
M35.7.2b	S to F	You said I could!	ds	R:Chal	Inf:report
M35.7.2c	S to F	I worked hard for this.	ds	R:Chal:C	Req:action
M35.7.2d	S to F	You said I could go to university,	ds	R:Chal:C	report
M35.7.3a	F to S	Then you were the only one child.	ds	R:Chal	
M35.7.3b	F to S	Now your brothers and sisters need schooling too.	ds	R:Chal:C	
M35.7.3c	F to S	No,	ds	R:Neg	
M35.7.3d	F to S	you find work in town.	ds	I:Dir	instruct
M35.7.3e	F to S	Weekends you can help me.	ds	I:Dir:C	instruct
M35.7.4a	S to F	Work? Work?	ds	R:Chal	
M35.7.4b	S to F	What can I be but a clerk?	ds	R:Chal:C	

Example 3.6 Dialogue Analysis of "Till Their Blood Ran Dry" (Yusof 2006: 205)

The Father's move M35.7.3a, by referring to the same topic as the previous moves ('you') and to the time period established in moves M35.7.2b and 2d, is a Response in the form of an Informing move. Again, rather than a minimal acknowledgement of 2b and 2d, M35.7.3a adds new information that Challenges the import of the Son's moves. M35.7.2b and 2d presuppose that what the Father said at a time in the past still holds true. The Father's M35.7.3a, however, explains why those presuppositions are false. M35.7.3b is a Continuation of 3a by elaboration. The word 'now' and the association with the comment in M35.7.3a (that the Son used to be the only child, but now he has brothers and sisters) moves the conversation from the

'then' of moves M35.7.2b, 2d and 3a to the 'now' of the conversation. The 'No' of move M35.7.3c is a clarification that the father cannot comply with the Requesting move in 2a.

The Son's moves in his first turn prove that some moves serve both a Response function and an Initial function. In order to capture the status of Responses that are equally important as Initial moves, Francis and Hunston (1992) posit the class of R/I moves. However, as stated earlier, this research followed Sinclair's (1992) suggestion that such moves merely be coded as R moves and that several R moves by one or more speaker can follow each other. In this study, such moves were primarily seen as Responses and only coded as such. It is recommended that in future research the description of such moves should be expanded so that first the type of R move is indicated, and then the type of I move, for example: R:Pos:Elic:inform. This coding would account for the multiple functions that these moves serve.[6]

Because the basic move functions describe speaker interaction, they can only be determined in the context of an exchange. The statement, "He's fallen asleep," will be an Initiation if it is unprompted (it may be either Informing, Eliciting, Requesting, or Directing depending on context). However, if "He's fallen asleep" follows an Elicitation such as "What's Grandpa doing?" it is a Response. A final example (3.7) is from a Malaysian story in which the daughter is speaking to her father in the hospital beside her grandfather's bed. The following page presents the original text, a structural description, and the dialogue as coded for the move function analysis.

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[6] I would argue that this is not an example of the 'double coding' that some speech act analysts employ when the illocutionary force of an act is 'ambiguous'. The need for 'double coding' is rightly seen as a lack of analytic specification (which is why many traditional CA practitioners don't accept some DA or speech act research). This, however, is a necessary account of the fact that some moves simultaneously complete one exchange and begin another.

THE FIRST MOVE OF THE FIRST TURN
Initiate:Organizing, Eliciting, Requesting, Directing, or *Informing*

    Subsequent move(s) in the first turn
Same function as a previous move   Different function
and related to the topic/comment =   from previous moves =
Initiate:_: Continue new   *Initiate*

THE FIRST MOVE OF THE SECOND TURN *
Fully-fitting the   Not fully-fitting the   Challenging the
Presuppositions =   presuppositions =   presuppositions =
Respond:Positive   *Respond:Negative*   *Respond:Challenge*

    Subsequent move(s) in the second turn
Same function as an   Functionally linked   New topic and no
earlier turn 2 move and a   to a different   functional link to
related topic/comment =   turn 1 move =   a move in turn 1
R:_:C or *I:_:C* new   *Respond* new   *Initiate*

THE FIRST MOVE OF THE THIRD TURN *
Minimal acknowledgement   All other moves that are   New topic and no
that a turn 2 Response was   functionally linked to an R   functional link to a
heard and understood =   or I move in turn 2 go to: move in turn 1 or 2 =
Follow-up 1   FIRST MOVE OF SECOND TURN new   *Initiate*

    Subsequent move(s) in the third turn
Same function as an   Functionally linked   New topic and no
earlier turn 1or 3 move and   to a different   functional link to
a related topic/comment =   turn 2 move =   a move in turn 2 =
R:_:C, I:_:C, or *F1:_:C* new   *Respond* move   new *Initiate*

THE FIRST MOVE OF THE FOURTH TURN *
Passing the turn =   All other moves that are   New topic and no
Follow-up 2   functionally linked to an R   functional link to
                  or I move in turn 3 go to: a previous move =
                  FIRST MOVE OF THIRD TURN new   *Initiate*

    Subsequent move(s) in the fourth turn
Same function as an   Functionally linked   New topic and no
earlier turn 2 or 4 move and   to a different   functional link to
a related topic/comment =   turn 1 or 3 move =   a move in turn 3 =
R:_:C, I:_:C, F1:_:C, or *F2:C* new   *Respond* move   new *Initiate*

* Exceptions: If the previous turn consisted of only I:Inf (+I:Inf:C),
    - an acknowledgement <u>or</u> an Informing move in accord with the proposition = *R:Positive*
    - Inf, Elic, Req, or Dir that presents a contradiction of the proposition = *R:Challenge*
    - Elic, Req, or Dir in accord with or unrelated to the topic = new *Initial* move
    - an Informing move that is unrelated to the topic = new *Initial* move

Figure 3.1 Flow Diagram for the Coding of Move Functions

<u>Summary</u>

After move boundaries have been determined, describing move functions is unproblematic in most cases. Initiation, Response, and Follow-up are terms that indicate sequence and function in an exchange. A flow diagram that details the step by step process of coding moves for discourse functions within the framework used in this study is given in Figure 3.1 (p. 111).

"Oh, no, no, father! He's not talking anymore! *Atok, Atok*."

"He's fallen asleep. Ros. Leave him be."

"But father, he called my name just now!"

"I know, sayang, I heard. But you have to remember, at this age, he doesn't remember anymore. He's senile. He's already 85."

"Oh, father!" Ros started crying.

(Yusof 1998: 177)

Structural description

Speaker	Speaker 1 *Daughter*	Speaker 2 *Father*	Speaker 1 *Daughter*	Speaker 2 *Father*	Speaker 1 *Daughter*
Exchange 1	I^2				
Exchange 2		I^2	R	F1 C:F1	
Exchange 3				I C:I^2	
Exchange 4					I C:I

ref	speaker	text	rep	move	act
M11.3.1a	D to F	Oh, no, no, father!	ds	I:Inf	express
M11.3.1b	D to F	He's not talking anymore!	ds	I:Inf	report
M11.3.2a	F to D	He's fallen asleep.	ds	I:Inf	report
	F to D	Ros.	ds		tm
M11.3.2b	F to D	Leave him be.	ds	I:Dir	advice
	D to F	But father,	ds		tm
M11.3.3	D to F	he called my name just now!	ds	R:Chal	

M11.3.4a	F to D	I know, sayang,	ds	F1:Con	
M11.3.4b	F to D	I heard		F1:Con:C	
M11.3.4c	F to D	But you have to remember, at this age, he doesn't remember anymore.	ds I:Inf		report
M11.3.4d	F to D	He's senile.	ds	I:Inf:C	report
M11.3.4e	F to D	He's already 85.	ds	I:Inf:C	report
M11.3.5a	D to F	Oh, father!	ds	I:Inf	express
M11.3.5b	D to F	started crying	NV	I:Inf:C	express

Example 3.7 Dialogue Analysis of "Sleep Atok Sleep" (Yusof 1999: 177)

Note that in Example 3.7, the two lines without move reference numbers contain no move description but the code 'tm' (turn management or turn manipulation) in the act column. In order to provide a complete framework of analysis and to code the corpus so that it will be useful for future research, acts that are subsidiary to moves and which don't prospect a separate response (such as vocatives that serve to focus a listener's attention on the move) are placed on a separate line. These moves are discussed in Section 3.3.5.

3.3.4 Non-Verbal Moves in Literary Dialogue

Though the importance of non-verbal moves is acknowledged by nearly all Conversation and Discourse Analysis researchers, few studies have systematically distinguished and accounted for such moves. In this study all non-verbal moves are coded as such so that this variable can be considered in the cross-cultural comparison. Differences of frequency of non-verbal moves, kinds of non-verbal action, and the types of moves which are enacted non-verbally are found to be culturally salient. Author's depictions of non-verbal parent-child interaction reflect cultural norms for

the physical interaction deemed appropriate between parents and children. These tendencies are represented in the non-verbal aspect of the dialogue of the stories.

Narrative descriptions of characters' non-verbal communication are usually placed by the author in the narrative adjacent to the represented speech. An analysis of this element of the discourse must first consider the relevance of any description of physical action to the discourse. Three types of non-verbal action are identified; the first two offer or signal functional contributions to the discourse of a dialogue while the third only provides accompanying or contextual detail. In the present study types 1 and 2 were included in the data for analysis.

1) Non-verbals that contribute a functional move to the discourse: these are coded and counted as any other move but labeled NV rather than ds (direct speech), is (indirect speech), or nrsa (narrative report of speech act).

2) Non-verbal descriptions that accompany a functional move: these are not labeled or counted as moves but are placed on a separate line either directly before or after the verbal accompaniment which is coded.

3) Non-verbal descriptions that provide context but do not significantly contribute to the character's interaction. Because these can be helpful during coding, they are included in [brackets] in the text column of the coding sheets, but not labeled as moves or representations of interaction.

3.3.5 Subsidiary Acts

Though this research mainly relies on the move level analysis for stylistic comparison in which the head act of each move is coded, determining basic move categories can also be informed by analysis at the act level. Accordingly, this study recognizes and codes for two discourse features at the act level as indicated at the bottom of Table 3.3 on (p. 92) and described below (also see Example 3.7).

1) Turn Managing signals such as vocatives at the beginning of moves which are used to capture the next turn or secure the attention of an interlocutor

2) Delays, which are silences (as indicated in the narrative) which precede a Responding move.

Such acts, which are subsidiary to the head acts of moves, would not otherwise be captured in the move analysis. However, due to their importance in conversational interaction, turn management acts and the use of silence, were accounted for in the analysis.[7] The silence of a Delay act may, depending on the situation, signal antagonism (as when following an instruction from the first speaker), calm acceptance (following a criticism), or merely a speaker's need for reflective thought (following an inquiry). Though these discourse acts do not affect the move structure of the interaction and a detailed analysis of their use is not carried out in this study, they are important to a complete Discourse Analysis framework and do serve to augment the move analysis of the data in the study. Future research should be carried out in which these subsidiary acts are fully analyzed.

3.4 Data Analysis

The quantification of conversational interaction is possible but problematic. As mentioned in Section 2.5.3, Tannen (1993) discusses the potential for ambiguity, and accordingly Have (1999) cites the reluctance of Conversation Analysis adherents to accept Discourse frameworks. By limiting the analysis in this research to interaction between parents and pre-adolescent children, a common paradigm for comparison is maintained (see Jucker 2004 and Goddard and Weirzbicka 1997 for sociolinguistic

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[7] See Francis and Hunston (1992) and Eggins and Slade (1997) for the functions of turn management acts and Tanned (1990) for the significance of silence in fictional dialogues and cultural variation in the use of silence in discourse.

and cultural considerations in contrastive pragmatic analysis). However, even within these parameters, the data may be influenced by other variables, or the framework of analysis may not be sufficiently discriminating. Yet quantification is the primary means by which stylisticians discern the elements of the style of a passage, work, author, genre, or time period. Stylistics works because the stylistician does not stop after the numbers have been tallied or the collocational software has done its job—the analyst must also be a reader who reconciles the data with a holistic understanding of the literature being studied.

For this research, identifying and counting the various discourse moves in the corpus of dialogues is the first step to describing the authors' portrayal of conversational interaction. Various quantificational data are then available to describe the interactions in the stories as well as to compare parent-child relationships across cultures. For example, comparing the amount of moves contributed to the dialogues by parents to that of children is an indicator of their role relationships since parents typically speak more than children. Likewise, the number of moves per turn is also an indication of who maintains control of the discourse. Counting at these levels (Chapter IV) serves as a stylistic gateway to the main emphasis of the research which is the analysis and quantification of functional discourse moves (Chapters V and VI).

Numbers of Initial, Responding, and Follow-up moves and their several acts as produced by parents or children were counted and compared across the four cultures studied. As discussed in Chapter II, the amounts and kinds of moves and acts allowed in the roles of parent and child are distinct and variable across cultures due to different value orientations. By quantifying the moves and acts in the literary dialogues and expressing the numbers as percentages of total moves, the speech act behavior of the parents and children is described numerically in order to make

informed generalizations and comparisons. It must be emphasized here that due to the causal link between Initiations and Responses these move types should not be quantifiably assessed separately. Thus, when a type of Initial act is discussed, the frequency of types of Responses *to that act type* becomes relevant, especially when a tendency for certain Responses (such as Challenges to Directing moves) is different across cultures.

As mentioned above, a stylistic analysis must consider more than just the numbers and percentages. In order to ensure that the move and act analysis is an accurate reflection of how the characters are portrayed, the tokens of each type of move and act were read within the context of the dialogues and stories. Furthermore, the content of the moves was considered. For categories of acts in which the content is similar across cultures, numbers alone are sufficient for comparisons. However, for most acts, more specific contents are observable. For example, requests for action from children often call for the parent to provide some material object, but other times the request is for some type of physical interaction. When this content of the moves differs across cultures, this aspect of the moves is discussed. In the previous example, the children in the Filipino stories more frequently requested interaction, whereas the North American children tended to request objects (see Section 5.4.2.1).

Even this type of careful analysis has the potential to be misused because it focuses on only one aspect of the text—the dialogue. For a stylistic analysis to be insightful, the literary element that is the object of study must be seen in relation to the other features of the text. For example, if an author uses first-person perspective to tell the story from the point of view of a child who deserves sympathy, the author's intention (and the reader's response) is to identify with the child. This can influence how the relationship is interpreted.

At the discourse level of parent-child within the story, authoritarian values are clearly seen if a parents frequently direct children's behavior, and children comply. However, at the discourse level of author-reader, the portrayal of a domineering parent as described from the point of view of a helpless child, does not endorse authoritarian values (at least not in the form portrayed). This research views stories from a sociosemiotic perspective in which the portrayal of parent-child relationships is culturally meaningful. Thus, the meanings that are present at the discourse level of the dialogue in the stories must be considered within the broader discourse of authors and readers. Chapter VII provides this type of analysis by addressing themes that are present in the portrayal of parent-child discourse in each culture.

Concerning statistical analysis, some of the cumulative data (the number and distribution of total moves) was amenable to analysis that could reveal significant differences between parents and children within and across cultures. However, grouping all discourse functions in this manner offers little insight into the value orientations of the speakers. The interaction of discourse functions is best addressed within the context of a conversation, but due to the size of the corpus used in this research, it was not feasible to discuss each piece of dialogue. Thus, in the results and discussion (Chapters IV-VI), each discourse function is addressed separately and its use compared within each culture (parents vs. children) and across cultures. At this level of analysis, quantification served as a guide for describing the uses of different moves and acts, but the use of descriptive statistics was problematic and not included due to the imbalance of corpus contributions from different countries. As the results in the following chapters show, this is not a detriment to the validity of the study.

Finally, the data collected in this study is not representative of all the parents and pre-adolescent children in these countries. Analysis of the quantified data is

meant to support claims that significant differences do exist in how these relationships are portrayed by authors. From a sociosemiotic perspective, this demonstrates how cultural values are encoded in the language of literature.

CHAPTER IV

CONVERSATIONAL EXCHANGE STRUCTURES AND FICTIONAL DIALOGUE IN THREE VARIETIES OF ENGLISH

4.1 Introduction: Outcome of Hypotheses and Chapter Outline

The successful completion of the analysis described in Chapter III proves Hypothesis 1 (repeated below) of this research study.

1) The discourse interaction between parents and pre-adolescent children in contemporary short stories from Southeast Asia and North America is amenable to methods of spoken discourse analysis (turns, moves, move and act types and functions).

As discussed in Chapter II, previous studies have applied methods of Conversation and Discourse Analysis to specific scenes or selected passages in one work of literature or to several works by one author. However, no studies have sought to apply frameworks such as the one in this research, which is amenable to quantitative analysis, to a corpus of literary dialogue from a variety of authors. Chapter IV and the proceeding chapters will demonstrate that such analysis is not only feasible, but that it fulfills the aims of literary Stylistics—to use quantitative measures to explain and clarify the subtle processes surrounding how authors create and readers interpret literary texts, in this case the dialogue of stories.

The results of the study also meets the goals of cross-cultural comparison which are to foster understanding of variation in cultural values and their manifestations. Likewise, from a World Englishes perspective, this research illustrates the role of English as an international language which has been adopted and adapted along with its literary forms by several countries in Southeast Asia. Thus, the application of

methods of spoken discourse analysis to literary dialogues is profitable on several

cultural and linguistic levels.

The remainder of the results and discussion chapters will focus on the second

Hypothesis.

2) a. The socio-cultural values of the Southeast Asian dialogues will be
oriented toward hierarchy, collectivism, and High Context
Communication (HCC) whereas dialogues in the North American
stories will be relatively oriented toward equality, independence and
Low Context Communication (LCC).

b. Furthermore, within the Southeast Asian cultures, the dialogues from
Malaysia will reveal the most hierarchical, collectivist, HCC
orientations while the Filipino dialogues will be the least oriented
toward these values.

As will be shown, the most salient cultural dichotomy was hierarchy—equality,

and most of the findings reveal that cultural orientations along this scale are

demonstrated in the parent-child dialogues studied. The scales of interdependence—

independence and HCC—LCC were less commonly referenced by the discourse of

the dialogues, and are, therefore, discussed less frequently in the results. Though there

is some variation in the data, on the whole, Chapters IV through VI will demonstrate

that Hypothesis 2 is proven by this research.

Hypothesis 3 is addressed in Chapter VII.

3) Author's representations of parent-child conversations in the dialogue of

short stories from different cultures are influenced by:

- traditionally different attitudes toward parent-child relationships
between Southeast Asian cultures and North American culture

- the historical, cultural, and linguistic ties between countries

Chapter IV provides an overview of the data proceeding from the number of conversations represented in the corpus of stories (Section 4.2) to an analysis of the turns and moves in the dialogues (4.3). This chapter also introduces this study's method of reporting cross-cultural comparisons through tables, charts and examples from the corpus. Section 4.4 Exchange Structures provides a rationale for this study's method of reporting the data for response moves with initial moves rather than separate from them. Section 4.5 Abandoned Moves explains how initial moves that did not receive a response were dealt with in the study, and the final section (4.6) considers the importance of gender in the portrayal and creation of parent-child dialogues.

4.2 Number of Conversations in the Corpus

Analysis of the stories collected for this cross-cultural study of literary dialogue revealed that in each country, authors who used dialogue to portray relationships between parents and their pre-adolescent children created an average of two to four conversations per short story (as shown in Table 4.1). The range, however, indicates that in the countries where more stories are written and published, there is greater variation in the amount of dialogue that is used. This is not surprising given that with more authors contributing to the body of work, there are greater chances for increased variety.

Similar results follow in this chapter, and it should be acknowledged from the beginning that it is not a detriment to the study that only three stories from Singapore and five from Malaysia are accounted for in the corpus. This study holds few claims to the predictive value of its findings—i.e. the purpose is not to generalize about how all parents and children in these countries actually interact. Rather this study seeks to

describe one aspect of the current state of literary output (how parent-child

relationships have recently been portrayed by authors) and to draw connections

between the discourse structures authors used and the cultural values shared by these

authors and their readers.

	Malay	**Sing**	**Phil**	**N Amer**
Total stories	5	3	11	20
Total conversations	20	6	42	66
Average # conversations/story	4	2	3.81	3.3
Range	1 - 7	1 – 3	1 – 9	1 – 14

Table 4.1 Summary of Conversations Present in the Corpus

Since every effort was made (in the cases of Singapore and Malaysia) to

include all available stories with parent—pre-adolescent dialogues that met the

selection criteria, the data is a valid representation of each community of writers. The

following sections and chapters will demonstrate that on various levels, there are

quantitative differences of discourse structures that reveal and correlate with cultural

value orientations that are referenced by the authors studied.

4.3 Turns and Moves

This section presents a summary of the data from the turn-move analysis of the

dialogues. Table 4.2 and Chart 4.1 provide the total number of turns and moves in the

corpus followed by the moves per turn (m/t) which is an indication of the amount of

speaker interaction. Moves/turn reveals how much speakers contribute to the giving

and receiving of conversational interaction. As m/t increases, the rapidity of speaker

change decreases, and *in this sense*, the interactivity between the speakers decreases.

	Malay	**Sing**	**Phil**	**N Amer**
Total turns	81	74	206	510
Total moves	174	144	292	792
moves/turn	2.15	1.95	1.42	1.55

Table 4.2 Summary of Turns and Moves in the Corpus
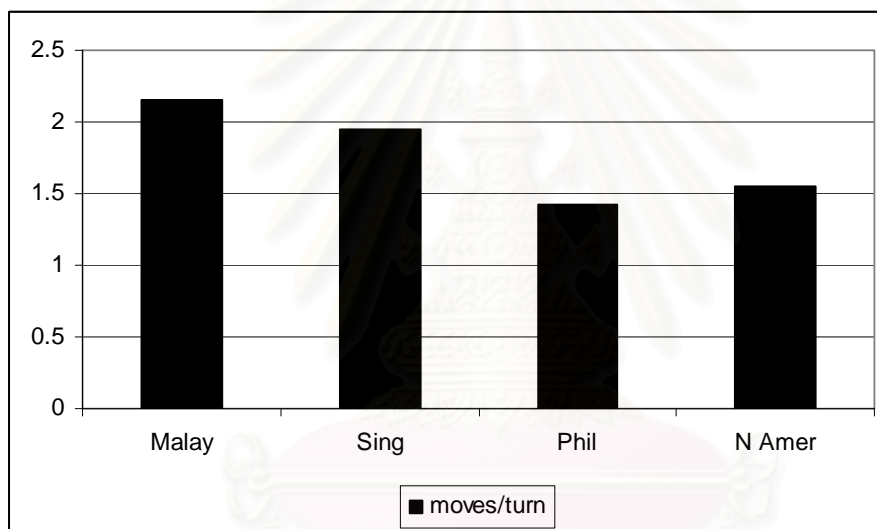
Chart 4.1 Cross-cultural Comparison of Moves/Turn

A160.11.01	F to S	Going somewhere?
A160.11.02	S to F	Nope.
A160.11.03	F to S	What are you doing?
A160.11.04	S to F	I'm writing a sequel to that book.
A160.11.05	F to S	You are?
A160.11.06	S to F	I've got a good plot.
A160.11.07	F to S	What?
A160.11.08a	S to F	I think I'm going to have them get kidnapped,
A160.11.08b	S to F	It's going to be an Australian adventure.
A160.11.09a	F to S	Neat,

Example 4.1 Interaction in Dialogue (1.11 moves/turn)

Example 4.1 shows part of a dialogue from a North American story which is relatively highly interactive (has very few m/t) while Example 4.2 (from later in the same conversation) demonstrates less interactivity (more m/t). In the examples which follow, the adult's moves have been bold-faced for ease of distinction. The first column of the examples gives the reference number of the move, the second column provides the speaker and addressee (F to S = Father to Son; S to F = Son to Father), and the third column contains the text from the corpus. Similar conventions for the presentation of examples are used throughout the remaining chapters. The complete coding information for each move (including method of speech representation and type of response to initial moves) can be found in Appendix B which provides the complete corpus.

A160.11.44a	S to F	Take her to Idaho or something.
A160.11.44b	S to F	Someplace weird.
A160.11.45a	**F to S**	**Yeah.**
A160.11.45b	**F to S**	**I've been cranky too, though,**
A160.11.45c	**F to S**	**I don't know if she'd want to go with me.**
A160.11.46a	S to F	Mm.
A160.11.46b	S to F	Maybe not.
A160.11.47a	**F to S**	**I liked how you came and read to your sister**
A160.11.47b	**F to S**	**Her fever's getting better.**
A160.11.48	S to F	That Dustin kid gives me the creeps,

Example 4.2 Interaction in Dialogue (2 moves/turn)

The two examples above are relevant for several reasons. First, they demonstrate that m/t can vary considerably within a conversation. Sometimes speakers take long turns with several moves and other times they take short turns. The benefit of creating a corpus of turns and moves is that with enough moves, stylistic tendencies can be revealed. Table 4.2 and Chart 4.1 demonstrate that the dialogues

from different cultures contain differing amounts of m/t. The dialogues from the more

hierarchically oriented cultures (Malaysia and Singapore) show less interaction than

in the North American and Filipino parent-child dialogues.

Secondly, if the m/t of the two speakers in a conversation are counted

separately and compared, the result is a measure of who contributes more to the

interaction. In parent-child dialogues the parent has higher status, and the degree of

status differentiation can be determined by a comparison of parent m/t to child m/t,

thus, revealing alignments toward hierarchical or egalitarian relationships.[1] Examples

4.1 and 4.2 above from a North American story show a nearly equal balance of parent

and child m/t. Consider, however, Example 4.3 (below) from a Malaysian story.

M035.3.1	S to F	Apak, will we ever stop doing this?
M035.3.2a	**F to S**	**Eh, Salleh, this is our land.**
M035.3.2b	**F to S**	**We will never stop.**
M035.3.2c	**F to S**	**We shouldn't.**
M035.3.2d	**F to S**	**Your grandfather cleared the land years .ago**
M035.3.2e	**F to S**	**I cleared more later on.**
M035.3.2f	**F to S**	**This soil has our family sweat and blood. in it**
M035.3.2g	**F to S**	**You were a baby then.**
M035.3.2h	**F to S**	**If it had not been for the government land scheme for rubber plantations, we would still be without anything.**
M035.3.2i	**F to S**	**No land, no house.**
M035.3.2j	**F to S**	**And no money.**
M035.3.2k	**F to S**	**No, no, this work must go on.**
M035.3.3	S to F	I don't want to spend the rest of my life tapping the trees.

Example 4.3 Unequal Participant Moves/Turn (father: 11 m/t, son: 1 m/t)

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[1] As stated in Chapter II, increased volubility (amount of talk) is not necessarily an indicator of higher status or conversational dominance in all situations. However, this study reveals that in author's portrayals of parent-child discourse there is a definite correlation between age/status and the amount of moves contributed by parents and their children.

As Example 4.3 illustrates, m/t can vary significantly according to the relationship between the speakers, and this variation may be greater in some cultures than in others. While the total m/t of all speakers (Table 4.2 and Chart 4.1) gives a general indication of the amount of interaction between speakers, for such data to be more descriptive, m/t must be calculated for each type of speaker. Table 4.3 and Chart 4.2 present this data along with the ratio of parent to child m/t for each culture.

Speaker	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
Total turns	38	42	40	34	111	95	261	249
Total moves	116	58	101	43	170	122	446	346
moves/turn	3.05	1.35	2.53	1.26	1.53	1.28	1.71	1.39
ratio	1 : 0.44		1 : 0.50		1 : 0.84		1 : 0.78	

Table 4.3 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Moves/Turn
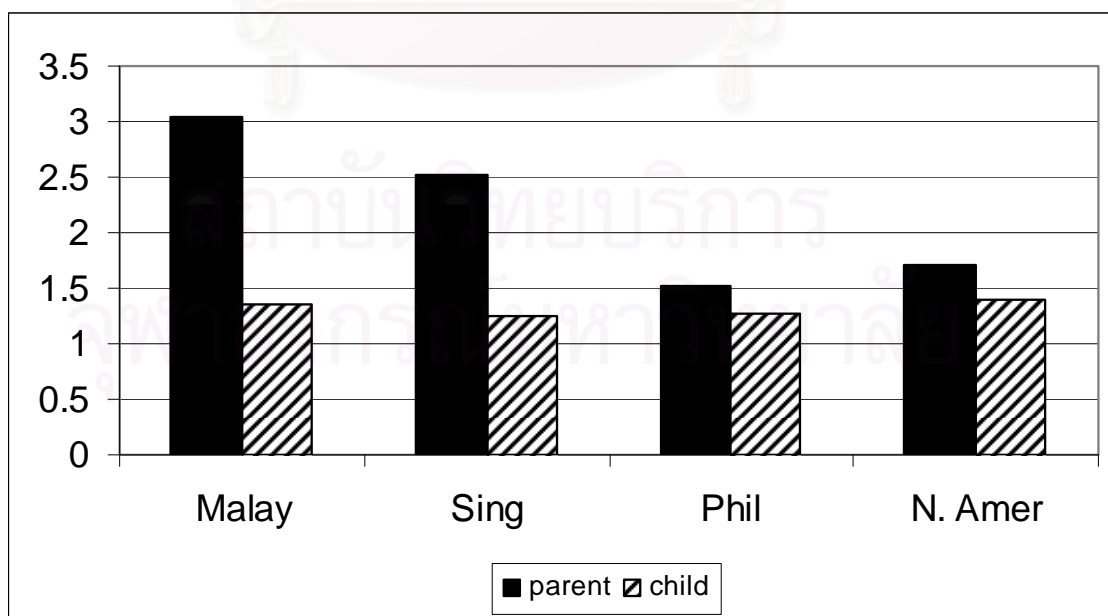
Chart 4.2 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Moves/Turn

As this data shows, in all four cultures, the parents made more m/t than their children though the degree of difference (ratio of parent to child m/t) clearly varied. Furthermore, the parents in the Malaysian and Singaporean stories exhibited many more m/t than the Filipino and North American parents. The children, however, demonstrated much less variation with 1.39 m/t for the North American sample followed by 1.35 for Malaysian, 1.28 for Filipino, and 1.26 for Singaporean.

These results suggest that there may be two universal tendencies at work. First, when authors create parent-child dialogues, the parents typically make more m/t than the children—such are the discourse roles assigned in this relationship across cultures. Secondly, the results reveal tendencies in the way authors represent children's contributions to dialogue with a minimum of about 1.25 m/t and a maximum of less than 1.5 m/t.

Within the above parameters (i.e. comparing children across cultures and comparing adults across cultures), the North American children and the Malaysian and Singaporean parents displayed the highest m/t for children and parents respectively. Another way of expressing these findings is to calculate the ratio of parent m/t to child m/t and compare these figures across cultures. These numbers are given in the final line of Table 4.3 and illustrated by the amount of difference between parent and child m/t shown in Chart 4.2.

Hierarchical _____ Egalitarian

　　　　　Malaysian　　　Singaporean　　　　　North American　Filipino

The figures above are proof of Hypothesis 2 at the level of turns and moves, for they demonstrate that on the hierarchical—egalitarian scale, the Malaysian stories are the most hierarchical followed by the Singaporean. Contrary to the hypothesis though,

the Filipino stories were not merely situated between the Malaysian-Singaporean stories and North American, but revealed a slightly higher egalitarian orientation for this measure.

The turns and moves data, however, are only a very general description of the discourse which needs to be fully developed by the analysis of initial move functions, acts, and responses in Chapter V. As will be shown throughout the results and discussion and addressed in the final chapter, one characteristic of Filipino parent-child discourse is a relatively high level of interaction. However, this does not necessarily indicate more egalitarian values than in the North American dialogues, but rather a discourse style that is distinct from both of the Asian cultures studied and the North American discourse style. The remaining results and discussion chapters support this conclusion while providing example moves from the different cultures.

4.4 Exchange Structures

As discussed in Chapters II and III, few studies have sought to fully account for the interaction of participants in conversations. The sociologists and ethnomethodologists of early Conversation Analysis coined terms such as 'adjacency pairs' and 'turn sequences' yet these do not capture the way in which a second speaker responds in a given type of pair or sequence. Likewise, the literature related to Speech Acts typically creates taxonomies of only initiating acts. Tsui (1994: 160) explains that,

> This is because the characterization of illocutionary acts is often done by making a semantic analysis of performative verbs rather than by examining the function of utterances in discourse; and as many responding acts do not have a corresponding performative verb, this kind of analysis inevitably neglects responses.

Tsui (ibid) and Eggins and Slade (1997) attempt to remedy this deficiency in previous taxonomies by creating frameworks that define and classify responses. The latter create an elaborate and precise system of functional responses (see Chapter II) while Tsui's more general classification of responses was adapted for this study. Neither of these guides to analysis, however, address the application of their frameworks to large scale studies. Their specifications of types of responding moves and acts seems to suggest that following analysis, data for responses could be isolated and considered in its own right. For example, just as one might add up the total number of each type of initiating move made by a group of speakers, one could also total the Positive, Negative, and Challenging responses as a measure of how the interactions tended to proceed.

On the contrary, preliminary analysis of the data in this study revealed that responses cannot be separated from the types of moves that initiated them. This fact had serious consequences for the construction of a corpus of functional discourse moves. In the first stage of analysis moves were coded as in the following Example 4.4 (shown in a slightly different format in Chapter III as Example 3.6).

ref	speak	text	rep	move	act
M35.7.1a	F to S	Sorry, son.	ds	I:Inf	express
M35.7.1b	F to S	I can't let you go.	ds	I:Inf	report
M35.7.1c	F to S	There's no money.	ds	I:Inf:C	report
M35.7.1d	F to S	The fees are too much.	ds	I:Inf:C	report
	S to F	But Apek,	ds		tm
M35.7.2a	S to F	I want to go.	ds	R:Chal	
M35.7.2b	S to F	You said I could!	ds	R:Chal	
M35.7.2c	S to F	I worked hard for this.	ds	R:Chal:C	
M35.7.2d	S to F	You said I could go to university,	ds	R:Chal:C	
M35.7.3a	F to S	Then you were the only one child.	ds	R:Chal	
M35.7.3b	F to S	Now your brothers and sisters need schooling too.	ds	R:Chal:C	
M35.7.3c	F to S	No,	ds	R:Neg	

M35.7.3d	F to S	you find work in town.	ds	I:Dir	instruct
M35.7.3e	F to S	Weekends you can help me.	ds	I:Dir:C	instruct
M35.7.4a	S to F	Work? Work?	ds	R:Chal	
M35.7.4b	S to F	What can I be but a clerk?	ds	R:Chal:C	

Example 4.4 Preliminary Coding of Dialogue from "Till Their Blood Ran Dry"

This coding system with each move (and act) on a separate line of the spreadsheet file allowed the corpus to be sorted according to various features such as speaker and addressee or type of move and act. However, this system did not allow for the tracking the type of response given to each initial move. Thus, a column needed to be added to each initiating move to describe the response that was given, and subsequent columns when further responses and follow-up moves were present in an exchange. The final corpus version of the above dialogue is shown below as Example 4.5 on the next page.

While making these amendments to the corpus, the unanticipated significance of two phenomena became apparent. First, not all initial moves are followed by a response—a fact that is not sufficiently accounted for any of the approaches to Conversation and Discourse Analysis reviewed in Chapter II. The special case of these moves, hereafter referred to as 'abandoned' moves, in literary discourse is explained in Section 4.5. Secondly, there appeared to be a correlation between value orientations and which speaker made the final move in an exchange, hereafter referred to as 'terminal' units (moves or turns). The relationship between response types, exchange length, and terminal units—getting the last word—is discussed in detail in Chapter VI.

The addition of columns to the spreadsheet in order to indicate responses given to each initial move also facilitated the measurement of exchange length because it was easy to see the number of turns that followed each initiation that received a

reference	speaker	text	rep	move	act	next move/2nd speaker	1st speaker
M035.7.1a	F to S	Sorry, son.	ds	I:Inf	express	as	
M035.7.1b	F to S	I can't let you go.	ds	I:Inf	report	c	
M035.7.1c	F to S	There's no money.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c	
M035.7.1d	F to S	The fees are too much.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Chal:R:Chal:C:C	R:Chal:C:C:t
M035.7.2a	S to F	I want to go.	ds	R:Chal			
M035.7.2b	S to F	You said I could!	ds	R:Chal			
M035.7.2c	S to F	I worked hard for this.	ds	R:Chal	:C		
M035.7.2d	S to F	You said I could go to university,	ds	R:Chal	:C		
M035.7.3a	F to S	Then you were the only one child.	ds	R:Chal			
M035.7.3b	F to S	Now your brothers and sisters need schooling too.	ds	R:Chal	:C		
M035.7.3c	F to S	No,	ds	R:Chal	:C:t		
M035.7.3d	F to S	you find work in town.	ds	I:Elic	commit	c	
M035.7.3e	F to S	Weekends you can help me.	ds	I:Elic	commit:C	R:Chal:C	R:Chal:t
M035.7.4a	S to F	Work? Work?	ds	R:Chal			
M035.7.4b	S to F	What can I be but a clerk?	ds	R:Chal	:C		
M035.7.5	F to S	The money can still help.	ds	R:Chal	:t		

Example 4.5 Final Corpus Version of Dialogue from "Till Their Blood Ran Dry"

As shown above, the column after "act" for each initial move indicates the type of move that followed. If the move was continued by the same speaker, a "c" was placed in the column. If the move did not receive a response, "as" or "an" ('abandoned by speakers' and 'abandoned by narrator' respectively) was listed—this is discussed in detail in Section 4.5. If the move received one or more responses from the addressee, all of the moves in the second speaker's turn are indicated. Subsequent responses from the first speaker (i.e. response to the response) follow if present. A 't' marks the terminal move and turn in each exchange.

response. This data was used to create Table 4.4 which indicates the length of exchanges in each culture. The numbers in parentheses indicate the number of exchanges that ended with each number of turns; for example, in the Malaysian stories 29 exchanges ended with the second turn, 7 with the third, and 1 with the fourth for a total of 37 exchanges—thus, of 37 exchanges, 78.4% (29) were two moves long, etc.

	Malay	**Sing**	**Phil**	**N Amer**
Total exchanges	37 51 94			199
2 Turns	78.4% (29)	78.1% (32)	80.9% (76)	79.9% (159)
3 Turns	18.9% (7)	19.5% (8)	14.9% (14)	13.1% (26)
4 Turns	2.7% (1)	2.4% (1)	2.1% (2)	5.0% (10)
5 Turns			2.1% (2)	1.0% (2)
6 Turns				0.5% (1)
7 Turns				0.5% (1)

Table 4.4 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Exchange Length

Table 4.4 reveals that in all cultures about 79% of exchanges were two moves in length: Initiation and Response. Beyond two moves, the cultures varied with Filipino dialogues containing exchanges up to five turns long and North American dialogues extending up to seven turns. The number of turns in an exchange is a signal of degree of interaction. By this measure the two hierarchical Southeast Asian cultures displayed parent-child discourse that was the least interactive—the individual exchanges in conversations ended in fewer turns than in the other cultures. This is similar to the results of the turns and moves data above in Section 4.3. Likewise, the

Filipino relationships are shown to be more interactive and North American dialogues the most interactive in terms of exchange length.

The reasons for such differences in the number of turns in exchanges is closely related to the types of response given to initiations, the status of the speaker, the position of the turn in the exchange (i.e. the final turn), and culture. These considerations are explored in detail in Chapter VI. The following chapter (V) contains the bulk of the data from this research organized according to types of initial moves and the responses that they received. This method of accounting for responses ensures that the data is validly interpreted and was made possible by expansion of the coding of initial moves. For future studies (see Chapter VII), a more detailed analysis of responses can be preformed by adding columns to the response moves which indicate not only the initial move which precipitated the response but also the functional form of the response (i.e. Informing, Directing, Requesting, Eliciting as these can all serve as Positive, Negative, or Challenging responses to initial moves).

4.5 Abandoned Moves

The Conversation and Discourse Analysis frameworks used in this research emphasize the structure of interaction which is fundamentally an exchange of turns between speakers. It would be an oversight, however, to assume that all initial moves receive a response. One reason for lack of analysis of this particular phenomenon may be that it falls outside of the framework of analysis. If conversational exchanges are defined as multi-turn units, moves that do not receive a response do not count as conversational elements. Nonetheless they exist as a potentially salient element of conversational discourse that should be accounted for in an exhaustive analysis of conversational moves.

As stated in the previous section, the coding of moves in this study was expanded so that each initial move contained an additional one or more columns that listed the responses that were functionally linked to the initiation. This, of course, highlighted the presence of initial moves that did not receive a response, referred to here as 'abandoned' moves. Two main types of abandoned moves were distinguishable in the corpus: (1) moves abandoned by the speakers in the dialogue: labeled 'as', and (2) moves abandoned by the narrator of the story: labeled 'an'. These are explained below.

Just as in real conversations when a speaker produces a turn containing multiple moves, the second speaker may respond to any or all of the initial moves depending on the circumstances. Consider for example the following responses to in a dialogue (created by the author) in which a mother is cleaning a room before a guest arrives.

Turn 1   Mother: What time is it? Help me clean up this mess.
Turn 2   Son: Option A: It's already six-thirty. [helps clean the room]
                 Option B: It's only six o'clock. [sits on the couch]
                 Option C: [helps clean the room]

Option A						
1a	M to S	What time is it?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos
1b	M to S	Help me clean up this mess.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos
2a	S to M	It's already six-thirty.	ds	R:Pos		
2b	**S to M**	**helps clean the room**	**NV**	**R:Pos**		
Option B						
1a	M to S	What time is it?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos
1b	M to S	Help me clean up this mess.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Chal
2a	S to M	It's only six o'clock.	ds	R:Pos		
2b	**S to M**	**sits on the couch**	**NV**	**R:Chal**		
Option C						
3.1a	M to S	What time is it?	ds	I:Elic	inform	as
3.1b	M to S	Help me clean up this mess.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos
3.2	**S to M**	**helps clean the room**	**NV**	**R:Pos**		

Example 4.6 Contrast of Abandoned Moves to Initiations with a Response

Though there are other possible responses than the ones given, it is clear that

the son's moves in (1) and (2) provide responses to both of the mother's initiations.

However, the son's move in (3) is only in response to the mother's I:Dir:instruct. If

the mother makes no further reference to her I:Elic:inform move, it has been dropped

from the conversation. Such is the case when one move in a multiple-move turn takes

precedence. As discussed in Chapter III, I:Informing moves carry a weak prospection

for a response; thus, when I:Informing moves are present in the same first turn as for

example I:Directing moves, it is likely that the second speaker will respond to the

Directing move but not directly acknowledge the receipt of information. These initial

moves are referred to here as 'abandoned by the speakers' (as).

M022.2.1	S to F	how come you became a geologist?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
M022.2.2	F to S	**tells story (216 words)**	**fis**	R:Pos	:t	
M022.2.3	S to F	Were there diamonds?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t
M022.2.4a	F to S	There aren't any diamonds in Malaysia.	ds	R:Pos		
M022.2.4b	F to S	It's too young.	ds	R:Pos	:C:t	
M022.2.5	S to F	Did you go and look?	ds	I:Elic	inform	an

P090.1.8b	M to S	but run along now because Mama's going to cook dinner.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	an
P090.1.8c	M to S	Remember, no fighting over the crayons,	ds	I:Elic	commit	c
P090.1.8d	M to S	there's a lot to share.	ds	I:Elic	commit:C	an

Example 4.7 Examples of Moves Abandoned by the Narrator

The other type of abandoned move is more interesting because it is particular to

fictional dialogue. The most obvious examples of moves that are 'abandoned by the

narrator' (an) are initial moves that are presented in the final turn of an interaction. In

Example 4.7 the first dialogue has two completed exchanges, but then in move

M022.2.5 the son initiates a new exchange but no reply is indicated. The context,

however, provided by the preceding exchanges in this conversation and by all the

other interactions between this father and son in the story strongly implies that the

father would answer the son's question. This research suggests that, in fact, this

implication is so strong that the author/narrator doesn't need to explicitly state the

father's Positive response. In such cases the initial move is 'abandoned by the

narrator' because the type of response (Positive, Negative, or Challenging) is

sufficiently implied.

Likewise in the second dialogue in Example 4.7, a NV compliance with the

mother's instruction to leave is not stated by the narrator, nor is the child's verbal

response of commitment to the mother's second and third moves. In both cases,

Positive responses are implied. To ignore this element of the interactions would

eliminate these exchanges from the corpus, and that would be a counter-intuitive step

which would prevent a thorough analysis of these literary dialogues.

P090.1.1a	S to M	did you get the crayonth I asked you to buy?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P090.1.1b	S to M	**offering his face for a kiss**	**NV**	I:Req	action	an
P090.1.2	M to S	Of course,	ds	R:Pos	:t	
P090.1.3a	S to M	**hugged her waist, smacked both her cheeks wetly**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	an
P090.1.3b	S to M	Are you really going to bake brownies like you promised last night?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P090.1.4	M to S	Sure,	ds	R:Pos	:t	

Example 4.8 Nearly Ambiguous Abandoned Moves

In contrast to Examples 4.6 and 4.7, sometimes it is nearly ambiguous whether

a move was abandoned by the narrator or the speaker. This was occasionally the case

when an Initiation prospected a non-verbal acknowledgement. If the response is

strongly implied (such as by the subsequent physical action in the narrative) so that

the move was implied but not stated, it was labeled as abandoned by the narrator. On

the other hand, if a response is so weakly prospected that it need not be produced, the

move was labeled as abandoned by the speakers. Example 4.8 contains instances of moves that are abandoned by the narrator.

When the son in move P090.1.1b requests a kiss from his mother, it is implied that she complies with the request. The presence of other explicitly stated Positive moves in the story support this reading. Move P090.1.3a is a non-verbal Informing:express move that is realized by the action of hugging and kissing. In this case, it can be inferred that the mother, despite being the passive recipient of the action, would respond in a Positive way. The context of the story and culture allows the reader to supply the mother's smile or other non-verbal acknowledgement of her son's affection even though it is not stated in the narrative text.

The present study makes only this provisional attempt at accounting for such moves in fictional dialogue. Future research (see Chapter VII) will need to be carried out to account for the creation of these implications by authors and their reception by readers which could be affected by cultural expectations. This appears to be a rich area for future research, for it explains how the context of a story and the context of culture combine to create narrative coherence in fiction.

In the subsequent results chapters where types of initiating moves and their responses in the corpus are discussed, abandoned move are taken into consideration. While moves that are abandoned by the speakers have fewer effects on the cultural value orientations of the discourse, the implied responses of moves abandoned by narrators are essential to a complete analysis of how parent-child relationships are conveyed in the dialogues. In Chapter V many examples of 'an' initial moves are presented. To these moves, the abbreviations /Pos, /Neg, and /Chal have been appended to the 'an' code in order to indicate the response that is implied.

4.6 Parent-Child Relationships and Gender Considerations

Thus far, variation in the use of discourse moves due to status (parent or child) has been addressed, but variation due to gender has not. As mentioned in Chapter II, researchers have noted differences in the discourse roles of fathers, mothers, sons, and daughters. Though it is not within the scope of this study to analyze variation along the parameter of gender, this section will present some considerations which suggest the need for future research which accounts for gender variation.

Table 4.5 provides a break-down of the participant relationships present in the corpus of stories. In all four writing communities, stories with parent-child dialogues represented mothers in conversations more frequently than fathers, and in three of these four cultures, daughters were presented more than sons. Thus, the most commonly occurring relationship dyad was the mother-daughter combination. In fact, this was the only type of parent—pre-adolescent child relationship portrayed in the 28 Singaporean stories that were consulted.

	Malay	**Sing**	**Phil**	**N Amer**
Total stories	5	3	11	20
Father-Son	2		3	5
Father-Daughter	1		3	7
Mother-Son	2		3	9
Mother-Daughter	2	3	6	11

Table 4.5 Number of Stories Containing each Relationship Domain

This tendency may be due to the fact that the majority of authors who wrote the stories studied were female. Appendix A (List of Stories, Authors, and Sources) is

organized according to country and author gender in order to highlight this fact. For a more detailed analysis of this trend, Table 4.6 indicates the author gender of all the stories consulted and those included in the study. As these figures indicate, female authors in all of these cultures are far more likely to write stories about parent-child relationships than men. Considering the gender variation shown in Tables 4.5 and 4.6, Table 4.7 indicates relationship domains and the gender of the authors.

	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
Total stories consulted	40 28				128		207	
Author gender	male fe	male	male	female	male	female	male	female
	18 45%	22 55%	12 43%	16 57%	71 55%	58 45%	103 50%	104 50%
Stories with parent-child	5 3				11		20	
	1 20%	4 80%	0 0%	3 100%	5 46%	6 54%	6 30%	14 70%

Table 4.6 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Author Gender

	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
Author gender	male fe	male	male fe	male	male fe	male	ma le	female
Father-Son	1	1 -		- 3 - 4				1
Father-Da.	- 1 -			-	- 3		2	5
Mother-Son	1	1	-	-	2 1 3			6
Mother-Da.	- 2 - 3 - 6						2	9

Table 4.7 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Author and Character Gender

As Table 4.7 shows, stories by male authors tended to contain male characters and stories from female authors tended to contain female characters. Because the

amount of dialogue present in different stories varied greatly, Table 4.8 indicates the

number of turns present in the corpus for each relationship domain. Though fewer

stories portrayed relationships with fathers, father-son dialogues in two of the cultures

contained far more turns than the other domains. This is illustrated in Chart 4.3.

	Malay	**Sing**	**Phil**	**N Amer**
total turns	81 74 206			510
Father-Son	47 **58%**	-	51 **24.8%**	247 **48.4%**
Father-Daughter	16 **19.8%**	-	31 **15.0%**	98 **19.2%**
Mother-Son	7 **8.6%**	-	46 **22.3%**	51 **10.0%**
Mother-Daughter	11 **13.6%**	74 **100%**	78 **37.9%**	114 **22.4%**

Table 4.8 Summary of Number of Turns in each Relationship Domain
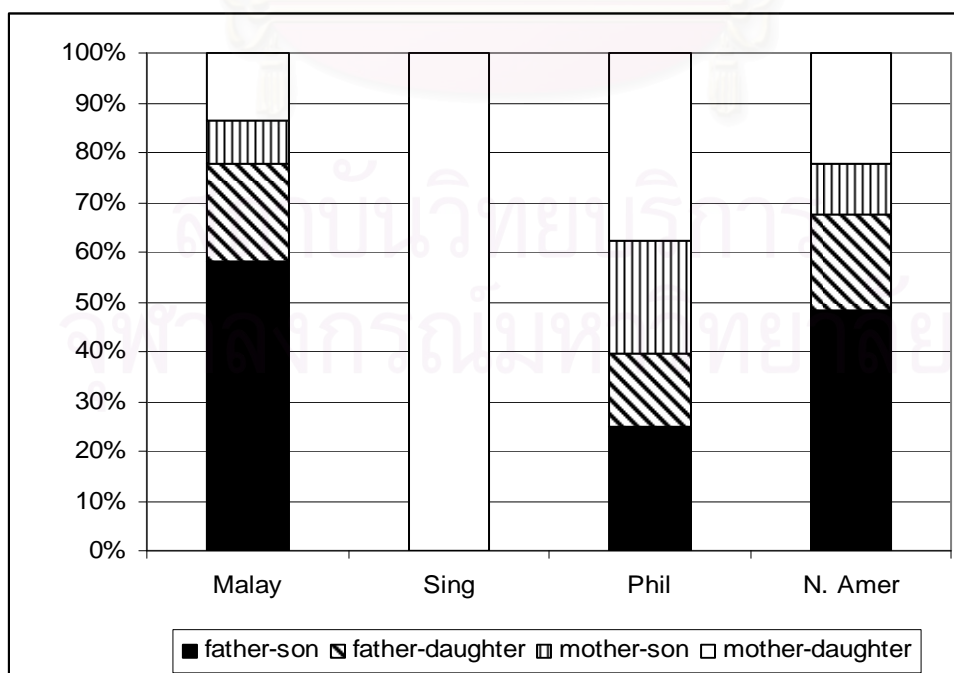
Chart 4.3 Cross-cultural Comparison of % of Turns in Each Relationship Domain

The results presented in this section are meant to raise awareness of the role of the gender of authors and the portrayal of gender discourse especially in the domain of parent-child conversations. This data necessitates some account of gender as an influence upon the discourse presented. This is especially true in the case of the Singaporean dialogues which were composed entirely of mother-daughter dyads. Furthermore, all three of these stories were written by female authors, and two of the stories featured abandoned mothers who were the sole caregivers of their daughters while the third story depicted a household where the dictatorial husband exerted control over the wife who assumed most of the responsibility for raising their only child. In this instance, culture and gender are intertwined as traditional Chinese attitudes which devalue daughters (Burgess and Zhuang 2002) combine with issues in contemporary Singaporean society in which mothers play the role of the stricter and more vigilant parent (Choo 2000).

CHAPTER V

CONVERSATIONAL MOVES THAT INITIATE EXCHANGES

AND THEIR RESPONSES

5.1 Introduction: Overview of Initiations and Responses

Following the discussion of turns and moves and the structure of exchanges in the last chapter, this chapter provides specific analysis of discourse moves and acts that were identified in the corpus of literary dialogues composed of exchanges between parents and their pre-adolescent children. The chapter is organized into sections each focusing on a functional class of moves (in accord with the framework used in this study), the acts represented in the corpus, and the responses that followed them. Because this is a relatively long chapter with several sections and sub-sections, the contents are listed below as a reference.

Table 5.1 contains a summary of the primary move types: initiations, responses, and follow-ups in the stories. Because these figures do not distinguish between parent and child contributions, they do not describe discourse roles, and they do not correlate with cultural values; however, these findings are relevant because they have implications for theories of discourse structure, the way authors and readers conceive of conversational interaction as expressed by its representation in stories, and the discourse value of initiating and responding moves.

	Malay	**Sing**	**Phil**	**N Amer**
Total moves	174	144	292	792
Initiations	104	95	155	453
% total moves	59.8%	66.0%	53.1%	57.2%
Responses	66	49	127	318
% total moves	37.9%	34.0%	43.5%	41.2%
Follow-ups	4	-	10	21
% total moves	2.3%	-	3.4%	2.7%

Table 5.1 Summary of Initial, Responding, and Follow-up Moves in the Corpus

As the table shows, approximately 2% of all moves were follow-ups. The discourse value of these moves, their different functions, and their representation in the corpus are discussed in detail in Chapter VI. If, as the values in Table 5.1 suggest, about 2% of moves in a prototypical conversation are follow-ups, then equal contributions from each speaker would result in 49% initial moves and 49% responding moves. However, the stories from all cultures exhibited greater than 53% initiations and less than 44% responses.

Within the discourse move framework used in this research, there can be several reasons for a higher percentage of initial than responding moves. Firstly, some initial moves (Informing moves) do not require a response, especially in conversations where the speakers have high solidarity/intimacy.[1] Secondly, on occasion, an initial move that does require a response (Organizing, Eliciting, Directing, or Requesting) does not receive one. These phenomena are discussed in Chapter IV, Section 4.5 Abandoned Moves.

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[1] See Chapter III for a discussion of the 'weak prospection' of Informing moves.

Furthermore, initial, response, and follow-up moves can all be continued (i.e. a turn may be composed of a move and one or more continuations which serve the same discourse function). For example, a lengthy (multiple move) elicitation for information, may be responded to in one move that provides the answer. Conversely, a one-move elicitation may receive a long response with several continuing moves which elaborate upon the answer. The data in Table 5.1 suggest that the former: first turns in exchanges are more likely to have continuations than turns with responses or follow-ups.

Thus, Table 5.1 reveals that conversations are portrayed by authors primarily as places of initiating action. This offers evidence for the belief that the role of initiator in conversations is more authoritative than that of responder. This could also explain why linguistic action verbs that specify initiating functions (ask, implore, harangue, cajole) are more plentiful in English than verbs denoting types of response which are more general (answer, reply). Similarly most research on speech acts has emphasized initiating acts rather than types of responses—Tsui (1994) addresses both of these points.

Initiations and Responses in Parent-Child Interaction

While Table 5.1 gives a general impression of the structure of discourse in the corpus, it is a good reminder that at this broad level of analysis, little can be determined about cultural values embedded in the dialogues. The specific types of moves and acts that are used and who uses them (the parent or the child) must be accounted for in order to reveal these orientations. Table 5.2 provides a cross-cultural comparison that distinguishes between move-types produced by parents and children. As with moves/turn (Chapter IV), parents' total moves were always composed of a

higher percentage of initial moves than their children's total moves. Likewise the ratio of parent initiations to child initiations (the third line of numbers which was used to create Chart 5.1) also reveals that parents do far more initiating than children regardless of culture.

Speaker	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
Initiating	73	31	84	11	97	58	271	182
% of all m	62.9%	53.5%	83.2%	25.6%	57.1%	47.5%	60.8%	52.6%
ratio	1 : 0.43		1 : 0.13		1 : 0.60		1 : 0.67	
Responding	39	27	17	32	66	61	159	159
% of all m	33.6%	46.6%	16.8%	74.4%	38.8%	50.0%	35.7%	46.0%
Follow-up	4	-	-	-	7	3	16	5
% of all m	3.5%	-	-	-	4.1%	2.5%	3.6%	1.5%

Table 5.2 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Initiating and Responding
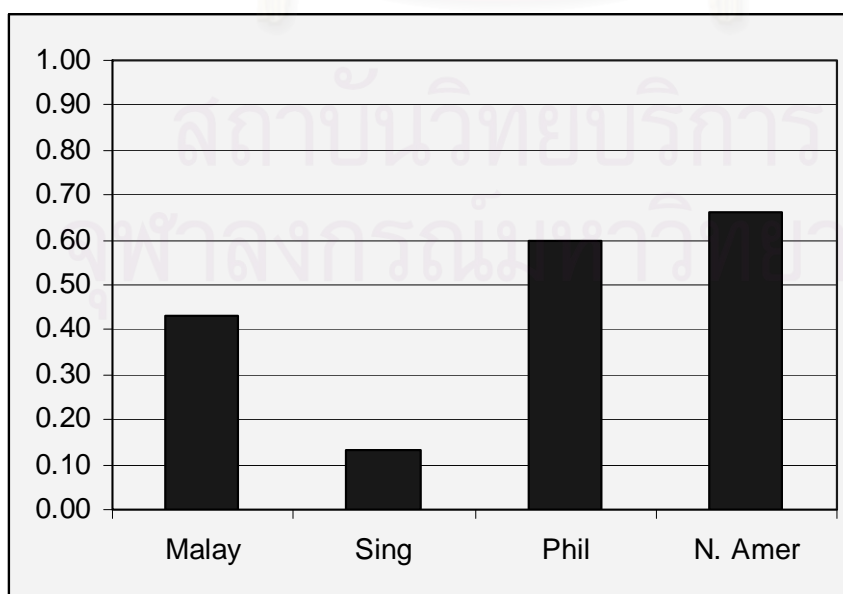
Chart 5.1 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Ratio of Parent-Child Initiating Moves

This data again demonstrates both a universal aspect of parent-child discourse and a correlation between hierarchical orientation and greater difference between numbers of parent and child initiations. In this case, the Singaporean stories are shown to be far more hierarchical: 83.2% of parent's moves were initiations compared to 25.6% for their children with a ratio of 1:0.13. Though the percentages and their ratio from the Malaysian stories reveal a less authoritarian portrayal by this measure (62.9% from parents, 53.5% from children with a ratio of 1:0.43), these numbers are far below those found in the Filipino and North American dialogues where the ratios were 1:0.60 and 1:0.67 respectively.

Turning to responses, Table 5.2 demonstrates that these move-types were always present as a higher percentage of children's moves than parent's moves. Because responses fulfill different functions which are directly related to the function of the initiation, it is not valid to create a ratio of these move types—there are too many other variables which effect the numbers of responding moves that are produced. Suffice it to say, that the above data shows that parents fit the canonical role of 'initiator' of conversations while children fill the role of 'responder'. The subsequent sections in this chapter which provide a detailed analysis of the types of initiations and responses produced will reveal much more detailed results.

Overview of Initial and Responding Move Functions

Table 5.3 and its accompanying Chart 5.2 and Table 5.4 are provided here in order to indicate the breadth of initial and responding move functions produced in the corpus. Note that Organizing moves, due to their metadiscoursal function, are distinct from the other initiating moves types (Eliciting, Requesting, Directing, and Informing). Thus, in Table 5.3, the relative frequency of Organizing moves is

determined by comparing the number of these moves to the number of total

conversations rather than to the total amount of moves. Relative frequencies of the

other four types of initiating moves are calculated by dividing them by the number of

total moves.

Some general conclusions about the discourse between parents and children in

stories from these cultures can be drawn from the figures in the last eight rows of

Table 5.3 (the figures for Eliciting, Requesting, Directing, and Informing moves). The

Singaporean stories are unique in that the majority of the parent's initiations were

Directing moves. These numbers were followed by a relatively small amount of

	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
Speaker	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
Total conv.	20 6 42						66	
Total I:Org	1	-	1	-	4	3	15	8
I:Org/conv.	0.05	-	0.17	-	0.095	0.071	0.227	0.121
Total moves	116	58	100	44	170	122	446	346
Total I:Elic	12	13	17	-	22	25	80	55
% of all m	10.4%	22.4%	17.0%	-	12.9%	20.5%	17.9%	15.9%
Total I:Req	3	-	-	5	7	15	17	24
% of all m	2.6%	-	-	11.4%	4.1%	12.3%	3.8%	6.9%
Total I:Dir	15	-	57	2	40	1	37	1
% of all m	12.9%	-	57.0%	4.6%	23.5%	0.8%	8.3%	0.3%
Total I:Inf	42	18	9	4	24	13	122	94
% of all m	36.2%	31.0%	9.0%	9.1%	14.1%	10.7%	27.4%	27.2%

Table 5.3 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Initial Moves

Eliciting and Informing moves with no Requesting moves. This indicates a very hierarchical orientation which is further supported by referring to Table 5.4 which reveals the children's responses.
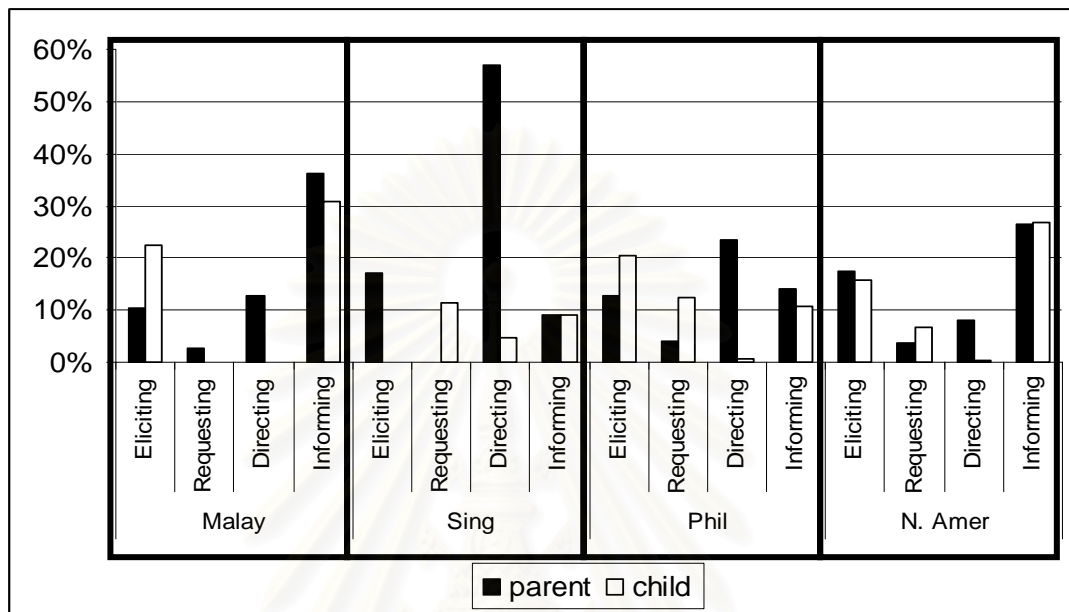
Chart 5.2 Percentages of Initial Move Types from Parents and Children

Speaker	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
Total moves	116	58	100	44	170	122	446	346
Total Resp	39	27	17	32	66	61	159	159
% of all m	33.6%	46.6%	17.0%	72.7%	38.8%	50.0%	35.7%	46.0%
Positive	24	14	1	21	42	28	101	87
% of Resp	61.5%	51.9%	5.9%	65.6%	63.6%	45.9%	63.5%	54.7%
Negative	1	2	4	-	11	3	27	18
% of Resp	2.6%	7.4%	23.5%	-	16.7%	4.9%	17.0%	11.3%
Challenge	14	11	12	11	13	30	31	54
% of Resp	35.9%	40.7%	70.6%	34.4%	19.7%	49.2%	19.5%	34.0%

Table 5.4 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Response Types

The Singaporean children replied with a Positive move 65.6% of the time (the highest of all the cultures) and Challenging only 34.4 (nearly the lowest of all the cultures). When considering that there were no Negative responses from these children, this makes them not only the most subject to authoritarian initiations, but also the most compliant. On the other hand, Singaporean children's relatively few initial moves were met with Challenging responses from parents 70.6% of the time (the highest of all cultures), Negative 23.5% (also the highest) and Positive only 5.9% (by far the lowest). This use of response data is relevant for the Singaporean stories because of the majority of parents' initiations are Directing moves. In other cultures' stories where a greater variety of initiations are present, grouping response data can obscure the causal relationship between different initiations and their responses.

The data from the Malaysian parents' initiations (Table 5.3) indicate the highest percentage of Informing moves (36.2%). As will be shown later, this helps create a traditional hierarchy in which the parent plays the role of 'teacher' or provider of information about the world. Malaysian children produced no Requesting or Directing moves, and their parents responded Positively to Eliciting and Informing moves less and with Challenges more than in Filipino and North American stories. Thus, the Malaysian parent-child discourse is seen as being oriented toward traditional hierarchical relationships, though less authoritarian than in the Singaporean stories.

Analysis of the relationships becomes more complex in the Filipino and North American stories. When only looking at the data for Filipino parents, it appears that these relationships are very hierarchically oriented due to the high percentage of Directing initiations. However, Filipino children produced the highest percentages of Challenging responses and the lowest percentage of Positive responses which orients them closer to egalitarian values. The children's moves were characterized (like the

Malaysian children) by a high percentage of Eliciting moves but also with the most

requests of any group. A detailed analysis of the acts used in these types of initiations

and their responses follows in the remaining chapters. What will be revealed is that

the Filipino parents and children exhibit discourse that is on one hand egalitarian

while on the other hand very indicative of values of interdependence.

Finally, the North American dialogues contain the lowest frequencies of

Requesting and Directing moves issued by parents. Furthermore, a striking aspect of

the North American initiations is the similarities of distribution of moves and

percentages from parents and children. In every other culture's stories, the distribution

of parent's initial move types is very different from the children's. Chart 5.2

illustrates this point. In the Malaysian, Singaporean, and Filipino initiations, a

difference of 5% or less between percentages of parent and child initiations is shown

only in Informing moves. However, in the North American stories less than 3%

difference is present in all but the Directing moves. In keeping with the above data,

The Singaporean and Malaysian data shows the most difference between the

distribution of parent and child initiations, while the Filipino stories exhibited

distributions that were similar for more move functions but not nearly as close as in

the North American stories.

The goal of the above discussion is to provide an overview of the data for initial

and responding moves which demonstrates that even at this level the hypotheses of

this study are supported. All of this data is summary and preliminary to the much

more detailed analysis of move functions, acts, and responses that follows. Charts 5.3-

5.6 on the following pages show the complete data for initiating acts. In these charts,

the vertical axis indicates the number of tokens for each type of act. The subsequent

sections in this chapter focus on different initiating functions by detailing who

produced the moves, which more specific acts were used, and the type of response that followed. These sections will further prove Hypothesis 2 through closer analysis and exemplification.
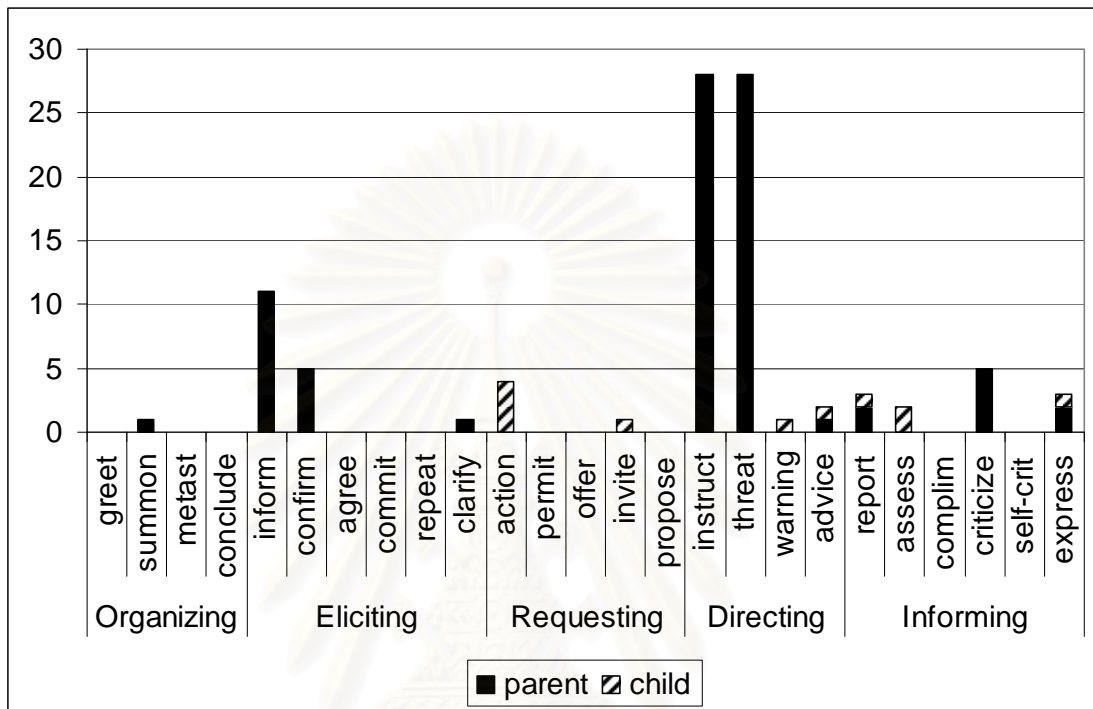
Chart 5.3 Summary of Singaporean Parent-Child Moves and Acts
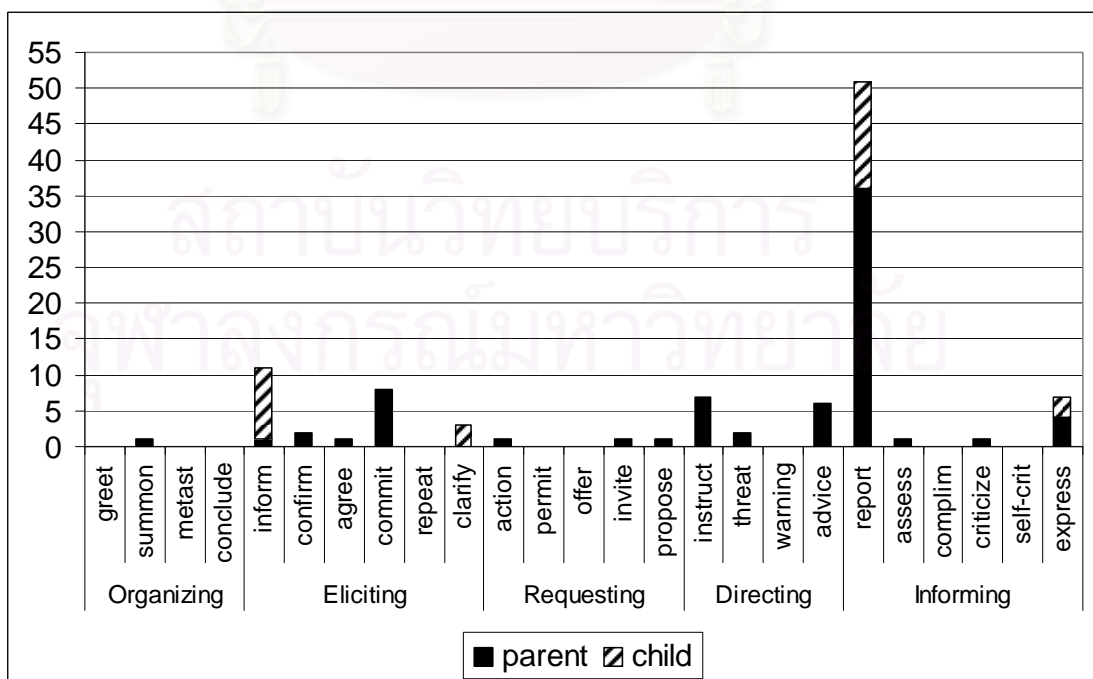
Chart 5.4 Summary of Malaysian Parent-Child Moves and Acts
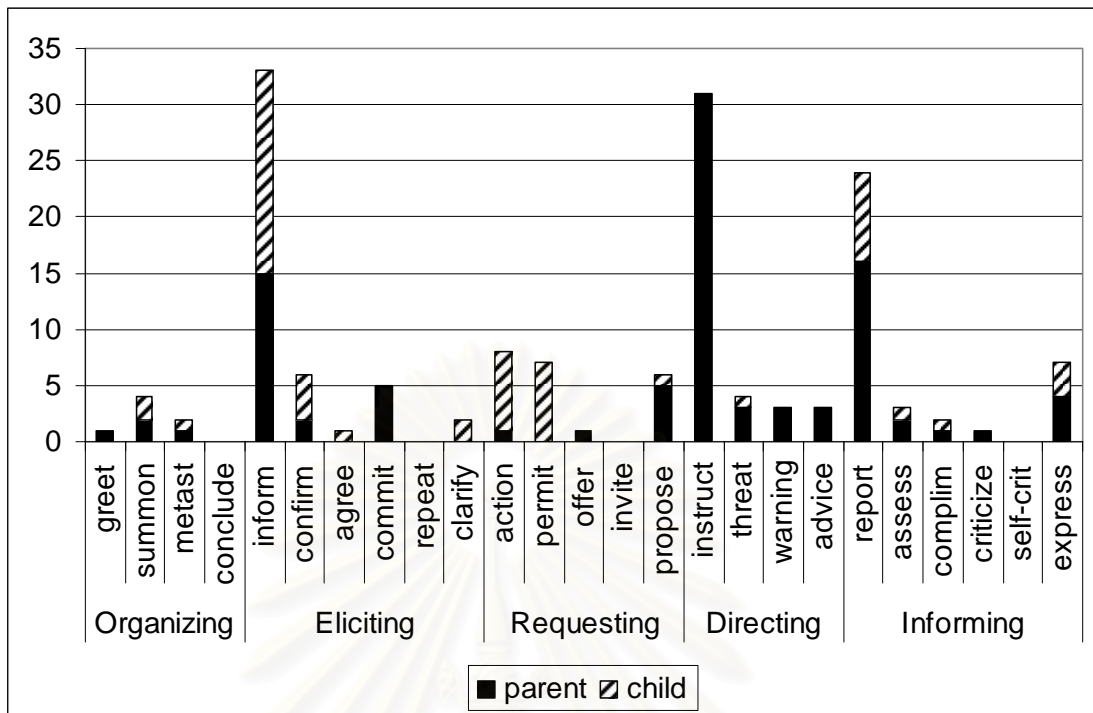
Chart 5.5 Summary of Filipino Parent-Child Moves and Acts
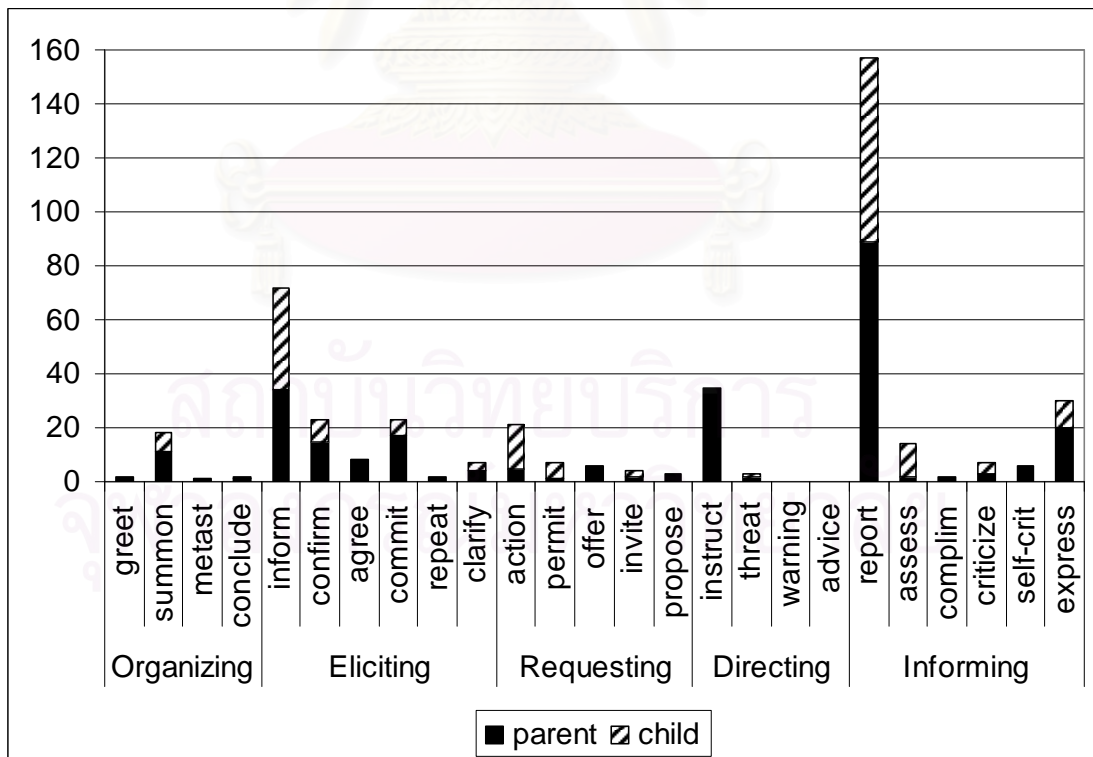
Chart 5.6 Summary of North American Parent-Child Moves and Acts

5.2 Organizing Moves and Their Responses

<u>Singapore</u>

> *I went inside and closed the door, trembling in the dark. The sun had set by now. It was dark inside and I dared not open my eyes. What if they met the red eyes of the goblins, which lived inside the water urn.*
>
> *'Ping!'*
>
> *I jumped. The light came on. I opened my eyes.*

<div align="right">Suchen Christine Lim, "Tragedy of my Third Eye"</div>

move ID	speaker	text	rep	move	act	response
S007.2.07	M to D	Ping!	ds	I:Org	summon	R:Pos:t
S007.2.08	D to M	**opened my eyes**	**NV**	R:Pos:t		

<u>Malaysia</u>

> *I remember waking up to my mother's <u>touch</u> and immediately screwed up my face to express intense pain.*

<div align="right">Saffura Chinniah, "The Tamarind Tree"</div>

M034.1.1	M to D	**touch**	**NV**	I:Org	summons	R:Pos:t
M034.1.2a	D to M	**screwed up my face to express intense pain**	**NV**	R:Pos:t		

<u>Philippines</u>

> *His father was waving at his mother, the two of them <u>waving</u> at each other. But he could not wave. He could see his mother clearly now, her powder blue nightrobe soft in the early morning wash. It was dark in the truck and she seemed all the brighter but still he did not wave.*

<div align="right">Ino Manalo, "Hunting Season"</div>

P068.3.1	M to S	**waving**	**NV**	I:Org	summon	R:Chal:t
P068.3.2	S to M	**did not wave**	**NV**	R:Chal:t		

<u>North America</u>

> *Then our father walked into the room.*
>
> *…*
>
> *"<u>First daughter—</u>" he began.*
>
> *"Go away, Baba," Emily said. Her voice shook. She put her hand on the back of my head and turned me away from him also.*

Samantha Chang, "The Eve of the Spirit Festival"

A168.1.1	F to D	First daughter	ds	I:Org	summons	R:Chal:t
A168.1.2a	D to F	Go away, Baba,	ds	R:Chal:t		

Organizing moves and their responses comprise organizing exchanges which serve to give structure to interaction through acts that summon, greet, make metastatements about the conversation, and seek to conclude. Organizing moves can carry a great deal of expressive meaning (conveyed by the choice of linguistic realization of an act) as well as some referential meaning. However, from a functional perspective, their primarily purpose is textual in Halliday's sense of the word—they are not the content of a conversation, but a means to carrying out a conversation. In interactions where participants have unequal status, it can be assumed that the higher status participant will play a larger role in organizing the talk. The data from this corpus supports this apparent universal in parent-child communication as represented in the dialogue of short stories. In all four cultures studied in this research, the parents contributed more Organizing initiations per conversation than the children, and the most common functional type of Organizing move was the summons as shown in Table 5.5.

The excerpts from stories at the beginning of this section are all instances of summons acts which are indicative of parent-child interaction in each country's stories. These examples are provided to show typical instances of Organizing moves, how they are presented by authors in the context of the narrative, and to demonstrate how fictional prose dialogue was analyzed and represented in the corpus for quantitative analysis.

There are a few considerations that make Organizing moves different from the other functional move classes analyzed in the study. First, the meta-conversational

(i.e. textual function) of these moves suggests that they will appear less frequently in conversations than the initiations of conversational exchanges; this is supported by the findings in Table 5.3 of the overview of initial and responding moves. Thus, while performing contrastive analysis, frequency of these moves was calculated by number of moves per conversation rather than number of moves per total moves (which is used for the other move types).

Speaker	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
Total conv.	20	20	6	6	42	42	66	66
Total I:Org	1	-	1	-	4	3	15	8
I:Org / conv.	0.050	-	0.170	-	0.095	0.071	0.227	0.121
greet	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-
summons	1	-	1	-	2	2	11	7
me tastate	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-
conclude	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1

Table 5.5 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Organizing Moves

Secondly, due to the scarcity of research that compares literary dialogue to real conversation, it can only be hypothesized that literary representations (which typically focus on the referential and expressive content of conversations) will contain fewer Organizing moves than actual daily interaction, much of which is considered by authors and readers as too banal to be included in stories. Though Page (1988) does not specifically address this aspect of dialogue, his comments on the difference between real and fictional speech support this assertion. Furthermore, popular how-to

books for fiction writers (Chiarella 1998, Turco 2004, etc.) strongly admonish

aspiring authors against including the 'trivial banter' of Organizing exchanges in the

dialogue of stories.

Third, Organizing exchanges between parents and their pre-adolescent children

in these stories are likely to be very different from exchanges between (1) intimates of

equal status (i.e. spouses or same-age family members), (2) exchanges in non-intimate

relationship domains (i.e. acquaintances or strangers), and even (3) parent-child

exchanges in other situations/settings (i.e. public places, formal events)—nearly all of

the interactions represented in these stories took place in private conversations

between the parent and pre-adolescent child. Finally, the imbalance in number of

stories from each country has been addressed in the overview, and should not be

considered a flaw in the study. While the North American stories with their greater

representation in the corpus demonstrate a broader variety of tokens, the choices that

authors from other countries selected are clearly indicative of their cultural values.

The following sections address how the different Organizing acts were used in the

stories.

5.2.1 Summons

Of all the act functions possible for Organizing moves, summoning acts were

the most common—and the only type occurring in parent-child dialogues from every

country. Throughout the discussion of results of the study, move classifications are

frequently abbreviated such as Initiating (I), Responding (R), Organizing (Org), etc.

with colons used to separate the discourse levels as in I:Org:summon.

	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
Speaker	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
Total I:Org	1	-	1	-	4	3	15	6
summons	1	-	1	-	2	2	11	7

Table 5.6 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Summons Acts

Comparison of this small pool of data can serve as a further introduction to the conversations represented in the stories analyzed, for in the quality of the Org:summon acts, few as they are, is an indication of the values that underlie the role relationships between parents and children in different cultures. Take for example the only Organizing move in the Singaporean collection:

S007.2.07	M to D	Ping!	ds	I:Org	summon	R:Pos:t

The mother summons the daughter by shouting her name, which is indicative of the highly authoritarian interactions contained in the three Singaporean stories in the corpus (all mother-daughter dialogues) which are discussed in more detail in the rest of the results.

The only Organizing move in the Malaysian corpus is non-verbal:

M034.1.1	M to D	**touch**	**NV**	I:Org	summons	R:Pos:t

This gentle summons in which a mother rouses her sick daughter is more consistent with the portrayal of Malaysian parents as teacher/caregivers which positions them as authority figures and emphasizes children's dependence on them—trends that will be seen in the analysis of other types of initiations in the following sections. In both of

the Org:summon moves from these two countries, the parents' initiation is given a

positive response by the child (by replying to the summons).

As hypothesized, the Filipino dialogues are shown to be much less oriented

toward hierarchy with both parents and children producing the same amount of

Org:summon acts in their conversations (2 each). Of the two parents' moves shown

below, the first resembles the Singaporean Org:summon (shouting to get attention)

while the second resembles the Malaysian example (a friendly wave).

| P126.1.1 | F to S | Where are you--beast of a boy! | ds | I:Org | summon | R:Chal:t |
| P068.3.1 | M to S | **waving** | **NV** | I:Org | summon | R:Chal:t |

However, neither summons is met with a Positive response from the child—both are

Challenged, and in what will later be seen, a characteristic way: through non-verbal

withdrawal. In the first case the child continues to hide from his father, and in the

second he refuses to acknowledge his mother's gesture. Furthermore, the children in

the Filipino stories summon their parents as shown below.

| P108.1.1 | S to M | Ma? | ds | I:Org | summon | R:Neg:t |
| P069.6.1 | D to M | Look, Mama! | is | I:Org | summon | R:Pos:t |

In the first example, which is more polite since question intonation is indicated,

the mother's response is Negative—she replies to the summons (partially fulfilling its

presuppositions) but in a very unconventional way, by correcting the term of address

used by her son. In the second example, the daughter's summons is in imperative

form typical of Directing moves, and this is responded to Positively by the mother. As

will be shown in the section on Directing and Requesting, Directing moves are nearly

always produced by the speaker of higher status because they state that actions to be

performed by the addressee are mandatory. An addressee's Positive compliance to a

Directing move by a speaker of lower status is a sign of egalitarian discourse. Thus,

the data for Org:summon moves reveals that the parent-child relationships in the

Filipino stories are portrayed as very egalitarian when compared to the summoning

acts in the other SE Asian stories.

Org:summon moves in the North American dialogues are of a greater variety of

forms than those seen above. To begin with parents' moves, the first three below

demonstrate shouting to get the child's attention, the fourth is a threatening non-

verbal action, and the fifth and sixth are non-threatening non-verbal actions. In the

remaining five moves, the first two use imperatives (A043.5.31b implying 'Look

here.'), the third (A168.1.1) uses a form of address[2], and the final two use the child's

name with rising tone indicated by a question mark.

A041.4.1a	F to S	Andre!	ds	I:Org	summons	as/Pos
A104.1.1a	M to D	Minnie!	ds	I:Org	summons	an/Pos
A104.1.1b	M to S	Pat!	ds	I:Org	summons	an/Pos
A043.5.29a	M to D	**took my chin … pinched it**	**NV**	I:Org	summons	an
A160.04.01b	F to S	**knocked once**	**NV**	I:Org	summons:C	R:Pos:t
A098.4.3a	M to D	**walked to the doorway … held Octavia's chin**	**NV**	I:Org	summons	an/Pos
A041.5.1a	F to S	Listen.	ds	I:Org	summons	an/Pos
A043.5.31b	M to D	Here,	ds	I:Org	summons	an/Pos
A168.1.1	F to D	First daughter	ds	I:Org	summons	R:Chal:t
A160.04.01a	F to S	Ted?	fis	I:Org	summons	c
A043.5.23	M to D	Leigh?	ds	I:Org	summons	R:Pos:t

In all but one of these moves either a Positive response is given (two times) or

the move is abandoned because a Positive response is implied by the context.

However, the one move that is Challenged (A168.1.1) is not done so as in the Filipino

stories by a non-verbal withdrawal, but by the explicit response, "Go away, Baba".

The combination of authoritarian summonses (yelling names, using threatening non-

---

[2] This atypical form is produced by a Chinese American father. Though he uses 'first daughter' with his elder daughter, he uses the American form (the child's name) with his younger daughter. Despite this indication that the father values the traditional Asian orientations to hierarchy, the discourse between he and his daughters who were born and raised in the US is clearly oriented toward the Western/North American values of egalitarianism and individualism. This conflict surrounding how first or second generation Asian parents communicate with their children who were raised in America is central to this story and two other North American stories discussed in detail in Chapter VII.

verbal actions, and issuing Directives) is balanced by more egalitarian forms (non-threatening non-verbals and Elicitations), and one child's confrontational Challenging response which signals egalitarian values.

Examination of the children's' forms of Org:summon moves is equally indicative of egalitarian value orientations. The first move shown below is a simple vocative, and the next three are non-threatening non-verbal actions. Of these moves, ringing a bell to summons one's parents is a distinct transposition of authoritarian parent-child roles. In the final three moves one is a directive and two are shouted (as indicated by exclamation marks). Of the six moves that were not followed by a continuation, one was abandoned by the narrator with implication of a Positive non-verbal response and four received explicitly stated Positive responses. Only the final move shown received a Challenging response from the parent who deliberately (as revealed in the narrative) ignores the child's summons though both participants knew the mother could hear the daughter.

A043.5.23	M to D	Leigh?	ds	I:Org	summons	R:Pos:t
A041.1.1a	S to F	Dad.	ds	I:Org	summons	an/Pos
A041.3.01	S to F	**bump against my leg … pressing his face to my thigh**	**NV**	I:Org	summons	R:Pos:t
A197.1.1	D to M	**ring the bell**	**NV**	I:Org	summons	R:Pos:t
A197.1.3	D to F	**ring the bell**	**NV**	I:Org	summons	R:Pos:t
A160.06.1	S to F	Dad!	ds	I:Org	summons	R:Pos:t
A070.4.3a	D to M	Mommy!	ds	I:Org	summons	c
A070.4.3b	D to M	Come here.	ds	I:Org	summons:C	R:Chal:t

Thus, the North American children's use of Org:summons moves and their parents' responses also indicate very egalitarian discourse as shown by the children's use of raised voices and verbal and non-verbal Directives.

5.2.2 Greeting, Metastatements, and Concluding

As these types of Organizing moves were only present in the Filipino and North American stories, the following discussion will only seek to differentiate between

these two cultures. As Table 5.7 shows, in both groups of stories, the parents greeted their children (I:Org:greet) but not vice-versa. All of the Org:greet moves received Positive responses from the children though the North American instances are both verbal while the Filipino instance was non-verbal.

A160.03.1	F to D	Yodey yodey,	ds	I:Org	greet	R:Pos
A160.04.03	F to S	You up?	fis	I:Org	greet	R:Pos:t
P044.4.1a	M to D	**smiled**	**NV**	I:Org	greet	R:Pos:t

	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
Speaker	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
Total I:Org	1	-	1	-	4	3	15	8
greet	-	-	-	-	1	-	2	-
me tastate	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-
conclude	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1

Table 5.7 Comparison of Greeting, Metastatement and Concluding Acts

Metastatements, which seek to control the exchange of talk during an interaction, were different across cultures. Though both parents and children in the Filipino stories used these moves, their realizations were quire different from the North American instance from a parent.

| P068.6.09a | S to F | Papa-- | ds | I:Org | metastate | R:Pos:t |
| P069.4.3d | F to D | Edwina? | ds | I:Org | metastate | an/Chal |

In the Filipino moves above, the metastatement serves to get the attention of the other participant.[3] It is apparent that in both moves the speaker, be it parent or child, seeks

---

[3] This is essentially the same function as a Turn Manipulative (TM) act and would have been classified as such except that within the framework for this study, a turn must be composed of at least one *move*. Thus, a TM act which is the sole utterance of a turn must be elevated to the status of Organizing move.

to control the conversation by securing the attention of the other speaker. In the first example above, the child responds positively. The second move is abandoned by the narrator, but in this case the implication is that the child challenges the parent's attempt to organize the talk by not responding—as with the summons acts discussed above, the child challenges through non-verbal withdrawal. This discourse strategy is highlighted in the story just prior to the exchange containing move P069.4.3d:

> *Silence was my shield. Early in life I learned that the best way to stay strong is to say little in the face of trying circumstances. That's why when my father first told me about Miranda, I kept my peace.*
>
> Norma O. Miraflor, "Gypsies in My World"

The one example of Org:metastatement in the North American stories though is quite different for it explicitly gives the child the choice about how to proceed in the conversation. The negative polarity of the clause implies that the daughter does not want to speak and prospects acknowledgement of this fact. This Organizing move was coded as abandoned because the child doesn't respond directly to it—instead the child does continue speaking; thus, the abandoned metastatement carries an implied negative response. In other words, the parent gives the child the option not to speak, assuming the child doesn't want to, but the child proceeds to speak.

| A007.1.5b | M to D | You don't have to say, darling, if you don't like. | ds | I:Org | metastate | as/Neg |

Finally, Org:concluding moves were only present in the North American dialogues with one each from parents and children. In both cases the speaker signals the end of an interaction; the child's move is verbal and the parent's is non-verbal.

| A160.03.4 | D to F | Finish time. | ds | I:Org | conclude | as/Pos |
| A070.2.5 | M to D | **stops reciting before they are finished** | **NV** | I:Org | conclude | as/Pos |

5.2.3 Conclusion

Though the class of initial moves that serve Organizing functions makes up the smallest group in the corpus, the results and discussion above show that detailed analysis of the amount, distribution, and forms of one type of discourse move can indicate value orientations in comparable relationships. In this case the main hypothesis is supported: Singaporean and Malaysian dialogues are highly oriented toward hierarchy with North American dialogues at the other end of the spectrum and Filipino dialogues in between though closer to North American in this case. Furthermore, the Filipino dialogues demonstrate a greater reliance on non-verbal communication, especially in the cases of children's challenging behavior where they exhibited silent withdrawals. The following diagram summarizes the relative orientations of these cultures on the scale of hierarchy-egalitarianism as revealed by the use of Organizing moves by the parents and children.

Hierarchical _____Egalitarian

Singaporean   Malaysian   Filipino North American
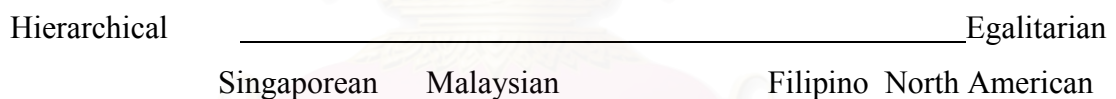
5.3 Eliciting Moves and their Responses

Singapore

> *'Where's your Mickey Mouse?' I asked.*
> *'Sandpit.'*
> *'Idiot! Tell you to always keep it with you but you never listen.'*
>
> Hwee Hwee Tan, "Mid-Autumn"

move ID	speaker	text	rep	move	act	response
S022.2.05	M to D	Where's your Mickey Mouse?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
S022.2.06	D to M	Sandpit.	ds	R:Pos:t		
S022.2.07a	M to D	Idiot!	ds	I:Inf	criticize	c
S022.2.07b	M to D	Tell you to always keep it with you but you never listen.	ds	I:Inf	criticize:C	as

Malaysia

> *My father had returned from the jungle with a fossil of trilobite to*
>
> *show Nicky and me.*
>
> *"How do you know where to go?" I asked.*
>
> *"You find a river and keep following it until you start going uphill.*
>
> *You keep going up into the jungle until you find something."*
>
> Christopher Yin, "The Geology of Malaysia"

M022.3.01	S to F	How do you know where to go?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t
M022.3.02a	F to S	You find a river and keep following it until you start going uphill.	ds	R:Pos		
M022.3.02b	F to S	You keep going up into the jungle until you find something.	ds	R:Pos:C:t		

Philippines

> *She had only time for a moment's guilty thought before the two boys*
>
> *flung themselves at her in unalloyed joy.*
>
> *"Mama, did you get the crayonth I asked you to buy?" Panguy*
>
> *excitedly offering his face for a kiss.*
>
> *"Of course," she answered.*
>
> *Not to be outdone, Dado hugged her waist, smacked both her*
>
> *cheeks wetly and said in his most winning tone. "Are you really going*
>
> *to bake brownies like you promised last night?"*
>
> *"Sure," she said.*
>
> Ma. Cecilia Locsin-Nava, "The Prodigal"

P090.1.1a	S to M	did you get the crayonth I asked you to buy?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P090.1.1b	S to M	**offering his face for a kiss**	**NV**	I:Req	action	an/Pos
P090.1.2	M to S	Of course,	ds	R:Pos:t		
P090.1.3a	S to M	**hugged her waist, smacked both her cheeks wetly**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	as
P090.1.3b	S to M	Are you really going to bake brownies like you promised last night?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P090.1.4	M to S	Sure,	ds	R:Pos:t		

North America

> *"It's all right, sweetie," Laurie said. "It all happened a long time*
>
> *ago."*
>
> *"But why are we celebrating that we killed them?" Portia asked,*
>
> *and started crying afresh.*

> *"We're not celebrating because we killed the Indians, darling,"*
>
> *Laurie said. "We're celebrating because we ate dinner with them."*
>
> *...*
>
> *"Listener poll," Portia said to her fist. "Did we eat dinner with the*
>
> *Indians, or did we kill them?" She strode over to Otto and held out her*
>
> *fist.*

Deborah Eisenberg, "Some Other, Better Otto"

A007.1.1c	M to D	It's all right, sweetie,	ds	I:Inf	express:C	as
A007.1.1d	M to D	It all happened a long time ago.	ds	I:Inf	report	I:Elic
A007.1.2a	D to M	But why are we celebrating that we killed them?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:C
A007.1.2b	D to M	**started crying**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	as
A007.1.3a	M to D	We're not celebrating because we killed the Indians, darling,	ds	R:Neg		C
A007.1.3b	M to D	We're celebrating because we ate dinner with them.	ds	R:Neg:C		R:Chal:C:t
A007.1.4a	D to M	Did we eat dinner with the Indians, or did we kill them?	ds	R:Chal		
A007.1.4b	D to M	**strode over … and held out her fist**	**NV**	R:Chal:C:t		

Table 5.8 on the next page summarizes the Eliciting moves identified in the

corpus. As the table demonstrates, use of the six functional acts that are classified as

Eliciting moves varied in their frequency and distribution according to speaker and

culture. Because the acts that are possible within the class of Eliciting moves are

functionally distinct and signal different role relationships, their frequency was

calculated as a percentage of total moves (rather than of Eliciting or Initiating moves).

Each type of act will be discussed separately below.

5.3.1 Eliciting Information

In all cultures, acts to Elicit information between parents and children were the

most common type of Eliciting move. Such acts can have various social implications

depending on how they are used by parents and children. Firstly, when a child asks

for information, the parent is positioned in the canonical role of possessor of

knowledge while the child is in the role of seeker which signals both hierarchy and interdependence. This is the primary semiotic function of Elic:info acts—they give authority to the parent. However, the fact that the role of information seeker is allowed for a child attests to a degree of autonomy, or in another sense, a sanctioning of autonomy; allowing children to seek and acquire knowledge is necessary to their independent functioning in the future. Given this seeming paradox, the Elic:info acts produced in parent-child discourse must be carefully scrutinized. In the following

Speaker	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
Total moves	116	58	100	44	170	122	446	346
Total I:Elic	12	13	17	-	22	25	80	55
inf orm	1	10	11	-	15	18	34	38
% total m	0.86%	17.24%	11.00%	-	8.82%	14.75%	7.62%	10.9%
confirm	2	-	5	-	2	4	15	8
% total m	1.72%	-	5.00%	-	1.18%	3.28%	3.36%	2.31%
agree	1	-	-	-	-	1	8	-
% total m	0.86%	-	-	-	-	0.82%	1.79%	-
comm it	8	-	-	-	5	-	17	6
% total m	6.90%	-	-	-	2.94%	-	3.81%	1.73%
repeat	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-
% total m	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.45%	-
clarify	-	3	1	-	-	2	4	3
% total m	-	5.17%	1.00%	-	-	1.64%	0.90%	0.87%

Table 5.8 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Eliciting Moves

section, value distinctions between cultures are clearly seen in this corpus by comparing the child Elic:info acts in the stories.

Table 5.9 shows that when comparing these acts (as percentages of total moves), Malaysian children exhibited the highest percentage of Elic:info acts (17%) followed by Filipino children (15%) and North American children (11%). In all these acts, the children want some information that their parents possess by virtue of their age, experience, or position, and the degree to which these roles are played varies according to cultural orientation. However, the Singaporean children produced no Elic:info acts, this role assignment not being available to them.

Speaker	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
inform	1	10	11	-	15	18	34	38
% total m	0.9%	**17.2%**	11.0%	-	8.8%	**14.8%**	7.62%	**10.9%**

Table 5.9 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Eliciting Information Acts

Analysis of the parents' responses to their children's Elic:info acts further supports these cultural differences. When the Malaysian children asked for information, 80% of the responses (8 of 10) were Positive moves which were frequently continued and which always ended the exchange with the parent's turn. The 20% that were not Positive were two abandoned moves (one by the speaker and one by the narrator). Thus, the Malaysian parent plays a very authoritative role in providing the final word of information.

M022.2.5	S to F	Did you go and look?	ds	I:Elic	inform	an/Pos
M022.3.07	S to F	Was it hard to find?	ds	I:Elic	inform	as
M022.3.08	S to F	why did you become a geologist?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:C:C:t

M035.3.1	S to F	will we ever stop doing this?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:C:t
M011.2.01	D to F	Father?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:t
M022.2.3	S to F	Were there diamonds?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t
M022.3.01	S to F	How do you know where to go?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t
M022.3.05	S to F	How old is it?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t
M022.2.1	S to F	how come you became a geologist?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
M022.7.1	S to F	why did you become a geologist?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t

In Filipino stories, when the children asked for information, the response was Positive 89% of the time. However, these Responses were seldom continued and 19% of the time the child provided a Follow-up of Endorsement or Acknowledgement which signals a higher degree of equal interaction.

P068.6.16a	S to F	do you think there are macaws in Macao?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:C:t
P081.4.1	D to M	Is Mommy mad?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:t
P068.6.12	S to F	Do you know where it is?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos*
P068.5.5	S to M	How do we know when the season starts?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos*
P068.6.05	S to F	Do you always have to clean your rifle?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C*
P068.5.1a	S to M	if animals are our friends, why does Papa kill them?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:t
P069.1.5	D to M	When did you know her?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t
P068.4.2	S to F	What is the Matto Grosso, Papa?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t
P069.1.1	D to M	Who's she?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P069.1.3b	D to M	Did you know her?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P069.2.01	D to M	Did you love her very much, like I love you?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P069.2.03	D to M	Tell me about Papa.	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P069.2.05	D to M	Did he paint that?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P069.2.09	D to M	When did he paint it?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P081.1.1	D to M	Why do you always point it out to your friends?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P068.6.02	S to F	What are you doing, Papa?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P090.1.1a	S to M	did you get the crayonth I asked you to buy?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P090.1.3b	S to M	Are you really going to bake brownies like you promised last night?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t

* These parents' responses were followed by a follow-up from the child to terminate the exchange.

In contrast, when the North American children displayed Elic:info acts, their parents responded with Positives only 58% of the time, though often with a continuation. Negative Responses were also present in which the parent did not provide the expected answer or occasionally did not posses the information that the child sought. By portraying parents less frequently as providers of knowledge, authors

signal a more egalitarian orientation in which the role of parent is more similar to that of child.

Parents also Challenged by ignoring the question or denying its relevance—signals of individual orientation. In two cases children offered follow-up moves and in two other cases they Challenged (i.e. counter-challenged) their parent's Challenging response. Though such behavior was not common practice, the fact that it was displayed by different children in different North American stories, but never in the stories from other cultures illustrates differing cultural orientations between the West and SE Asia. Due to the large number of tokens of these acts in the corpus, the following moves were chosen as representative though the proportion of response types is not exactly the same as in the complete corpus of 38 tokens.

A116.5.1	S to F	why is the driver sitting on the wrong side in this car too?	ds	I:Elic	inform	as
A022.4.2a	S to M	Why you yelling, Mama?	ds	I:Elic	inform	as
A160.04.40	S to F	How're they going to eat?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:C:t
A070.3.1b	D to F	Why didn't you wake me up to see the bridge?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:t
A041.3.12	S to F	Why is she resting?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:t
A160.08.08	S to F	Did you go there?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:C
A007.1.2a	D to M	But why are we celebrating that we killed them?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:C
A168.3.2b	D to F	Is Guijie why you didn't go play bridge tonight, Baba?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:t
A160.04.48	S to F	Why not?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:t
A160.04.26	S to F	What's it called?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C
A070.2.6	D to M	Why did you stop?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:t
A160.08.12	S to F	Did people really talk like this?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:t
A067.1.1a	S to M	what did you do?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:t
A160.04.24	S to F	Are you in it?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t
A160.13.2	S to F	When would I leave?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t
A042.1.3	S to M	Why?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t
A156.3.1	S to M	What do prisoners get to eat?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t
A160.04.06b	S to F	How's Nadia?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
A160.04.44b	S to F	What if they starved?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
A160.08.02	S to F	Where's Mom?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
A190.1.2e	S to M	Why didn't you have any clothes on?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t

Turning to the Singaporean Elic:info moves, we must return to the above idea of role availability. At the extreme of the hierarchy scale are relationships where one

participant is not allowed to even express the desire for information (even though it would place the parent in the role of knower). Such is the case here where the Singaporean children never produce an Elic:info act. The mothers, however, do, yet these are mostly continued or abandoned as they are part of a larger turn in which multiple moves are showered on the child with no opportunity for the child to respond. In the 36% of the time when the child does respond, it was always Positively. Also, all of these questions (gathered from not just one, but all three of the Singaporean stories in the corpus) imply that the child has done something to displease the parent—a feature not expressed as often in the other cultures' dialogues.

S007.2.01a	M to D	What *are* you doing?	ds	I:Elic	inform	as
S007.2.09b	M to D	What're you gaping at?	ds	I:Elic	inform	as
S007.2.13b	M to D	How many times do I have to tell you not to climb those rails in school, eh?	ds	I:Elic	inform	as
S007.2.01h	M to D	What were you doing?	ds	I:Elic	inform	c
S007.3.09a	M to D	What're you crying for?	ds	I:Elic	inform	c
S007.3.09b	M to D	I'm not dead yet.	ds	I:Elic	inform:C	as*
S007.3.15a	M to D	You think the fish will bite you?	ds	I:Elic	inform	c
S006.1.5a	M to D	Was it true?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t
S006.1.1a	M to D	what have you done to your face?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
S007.3.13	M to D	Is there a bone stuck in your throat?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
S022.2.05	M to D	Where's your Mickey Mouse?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t

* Though this move appears to be an Informing:report, it was functionally analyzed as a continuation of the preceding Elic:info because it qualifies (gives a sarcastic justification for) the question. The prospected response to the two moves is the same—an answer to the question; not an answer to the question and a separate acknowledgement of the fact of the mother's state of being.

In contrast, Malaysian parents only asked for information only one time comprising less than 1% of their moves. Much like classroom discourse, the parent's Elic:info received a Positive response from the child and then the parent ended the exchange with a follow-up of Acknowledgement. Considering the above description of Malaysian children's' Elic:info acts, the fact that parents very seldom played the role of seeker of information from their children contributes to their portrayal as wise authority figures.

| M022.5.1 | F to S | Where are you going? | ds | I:Elic | inform | R:Pos |

On the other hand, Filipino parents produced higher percentages of Elic:info

acts than the other parents (8.8%). Their children gave Positive responses 67% of the

time and the one Negative was quickly followed by a Positive in which the child self-

corrected her response. Children gave Challenging responses 20% of the time, *but*

these were all Non-verbal acts in which the children remained silent rather than

answering the parents' questions. Furthermore, as the tokens below demonstrate,

most of these parents' Elicitations for information (present in 7 of the 11 stories) are

asking about the child's feelings, desires, or actions. The two moves from story P044

are part of a game played by a mother and daughter—*kamatis* (tomato) and *sibuyas*

(onion) referring to the daughter who answers, "me," "me," to which the mother

follows-up with a kiss (non-verbal Endorsement) after each question.

P068.1.1c	M to S	How do you feel?	ds	I:Elic	inform	c
P001.1.3	M to D	But why don't you want to come?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:R:Chal:C:t
P068.3.3	M to S	Did you bring your new jacket?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:t
P068.7.3	F to S	Where are you going?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:t
P083.9.14	M to D	Did you say your prayers?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:R:Pos
P044.6.4	M to D	Who is my kamatis?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos
P044.6.6b	M to D	Who is my sibuyas?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos
P069.3.3b	F to D	You understand that?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos
P090.3.1	M to S	Pangga what's wrong?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t
P081.2.1	M to D	What are you doing?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P083.2.2	M to D	if they are hungry	is	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P068.1.3	M to S	Do you want to go?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P090.1.5	M to S	Where's Lily?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P083.2.1	F to D	if they are hungry	is	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P068.1.1d	M to S	Are you sure you're all right?	ds	I:Elic	inform:C	R:Pos:C:t

When North American parents asked for information, 65% of the responses

were Positive, 9% were Negative (the child didn't provide the information the parent

sought), and 12% were Challenged by changing the topic or expressing disapproval of

the question—much more assertive behavior than seen from the children in the other

cultures. In many of the 34 tokens, the parents' Elicitations were similar to those of

the other cultures in that some of them asked about the child's wants, desires, and

actions or implied that the child displeased the parent. However, the following

examples are shown here in order demonstrate a much different orientation.

A043.4.3b	M to D	Do you think she would like to come here?	ds	I:Elic	inform	an/Chal
A043.6.01b	F to D	Shall I take the transfer?	ds	I:Elic	inform:C	as
A043.6.01a	F to D	What shall I do?	ds	I:Elic	inform	c
A043.4.1a	M to D	Where does little Terry go when her mama's working?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:t
A098.1.1b	M to D	Who'll buy him cigarettes?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:t
A160.09.07	F to S	Have you gotten to the emir's palace?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:C:t
A041.3.07	F to S	why did you choose such a small one?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:t
A084.1.1	F to S	And who are these people coming in the door?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos
A160.11.27b	F to S	Will I get to read it?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos
A160.04.17	F to S	What's it about?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:R:Pos
A160.04.21	F to S	What do the aliens have to say?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:t
A043.5.25	M to D	Can you keep a secret?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
A043.6.02	F to D	What do you think, Leigh?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
A116.3.3	F to D	Where's Mina?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
A160.04.13	F to S	What're you reading?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
A160.10.24	F to S	Did I ever tell you about the streetcars?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t

In all of the above moves made by parents, the child is positioned as the possessor of

knowledge while the parent is the seeker. Most interesting are moves A43.6.01a and b

in which a father is asking his pre-adolescent daughter for advice about a job offer in

another town.

In conclusion, it is clear from this analysis of Elicitations of information that on

the scale of hierarchy—equality, the parent-child dialogues in these cultures are

oriented as follows:

Hierarchical _____ Egalitarian

Singaporean   Malaysian   Filipino   North American

5.3.2 Eliciting Confirmation

Acts that seek confirmation are used to verify a speaker's assumptions. Table

5.10 below firstly demonstrates that such verbal actions are not available to the

Malaysian and Singaporean children. They are not seen to posit their individual

thoughts or perceptions—only the parents with their greater authority are. In contrast,

Filipino and North American children both produced such acts, but analysis of the

content of these acts reveals differing discourse roles.

	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
Speaker	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
confirm	2	-	5	-	2	4	15	8
% total m	1.72%	-	5.00%	-	1.18%	3.28%	3.36%	2.31%

Table 5.10 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Eliciting Confirmation Acts

Filipino children produced four tokens of these moves which constituted 3.28%

of their total moves. These Eliciting moves seek to verify simple facts about locations

(P083.9.10), objects (P038.9.08), and places (P068.6.10), and in one case a

complicated moral decision (P068.5.7b). Parents responded positively to these acts,

except in P083.9.10 where the object was not precisely in the house (Negative

response) but under the house, and the parent's response always ended the exchange.

P083.9.10	D to M	It's in the house?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Neg:t
P068.5.7b	S to M	so you don't kill mothers.	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:C:t
P083.9.08	D to M	Like a butiki?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t
P068.6.10	S to F	Macao is a Portuguese colony, isn't it?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t

However, the content of the North American children's Elic:confirm acts

reveals that these children are more accustomed to positing their assumptions about

what their parents think (A043.8.1b, A043.5.18), religious beliefs (A041.1.7,

A041.3.18), others' relationships (A043.8.5), consequences and future events

(A160.14.1, A160.10.05a), as well as facts about others (A160.14.1). Most of the

parents' replies were Positive however in two cases the parent Challenged the validity

of the child's assumptions.

A160.10.05a	S to F	We might not go, though, right?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	c
A043.8.1b	D to F	Don't you think?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Chal:C:C:t
A043.8.5	D to F	She shamed them, didn't she, Dad?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Chal:t
A043.5.18	D to M	You want me to tell her?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Neg:t
A160.10.05b	S to F	If Nadia doesn't get better.	fis	I:Elic	confirm:C	R:Pos:C:t
A160.14.1	D to F	Are they rich?	is	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t
A041.1.7	S to F	Is that because we're Jewish?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t
A041.3.18	S to F	We don't believe in it?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t

The non-use of Elic:confirm acts by Singaporean and Malaysian children

signals very hierarchical orientation that does not encourage individuality from the

children. Though Filipino children do produce these acts, the assumptions they verify

generally concern simple facts. North American children, however, put forth their

own understanding of people and ideas (individual orientation) the allowance of

which signals a more egalitarian relationship.

Striking differences can also be seen the content of the parents' Elic:confirm

acts. Those produced in the Singaporean collection (by one parent) all ask the child to

confirm that she did something wrong (had an accident or did something the parent

had previously prohibited). Three of these acts were not responded to for the same

reason that some Elic:informs were not—the child was not given the opportunity to

respond. In the other two acts, the child responded with a Challenge that was counter

challenged by the parent who ended the exchange.

S007.2.13a	M to D	Did you fall in school?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	as
S007.2.13d	M to D	Did you climb?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	c
S007.3.15b	M to D	eh?	ds	I:Elic	confirm:C	as
S007.2.01j	M to D	Did you fall down in school?	ds	I:Elic	confirm:C	R:Chal
S007.2.13e	M to D	Did you?	ds	I:Elic	confirm:C	R:Chal

Just as this is consistent with the data for Elic:info acts, so too are the

Malaysian Elic:confirms in accord with their Elic:infos. The two parents' moves

asking for confirmation are the adults' way of ensuring that the lesson being taught to the children is understood. Thus, the role of parent as knowledgeable instructor and guide—an authoritative figure—is reinforced. For these moves the narrator didn't supply the child's response (abandoned by narrator moves) and context dictates that Positive responses should be inferred.

| M022.3.04b | F to S | See the three longitudinal lobes? | ds | I:Elic | confirm | as/Pos |
| M035.3.4b | F to S | Don't you know it's the trees that have allowed us to live? | ds | I:Elic | confirm | as/Pos |

Though Filipino parents displayed the lowest percentage of Elic:confirm acts (1.18% of their total moves, only 2 tokens in the corpus), both of those present refer to the child's wishes and comfort. The act in move P069.3.1 receives a Positive Response while that in P083.9.05 receives a Challenge from the child who ignores the parent's Eliciting move and asks a new question. In this case, rather than being concerned with the Challenging nature of the lack of response from the child, the parent Positively answers the child's question. While the Filipino parents' Elic:confirms do place the parent in the role of caretaker which is hierarchically oriented, these few interactions display a more egalitarian orientation than those of the Malaysian parents (who are imparting their facts and opinions) and the Singaporean parent (who are disciplining), and they also display the highly interdependent nature of Filipino parent-child discourse.

| P083.9.05 | M to D | Don't you want to sleep here with us, Tin-tin? | ds | I:Elic | confirm | R:Chal |
| P069.3.1 | F to D | Jovita takes very good care of you, doesn't she? | ds | I:Elic | confirm | R:Pos:t |

In the Filipino parents' Elic:confirms the role of child as a dependent who needs adult help is implicit (wanting to sleep with the parents rather than alone, being properly cared for by a nanny). In the Singaporean stories the child is assumed to be

incapable of caring for herself or following rules, and in the Malaysian stories the

child is assumed to be ignorant of facts and implications. The North American

parents' Elic:confirms can be divided into two types one of which is similar to the

Malaysian tokens. Four examples (27% of these moves) shown below serve a didactic

purpose in which the parent is imparting a fact or opinion. These are all abandoned

moves. If they are coded 'an,' the narrator does not provide a response because it is

strongly implied that a Positive response would follow. If they are coded 'as,' the

moves are abandoned because the speaker does not pause for a seemingly unnecessary

Positive Response.

A156.2.5d	M to S	See how big the building is?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	an
A156.2.5f	M to S	See up there?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	an
A160.04.33b	F to S	See?	fis	I:Elic	confirm	as
A043.5.33a	M to D	Feel that?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	as

In contrast, the rest of the parents' Elic:confirms position the children as social

agents in a way that is not expressed by the parents in the other cultures. The children

are assumed to have their own tastes in reading (A160.04.15, .11.09b, and .11.11),

knowledge about other people's actions (A043.5.01), freedom to come and go

(A160.11.01), preferences for tasks (A022.5.1), ability to notice and remember things

(A160.11.51)[4], and even their own assessments of their parents (A160.10.22 "You

think I'm being silly?"). All of these questions presuppose that the child is an

independent thinker and actor. About half of these Elic:confirms receive Positive

Responses and about half receive Negative Responses that end the exchange. In the

one event where the child responds with a Challenge, the parent counter-challenges,

to which the child responds Negatively to end the exchange. Such details demonstrate

both individualism and egalitarianism in North American parent-child relationships.

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[4] This move actually refers to an event in the past: the informal "You see his leg?" is used rather than
the standard, 'Did you see his leg?' or, "You saw his leg?"

A043.5.01	M to D	She doesn't stay with that man, does she?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Chal
A160.11.11	F to S	Liked it?	fis	I:Elic	confirm	R:Neg
A160.10.22	F to S	You think I'm being silly?	fis	I:Elic	confirm	R:Neg:t
A160.11.01	F to S	Going somewhere?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Neg:t
A043.1.1b	M to D	Wouldn't you?	ds	I:Elic	confirm:C	R:Neg:t
A156.1.03	M to S	Didn't you have it on yesterday?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Neg:t
A160.01.13	F to D	You haven't yurked yet, have you?	fis	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:C
A160.04.15	F to S	Seems like you've read that before.	fis	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:C:t
A160.11.09b	F to S	You finished the book?	fis	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t
A160.11.51	F to S	You see his leg?	fis	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t
A022.5.1	M to S	You foldin?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t

To conclude this section, the values indicated by the use of Elicitations of confirmation in the stories produce orientations that are consistent with those found in the analysis of Elicitations for information.

Hierarchical _____ Egalitarian

      Singaporean   Malaysian   Filipino   North American

5.3.3 Eliciting Agreement

While all Eliciting moves prospect a verbal response, obtaining agreement is far different from seeking or confirming information. When a speaker utters an Elic:agree act, it is usually with an authoritative falling tone as in "I guess we'll all be glad, won't we" (A043.5.05n). A high pitch, however, can mitigate the hierarchy as in "And Portia's mommy sent a terrific present, didn't she," where a higher pitch on the tag would encourage the child to respond though in agreement (A007.1.5a). In either case, it is the special province of Elic:agree acts to assert speaker authority not merely by stating an idea, but by stating and requiring that the hearer agree. Before jumping to conclusions based on the figures in Table 5.11 though, we must bear in mind that the type of response speakers receive is just as important to determining the value orientations of these moves as the initiations themselves.

	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
Speaker	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
agree	1	-	-	-	-	1	8	-
% total m	0.86%	-	-	-	-	0.82%	1.79%	-

Table 5.11 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Eliciting Agreement Acts

Given the nature of the Singaporean dialogues, it may seem that these acts would be present; however, the preponderance of directives (discussed below) which refer to actions inhibits the giving or sharing of information and the interactive aspect which are both elements of Elic:agrees. The one Elic:agree in the Malaysian stories is made by a parent, "I told you there are no diamonds in Malaysia. Didn't I?" (M022.6.3). Again the role of parent as teacher is reinforced, for the parent knows fully well that he had instructed his son about "The Geology of Malaysia" (the title of the story) even though the son questioned his father's authority on the subject by going to search for diamonds (and getting hurt in the process).

Displaying a very different orientation which is consistent with the less hierarchically oriented Filipino relationships, the only Elic:agree in the Filipino corpus is from a child to his father. In referring to the reason that his father cleans his rifle, the son asserts, "then you can hit better" (P068.6.07b). This is clearly not an Elic:confirm nor a simple statement of information (Informing moves are discussed below). Rather the child seeks and receives acknowledgement from his father that his deduction is correct. While this does not place the child in an authoritative role, it does display the use and sanctioning of his independent thinking.

In the North American stories, the Elic:agrees are comprised of eight moves by the parents. In one of these moves (A007.1.51 referred to above) the parent uses the

Elic:agree to encourage her daughter to respond. While in A098.4.1, "I guess you Brownies are almost Girl Scouts, right?" the informational content of the move emphasizes the daughter's increasing status. The remaining six Elic:agrees more closely resemble that of the Malaysian parent in asserting the parents' rightness or authority. It is significant that *none* of these moves receive a clearly Positive response. The first (as listed below) is abandoned, the second is followed by a continuing move, and the third receives an Elic:clarify as the daughter asks, "What sound?" The last three moves below, all receive Challenging responses from the children. In one case (A043.5.29c) the child's Challenge is counter-challenged by the parent to end the exchange. However, in another (A116.3.1) the child's Challenge ends the exchange while A160.04.09b leads to a Challenge from the child, a counter-Challenge from his father and then another Challenge from the child to terminate the exchange.

A043.5.05n	M to D	I guess we'll all be glad, won't we.	ds	I:Elic	agree	as
A043.1.1a	M to D	I bet you'd like some other little girl to have the music box, since you have birthday presents.	ds	I:Elic	agree	c
A043.5.07	M to D	Don't you love the sound?	ds	I:Elic	agree	I:Elic
A160.04.09b	F to S	You should be asleep.	ds	I:Elic	agree	R:Chal
A043.5.29c	M to D	Am I right?	ds	I:Elic	agree	R:Chal
A116.3.1	F to D	isn't it Tina?	ds	I:Elic	agree	R:Chal:t

Thus, it is evident from a more specific analysis that even though Eliciting agreement is more common in North American parents, the responses of their children reveal egalitarian and individualistic relationships. The small number of these acts from the other cultures reinforce the trends so far established which are in support of the second hypothesis of this study.

Hierarchical _____ Egalitarian

Singaporean   Malaysian   Filipino   North American

5.3.4 Eliciting Commitment

Eliciting commitment is only temporally different from Directing and Requesting. The Elic:commit prospects and immediate verbal response that commits the hearer to future compliance or non-compliance with a Directive or Requestive for non-verbal action.

Speaker	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
comm it	8	-	-	-	5	-	17	6
% total m	6.90%	-	-	-	2.94%	-	3.81%	1.73%

Table 5.12 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Eliciting Commitment Acts

In light of the discussion thus far, it is not surprising that given the focus on present-time Directives in the Singaporean dialogues, there are no Elic:commit acts present in those stories. The data from the other cultures' stories is consistent with the results presented so far. In the Malaysian stories, only the parents produce Elic:commits and to a greater extent (higher percentage of total moves) than the other parents. These eight moves can be divided into three types. Type 1 (the first two moves below) refers to prohibitions of future actions; these are clearly oriented toward authoritarian relationships. Type 2 (the third and fourth moves below) elicit commitment to future action and are, given the situational context, oriented toward hierarchy. Type 3 (the last four moves) elicit commitment to future action but on a more abstract level (*remember, love, study, use your education*), yet even these acts refer to ideals of interdependence and family unity and are consistent with the didactic purpose of language seen earlier.

M023.2.1a	M to D	don't you ever play with my makeup again,	fis	I:Elic	commit	as
M023.2.1b	M to D	that's my good lipstick, Shannel and real espensive,	fis	I:Elic	commit	as
M035.7.3d	F to S	you find work in town.	ds	I:Elic	commit	c
M035.7.3e	F to S	Weekends you can help me.	ds	I:Elic	commit:C	R:Chal:C
M035.3.4h	F to S	You remember that, Salleh!	ds	I:Elic	commit	as
M035.6.1a	F to S	Love this land, Salleh.	ds	I:Elic	commit	as
M035.6.1g	F to S	Get on with your studies.	ds	I:Elic	commit	as
M035.6.1i	F to S	Use your education to help you reap more reward from the land.	ds	I:Elic	commit	as

Furthermore, six out of the eight moves are abandoned by the speaker and one is continued. The prospection for a Positive response is so great in this cultural context that the speakers take the Positive response for granted. In only one move (M035.7.3e), the child Challenges the Elic:commit to which the parent counter-challenges to end the exchange as follows:

"… you find work in town. Weekends you can help me."
"Work? Work? What can I be but a clerk?"
"The money can still help."
His first reaction after the talk was to run to the rubber trees and cry.

Noraini Md Yusof, "Till Their Blood Ran Dry"

Thus, in his second turn the father reasserts himself by justifying his initial Elic:commit, and his son accepts the decision and only later alone and in silence reveals his still-conflicting attitude.

Present to a lesser degree in the Filipino stories, Elic:commit acts serve the same purposes as Types 1 and 2 above. The first two shown below prohibit behaviors (fighting and hitting) while the last three seek commitment to near-future actions (entertain, share, tell). In addition to exhibiting fewer Elic:commits, the responses from the Filipino children are slightly different. While one move is continued and two are abandoned by the narrator (implied Positive responses) which is similar, two moves are Challenged. In one there is the similar structure of the counter-challenge

from the parent to end the exchange, but in the other (the last move shown) the child

Challenges to end the exchange with a marked non-response from the parent. Taking

all of these factors into consideration, the Filipino Elic:commits reveal a slightly less

hierarchical orientation than the Malaysian tokens.

P090.1.8c	M to S	Remember, no fighting over the crayons,	ds	I:Elic	commit	c
P090.3.5	M to S	Don't you ever hit your older brother again or I'll smack you myself.	ds	I:Elic	commit	R:Chal:C:C
P090.2.2c	M to S	and entertain Wawa while Mama's finishing up with supper.	ds	I:Elic	commit	an
P090.1.8d	M to S	there's a lot to share.	ds	I:Elic	commit:C	an
P119.1.2c	F to S	Tell Mother I'll follow in a short while,	ds	I:Elic	commit	R:Chal:t

North American parents exhibited a lesser percentage of Elic:commits than the

Malaysian parents (nearly half as many) but slightly more than the Filipino parents.

The functions served are similar to those of the former with three moves used to

prohibit a future action and the rest seeking commitment to the performance of a

future action. Differences are evident in the amount of times these moves are

continued—just over one-third which is a result of one conversation in which the

mother reinforces the Elic:commits. In this situation the initial moves are abandoned

by the mother with the implication (from the context of the story) that her son will not

comply with the action: virtual Challenges. In the excerpt below the son is standing

next to the bed of his mother who is lying there with a hangover; her Elic:commit

moves are underlined.

> *He started backing away from the bed. Backing toward the door. …*
> *"Teddy, come here to me. You have to do something for me. Tell*
> *Granddaddy and Uncle Ingersol that Eric is trying to kill me. Tell*
> *them, will you, my darling? Tell them for me." She was getting sleepy*
> *again. Her voice was sounding funny. She reached out a hand to him*
> *and he went back to the bed and held out his arm and she stroked it.*
> *"Be sure and tell them. Tell them to call the President." She stopped*

touching him. Her eyes were closed. Her mouth fell open. She still
looked pretty. Even when she was drunk, she looked really pretty.

Ellen Gilchrist, "The Stucco House"

Most of the parent's Elic:commit moves, however, receive Positive responses or when abandoned Positive responses are implied except for one move that receives a Negative response when the child is unsure of a future outcome.

In addition to the presence of continuations and implied challenges, the North American stories reveal that children also produce Elic:commits though children in the other cultures did not. As might be expected, these are Requests for future action (rather than Directives). One child asks that he be allowed to *not* do something, while four others request to perform some action with the parent. In the final case, a son tries to get his father to commit to a future action that the son believes would be good for his parents (A160.11.42)—taking his mother on a vacation.

A041.5.6a	S to F	But I still don't want to cut it up,	ds	I:Elic	commit	an/Pos
A041.1.5a	S to F	Can we get a skull, too,	ds	I:Elic	commit	c
A041.1.5b	S to F	and put a snake inside it?	ds	I:Elic	commit:C	R:Neg:t
A043.2.4	D to M	We should bury that sheet.	ds	I:Elic	commit	R:Neg:C:t
A160.11.42	S to F	You should take her somewhere,	ds	I:Elic	commit	R:Pos:t

In conclusion, there appears to be a universal aspect to Eliciting commitment acts between parents and children. In all cultures, parents dictate their authority by securing their children's' acceptance of prohibitions and by committing them to future actions—these moves strongly prospect Positive responses. Cultural variation is present though in the degree of orientation toward hierarchy. More Challenges, ending the exchange with a child's Challenge, continuing the moves, and ability for children to elicit commitments from their parents all signal lesser degrees of hierarchical orientation. The three cultures whose stories did contain these moves are easily ranged upon the scale of hierarchy as follows.

Hierarchical _____ Egalitarian

Malaysian   Filipino   North American

5.3.5 Eliciting Repetition and Clarification

Though Tsui (1994) and the present framework classify these moves as Initiations, Eggins and Slade (1997) would call them Responses. Traditional CA would refer to these moves as repair or clarification sequences in which the second speaker remedies a perceived problem in the communication. Elic:repeats in actual conversations typically arise from environmental barriers to communication (noise, etc.) though this may not be the case in fictional dialogues as seen below. Elic:clarify moves are concerned with interpreting the speaker's message.

The least common type of Eliciting move that was exhibited in the corpus was the Elic:repeat of which there were only two tokens. Though it would be easy to dismiss these as insignificant repair sequences, closer examination of the two moves reveals two discoveries. First, neither move is prompted due to environmental disruptions in the conversations; such features of real-life interaction, it appears, are ignored by all the authors. Rather these moves are prompted because the children say something that their parents are surprised to hear: in one case an unpleasant fact, and in the other an unwanted request. Secondly, it is not surprising that of all the stories, it is the North American parent-child dialogues in which these exchanges occur. True, the parents' Elic:repeats question the veracity and warrants of the preceding moves from the children, but the fact that these moves occur can be seen as a sign of a greater willingness for North American children to say what their parents don't want to hear.

Speaker	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
repeat	- -		- -		- -		2	-
% total m	- -		- -		- -		0.45%	-
clarify	-	3	1	-	-	2	4	3
% total m	- 5.17%		1.00%	-	- 1.64%		0.90%	0.87%

Table 5.13 Parent-Child Eliciting Repetition and Clarification Acts

More commonly represented, moves with Elic:clarify acts were present in
stories from all the countries, but also with variations. In the Malaysian stories the
three moves, which made up 5% of the children's' moves, were all seeking
clarification while the parent was teaching something to the child.

M022.1.2	S to F	How come?	ds	I:Elic	clarify	an
M022.3.03a	S to F	Find something?	ds	I:Elic	clarify	c
M022.3.03b	S to F	Like this?	ds	I:Elic	clarify:C	R:Pos:t

Comprising a lower percentage of children's moves, the Filipino Eilc:clarify
acts were used for different purposes. In the first move given below, the parent was
telling the child personal details about her past and the Elic:clarify signals a more
equally oriented style of conversation as the child seeks more detail. In the second
move the act contains the child's sense of surprise, a questioning of the parent's
proposition, as the parent was imparting a moral lesson, and the child seeks
clarification of the message.

P069.1.7	D to M	That long ago?	ds	I:Elic	clarify	as
P068.5.3	S to M	There's a season for killing?	ds	I:Elic	clarify	R:Pos:C:t

This same sense of clarifying the credulity of a parent's statement is present in the first two of the North American children's' Elic:clarify acts though the third merely serves to clarify a referent in the parent's previous move.

A043.8.3	D to F	Joe?		ds	I:Elic	clarify	R:Chal:t
A160.08.18	S to F	Shorey?		fis	I:Elic	clarify	R:Pos:t
A043.5.08	D to M	What sound?		ds	I:Elic	clarify	R:Pos:t

The less interactive nature of the Singaporean dialogues and possibly a reticence for the children to seek clarification could explain why they never display these moves. In the one instance where the parent uses an Elic:clarify it is (like the last in the North American sample) to define a referent in the previous move. This is, however, abandoned as an older child interrupts the conversation. On the other hand, when the North American parents Elicited to clarify, it was in the essence of negotiating meaning so that the interaction could continue. This greater interactivity signals more equally oriented discourse with both participants engaging in clarification.

A160.08.17a	F to S	Me?	fis	I:Elic	clarify	as
A160.10.10	F to S	You would?	fis	I:Elic	clarify	I:Elic
A160.08.13	F to S	Like what?	fis	I:Elic	clarify	R:Pos:t
A160.10.18b	F to S	Australian friends, you mean?	fis	I:Elic	clarify	R:Pos:t

5.3.6 Conclusion

Eliciting functions were the second most frequently represented initial moves in the corpus, accounting for 28% of all initiations. Eliciting leads to verbal interaction, and the most commonly expressed act of Eliciting in the corpus was asking for information, and tokens of the other acts were present in the dialogue of stories from nearly all of the cultures. This research demonstrates how parents and their children use the different acts of Eliciting information, confirmation, agreement, commitment,

repetition, and clarification are all potential indicators of their cultural value orientations. Authoritarianism and egalitarianism in conversational interaction can be discerned by examining the distribution of Eliciting moves and their responses while taking into consideration the importance of discourse role availability for speakers of unequal status as well as analyzing the semantic content of exchanges.

This methodology reveals that for every group of functional acts, parent-child relationships in the Singaporean stories are presented as the most authoritarian followed by the Malaysian stories which often portray parents in traditional didactic roles. The Filipino dialogues are nearly as egalitarian in orientation as the North American stories but with a high degree of parent-child interaction. Finally, as hypothesized, the North American interactions in stories display the most egalitarian style of verbal discourse.

Hierarchical ————————————————————————— Egalitarian

      Singaporean   Malaysian   Filipino North American

5.4 Requesting and Directing Moves and their Responses

<u>Singapore</u>

    'Ping! <u>Don't</u>' just sit there! <u>Eat</u>! <u>Must I feed you too</u>?'…

    Mother pushed a bowl of soup and a plate of rice under my nose. Then she chose the choicest part of the steamed fish and put it on my rice together with some vegetables and a large piece of pork.

    '<u>Eat</u>,' she ordered.

    I cringed. My stomach had shrunk as though it had been tied and knotted up, and there was no room for food. To appease Mother, I spooned out some rice and put it in my mouth, hoping that she wouldn't notice that I had lost my appetite. …

    '<u>Eat the fish, ingrate</u>!'

I crammed some fish into my mouth at once, trying to swallow as fast as I could. My throat was dry as sand. I was afraid that I'd throw up again. ...

  'Eat!'

I shoved another spoonful into my mouth.

Suchen Christine Lim, "Tragedy of My Third Eye"

move ID	speaker	text	rep	move	act	response
S007.3.01a	M to D	Don't just sit there!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c
S007.3.01b	M to D	Eat!	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	c
S007.3.01c	M to D	Must I feed you too?	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Chal
S007.3.02	D to M	**sits there**	**NV**	R:Chal		
S007.3.03	M to D	Eat	ds	R:Chal		
S007.3.04	D to M	**spooned out some rice and put it in my mouth**	**NV**	R:Pos:t		
S007.3.05	M to D	Eat the fish, ingrate!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t
S007.3.06	D to M	**crammed some fish into my mouth**	**NV**	R:Pos:t		
S007.3.07	M to D	Eat!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t
S007.3.08	D to M	**shoved another spoonful into my mouth**	**NV**	R:Pos:t		

Malaysia

  "Call him, go on. Speak loudly."

  "But father, he's asleep."

  "No, no. He's always like this now. Go on, loud enough so that he can hear you.."

  "Atok, Atok... "

  "Louder!"

  "Atok!"

Noraini Md Yusof, "Sleep *Atok* Sleep"

M011.1.1a	F to D	Call him,	ds	I:Dir	advice	c
M011.1.1b	F to D	go on.	ds	I:Dir	advice:C	c
M011.1.1c	F to D	Speak loudly.	ds	I:Dir	advice:C	R:Chal
M011.1.2	D to F	But father, he's asleep.	ds	R:Chal		R:Chal:C:t
M011.1.3a	F to D	No, no.	ds	R:Chal		
M011.1.3b	F to D	He's always like this now.	ds	R:Chal:C:t		
M011.1.3c	F to D	Go on,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c
M011.1.3d	F to D	loud enough so that he can hear you.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Pos:t
M011.1.4	D to F	Atok, Atok…	ds	R:Pos:t		
M011.1.5	F to D	Louder!	ds	I:Dir	advice	R:Pos:t
M011.1.6	D to F	Atok!	ds	R:Pos:t		

Philippines

> "*Come sleep between Mommy and Daddy*," her mother calls to her from the big bed in their room.
>
> "*I'm not sleepy,*" Tin-tin says, suddenly not wanting to go to bed yet, "*I want to play jackstones some more.*" She takes the little beanbags her cousins gave her, and sits on the floor to practice the game so she can play better against her cousins tomorrow.
>
> "*Tin-tin, that's enough,*" her father says, "*it's time to go to bed.*"
>
> Tin-tin looks up at her father and sees his stern expression. She climbs up to the cot that Yaya Auring made for her.
>
> Nina Evangelista, "Holy Week"

P083.9.01	M to D	Come sleep between Mommy and Daddy,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Chal:C:t
P083.9.02a	D to M	I'm not sleepy,	ds	R:Chal		
P083.9.02b	D to M	I want to play jackstones some more.	ds	R:Chal:C		
P083.9.03a	F to D	that's enough,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c
P083.9.03b	F to D	it's time to go to bed.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Pos:t
P083.9.04	D to F	**looks up… climbs up to the cot**	**NV**	R:Pos		

North America

> "*I want to call Mommy,*" he said. "*On the phone. She will tell you not cut up my pumpkin.*"
>
> "We can't bother Mommy," I said. "She's resting now."
>
> "Why is she resting?"
>
> "You know why."
>
> "I don't want her to rest anymore. *I want to call her. Call her, Dad.* She'll tell you not to cut it up."
>
> …
>
> "*I want this one,*" said Nicky. "*And I'm going to name it Kate.*"
>
> I shook my head.
>
> "You can't do that," I said.
>
> "*Please?*"
>
> "No, honey," I said. "We don't name our pumpkins."
>
> Michael Chabon, "Along the Frontage Road"

A041.3.10e	S to F	I want to call Mommy,	ds	I:Req	action	c
A041.3.10f	S to F	On the cell phone.	ds	I:Req	action:C	R:Neg:C:t
A041.3.10g	S to F	She will tell you not to cut up	ds	I:Inf	report	as

		my pumpkin.				
A041.3.11a	F to S	We can't bother Mommy,	ds	R:Neg		
A041.3.11b	F to S	She's resting right now.	ds	R:Neg:C		
A041.3.12	S to F	Why is she resting?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:t
A041.3.13	F to S	You know why.	ds	R:Chal		
A041.3.14a	S to F	I don't want her to rest anymore.	ds	I:Inf	report	as
A041.3.14b	S to F	I want to call her.	ds	I:Req	action	as
A041.3.14c	S to F	Call her, Dad.	ds	I:Dir	threat	as
A041.3.14d	S to F	She'll tell you not to cut it up.	ds	I:Inf	report	as
A041.3.14e	S to F	I want this one,	ds	I:Req	action	as
A041.3.14f	S to F	And I'm going to name it Kate.	ds	I:Req	permiss	R:Neg:C:R:Pos
A041.3.15	F to S	You can't do that,	ds	R:Neg		
A041.3.15	F to S	**shook my head**	NV	R:Neg		
A041.3.16	S to F	Please?	ds	I:Req	permiss:C	R:Neg:C:t
A041.3.17a	F to S	No, honey,	ds	R:Neg		
A041.3.17b	F to S	We don't name our pumpkins.	ds	R:Neg:C		

5.4.1 The Requesting-Directing Dichotomy

In contrast to Eliciting moves which prospect a verbal response, both

Requesting and Directing functions prospect a non-verbal response. The difference

between these two functions is that in Requests the hearer is given the option of

compliance. Thus, non-compliance is a Negative response—to Challenge a Request,

one must deny the speaker's right to such verbal action (including blatant ignoring of

the speech act) or in some other way Challenge the speaker's presuppositions (i.e. the

speaker's belief that the hearer is capable of complying). Directing moves, on the

other hand, do not give the hearer the choice of non-compliance—to not carry out the

action is to Challenge the presuppositions of a Directive. The choice of whether a

speaker among equals Directs or Requests can be seen as a matter of politeness;

however, in relationships where one speaker has higher status, the choice is a signal of

the hierarchical orientation of the discourse. Studies of language socialization have

demonstrated that in parent-child interaction, parents direct more often than they

request, and children request more often than they direct.

Speaker	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
Total moves	116	58	100	44	170	122	446	346
Total I:Req	3	-	-	5	7	15	17	24
% of all m	2.59%	-	-	11.36%	4.12%	12.30%	3.81%	6.94%
Total I:Dir	17	-	57	2	40	1	37	1
% of all m	14.66%	-	57%	4.55%	23.53%	0.82%	8.3%	0.29%

Table 5.14 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Requesting and Directing

This research not only confirms this universal aspect of parent-child discourse, but also reveals through quantitative analysis that the differences between frequencies of parent and child Requesting and Directing as represented in fictional dialogue varied across cultures and is an indicator of cultural value orientations.
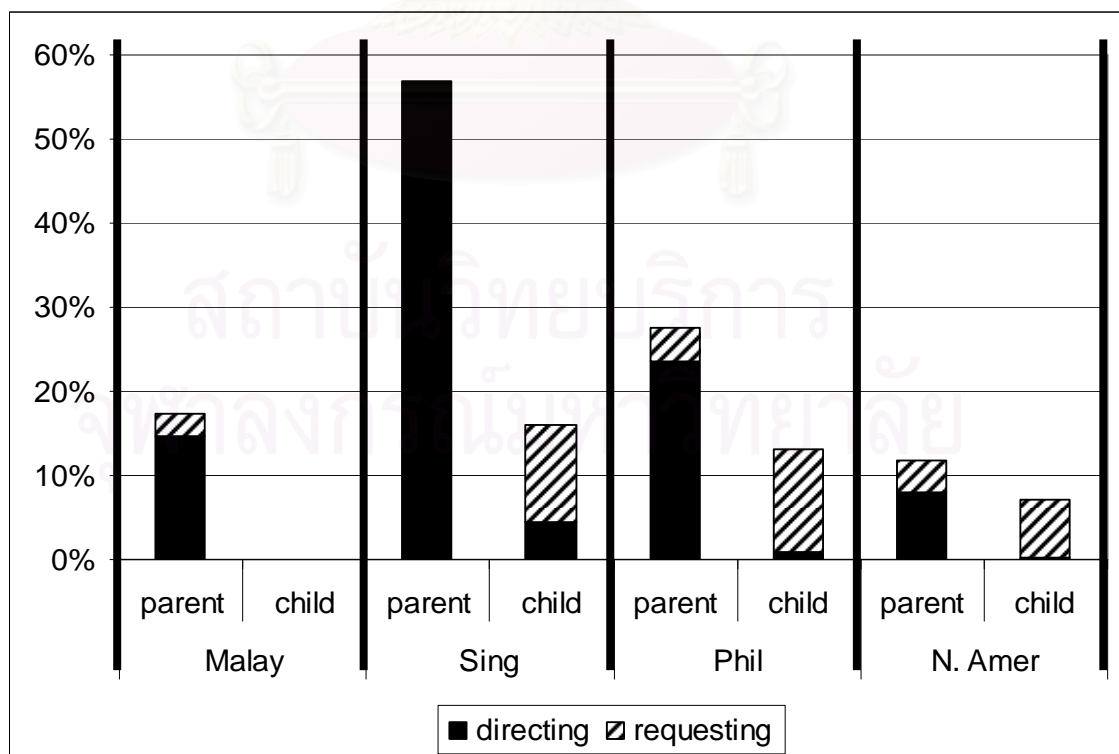
Chart 5.7 Comparison of Parent-Child Requesting and Directing Functions

Requesting and Directing moves combined accounted for 28% of the initiations in the corpus (the same figure as Eliciting moves) though there were more than twice as many tokens of Directing moves than Requesting. As shown in Table 5.14 and Chart 5.7, in the stories from all cultures, parents Directed more often than they Requested and more than their children's combined Directing and Requesting. Within this universal pattern, there is a distinct difference between the two more traditional SE Asian cultures on the one hand, and Filipino and North American on the other. Discourse role availability plays an important factor in the portrayal of value orientations in both Malaysian and Singaporean dialogues in the corpus. While the proportion of Malaysian parent's Directing and Requesting is similar to that of the Filipino and North American parents, the Malaysian children produced no Requests or Directs. This extreme imbalance of roles in which the parent is free to prospect actions from children but not vice-versa marks this discourse as very hierarchically oriented. Likewise, the Singaporean dialogues are very authoritarian, but in this culture the same orientation is portrayed by a different distribution of moves. Here children are allowed to make Requests and even Directing behavior is present; however, the role of Requestor of action is not present in depictions of the parents. This combined with the extremely high percentage of Directing moves (relative to the other cultures) marks the Singaporean relationships.

In contrast, analysis of the Filipino and North American dialogues reveals the presence of both types of functions in both speakers in both cultures which suggests more egalitarian orientations. Likewise they display similar patterns of role availability and proportions for speakers but with a difference in the ratio of parent to child to child production of these moves. In the Filipino stories the parents produce many more Directing moves than in the North American stories which marks them as

less egalitarian. This is mitigated though by the greater frequency of Filipino children's Requesting moves.

The North American parent-child dialogues contain the least amount of both move functions. This does not necessarily indicate egalitarian discourse—it reveals that these dialogues contain more verbal rather than physical interaction, and this is typical of Low Context of Communication cultures in which explicitness in words is valued over meaning carried through paralinguistic features of communication. Values of egalitarian discourse are seen in two different ratios. First, the parents' production of Directing moves is proportionally less in comparison to Requesting than for the parents of the other cultures. In other words, the North American parents, when given the choice between Directing and Requesting, chose Directing less than other parents. Secondly, the ratio of combined Directing and Requesting between parents and children is very high with parents producing only slightly more of these moves than their children when compared to the other cultures. All of this makes the North American dialogues the most egalitarian regarding these discourse functions.

Hierarchical _____ Egalitarian
    Singaporean   Malaysian   Filipino   North American

In the results and discussion that follow, Requesting and Directing moves are discussed separately in order to more easily compare these functions and their different acts across cultures. However, it is important to keep in mind that there is a direct relationship between the two functions. Likewise, the amount of Requesting and Directing behavior is proportionate to the amount of Eliciting and Informing as shown in the beginning of this chapter.

5.4.2 Children's Requesting Moves

Table 5.15 on the next page presents a summary of the different functional acts of Requesting as produced by parents and children in the corpus. For comparative purposes the rest of this section will focus on children's discourse behaviors. Chart 5.8 highlights the children's use of Requesting moves.

As shown in Table 5.15 and Chart 5.8, Malaysian children made no requests while these moves accounted for 11% and 12% of Singaporean and Malaysian children's moves but only 7% of North American children's. The following sections address the different act functions and demonstrate that more detailed analysis reveals cultural differences in how children make requests from their parents.
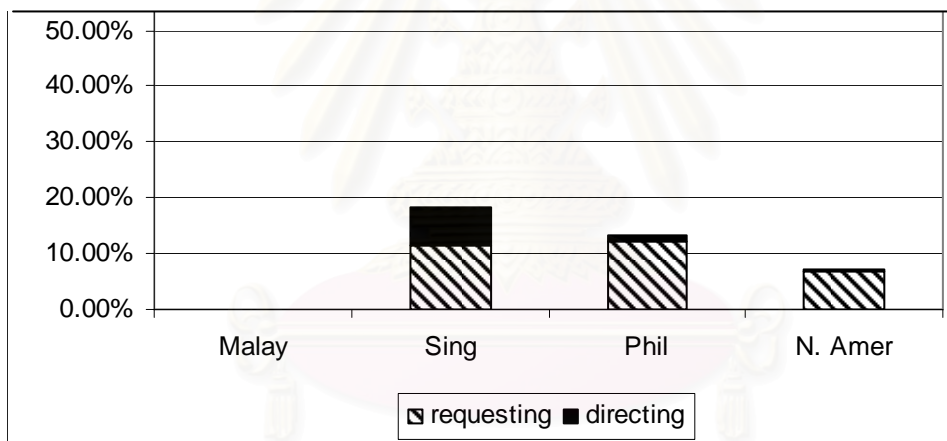
Chart 5.8 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Child Requesting and Directing Moves

5.4.2.1 Requesting Action

As shown in Table 5.15, the frequency of Requesting move types varied according to both age and culture. In all cultures but one, children made more than twice as many requests (measured in percentage of total moves) than their parents. The most common type of Requesting move for children to make was for action. Comparing the frequency of these moves across cultures is difficult, however, given

the small amount of moves made by Singaporean children. If continuations are counted, Req:action moves account for 9.09% of their total moves, but three of these four tokens occurred in one exchange. With this in mind, in all of the cultures where children made requests for action, these made up about 4 to 5 percent of their moves. In the Malaysian stories, children made no Requests of any type. Role availability, as discussed above, dictates whether or not a child is allowed to make Requests, and in cultures in which hierarchy is highly valued parents may discourage children from

	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
Speaker	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
Total moves	116	58	100	44	170	122	446	346
Total Init.	73	31	84	11	97	58	271	182
Total I:Req	3	-	-	5	7	15	17	24
% of all m	2.59%	-	-	11.36%	4.12%	12.30%	3.81%	6.94%
action	1	-	-	4	1	7	5	16
% of all m	0.86%	-	-	9.09%	0.59%	5.74%	1.12%	4.62%
perm it	-	-	-	-	-	7	1	6
% of all m	-	-	-	-	-	5.74%	0.22%	1.73%
offer	-	-	-	-	1	-	6	-
% of all m	-	-	-	-	0.59%	-	1.35%	-
invite	1	-	-	1	-	-	2	2
% of all m	0.86%	-	-	2.27%	-	-	0.45%	0.58%
propose	1	-	-	-	5	1	3	-
% of all m	0.86%	-	-	-	2.94%	0.82%	0.67%	-

Table 5.15 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Requesting Moves

such verbal behavior even though it places the parent in the role of provider and child in the role of dependent.

Examining the content of the requests for action in the cultures where children did produce them reveals differences. The Singaporean children's' requests were for the parents to buy them something. One (a simple request for something to drink) received a Positive response while the others (one turn in which the child attempted to convince her mother to buy her a toy) received an emphatic Negative response. These few exchanges are contrary to the majority of interaction in the Singaporean stories because they show that children are allowed seek action from their parents. However, this is to a lesser extent than the North American or Filipino children. Furthermore, Req:action moves were the only requests from Singaporean children whereas in the other cultures children requested permission and made invitations and proposals.

S022.2.01	D to M	I'm thirsty.	ds	I:Req	action	R:Pos:t
S022.1.1b	D to M	buy me that plastic Mickey Mouse lantern.	ds	I:Req	action	c
S022.1.1c	D to M	It got light-bulb.	ds	I:Req	action:C	c
S022.1.1d	D to M	Wind no problem.	ds	I:Req	action:C	R:Neg:C:C:C:t

In the two cultures more oriented toward equality, children exhibited a greater variety of Requesting move types, but differences between them can be seen. To begin with, the Filipino children's requests for action did not involve buying things, but providing items that the parent already possessed or, more commonly, physical interaction. The first two moves below (from the same turn) are a request for a thing. The instances of seeking interaction which follow include: requests to be held, for the parent to play music, and to be given a kiss. As mentioned in the discussion of other move types, the Filipino dialogues are characterized in part by a greater frequency of non-verbal interaction and displays of physical affection.

P049.1.1a	D to M	do you have an extra handkerchief?	ds	I:Req	action	c
P049.1.1b	D to M	I still have colds.	ds	I:Req	action:C	R:Pos:C:t
P044.2.1	D to M	**ask to be held**	**nrsa**	I:Req	action	R:Neg:C:t
P044.2.3	D to M	**came back a little later**	**NV**	I:Req	action	R:Chal:t
P081.3.1	D to M	Music.	ds	I:Req	action	R:Neg:t
P090.1.1b	S to M	offering his face for a kiss	NV	I:Req	action	an/Pos

One interpretation of these requests which is in line with Hypothesis 2 is that they are midway on the scale of hierarchy—equality. The presupposition that the parent is willing to perform these actions and that the child is allowed to make such requests shows a degree of egalitarianism. However, the content of these requests call for interaction which makes them very interdependent. Three of the moves end with the parents' compliance, two receive Negative responses, and only one is Challenged by the parent.

In the North American stories, the children produced 16 Requests for action of which six were for buying things, two were for some type of interaction (i.e. reading together, grooming their hair), and one was for the parent to help a sibling. What marks the remaining seven requests for action (shown below) as different from those just mentioned and from the Filipino children's is that they were for the parent to perform an action solely for the benefit of the child (i.e. making a phone call, painting fingernails) and at the parent's expense of time and attention. Furthermore, they were extremely persistent—moves were continued in the same turn and reinitiated when the parent did not reply.

A116.4.1a	D to M	**stuck out a hand**	**NV**	I:Req	action	c
A116.4.1b	D to M	Mine too.	ds	I:Req	action:C	c
A116.4.1c	D to M	Do mine too.	ds	I:Req	action:C	R:Chal:C:t
A116.7.1	D to M	renewed her plea that she wanted her nails done too,	nrsa	I:Req	action	R:Neg:t
A041.3.10e	S to F	I want to call Mommy,	ds	I:Req	action	c
A041.3.10f	S to F	On the cell phone.	ds	I:Req	action:C	R:Neg:C:t
A041.3.14b	S to F	I want to call her.	ds	I:Req	action	as

Two of the children's requests for buying and one for interaction received Positive responses while the rest of all the Requests were met with Negative responses or Challenges. Thus, the North American children showed more inclination to request for their individual desires to be met by their parents, though parents seldom obliged them. When Requests for action in all the cultures are examined relative to each other, the same pattern of value orientations emerges with Malaysia and Singapore being the most hierarchical, Filipinos being egalitarian and highly interactive, and North Americans showing the most egalitarianism and independence.

Hierarchical   Egalitarian

Singaporean   Malaysian   Filipino   North American

5.4.2.2 Permission, Offers, Invitations, and Propositions

Continuing with this contrast of North American children's Requesting to that of the Filipino children's, Table 5.15 shows that almost half (7 of 15) of the Filipino children's Requesting moves (5.74% of their total moves) were for permission. In these moves children asked to play or do some fun activity (i.e. ride a horse, shoot a gun), or to politely leave the dinner table (a non-verbal gesture), but also to be allowed to sleep with their parents and to perform an action helpful to their grandmother. Half of these initiations received Positive responses and half Negative ones all of which ended the exchange.

P083.1.1	D to M	wants to ride the horses in Baguio,	is	I:Req	permission	R:Neg:C:t
P083.5.1	D to M	wants to change into her swimsuit and play in the ocean	nrsa	I:Req	permission	R:Neg:t
P083.6.1	D to M	if she may play on the beach.	is	I:Req	permission	R:Neg:t
P068.2.4	S to F	**picked up the rifle again**	**NV**	I:Req	permission	as
P044.3.1	D to F	**staring**	**NV**	I:Req	permission	R:Pos
P090.1.7	S to M	Can we thleep with you and Papa tonight?	ds	I:Req	permission	R:Pos:t
P090.2.1b	S to M	shall I bring Lola her tobacco?	ds	I:Req	permission	R:Pos:t

On the other hand, the North American children used such moves only 1.71%
of the time and their requests were limited to permission to play or leave the room (all
non-verbal), and performing some action for their own interest. All but one of these
requests received Positive responses.

A140.1.1b	S to M	**looking at Felicia to gauge her approval**	NV	I:Req	permission	R:Pos:t
A140.1.2b	S to M	**looking at Felicia to gauge her approval** [2nd son]	NV	I:Req	permission	R:Pos:t
A098.4.2b	D to M	**waiting to say goodbye**	NV	I:Req	permission	as/Pos
A041.3.14f	S to F	And I'm going to name it Kate.	ds	I:Req	permission	R:Neg:C:R:Pos:t
A041.3.16	S to F	Please?	ds	I:Req	permission:C	R:Neg:C:t
A041.5.2b	S to F	I want to get a bigger one.	ds	I:Req	permission	R:Pos:t

Whereas Requests for permission are speaker-centered, offers and invitations
are hearer-centered. Req:offer acts are made when a speaker offers to do something
for the hearer. Req:invite acts are used when the speaker invites the hearer to do
something for him or herself. The final type of Request (Req:propose) is a speaker's
proposition to do something with the hearer. None of the children in the stories
offered to do something for their parents, and this reveals another apparent universal
in parent-child discourse: it is the authority figure's role to make offers.

One North American child, however, made and continued one invitation act
calling his father's attention to an interesting object that he noticed. Likewise, one
Singaporean child invited her mother to relieve her sadness at the loss of the child's
new toy by buying another one, and one Filipino child produced a Req:propose in
which she asked that she and her mother dance together.

A041.1.1b	S to F	Look.	ds	I:Req	invite	an/Pos
A041.1.1c	S to F	Look, Dad.	ds	I:Req	invite:C	an/Pos
S022.2.09b	D to M	can always buy new one.	ds	I:Req	invite	R:Chal:C:C:C:t
P081.2.2b	D to M	Dance, Mommy, dance.	ds	I:Req	proposal	R:Neg:t

Here the parents' responses are indicative of value orientations. The
Singaporean child's Elic:invite to her mother receives an emphatic Challenge (it is

continued three times and ends the exchange)—i.e. buying a new toy to replace the lost one most definitely will not make the mother less *gek sim*. The Filipino child's proposal is responded to with a Negative (non-compliance) while the North American child's invite receives an implied Positive response from the parent as this father and son go onto talk in more detail about object introduced by the child.

In conclusion, children in the cultures valuing hierarchy (Singapore and Malaysia) make fewer Requesting moves in terms of exchanges and variety of move types. The Filipino children are distinguished by their balance of requests for permission and proposals and by the content of their requests for action. Thus, the Filipino children displayed far more interdependence than the North American children whose requests were mostly for actions that would serve their individual interests.

5.4.3 Parent's Requesting Moves

As Table 5.15 and Chart 5.9 show, parents' Requesting moves when seen as a percentage of total moves varied little according to culture. However, the Singaporean parents did not produce any requests but rather used Directing moves which clearly orients their discourse toward hierarchy. Malaysian parents used Requesting moves for only 2.59% of their total moves with a slightly higher preference for Directing.

Their Requests consisted of one each of requests for action, invite, and propose. As shown below, the Req:action admonishes the child by asking her to stop speaking disrespectfully about another family member, in the Req:invite a mother brings medicine for her daughter to take, and in the Req:propose is the father non-verbally suggests that the two of them leave the grandfather's bedside.
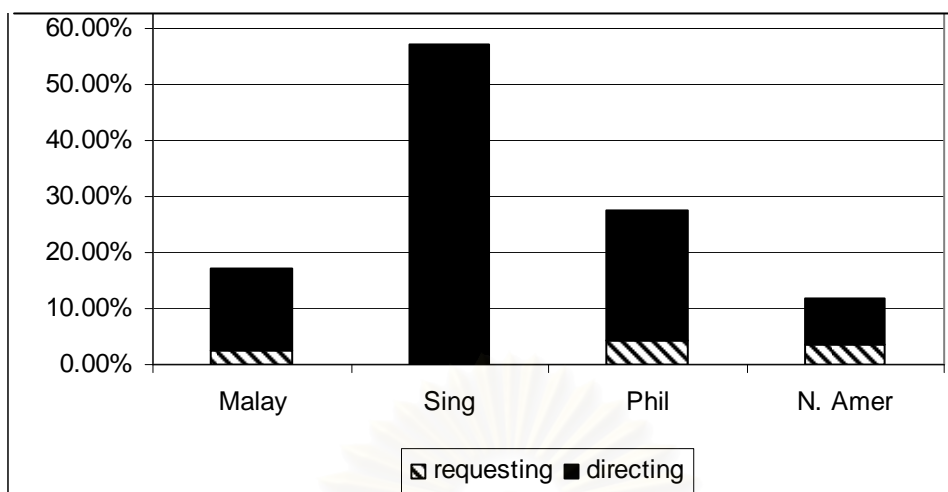
Chart 5.9 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent Requesting and Directing Moves

M023.3.2e	M to D	I shoodnt say things like that about uncle Jay because hes helped us a lot and hed be real hurted if he knew.	fis	I:Req	action	an/Pos
M034.1.3c	M to D	**bringing me a glass of water and a Panadol,**	**NV**	I:Req	invite	as/Pos
M011.2.09	F to D	**pulled her away from the bed**	**NV**	I:Req	proposal	R:Pos:t

This distribution of Requesting move types (and their content) also orients their discourse toward hierarchy with the parent in the role of teacher/caretaker and the moves met either Positively by the children, or in the case of abandoned moves, Positive responses are implied.

Contrary to the earlier data, Filipino parents in their preference for Directing moves over Requesting appear to be more hierarchically oriented than the Malaysian parents. However, analysis of their Requesting acts reveals more interactive discourse. Specifically, five of the seven Requesting moves from the Filipino parents are proposals for interaction, one is an offer of food, and only one is a request for action. Notably in this final instance the mother had been attempting for some time to persuade her daughter to leave with her.[5]

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[5] Functionally this move prospects that the daughter will come. The semantic content of the words suggests that being alone is negative, and it would be preferrable for the child to be with her mother.

P068.6.18a	F to S	Let's go back to the camp.	ds	I:Req	proposal	c
P068.6.18b	F to S	They must be finished with the setting up by now.	ds	I:Req	proposal:C	R:Pos:t
P044.4.1c	M to D	Shall we have breakfast?	ds	I:Req	proposal	R:Pos:t
P044.6.1	M to D	ask her to sit on her lap	nrsa	I:Req	proposal	R:Pos
P090.4.01	M to S	Anybody who finds my keys gets a ten-peso reward	ds	I:Req	proposal	R:Pos
P044.5.1	M to D	Would you like some of this, Wito?	ds	I:Req	offer	R:Chal
P001.1.1	M to D	If you don't come with me you'll be all alone in here,	ds	I:Req	action	R:Chal:t

Unlike the Malaysian exchanges, two of these receive a Challenging response from the child only one of which is followed by a parent's counter-challenge. Thus, these exchanges are not only more interactive, but, when considering the responses, less authoritarian than in the Malaysian stories.

The most important finding concerning the North American parents' behaviors regarding Requesting moves is that, as shown in Table 5.14 and Charts 5.3 and 5.5, their percentage of Directing moves is only a little over 4% greater than their percentage of Requesting moves. Within this strong orientation toward egalitarian discourse between parents and children, there is also a wider distribution of Requesting move types (Table 5.15). These parents' made more Req:offer acts than those in the other stories and analysis of their content reveals implicit individualism in most of the moves. In the first two moves below a father offers his son a trip alone to visit his grandparents when their family vacation had to be cancelled.

A160.13.1b	F to S	A week in San Diego,	ds	I:Req	offer	c
A160.13.1c	F to S	A consolation prize.	fis	I:Req	offer:C	R:Pos:t
A160.03.5	F to D	If you need anything, just yell, and I'll come down for you.	ds	I:Req	offer	R:Pos:t
A160.02.1	F to S	want to pull back from him, stop inflicting myself upon him	nrsa	I:Req	offer	R:Neg

In the third move shown, the father offers to his sick daughter, "If you need anything, just yell, and I'll come down for you." Compare this to the situation in which the Malaysian mother *invites* her sick child to take medicine. Though she provides the

medicine, a Req:invite stipulates that the action (taking the medicine) be carried out

by the addressee. The mother, who had entered the room freely, fulfills the role of

caregiver then leaves to meet her own obligations. The North American father,

however, makes a definite *offer* of his availability at any time subject to his daughter's

needs. All of these moves receive Positive responses. Another, in which a father

offers to stop tutoring his son (it is frustrating for both of them), is met Negatively—

and the father yields to his son's desire to continue.

In addition to two Req:invite acts in which parents recommend a book and

invite the child to go outside to play, there are three proposals for joint action.

| A160.04.29 | F to S | You should read this before we go. | fis | I:Req | invite:C | R:Pos:t |
| A043.5.11d | M to D | Why don't you go on out now? | ds | I:Req | invite | as |

A070.2.2c	M to D	Never mind, you know it by heart.	ds	I:Req	proposal	R:Pos
A043.6.01c	F to D	Tell me what to do,	ds	I:Req	proposal	c
A043.6.01d	F to D	and I'll do it.	ds	I:Req	proposal:C	as

The first is a seemingly typical parent-child activity (reciting a story together);

however, the other two moves are made by a father who proposes that his daughter

should advise him in a career choice (also referred to in the discussion of Eliciting

moves). Though the move is abandoned, a father's proposal that his daughter make

such an important decision is unique to the North American stories.

Finally, the North American sample was the only one containing a request for

permission from a child. A very typical and culturally significant event, the father

asks his son, "Can I come in?" before entering the son's bedroom.

| A160.04.05 | F to S | Can I come in? | fis | I:Req | permission | R:Pos:t |

Compare this to the Malaysian parent who openly enters her daughter's bedroom or to

the Filipino parents who sleep in the same room with their children. This is a prime

example of how egalitarianism and independence in North American parent-child relationships is present in their discourse.

The above discussion of children's and parent's Requesting moves demonstrates that the way this behavior is portrayed in fictional stories reveals cultural values related to the importance of authority and of independence. The Singaporean children with their simple requests, only one of which was granted, and their parents who choose to impose through Directing rather than Requesting moves are the most hierarchically oriented. They are followed by the Malaysian stories in which children never requested and parents did infrequently to fulfill their roles as teachers/caretakers. The Filipino children, though allowed to request more freely, often sought interaction while their parents displayed their authority by denying requests and issuing a higher proportion of Directing moves than in the North American dialogues. Finally, the North American children with their persistent requests for personal attention and their parent's offers to children and request for permission marks them as the most egalitarian.

Hierarchical   Egalitarian

Singaporean   Malaysian   Filipino   North American

5.4.4 Children's Directing Moves

Directing moves are, by their nature, authoritarian; however, the amount and distribution of these types of moves can characterize speaker relationships. The most obvious universal quality of Directing moves in parent-child discourse displayed in stories is the scarcity of these moves produced by children.

Given such low numbers—only four child-initiated Directing moves in the entire corpus—the following discussion will rely on examination of these four

instances. In the Malaysian collection, there were no examples of children issuing a

Directing move to a parent which makes it easy to label the Malaysian discourse as

the most authoritarian in this case since the role of director of behavior is not open to

the children.

Speaker	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
Total moves	116	58	100	44	170	122	446	346
Total Init.	73	31	84	11	97	58	271	182
Total I:Dir	15	-	57	2	40	1	37	1
% of all m	12.93%	-	57.00%	4.55%	23.53%	0.82%	8.3%	0.29%
instru ct	7	-	28	-	31	-	35	-
% of all m	6.03%	-	28.00%	-	18.24%	-	7.85%	-
threa t	2	-	28	-	3	1	2	1
% of all m	1.72%	-	28.00%	-	1.77%	0.82%	0.45%	0.29%
warning	-	-	-	1	3	-	-	-
% of all m	-	-	-	2.27%	1.77%	-	-	-
advice	6	-	1	1	3	-	-	-
% of all m	5.17%	-	1.00%	2.27%	1.77%	-	-	-

Table 5.16 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Directing Moves

While it may be tempting to look at the two Singaporean children's Directing

moves as a sign that there is twice as much Directing behavior as from the Filipino

and North American children, not all Directing moves have comparable illocutionary

force and consequences for speaker interaction. The two moves by Singaporean

children consist of giving a warning and advice as shown below. Both moves (made

by the children in the two stories that feature less confrontational exchanges) are

focused on addressee (the parent's) benefit.

S006.1.4c	D to M	Don't listen to her.	ds	I:Dir	warning	as/Chal
S022.2.09a	D to M	don't be sad,	ds	I:Dir	advice	R:Chal:C:C:C:t

The degree of authority that is required for the children to make such moves is

mitigated by the fact they are meant to help the parent. Furthermore, the first of the

two moves shown is abandoned by the speakers; rather than offer any response, the

mother shifts her attention to her other daughter. In the second case, the Directing

move is Challenged by the mother as it becomes clear in the turn that follows that she

is upset by her daughter's irresponsible loss of a new toy.

The Filipino and North American children, though they only produce one

Directing move in each group, both display the use of threats. Contrary to warning

and giving advice, a threat seeks addressee action that is in the speaker's own interest

with negative consequences brought by the speaker to the addressee if there is no

compliance. Even within these two moves there are important differences of content

and context. The Filipino child's threat which can be elaborated as, "Gimmy [the

handkerchief, or I'll take it from you]," is produced after the mother had signaled a

playful interaction by joking with her daughter (i.e. pretending the handkerchief she

pulled from her purse was not hers though the daughter had previously given it to her

mother as gift).

P049.1.3c	D to M	Gimmy.	ds	I:Dir	threat	as

The instance of a North American child's Dir:threat is quite different from the

above example. In this situation, the son, had already made several Req:action moves

because he wanted his father to call his mother (who the son insisted would support

him and not the father in a minor dispute between them). After the father's Negative

responses to the Requesting moves, the son escalated to a Directing move which can

be elaborated as, "Call her, Dad, [or I'll throw a tantrum]."

| A041.3.14c | S to F | Call her, Dad. | ds | I:Dir | threat | as |

Looking closely at this small group of children's moves is similar to the earlier

analysis of summons acts, for they reveal a great deal about the authors' portrayals of

parent-child relationships in these different cultures. In ten years of *Best American

Short Stories*, the only Directing move produced by a pre-adolescent child to a parent

was the threat of a tantrum. In an extensive collection of 25 years of Filipino stories

written in English the only such Directing move was part of a playful exchange. Both

moves were abandoned by the speakers—seen by both parties as not important

enough to the discourse to need an explicit response. In the Singaporean group of

three stories with mother-daughter dialogues by three widely published authors, the

two pre-adolescent child Directing moves (from different stories) were meant for the

parent's benefit, yet one was abandoned and the other Challenged. In the wider

collection of Malaysian stories, no children exhibited Directing behavior.

5.4.5 Parents' Directing Moves

The frequency of parents' Directing moves indicates that Singaporean and

North American portrayals of parents are at opposite ends of the hierarchy—

egalitarian spectrum. In the former 57% of the parents' moves are Directing and of

these nearly half are instructions and half threats. The distinction between a

Dir:instruct move and a Dir:threat is that an instruction merely commands that the

hearer perform an action without implying positive or negative consequences.

Threats, however, do carry the direct implication of negative consequences of non-compliance which will be carried out by the speaker. Threats in the stories were determined by context and retrospective classification (by examining the responses that followed Directing moves). When a move that appeared to be a Dir:instruct was accompanied or followed by physical action in which the parent forced the child to comply, the move was classified as a threat.

In the Singaporean stories, nearly all of the Directing moves are contained in the dialogues of one story in which the mother orders her child to perform such actions as eating, drinking, washing, and changing clothes. Throughout these transactions and exchanges the daughter is reluctant to perform the actions (following a humiliating day at school, she is preoccupied to the point of distraction and loss of appetite). Of the parent's moves 38% were continued or abandoned which signals that these moves usually existed in a sequence where the mother issued one order after another leaving little opportunity for the child to respond—the example provided at the start of Section 5.4 demonstrates this style of discourse.

By ignoring continuations and abandoned moves that did not imply responses and looking at the exchanges that begin with Directing moves, Table 5.17 was constructed. Of the 32 first turns that featured Directing moves and received responses, 21 (66%) received Positive responses to end the exchange. Eleven responses were Challenges (34%) of which five were allowed to be terminal. The other six times the parent counter Challenged. Of these six, five were terminal, and one time the child ended with a Positive response.[6] The coding of the relatively long (4 turns) Singaporean exchange is provided below Table 5.17 on the next page.

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[6] The significance of Terminal moves (getting the last word) is discussed in detail in Chapter VI.

Singapore		
Turn1 Parent Initiates Directing Move: 32 times		
T2 Child Responds	Positive Challenge	
	21 terminal	11 (5 terminal)
T3 Parent Responds	Challenge	
		6 (5 terminal)
T4 Child Responds	Positive	
		1 terminal

Table 5.17 Directing Exchange Structures in Singaporean Dialogues

S007.3.01a	M to D	Don't just sit there!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c
S007.3.01b	M to D	Eat!	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	c
S007.3.01c	M to D	Must I feed you too?	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Chal
S007.3.02	D to M	**sits there**	**NV**	R:Chal		R:Chal
S007.3.03	M to D	Eat	ds	R:Chal		R:Pos:t
S007.3.04	D to M	**spooned out some rice and put it in my mouth**	**NV**	R:Pos:t		

In contrast to the Singaporean dialogues, in the North American dialogues the parents' Directing moves comprised only 8.08% of their total moves (the lowest in the corpus). Of these only two moves (0.44%) were threats, the remainder being instructions. These moves, exhibited in many stories and situations, called for the children to perform actions as various as coming and going, cleaning, sharing, and directing how to behave with siblings, other children, and parents. Of all the Directing moves only 19% (7 of 37) were continued (compared to over 38% in the Singaporean stories including abandoned moves) and none were abandoned as in the Singaporean stories.

As shown in Table 5.18, children's responses were Positive 60% of the time and Challenges 40%. The most salient feature of the children's responses though is the outcomes when the children Challenged the parents' Directing moves. Seven times the child's Challenge was allowed to end the exchange. Three times the parent

followed the child's Challenge with a Follow-up of Concession—i.e. the parent

conceded to the dispreferred response from the child. To the other two child

Challenges, the parent counter-challenged and subsequently the child gave a Negative

response to end the exchange. In other words, in every case that the child Challenged

a Directing move, he or she eventually 'got his way' through dispreferred responses

or parental concession.

North America			
Turn1 Parent Initiates Directing Move: 30 times			
T2 Child Responds	Positive Challenge		
	18 terminal	12 (7 terminal)	
T3 Parent Responds	Follow-up		Challenge
		3 Concede	2 (0 terminal)
T4 Child Responds	Negative		
			2 terminal

Table 5.18 Directing Exchange Structures in North American Dialogues

A104.1.3	M to D	So go to the downstairs bathroom.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Chal:C
A104.1.5a	D to M	It's not fair.	ds	R:Chal		
A104.1.5b	D to M	Why can't she go downstairs?	ds	R:Chal:C		
A104.1.6b	M to D	That's enough!	ds	R:Chal		
A104.1.6c	M to D	Go put on your clothes,	ds	R:Chal:C		
A104.1.6d	M to D	hurry!	ds	R:Chal:C		
A104.1.7a	D to M	grumblings	nrsa	R:Neg		
A104.1.7b	D to M	**Footsteps clatter down the stairs**	**NV**	R:Neg:C:t		

Note: Moves between the mother and son were removed.

Despite the fact that the North American parent-child dialogues display the

universal role pattern of parent as director of actions, the data indicate that cultural

differences influenced by orientation toward egalitarian values are present the amount

and types of Directing moves and their response in these stories.

Turning to the Malaysian and Filipino stories, it appears that in the area of

Directing moves, Malaysian parents are less authoritarian than the Filipino parents

because there is much lesser frequency of these moves (Malaysian 14.66% and Filipino 23.53% as shown in Table 5.15). The role of Directing moves in the Malaysian stories should be considered in the context of the total inventory of these parents' moves. A lower percentage of Directing, Requesting, and Eliciting moves is balanced by the greater percentage of Informing moves which helps characterize the dialogues as didactic. The role of parent/teacher is not necessarily less authoritarian in orientation than the role of director that is seen in the Filipino stories.

With this in mind, 5.17% of the Malaysian parents total moves (6 of 17 Directing moves give advice—more than in any other culture. Again the role of parent/teacher is seen as the parent tells the child to do things that will benefit the child as opposed to serving only the speaker's own interest. Of the two Challenging responses from children, both exchanges are ended by a parent's turn: one a counter-challenge, and one a Follow-up of Concession.

In keeping with the universal trend in parent Directing moves, over half of the Malaysian parents Directing moves are instructions. The children are ordered to wake up, go, give objects, and speak and 100% of the time they comply. Finally, there were a small percentage of threats (1.72%; 2 moves) from these parents and these, likewise, received Positive responses. Thus, these parents display their authority but not to the dictatorial degree seen in the Singaporean dialogues.

Malaysia			
Turn1 Parent Initiates Directing Move: 11 times			
T2 Child Responds	Positive Challenge		
	9 terminal	2 (0 terminal)	
T3 Parent Responds	Follow-up		Challenge
		1 Concede	1 terminal

Table 5.19 Directing Exchange Structures in Malaysian Dialogues

M034.1.3b	M to D	go right back to bed.	is	I:Dir	advice	as/Pos
M011.1.1a	F to D	Call him,	ds	I:Dir	advice	c
M011.1.1b	F to D	go on.	ds	I:Dir	advice:C	c
M011.1.1c	F to D	Speak loudly.	ds	I:Dir	advice:C	R:Chal
M011.2.05b	F to D	Leave him be.	ds	I:Dir	advice	R:Chal
M011.1.5	F to D	Louder!	ds	I:Dir	advice	R:Pos:t
M035.1.1	F to S	wake up!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t
M035.1.3	F to S	Go pray and get ready,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t
M022.4.1a	M to S	Give me your shirts,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t
M035.4.1	M to S	Speak … speak … damm you, speak!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t
M011.1.3c	F to D	Go on,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c
M011.1.3d	F to D	loud enough so that he can hear you.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Pos:t
M022.4.1b	M to S	Papa's putting on his swimming trunks.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Pos:t
M035.2.1a	F to S	Faster!	ds	I:Dir	threat	c
M035.2.1b	F to S	**slapped Salleh's arm**	**NV**	I:Dir	threat:C	R:Pos:t

Filipino parents' Directing moves were primarily instructions which called for
children to go, come, sleep, change clothes, wait, etc, or in some cases they served to
prohibit some action, and there were also three threats. This high degree of
authoritarian orientation is slightly mitigated by the presence of three warnings and
three acts of giving advice. In examining the children's responses, we see further
signs of a degree of egalitarian values which are not present in the Malaysian
discourse.

Philippines			
Turn1 Parent Initiates Directing Move: 30 times			
T2 Child Responds	Positive Negative		Challenge
	19 terminal	1 terminal	10 (8 terminal)
T3 Parent Responds	Challenge		
			2 (1 terminal)
T4 Child Responds	Challenge		
			1 (0 terminal)
T5 Parent Responds	Challenge		
			1 terminal

Table 5.20 Directing Exchange Structures in Filipino Dialogues

Of the forty Directing moves, ten were continued (similar to in the other
cultures). Of the responses (both explicitly represented and implied after abandoned

moves) 19 were Positive, 1 Negative, and 10 were Challenges. Unlike in the other

cultures, 80% of the children's second turn Challenges were terminal. In the two

instances where the parent counter challenged, once the child rechallenged to end the

exchange and in the other case the parent again counter challenged to terminate the

exchange in the fifth turn. Notably in this exchange (one of the two longest in the

Filipino stories) the last two turns are composed of non-verbal Challenges.

P068.8.1	F to S	You're not going with us!	ds	I:Dir	threat	R:Chal
P068.8.2	S to F	But I want to see the deer hunt.	ds	R:Chal		
P068.8.3	F to S	You're not going with us!	ds	R:Chal		
P068.8.4	S to F	**hesitated for a few moments**	**NV**	R:Chal		
P068.8.5	F to S	**yanked out of the truck**	**NV**	R:Chal		

Thus, despite the fact that Filipino parents made more Directing moves than

Malaysian parents, the slightly mitigating distribution of move types and the response

data which is much closer to the discourse style of the North American Directing

exchanges orient these dialogues closer to an egalitarian style.

5.4.6 Conclusion

The dichotomy of Requesting and Directing behavior demands that the two

functions be examined not only individually, but also relative to each other as they are

two sides of the same coin. Analysis of the relationship between the two sides

confirms an apparent universal in parent-child discourse—parents direct more

frequently than they request with children acting conversely. Within this pattern

cultural differences are present. In Singaporean stories, parents only directed; in

Malaysian stories, children neither directed nor requested; in the Filipino and North

American dialogues, both parents and children produced all of the moves, but in the

latter culture a more egalitarian balance is shown.

Analysis of Requesting moves, which is summarized at the end of Section 5.4.3, revealed the same value orientations with the Singaporean lack of requests and the content of their children's requests marking their discourse as highly authoritarian alongside Malaysian parents' use of requests. Though both Filipino and North American dialogues used Requesting moves in a way that displays egalitarian values, the Filipino children's requests were characteristically for interaction whereas the North American parents displayed unique acts of offering to children and requesting their permission.

The portrayal of children's directing behavior, though minimal, indicates cultural values: Malaysian children never initiated a Directing move; Singaporean children did, but only for acts of warning or giving advice; a Filipino child threatened in a playful exchange; and a North American child gave his father an order when his request was not granted. Likewise, Singaporean parents dictated actions and threatened more frequently than in any of the other stories. Malaysian parents gave advice and instructions and always received compliance or terminated the exchange. Though Filipino parents' Directing moves were similar to those the Malaysian parents, the Filipino children were allowed to Challenge to a greater extent and sometimes prevail in the conflict. By comparison, North American parents seldom gave Directions and their children Challenged slightly more than the Filipino children and their behavior was more frequently sanctioned. Thus, by all measures of Directing and Requesting Hypothesis 2 of this study of discourse and cultural value orientations is confirmed.

Hierarchical _____ Egalitarian

        Singaporean   Malaysian   Filipino   North American

5.5 Informing Moves and Their Responses

<u>Singapore</u>

'Ping! What are *you doing? Turn off the tap! NOW! <u>Are you stupid</u>*

<u>*or what*</u>*? Look at you! <u>Dripping wet</u>! Strip off that uniform!'*

Suchen Christine Lim, "Tragedy of My Third Eye"

move ID	speaker	text	rep	move	act	response
S007.2.01d	M to D	Are you stupid or what?	ds	I:Inf	criticize	as
S007.2.01e	M to D	Look at you!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	as
S007.2.01f	M to D	Dripping wet!	ds	I:Inf	criticize	as
S007.2.01g	M to D	Strip off that uniform!	ds	I:Dir	threat	as

<u>Malaysia</u>

"<u>*These trees give us food*</u>*. <u>The latex puts you through school</u>. <u>Your</u>*

<u>*brothers too*</u>*. <u>As long as the latex flows, the blood in your veins flows</u>*

<u>*too*</u>*. <u>You care for the trees and they care for you</u>. You remember that,*

Salleh! <u>The trees are your life</u>. <u>Our life</u>. <u>If you don't care for it others</u>

<u>*will grab it from you*</u>*. <u>Once you loose it, you'll never get it back</u>. <u>It'll</u>*

<u>*be gone forever*</u>*. Remember, money does not last forever, you spend it*

and it's gone. <u>But you work the land and it'll always be there for you</u>."

Noraini Md Yusof, "Till Their Blood Ran Dry"

M035.3.4c	F to S	These trees give us food.	ds	I:Inf	report	c
M035.3.4d	F to S	The latex puts you through school.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c
M035.3.4e	F to S	Your brothers too.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c
M035.3.4f	F to S	As long as the latex flows, the blood in your veins flows too.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c
M035.3.4g	F to S	You care for the trees and they care for you.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	as
M035.3.4h	F to S	You remember that, Salleh!	ds	I:Elic	commit	as
M035.3.4i	F to S	The trees are your life.	ds	I:Inf	report	c
M035.3.4j	F to S	Our life.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c
M035.3.4k	F to S	If you don't care for it others will grab it from you.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c
M035.3.4l	F to S	Once you lose it, you'll never get it back.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c
M035.3.4m	F to S	It'll be gone forever.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	as
M035.3.4n	F to S	Remember, money does not last forever, you spend it and it's gone.	ds	I:Inf	report	c
M035.3.4o	F to S	But you work the land and it'll always be there for you.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Pos:t

<u>Philippines</u>

<u>*I want only the best for you, Edwina*</u>*. You understand that?*

Yes.

Something happened to your mother. She has left us and she's not

coming back.

Norma O. Miraflor, "Gypsies in My World"

P069.3.3a	F to D	I want only the best for you, Edwina.	ds	I:Inf	report	as
P069.3.3b	F to D	You understand that?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
P069.3.4	D to F	Yes.	ds	R:Pos		
P069.3.5a	F to D	Something happened to your mother.	ds	I:Inf	report	c
P069.3.5b	F to D	She has left us and she's not coming back.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	an

North America

"I hope you're not mad about not going this year."

"No, I'm not mad. I'm disappointed," Ted said. He wouldn't look

at me. "I wanted to do some research."

"Sure."

"Also, I wanted you to go."

"Oh you did."

"I think you'd have had a really good time."

"Well, I do too," I said.

"I think it'd have been good for Mom, too."

"Well, probably."

"She's been pretty cranky lately," he said.

"She's got a tough job," I said.

"I think she needs a vacation."

Michael Byers, "Shipmates Down Under"

A160.11.29b	F to S	I hope you're not mad about not going this year.	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t
A160.11.30a	S to F	No, I'm not mad.	ds	R:Pos:t		
A160.11.30b	S to F	I'm disappointed,	ds	I:Inf	report	c
A160.11.30c	S to F	I wanted to do some research.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	R:Pos:t
A160.11.31	F to S	Sure.	fis	R:Pos:t		
A160.11.32	S to F	Also, I wanted you to go.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	R:Pos:t
A160.11.33	F to S	Oh you did.	fis	R:Pos:t		
A160.11.34	S to F	I think you'd have had a really good time.	fis	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t
A160.11.35	F to S	I do too,	ds	R:Pos:t		
A160.11.36	S to F	I think it'd have been good for Mom, too.	fis	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t
A160.11.37	F to S	probably.	fis	R:Pos:t		
A160.11.38	S to F	She's been pretty cranky lately,	ds	I:Inf	assess	I:Inf
A160.11.39	F to S	She's got a tough job,	ds	I:Inf	report	I:Inf
A160.11.40	S to F	I think she needs a vacation.	fis	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t

Speaker	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
Total moves	116	58	100	44	170	122	446	346
Total I:Inf	42	18	9	4	24	13	122	94
% of all m	36.21%	31.04%	9.00%	9.09%	14.12%	10.66%	27.35%	27.17%
report	36	15	2	1	16	8	89	68
% of all m	31.04%	25.86%	2.00%	2.27%	9.41%	6.56%	19.96%	19.65%
assess	1	-	-	2	2	1	2	12
% of all m	0.86%	-	-	4.55%	1.18%	0.82%	0.45%	3.47%
c omplim.	-	-	-	-	1	1	2	-
% of all m	-	-	-	-	0.59%	0.82%	0.45%	-
critic ize	1	-	5	-	1	-	3	4
% of all m	0.86%	-	5.00%	-	0.59%	-	0.67%	1.16%
self -crit.	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	-
% of all m	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.35%	-
express	4	3	2	1	4	3	20	10
% of all m	3.45%	5.17%	2.00%	2.27%	2.35%	2.46%	4.48%	2.89%

Table 5.21 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Informing Moves

Looking at the total number of initiations of Informing moves and the

percentage of total moves that this functional class accounts for (as shown in Table

5.3 at the beginning of this chapter) can provide only a very general characterization

of discourse interaction. For example, it can be seen that initial Informing moves play

the most important role in Malaysian parent-child discourse followed by North

American, Filipino, and Singaporean with obvious differences among cultures. These differences are mainly indicative of genres of talk which may or may not be indicators of underlying social values. For example, the Singaporean stories have the least amount of Informing moves and the most Directing moves. This signals a highly authoritarian orientation, yet the percentage of Informing moves for the parents and children are nearly equal.

To see the difference between parent and child roles and the importance of Informing moves in these stories one need only look at the distribution of Informing act types (Table 5.21) to see that the parents' behavior is very different from the children's. Likewise, both the Malaysian and North American stories have a relatively high frequency of Informing moves, but the following sections will explain that variation in the types of acts and their content signals different orientations on the social value scale.

5.5.1 Reports

In all but the Singaporean dialogues, the reporting of events, states of affairs, personal experiences, and thoughts (that are not judgments) were the most common type of Informing moves produced by parents and children. This speech behavior was seen with the highest percentage in the Malaysian parents, and these parents' percentage of these moves showed the greatest increase over their children's use of these moves. This is consistent with the parent as teacher role in these portrayals as mentioned earlier in the chapter. Examination of the Malaysian parents' Inf:report acts reveals that they serve didactic purposes by informing the children about family history, what will happen to them in the future, facts about the world and the

importance of work, family, and the environment, and the state of being of different

family members. Selected examples are provided below.

M035.3.2d	F to S	Your grandfather cleared the land years ago	ds	I:Inf	report	c
M035.6.1c	F to S	When it's time, it will be your turn to take over from me, my firstborn.	ds	I:Inf	report	c
M035.6.1f	F to S	Soon you will go to the secondary school in town.	ds	I:Inf	report	as
M022.1.1	F to S	There are seashells on Mount Everest,	ds	I:Inf	report	I:Elic
M035.3.4n	F to S	Remember, money does not last forever, you spend it and it's gone.	ds	I:Inf	report	c
M035.3.4o	F to S	But you work the land and it'll always be there for you.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Pos:t
M035.3.4i	F to S	The trees are your life.	ds	I:Inf	report	c
M035.3.2f	F to S	This soil has our family sweat and blood. in it	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c
M035.3.4f	F to S	As long as the latex flows, the blood in your veins flows too.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c
M011.2.07c	F to D	But you have to remember, at this age, he doesn't remember anymore.	ds	I:Inf	report	c

These moves are very often continued (21 of the 36 moves are continuations:

58.33%) which demonstrates how that parents frequently maintain the turn (or 'hold

the floor') while giving information. Due to the weak prospection for responses

following I:Inf moves, many of the parents' Inf:reports are abandoned by the

speakers—see Section 4.5 on abandoned moves. Two Inf:reports from parents were

followed by Eliciting moves (Elic:inform and Elic:clarify) in which the child asked

for more information related to the parent's report. Though not classified as responses

in the Birmingham School frameworks, these moves by a second speaker are

classified by Eggins and Slade (1997) as Responses. In either case, they are similar to

Positive responses because they accept and endorse the previous speaker's topic.

In only one case of a parent giving a report act, the child Challenged the

parent's information, but the parent counter-challenged to end the exchange. In three

cases, the child responded with an Explicitly Positive move. However, what is most

indicative here of these relationships is that in two of these instances, it is made very

clear in the narrative that the child disagreed with the parent's report act, but

responded with non-verbal behavior that signaled a Positive acknowledgement to the parent. In the first instance while working in the forest, the father informed the son that he would some day assume control of the family's rubber plantation. The son disagrees with this information, but rather than speak he works faster to move away from his father in the trees—to the father this would appear to show the son's enthusiasm. In the second case, the father informs the son that a new agricultural university had opened and he would like the son to attend. Clearly disagreeing with this prospect, the son remains silent.

The role of Malaysian child as informer of reports is limited to accounts of others' actions and thoughts, and the children's own actions in the past, current states, and future actions—selected examples are given below. Children continue these moves less often than their parents (6 of the 15 moves: 40%) and when the parent responds directly, it is Positive only half the time (3 of 6 responses). Of the three times the parent Challenges the child's report, two times the Challenge ends the exchange while one time the child makes a counter-challenge to which the parent re-challenges and gives a Follow-up in the final turn. All of the above data orients the Malaysian parent-child Inf:report moves and their responses toward highly authoritarian values.

M022.3.10	S to F	I want to be a doctor.	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Pos
M022.6.1a	S to F	I didn't see any diamonds.	ds	I:Inf	report	c
M035.3.3	S to F	I don't want to spend the rest of my life tapping the trees.	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Chal:t
M023.1.1b	D to M	She says they cant see you.	is	I:Inf	report:C	c
M023.1.1c	D to M	Theyre too stupid.	is	I:Inf	report:C	c
M023.1.1d	D to M	She says thats how come the monsters dont come and get her anymore.	is	I:Inf	report:C	R:Chal:R:Chal:C
M034.1.2d	D to M	I feel like vomiting,	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Pos:t

Interestingly the North American stories contain the next highest frequency of Informing report acts; however, in these dialogues the percentage of adult reports is

nearly equal to that of the children's. The parent's reports concern a range of topics

from general facts about the world, to the thoughts and states of themselves, their

children and others in the past, present and future. Classification based on the content

of these eighty-nine moves is beyond the scope of this study, and in this case

unnecessary, for conclusions can be drawn based solely on structural features of the

discourse.

To begin with, of the North American parents reports, only 33% of them were

continuations (opposed to 58% in Malaysian stories). Though many of the moves

were abandoned (as in the Malaysian dialogues) the type of responses from the North

American children are very different. Of all of the parents' reports, only two were

followed by Eliciting moves (both Elic:informs) in which the children asked for more

information about the topic. On the other hand, there are six cases of a child following

a parent's :report with a related report—i.e. to add the child's own information to the

parents'—shown below. The only other instance of this occurred one time in the

Filipino stories. This behavior is indicative or orientation toward both equality and

independence.

A160.10.26c	F to S	We used to have turkey sandwiches and go out to the beach.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	I:Inf
A160.10.27	S to F	You told me that, too,	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t
A160.10.28a	F to S	**called out laughing**	**NV**	R:Pos:t		

While the parents' reports were followed by eight Positive responses, they also

received ten Challenges. Six of these Challenges were allowed by the parent to end

the exchange—an example is shown below. A further two more of the children's

challenges lead to a counter-challenge from the parent and a subsequent re-challenge

from the child which ends the exchange—also shown below.[7] In a third case of

---

[7] In this case, the child's silence is a Challenge because throughout the earlier dialogue the mother had been attempting to get her daughter to admit that she 'could not keep a secret'.

Challenge—counter-challenge, the subsequent move by the child is Positive, but still

holds the place of the last turn. In only one case where a child Challenged a parent's

report, the parent counter-challenged and ended the exchange.

A041.3.09d	F to S	you won't be able to put a candle in this one.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Chal:C:C:t
A041.3.10a	S to F	I don't want a big pumpkin.	ds	R:Chal		
A041.3.10b	S to F	I don't want to put a candle in it.	ds	R:Chal:C		
A041.3.10c	S to F	I don't want you to cut it open with a knife.	ds	R:Chal:C:t		

A043.5.19b	M to D	But you will.	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Chal
A043.5.20	D to M	No I won't.	ds	R:Chal		
A043.5.21a	M to D	Yes you will.	ds	R:Chal		
A043.5.21b	M to D	You cannot keep a secret.	ds	R:Chal:C		
A043.5.22	D to M	**didn't say anything**	**NV**	R:Chal:t		

Turning to the North American children's' reports, 26.47% of these moves

were continuations. Though this is much less than the 40% seen in Malaysian

children's reports, this fact is overshadowed by the overall percentage which shows

that North American children's moves are made up of an equal percentage of reports

as their parents. Furthermore, seven child reports were followed by parents' Eliciting

moves usually asking for more information (see below), and parents added related

information (another report)six times. In these dialogues, eighteen of the twenty-one

responses from parents were Positive. In the three instances where the parent

responded with a Negative or Challenge, only one time the parent's turn ended the

exchange. The other two cases led to a child's counter-challenge to end, and to a

longer exchange where again the child had the last turn with a counter-challenge—

shown below.

A160.01.16e	D to F	Then Tranh had to pick me up and I almost yurked in the car.	fis	I:Inf	report	I:Elic
A160.01.17	F to D	Tranh drove?	fis	I:Elic	repeat	R:Pos
A160.01.18	D to F	Yes.	fis	R:Pos		

A168.2.02	D to F	I'm going to Jodie's house,	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Chal:…
A168.2.03a	F to D	**frowned**	**NV**	R:Chal		
A168.2.03b	F to D	I want you to stay while they're here.	fis	R:Chal		
A168.2.03c	F to D	We might need something from the kitchen.	fis	R:Chal:C		
A168.2.04	D to F	Claudia can get it for them.	fis	R:Chal		
A168.2.05	F to D	She's barely tall enough to reach the cabinets.	fis	R:Chal		
A168.2.06a	D to F	**stood up, clenched her dustcloth**	**NV**	R:Chal		
A168.2.06b	D to F	I don't care,	ds	R:Chal:C:t		

While the Filipino reports accounted for a smaller percentage of moves for both parents and children than in the Malaysian and North American stories, differences in percentages of parent and child moves situates these exchanges as more closely oriented toward the authoritarian values of the Malaysian dialogues. Likewise, when the children followed a parent's report with a related initiation (four times), three of these were Eliciting moves (for further information or for clarification) and only one was to add a new report. As will be shown below, however, other aspects of the data are more similar to that in the North American stories.

Filipino parents were less likely to maintain their turn with Inf:reports with continuations accounting for only 19% (3 of 16) of these moves (58% and 33% in Malaysian and North American respectively). Though there were abandoned moves (as in the other stories) children's responses to parents' reports were never Positive. Rather all three responses were Challenges. In only one case, the parent ended the exchange with a counter-challenge. In the remaining two Challenges from children, one ended the exchange and the other was extended to three more turns through the parent's counter-challenge, the child's rechallenge and the parent's Positive and Follow-up of Endorsement (shown below). However, these last two examples were situations in two different stories where play sequences were begun by the parent, thus permitting the child to make such Challenges. This is not the case in the North

American stories where the children seriously contradicted their parents reports, or in the Malaysian stories where the children nearly always responded Positively even when they didn't really agree.

P083.4.1	F to D	pretends to loose count	nrsa	I:Inf	report	R:Chal:C
P083.4.2a	D to F	Eight. Daddy!	ds	R:Chal		
P083.4.2b	D to F	That's the eighth carabao!	ds	R:Chal:C		
P083.4.3	F to D	But we were at seven before that, so it should be nine.	ds	R:Chal		
P083.4.4a	D to F	laugh	NV	R:Pos		
P083.4.4b	D to F	No, no, it's eight.	ds	R:Chal		
P083.4.4c	D to F	After seven it's eight!	ds	R:Chal:C		
P083.4.5a	F to D	smiles	NV	R:Pos		
P083.4.5b	F to D	You're absolutely right, princess.	ds	F1:End		
P083.4.5c	F to D	After seven is eight.	ds	F1:End:C		

The Filipino children's use of reports, though accounting for only 6.56% of their total moves, were 25% continuations (2 of 8) which is slightly higher than the parents' continuations of this type of move. Abandoned moves aside, parents followed with their own report two times and with Challenges to end the exchange two times. Taking into consideration these various aspects of the Filipino parent-child uses of report acts these dialogues can again be placed between the two extremes of authoritarian and egalitarian orientations as displayed in the Malaysian and North American stories.

P068.6.14b	S to F	it's on the coast of China, west of Hong Kong--	ds	I:Inf	report	c
P090.4.08a	S to M	I knocked and knocked but there was no answer.	ds	I:Inf	report	c
P090.4.10	S to M	She used to wake up earlier than me,	ds	I:Inf	report	I:Inf
P090.4.08b	S to M	Her door's locked.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	I:Inf
P119.1.1	S to F	Mama says you should go home and eat,	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Chal:t
P068.6.14c	S to F	we took it up last year when I was in Grade Three.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Chal:t
P090.1.6b	S to M	Lola's here you know,	ds	I:Inf	report	as/Pos
P090.2.1a	S to M	Lily's back,	ds	I:Inf	report	as/Pos

Finally, the Singaporean stories contained the least amount of report acts. As stated in the introduction to this section on Informing moves, this does not imply that

the discourse in these dialogues has a different value orientation from those with an abundance of Informing moves. The fact that the most common move types in the Singaporean stories are Directing moves is a superseding fact that signals hierarchical orientation, so the amount of Informing moves cannot be used as an independent variable; however, analysis of the distribution of types of Informing moves and comparison of parent to child Informing moves can reveal values embedded in the discourse.

In the case of Singaporean Informing moves the most significant data is in the Section 5.5.3 where moves to compliment, criticize, and self-criticize are discussed. Concerning report acts it is sufficient to point out that the role of child as informer was barely present—only one report from a child (recounting her younger sister's actions) was present, and this was not responded to by the parent. The parent's report acts numbered at only two, one of which gives information about an object (an abandoned move) while the other is the mother's assertion of her status which is uncharacteristically challenged by the daughter.

In summary, the analysis of parent's and children's Informing moves realized as reports reveals that the Malaysian stories showed the most hierarchical orientations, followed by Filipino, with egalitarian relationships in the North American dialogues. In light of the broader distribution of Singaporean moves, the giving of information was downplayed in these dialogues, so that the following relative placement on the values scale still holds for this move and act type.

Hierarchical _____Egalitarian

            Singaporean   Malaysian   Filipino   North American

5.5.2 Expressing

Though much less frequent than report acts, acts that express were produced by both parents and children in all the cultures. Tsui characterizes express acts as, "ritualistic acts in which speakers express civility and goodwill towards each other" (1994: 152). These are typically formulaic expressions that strongly prospect predictable responses. Tsui mentions Goffman's (1971:63) sociological distinction between 'supportive interchanges' and 'remedial interchanges', but chooses instead to formulate the following discourse analysis classification. (1) Expressives in which, "the speaker shows concern for and empathizes with the addressee," such as congratulating, thanking, welcoming, condoling, etc.; (2) those in which, "the speaker expresses his feelings towards a debt which he has incurred," such as thanking or apologizing; and (3) those which, "express goodwill and are typically responded to by a return of goodwill," commonly referred to as greeting, leave-taking, etc.

As mentioned earlier, fictional dialogue tends to elide ritualistic banalities from the interaction that is reported—their highly predictable usage makes them nearly unsuitable for creative writing. Likewise, the functions listed above seem more typical of interactions between strangers, acquaintances, and friends than between those in intimate (high solidarity) relationships such as parents and children. As a result, very few examples of the functions listed in the previous paragraph were present in the corpus as shown below.

S006.1.6c	D to M	I'm sorry, Mom,	ds	I:Inf	express	as
M035.7.1a	F to S	Sorry, son.	ds	I:Inf	express	as
A168.1.3	F to D	I am sorry,	ds	I:Inf	express	R:Chal:t
A190.1.4c	S to M	I'll see you later.	ds	I:Inf	express	as

Instead of the above functions, the norm for express acts in the parent-child dialogues of this corpus was mostly non-verbal expressions of emotion not all of

which are conventional and which seldom receive responses. Due to the relatively low

frequency of such moves in the corpus (from 2% of Singaporean parents' moves to

5.17% of Malaysian children's moves) and many variables of realization that were

observed (verbal or non-verbal, conventional or unconventional, self-centered or

other-centered), the use of express acts in this study were inconclusively related to

cultural value orientations. The following analysis gives an indication of the results

though more research into use of acts that express in parent-child discourse is needed.

The Malaysian children's use expressives in the stories is unique because all

three instances show the child expressing shock or sorrow to which the parent does

not offer an explicit response.

M011.2.04a	D to F	Oh, no, no, father!	ds	I:Inf	express	as
M011.2.08a	D to F	Oh, father!	ds	I:Inf	express	c
M011.2.08b	D to F	**started crying**	**NV**	I:Inf	express:C	as

The parents' Inf:express moves, however, are centered more on expressing emotion

for the addressee rather than self-expression. In the last two moves, the father hugs his

son and then repeats the son's nickname in an expression of concern. The son,

however, Challenges this concern by pulling away from the father.

M034.1.3d	M to D	**blew a kiss and went off**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	as
M035.7.1a	F to S	Sorry, son.	ds	I:Inf	express	as
M035.5.1a	F to S	**hugged**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	c
M035.5.1b	F to S	Mat … Mat … Mat …	ds	I:Inf	express:C	R:Chal:t

The only express by a child in the Singaporean stories is an apology as shown

below, which did not receive a response. Similar to the above Malaysian exchange, in

one Singaporean story the mother touches her daughter's forehead in an expression of

concern, and the daughter pulls away. The other express from the mother is an

exclamation at feeling *gek sim* which can be translated as 'upset, and frustrated'. This

was followed by the daughter's giving advice to the mother to not be upset.

S006.1.6c	D to M	I'm sorry, Mom,	ds	I:Inf	express	as

S006.1.1b	M to D	**touched her fingers lightly on my forehead**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	R:Chal:t
S022.2.08b	M to D	Your new lantern!	ds	I:Inf	express	I:Dir

It should also be noted that further expressions in the same vane by this mother were classified as responses to the advice from the daughter, and so are not represented here. This is one of the few instances where this framework of analysis emphasizing discourse structure is a limitation. It is also an argument for future work which codes responses for their realization.

All of the Filipino children's' express acts were non-verbal. The first is a mock expression of frustration as the daughter takes an object from her mother who withholds it. In the second a son expresses affection for his mother, and in the final instance a son shows his frustration with an activity directed by the father. These moves did not receive explicit responses, but the final one shown was followed by a related Elicitation for information by the father who demanded to know where the son was going as he walked away.

P049.1.3d	D to M	**snatches the handkerchief**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	an
P090.1.3a	S to M	**hugged her waist, smacked both her cheeks wetly**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	as
P068.7.2b	S to F	**stood up abruptly and gave the gun back to one of the men**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	I:Elic

All of the Filipino parents' express acts were also non-verbal. In the first one shown, a mother expresses concern for her son. In the second and third moves below, the father's laughter expresses to his daughter that her fears (that a lizard might be in their house) are unwarranted while the next move displays his willingness to protect her. The last move demonstrates a father's expression of anger at his son's inadequacy to perform an activity (shooting a rifle). The only response was the daughter who pulled away from her father's embrace because it made her feel uncomfortable.

P068.1.1b	M to S	**touching his brow**	NV	I:Inf	express	as
P083.9.12a	F to D	**laughs**	NV	I:Inf	express	as
P083.9.12d	F to D	**put his arm around her**	NV	I:Inf	express	R:Neg:t
P068.7.7	F to S	**thrown down his rifle**	NV	I:Inf	express	as

The North American children's expressives were similar to the above in most cases: they expressed solidarity through non-verbal laughter, sorrow through crying, anger at having to perform unpleasant actions, etc, and they received similar responses. The only unique case (shown below) was where a child used three moves to imitate a comic action (pretending to jump off a building and landing with a splat below) for the amusement of his father. For lack of a more specific move category for such behavior, it was classified as an Informing:express, for it does not prospect a non-verbal response of action or a verbal response of information, but carries a weak prospection for some type of acknowledgement. Furthermore, the functional purpose is to express humor in a show of solidarity with the addressee, in this case the father.

A160.11.56a	S to F	Aaaaah!	fis	I:Inf	express	c
A160.11.56b	S to F	**splatted himself on the carpet**	NV	I:Inf	express:C	c
A160.11.56c	S to F	I'm dayuhd,	ds	I:Inf	express:C	an

The North American parents' expressives, likewise, are similar to those of the other parents offering verbal and non-verbal demonstrations of affection (hugging, kissing), pleasure or displeasure at children's actions (laughing, shaking the head), and personal feelings of surprise ("Oh, Dear!" A007.1.1a) or frustration ("closed her eyes… leaned her head against the wall" A043.5.37a). These moves are generally not responded to though, as above, they occasionally receive a Positive response (acknowledgement) or Challenge (a withdrawal or pulling away from physical contact).

Some of the uses of acts that express above hint at culturally determined ways of interacting: the Malaysian child's puerile expressions of surprise and sorrow, the

Singaporean child's deferent apology, the Filipino children's non-verbal expressions during physical interaction with parents, and the particular case of the North American child entertaining his father. Though few in number, these instances (like the realizations of summons acts and directing moves by children) are indicative of underlying values for the discourse roles expected of children in these cultures.

For parents, however, there is no variation in the discourse value of expressives. Parents in all the cultures studied used both verbal and non-verbal means to express a range of emotions (anger to sorrow, gratitude to displeasure) that were in some cases expressions of personal feelings and other times attitudes toward their children.

5.5.3 Assessments, Compliments, Criticisms, and Self-criticisms

All of these types of Informing moves belong to the more general category of Informing:assess in which the speaker gives a judgment about a person, place, object, or idea. Tsui (1994) distinguishes between assessments of topics other than the speaker and addressee (assess), those which assert positive evaluations of the addressee (compliment), those which negatively evaluate the addressee (criticize), and those which offer negative evaluation of the speaker (self-criticism). Though infrequent (as a class they didn't account for more than 4.55% of any group of parent or child moves), these moves were present in all cultures and their distribution among types and cultures is highly indicative of cultural values along the hierarchy scale.

The class of moves was least represented in the Malaysian stories in which only two of these acts were present, and both were from a parent. In the first case (on the next page), the assessment showed endorsement of an idea (from father to son); as the first move was in the middle of a long turn, no explicit response was indicated though the context of the narrative implies that the son was listening patiently.

| M035.6.1h | F to S | That's important too. | ds | I:Inf | assess | as |

In the second instance the move functioned to criticize the child (where the mother punishes her daughter by spanking her). Following this act, the daughter cried in response to the punishment, which given the circumstances, was coded as a Positive response, for it is the prospected acknowledgement for a child to express pain and sorrow following such punishment[8].

| M023.2.1c | M to D | **spanked my bottom** | **NV** | I:Inf | criticize | R:Pos:t |
| M023.2.2 | D to M | **cried** | **NV** | R:Pos:t | | |

All of the above interaction is consistent with an authoritarian orientation where the ability to make assessments is only open to the parents. Furthermore, the first assessment is of an idea which is in keeping with the didactic intent of many of the Malaysian parents' moves—the "That" in the example refers to 'receiving an education'—and the second assessment is an instance of punishment.

In the Singaporean stories the most salient feature regarding these moves is the distribution of acts. The mother produces five acts of criticism and no other assessments.

S007.2.01d	M to D	Are you stupid or what?	ds	I:Inf	criticize	as
S007.2.01f	M to D	Dripping wet!	ds	I:Inf	criticize	as
S007.3.15c	M to D	You think you're doing me a great favour by eating!	ds	I:Inf	criticize	as
S022.2.07a	M to D	Idiot!	ds	I:Inf	criticize	c
S022.2.07b	M to D	Tell you to always keep it with you but you never listen.	ds	I:Inf	criticize:C	as

These moves reveal a range of linguistic realizations from a rhetorical question, to an exclamation of an obvious fact, to sarcasm, to insult. Since one move is continued and

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[8] In some cultures (i.e. North American) this response to physical punishment would be considered inappropriate with children being admonished not to cry, 'to take your punishment like an adult'. However, the author's own observations of SE Asian parenting practices suggest that crying (though not in the form of an extended tantrum) is the appropriate response for the child.

the rest are in the middle of multi-move turns, these moves are abandoned—no explicit response is represented in the dialogue. The implication is that the daughter remains silent, a kind of Positive acceptance of such criticism where in some cases, a verbal acknowledgement would be a Challenge.

In two Singaporean stories the daughters do make one assessment each as shown below. In the first case one daughter offers a negative assessment of her sister, and in the other the daughter negatively assess an object. These moves are likewise abandoned, but in these cases the implication is that their words are not important enough to warrant an explicit response from the parent.

| S006.1.4a | D to M | you know how Kimmy makes up stories. | ds | I:Inf | assess | as |
| S022.1.1a | D to M | Candle so inconvenient, | ds | I:Inf | assess | as |

Thus, it is difficult to directly compare the use of assessments in the Singaporean stories to the Malaysian stories. Both reveal hierarchical values. The Singaporean parent with her harsh criticism marks these stories as more authoritarian than the Malaysian stories, or at least orients them toward a different type of authoritarianism (one that employs verbal punishment rather than a balance of teaching and enforcement through physical punishment). The Singaporean children, however, are independent enough to assert their assessments of other people and things. In keeping with the Hypothesis 2a, the stories from these two SE Asian cultures reveal far more orientation toward hierarchical values than the Filipino and North American stories.

The dialogues between Filipino parents and children exhibited a greater variety of assessments and in a way that indicates a more egalitarian orientation that the other two Southeast Asian cultures. The parents made two assess moves that gave a positive

and a negative evaluation of other people, as well as one compliment and one act of criticism.

P069.4.1a	F to D	It will be very good for the two of you to be together.	ds	I:Inf	assess	as
P083.3.1	F to D	these are bad men who are trying to earn God's forgiveness by punishing themselves.	is	I:Inf	assess	R:Pos:t
P069.4.3c	F to D	You're still my dearest girl, Edwina,	ds	I:Inf	compliment	as
P068.2.7b	F to S	now you're pointing it at your own mother!	ds	I:Inf	criticize	R:Chal:t

The first and third moves above (from the same parent) were abandoned, but in this case the daughter (as is made clear in the narrative) is not happy with her father's assessment and is indifferent to his compliment. The second move shown receives a Positive response of acknowledgement, and the final one gets at Challenge from the child—characteristically a withdrawal as he runs from the room following his father's criticism.

The Filipino children produce half as many assessments as their parents: one assess act and one compliment. The first, a positive evaluation of another person, is abandoned, but the mother is clearly listening to her daughter. To the compliment, the mother responses with a Positive acknowledgement ("Thank you"). The presence of this mutual complimenting and a child's Challenging response to a parent's criticism above indicates orientation toward more egalitarian discourse between the Filipino parents and children.

| P069.1.3a | D to M | She's pretty. | ds | I:Inf | assess | as |
| P069.2.07 | D to M | It's a nice picture, Mama. | ds | I:Inf | compliment | R:Pos:t |

Yet the Filipino orientation is much less egalitarian than in the North American dialogues where children made more assessments (4.55% of their total moves) than their parents (2.84%). Twelve of the children's moves were acts of assessment. The

first ten below all offer a negative evaluation of another person or thing.[9] The last

two, though positive assessments, are addressed by two brothers to their mother upon

seeing their father playfully throw a very large knife at the inside of the front door—

an event that few mothers (this one included) would endorse as, 'Cool!'

A043.6.06	D to F	I think somebody's only thinking of herself,	ds	I:Inf	assess	R:Pos:t
A160.04.42	S to F	Sounds like they're pretty stupid to me.	fis	I:Inf	assess	R:Pos:t
A160.04.44a	S to F	They should plan things better,	ds	I:Inf	assess	as
A160.09.10	S to F	They're still talking weird,	ds	I:Inf	assess	R:Pos
A160.11.14a	S to F	It was stupid.	fis	I:Inf	assess	c
A160.11.38	S to F	She's been pretty cranky lately,	ds	I:Inf	assess	I:Inf
A160.11.48	S to F	That Dustin kid gives me the creeps,	ds	I:Inf	assess	I:Elic
A160.11.52b	S to F	Gross.	fis	I:Inf	assess	c
A160.11.14b	S to F	They just went home and nobody's noticed they were gone.	fis	I:Inf	assess:C	R:Pos:t
A160.11.16	S to F	And they'd been gone like a year or something.	fis	I:Inf	assess:C	R:Pos:C:t
A140.1.1a	S to M	Cool!	ds	I:Inf	assess	as
A140.1.2a	S to M	Cool! [2nd son]	ds	I:Inf	assess	as

Most surprisingly, these moves received nearly unanimous Positive response.

Two received a related Eliciting or Informing move from the parent showing

acceptance of the topic and assessment. Five received explicitly Positive responses,

even though nearly every assessment made by the children gave a negative evaluation

of other people. One of the abandoned moves implied a Positive response; and the

other two ('Cool!') were deliberately ignored by the mother—a choice which her two

sons viewed as a Positive endorsement prompting them to fight over the

aforementioned knife.

Even more revealing is the fact that the remaining four moves of this class from

children were criticisms of their parents. These four moves are from one child—a

Chinese American who was born in the US. As in several stories by Indian-American

authors, the clash between Eastern and Western values is embodied in differences of

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[9] Moves A160.11.14b and 16 are the child's negative assessment to his father of the plot of a book he'd
read—a book that the father had enthusiastically recommended to the son as one of his personal
favorites when he was a boy.

parent-child discourse. In this case the father had immigrated to the US where his daughters were born and much of the conflict in the story revolves around his expectations of parental authority which are not met by his eldest daughter. This is clearly demonstrated in the dialogues where his daughter demonstrates that she has been acculturated to American standards for the discourse role of children. The father in this case does not reply to his daughter's criticisms—possibly he is too shocked at such behavior.

A168.1.2b	D to F	You said she would get better,	ds	I:Inf	criticize	c
A168.2.12a	D to F	I wish you'd died instead of Mama!	ds	I:Inf	criticize	as
A168.1.2c	D to F	Now you're burning paper money for her ghost.	ds	I:Inf	criticize:C	c
A168.1.2d	D to F	What good will that do?	ds	I:Inf	criticize:C	I:Inf

Analysis of the North American parent's assessments is equally as revealing of egalitarian oriented discourse. The two instances of assessment acts offer a positive evaluation of an object (a book) and a negative evaluation of a place; the first is abandoned though it is implied the child is listening, and the second receives a Positive acknowledgement.

| A160.08.01 | F to S | Good book. | fis | I:Inf | assess | as |
| A160.01.01 | F to D | Looks like a war zone, | ds | I:Inf | assess | R:Pos:t |

There are also two compliments that parents give to children and these are also abandoned with same implication of Positive response as above.

| A160.11.27a | F to S | Sounds better than the first book, | ds | I:Inf | compliment | as |
| A160.11.47a | F to S | I liked how you came and read to your sister | ds | I:Inf | compliment | as |

The North American parents also criticized their children three times (0.66% of their total moves). These moves are abandoned, no explicit response is given but it is

implied that the children acknowledge the information; however, all three children in these two stories persist in the behaviors that precipitated the criticisms.

A104.1.1d	M to D	I'm late to work every morning nowadays because of you kids.	ds	I:Inf	criticize	as
A104.1.1d	M to S	I'm late to work every morning nowadays because of you kids.	ds	I:Inf	criticize	as
A116.4.2c	M to D	You're making me mess up.	ds	I:Inf	criticize	an

In the examples above, move A104.1.1d is counted as two moves because it is addressed from the mother to both the son and daughter.

Finally, the verbal behavior which is unique to the North American stories—there were six instances (1.31% of the parents' moves) of parents criticizing themselves to their children. In the first situation shown below, a mother makes four related moves in which she criticizes herself in front of her daughter for having given the daughter bad advice. To this the daughter listens quietly but no direct response is indicated. In a different story, a son reports to his father that his mother has not been in a good mood lately. The father then makes a self-criticism act in which he states that he too has been "cranky" and he continues the move revealing that he thinks his wife is unhappy with him also. These moves receive a Positive acknowledgement from the son.

A043.5.15b	M to D	I was wrong to tell you.	ds	I:Inf	self-crit	c
A043.5.15c	M to D	I don't know why I told you.	ds	I:Inf	self-crit:C	c
A043.5.15d	M to D	It was very, very wrong of me.	ds	I:Inf	self-crit:C	c
A043.5.15e	M to D	I would not have told you if I were myself.	ds	I:Inf	self-crit:C	as
A160.11.45b	F to S	I've been cranky too, though,	ds	I:Inf	self-crit	c
A160.11.45c	F to S	I don't know if she'd want to go with me.	fis	I:Inf	self-crit:C	R:Pos:C:t

5.5.4 Conclusion

The analysis of the different types of acts within the assessment class of Informing moves reveals distinct cultural differences in parent-child interactions in the dialogues. The Malaysian parents used assessment and criticism to instruct and punish whereas the Singaporean parents used only criticism and to a greater extent.

These acts were meant to insult and belittle, and this behavior was mirrored in the children to offer negative assessments. In their use of expressives the Singaporean parents showed frustration at a child's irresponsibility and concern which was rejected while the children were only seen to apologize. The infrequent use of Informing reports in the Singaporean stories was attributed to their much greater use of Directing and Requesting than in the other stories. Malaysian children expressed only self-centered sorrow and surprise while their parents apologized and showed affection. This altruistic authoritarianism was seen also in the Malaysian parents production many Informing reports which served didactic purposes though children's reports received relatively little Positive response. Thus, the stories of both these cultures demonstrate the use of Informing moves in discourse which orient them toward hierarchical values.

The Filipino parent's uses of reports were seldom continued and were met with a mixture of interactive dialogue as children asked related questions, a few Positive responses, and several Challenges though these included playful exchanges. Similar responses were present when children gave reports though overall acts of reporting were less common the Filipino stories than in the Malaysian and North American stories. This is not surprising given that Informing acts carry a weak prospection for responses, and the discourse of Filipino parents and children by other measures is highly interactive. All of the Filipino characters acts of expressing were non-verbal as they played and showed affection for each other and to a lesser degree expressed frustration non-verbally. While both Filipino parents and children gave favorable assessments, only the parents produced unfavorable ones. All of this Informing behavior orients these interactions midway between the very authoritarian behavior

seen in the other Southeast Asian cultures and highly egalitarianism of the North American relationships.

The nearly identical frequency of Informing reports from North American parents and children is a good indication of the egalitarian values seen through closer analysis. Parents continued their reports less often than in the Malaysian stories and children were seen to add their own reports to those from the parents and to Challenge their parent's reports. Parents, however, usually responded Positively to the children, and when Challenged by the parent, children counter-challenged. In many of the exchanges with Challenges, the children maintained the final turn which was less often the case in other cultures. Though the American parent's use of acts to express were similar to those in the other cultures the instance of an American child acting out a comic scene in order to please his father with act of self-expression. More indicative of the North American discourse, the children's relatively prolific production of negative assessments received nearly total Positive responses from their parents, and one child delivered a four moves with acts of sharp criticism to her father. It is not surprising then that while these parents delivered nearly equal amounts of complimenting and criticism to their children, they were seen more frequently to criticize themselves.

This encompassing view of moves that function to Inform reveals that these discourse choices are constrained by cultural values which show the Singaporean dialogues to be the most hierarchical followed closely by the Malaysian with the Filipino stories situated between these two and the very egalitarian North American stories. This same pattern has been displayed throughout nearly every section of this chapter's analysis of initial moves and their responses. From Organizing exchanges to Eliciting to the closely related Directing and Requesting functions, to Informing

moves, Hypothesis 2a of this study has been thoroughly proven. Likewise, Hypothesis 2b need only be reconsidered by transposing Singaporean and Malaysian culture as the former is shown to be the most authoritarian rather than the latter.

Hierarchical   Egalitarian

                Singaporean Malaysian   Filipino   North American

CHAPTER VI

FOLLOW-UP MOVES IN EXCHANGES AND

GETTING THE LAST WORD

6.1 Follow-up Moves

Chapter V provided a detailed discussion of initiating moves and their

responses. Throughout the previous analysis, follow-up moves were occasionally

referred to because their use by speakers is usually a sign of higher status. Their

presence after an initiation and one or more responses helped establish the value

orientations that this research is concerned with. Follow-ups, as a small, functionally

specific class of moves, can be (unlike responses in general) adequately examined in

isolation with insightful results. This section will discuss the use of these moves in

this corpus of literary dialogues between parents and their pre-adolescent children and

compare their uses across the four cultures studied. Section 6.2 will address the

importance of follow-ups as terminal units in exchanges along with the relationship

between different response types and exchange length which is directly related to the

significance of follow-up moves and other responses that are made in the final turn of

exchanges.

Follow-ups have both structural and functional criteria. First, they must follow

one or more responses to an initial move. Secondly, they function to comment upon

the previous speaker's response. The importance of follow-up moves was first

recognized by Sinclair and Coulthard as they analyzed classroom teacher-student

discourse (Coulthard 1992). However, as Tsui (1994) acknowledges, follow-ups are

found in everyday conversation as well, and she (along with Sinclair 1992) argues for

their status as an optional component of conversational exchanges. Tsui (ibid.)

classifies follow-ups according to three distinct functions: Endorsement (positive evaluation of the previous speaker's response), Concession (acceptance of a Negative or Challenging response), and Acknowledgement (neutral acknowledgement that the response was heard and understood).

Follow-ups are typically made by the person who initiated the exchange as a comment upon the response given by the second turn speaker (see the discussion of follow-up moves in Chapters II and III). Because these moves allow the initiator to evaluate the responder's words and the outcome of the exchange, they are usually made by those of higher status (such as a teacher's follow-up of *Yes* or *Well, not exactly* after a student's correct or incorrect response to a question). This section will address this aspect of the social significance of follow-up moves in the corpus.

Speaker	Malay parent	child	Sing parent	child	Phil parent	child	N Amer parent	child
Follow-ups 4		-	-	-	7	3	16	5
% of all m	3.5%	-	-	-	4.1%	2.5%	3.6%	1.5%
Endorse	-	-	-	-	7 1		8 1	
% Fllw-ups	-	-	-	-	100%	33.3%	50%	20%
Concede	3	- -		- -		-	7	1
% Fllw-ups	75%	- -		- -		-	44%	20%
Acknowl.	1	- -		- -		2	1	3
% Fllw-ups	25%	- -		- -		66.7%	6%	60%

Table 6.1 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Follow-up Moves

Table 6.1 reveals another apparent universal in parent-child discourse—when follow-up moves are present, they are made more frequently by parents than children. Cultural variation is also exhibited in the use of follow-ups in the dialogues. First, the Singaporean stories contained none of these moves, and this is in accord with the functional analysis of initiations and responses in these stories. By most measures the Singaporean stories were the most hierarchically oriented and the least interactive. In this case these two features combine to limit the need for follow-ups. The mothers in the Singaporean stories were so authoritarian, and their discourse so parent-centered that there was no need for further marking of their status and no desire on their part for the increased level of interaction that comes from making follow-up moves. As will be shown below, follow-ups are very indicative of a more equitable discourse style despite the fact that they simultaneously convey status relationships.

In the Malaysian dialogues, parent's follow-ups comprised 3.5% of their total moves—the same as in the North American stories, yet the Malaysian children produced no follow-ups compared to their use in 1.4% of the North American children's moves. Likewise, along with the more frequent use of follow-ups by Filipino parents (4.1%), their children used more follow-ups (2.5%). Thus, the Malaysian stories in their representation of follow-ups reveals hierarchical orientation. This orientation is not as strong as shown in the analysis of initial moves and responses, for here the parents are seen conceding to their children's Challenging responses. These are not serious conflicts, however, and these follow-ups work to correct misunderstandings as much as to concede or acknowledge. The examples below show these follow-ups in the context of the exchanges they terminate.

M011.2.05b	F to D	Leave him be.	ds	I:Dir	advice	R:Chal
M011.2.06	D to F	But father, he called my name just now!	ds	R:Chal		
M011.2.07a	F to D	I know, sayang,	ds	F1:Con		

| M011.2.07b | F to D | I heard | ds | F1:Con:C:t | | |
| M011.2.07c | F to D | But you have to remember, at this age, he doesn't remember anymore. | ds | I:Inf | report | |

M023.1.2b	M to D	there are no such things as monsters.	fis	R:Chal		
M023.1.2c	M to D	it's just a Fayze im [you're] going through and i'll [you'll] grow out of it.	fis	R:Chal:C		
M023.1.3	D to M	I already grew an inch since my last birfday	fis	R:Chal		
M023.1.4a	M to D	**laughed**	**NV**	R:Chal		
M023.1.4b	M to D	Thats not what I mean Honey.	fis	F1:Con		

M022.5.1	F to S	Where are you going?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos
M022.5.2	S to F	To look for diamonds,	ds	R:Pos		
M022.5.3a	F to S	**laughed**	**NV**	F1:Ack		

In the first example, the father concedes, but then proceeds to reassert his position by initiating a new exchange. In the second example, the mother concedes but it is under the condition of her daughter's misunderstanding of the metaphorical use of the word "grow." In the last example, the father acknowledges his son's reply. His laughter is a mild way of evaluating the incorrectness of the son's presupposition that there are diamonds in Malaysia.[1]

In the two less authoritarian cultures both parents and children produced follow-ups. Of the Filipino children's moves, the two Acknowledgements are in response to the parent's answers to the child's questions—they function to show reception of information.

P068.5.5	S to M	How do we know when the season starts?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos
P068.5.6	M to S	One can only go hunting when it's not time for the animals to have babies.	ds	R:Pos		
P068.5.7a	S to M	Oh,	ds	F1:Ack		

P068.6.05	S to F	Do you always have to clean your rifle?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C
P068.6.06a	F to S	Of course,	ds	R:Pos		
P068.6.06b	F to S	that way you're sure that the bullet won't get stuck on something when you fire.	ds	R:Pos:C		
P068.6.07a	S to F	Oh,	ds	F1:Ack		

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[1] The father goes on to explain that the geologic structure of Malaysia is too recently formed for diamonds to have been produced.

The third example demonstrates the more egalitarian orientation of these conversations as a child uses a follow-up in the third exchange shown (moves P068.6.12 – 14a) for the same purpose as a teacher.

P068.6.09a	S to F	Papa--	ds	I:Org	metast	R:Pos:t
P068.6.09b	F to S	Yes?	ds	R:Pos		
P068.6.10	S to F	Macao is a Portuguese colony, isn't it?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t
P068.6.11	F to S	I think so.	ds	R:Pos		
P068.6.12	S to F	Do you know where it is?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos
P068.6.13	F to S	It's near Hong Kong.	ds	R:Pos		
P068.6.14a	S to F	Yes,	ds	F1:End		
P068.6.14b	S to F	it's on the coast of China, west of Hong Kong--	ds	I:Inf	report	c
P068.6.14c	S to F	we took it up last year when I was in Grade Three.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Chal:t

Notably, as this conversation continues, the father shows his disapproval of his son's bookish behavior while they are on a hunting trip. By highlighting the father's physical action of looking at his gun instead of his son the author conveys the man's deliberate disregard of his son's Informing report. This marked lack of acknowledgement is in this situation is functionally a Challenging response. This interpretation is supported by the exchange which follows (and other conversations in the story) in which the father shows non-verbal disapproval of his son's behavior.

P068.6.15	F to S	**looking at the inside of his barrel**	NV	R:Chal:t		
P068.6.16a	S to F	do you think there are macaws in Macao?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:C:t
P068.6.17a	F to S	**frowned**	NV	R:Chal		
P068.6.17b	F to S	You're being silly again.	ds	R:Chal:C:t		

On the other hand, all of the follow-ups produced by the Filipino parents were Endorsements which signaled acceptance of the positive outcome of exchanges. Characteristic of these dialogues, four of the moves are highly interactive as a mother kisses her daughter and parents say a nightly prayer with their daughter.

P044.6.6a	M to D	**kiss**	NV	F1:End
P044.6.8	M to D	**kiss**	NV	F1:End
P083.4.5b	F to D	You're absolutely right, princess.	ds	F1:End

P083.9.16	M to D	say the prayer with her	nrsa	F1:End
P083.9.17	F to D	say the prayer with her	nrsa	F1:End
P090.4.03	M to S	Good boy,	ds	F1:End
P083.4.5c	F to D	After seven is eight.	ds	F1:End:C

The North American stories showed the most egalitarianism in the parents' and children's use of follow-up moves. Three of the children's moves were acknowledgements similar to those in the Filipino stories, and one was an Endorsement of a father's behavior (i.e. the child shows interest in and approval of his father's action by sitting up in bed from a lying position).

A160.08.22	S to F	Mm.	fis	F1:Ack
A160.04.46a	S to F	**nodded**	**NV**	F1:Ack
A160.04.46b	S to F	Oh.	fis	F1:Ack:C
A160.04.28	S to F	**sat up straighter in bed.**	**NV**	F1:End

More indicative of egalitarian discourse, a child also produced a follow-up in which she concedes to her father's Challenge as he refuses to answer her question in an Eliciting:information move—the ability to concede to a Challenge entails that the speaker has the ability to assess the other speaker's response. The complexity of conversational interaction in this example can be seen as the father changes his mind and responds to his daughter's question. Following his daughter's concession, he discards his Challenging response and answers her Elicitation.

A168.3.3b	F to D	I stopped playing bridge last week.	fis	I:Inf	report	I:Elic
A168.3.4	D to F	Why?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:R:Pos:C:C:t
A168.3.5	F to D	It's not important,	ds	R:Chal		
A168.3.6	D to F	Okay.	fis	F1:Con		
A168.3.7a	F to D	I'm getting old,	ds	R:Pos		
A168.3.7b	F to D	Someone ten years younger was just promoted over me.	fis	R:Pos:C		
A168.3.7c	F to D	I'm not going to try to keep up with them anymore.	fis	R:Pos:C:t		

Half of the follow-ups produced by parents in the North American stories were Endorsements. The realization of these moves differs from those of the Filipino

parents. The North American instances are nearly all conventional utterances (single

words or short phrases) whereas the Filipino follow-ups are non-verbal, more

interactive, or more emphatic (except for the conventional 'Good boy').

A160.01.15	F to D	I bet you did.	fis	F1:End
A160.03.3	F to D	Yes indeedy deed,	ds	F1:End
A084.1.3	F to S	Good,	ds	F1:End
A160.11.05	F to S	You are?	fis	F1:End
A160.11.09a	F to S	Neat,	ds	F1:End
A160.11.23	F to S	Not bad.	fis	F1:End
A160.11.29a	F to S	Good.	fis	F1:End
A118.1.2a	M to S	Yes.	ds	F1:End

The remaining follow-ups consist of only one Acknowledgement and seven

Concessions. Whereas in the Malaysian instances of parents conceding, the parent

still asserts that he or she is correct, in the North American examples this only

happened two out seven times. In the first five Conceding follow-ups below the parent

shows that he or she has accepted the child's Challenge. The first example shows the

move in the context of the exchange. Only in the last two moves below the parents

went on to reassert their position with a new initiation.

A160.04.19	F to S	Ah.	fis	F1:Ack

A160.11.11	F to S	Liked it?	fis	I:Elic	confirm	R:Neg
A160.11.12	S to F	I thought the ending was pretty stupid.	fis	R:Neg		
A160.11.13a	F to S	Mm.	fis	F1:Con		
A160.01.19	F to D	**sighed.**	NV	F1:Con		
A168.2.15	F to D	**hands dropped to his sides**	NV	F1:Con		
A116.1.3	F to S	**frowned but appeared to have no intention of intervening**	NV	F1:Con		
A098.3.3	M to D	**started to leave**	NV	F1:Con		
A160.04.11a	F to S	Yeah,	fis	F1:Con		
A156.2.3a	M to S	Well, I know,	ds	F1:Con		

In summary, the Follow-up moves displayed in the parent child conversations

also reflected cultural values. The Singaporean stories, which tended to be the most

authoritarian, did not contain any of these moves which in the other cultures were

used to increase the amount of interaction between the parents and children. In the Malaysian dialogues only the parents made follow-up moves, and despite their use of concessions, they still asserted their correctness in the preceding exchanges. Follow-ups were used by both parents and children in the Filipino stories with children using them for acknowledgement and one child attempting to play a grown-up role in a conversation. These parents' exclusive use of Endorsements to give positive feedback to their children and encourage interaction was also typical of the Filipino style of discourse. The presence of follow-ups in the North American stories oriented these dialogues toward very egalitarian values as children used all of the follow-up functions and parents both Endorsed positive exchanges and Conceded when their children Challenged them.

6.2 Terminal Moves: The Last Word in Conversational Exchanges

The importance of terminal turns is hinted at by Birmingham School approaches in their recognition of Follow-up moves. Speaker 1 initiates, speaker 2 responds, and then speaker 1 makes a Follow-up move which can function to acknowledge the outcome of the interaction, evaluate the correctness of a response (common in school settings), accept the outcome of an interaction, show appreciation of a response, minimize face damage, or show a change of state (Tsui 1994: 41). In conversations between participants of unequal status (such as teacher and student) the Follow-up move is a privileged one which demonstrates the speaker's right to evaluate and assess the interaction. This behavior is clearly seen in the Malaysian, Filipino, and North American dialogues in which it was more common for the parents to make follow-up moves than the children.

Not all exchanges, however, end with follow-up moves, and not all exchanges fit the prototypical two move (Initiation—Response) structure. Analysis of the dialogues in these stories revealed that in all cultures nearly 80% of the 371 completed exchanges (in which an initial move received an explicit response) were composed of two turns (see Section 4.4). The other 20% had three or more turns and of these only 13.7% ended with a follow-up move—and not every follow-up move ended the exchange it was a part of. None of the Birmingham school approaches reviewed in this research addressed the importance of exchange length or the types of final moves aside from follow-ups.

When addressing response types and exchanges, Eggins and Slade (1997) assert that Positive responses lead to closure of exchanges while Challenges lead to further discussion. The data from this study not only supports their assertion but develops it further by addressing the influence of status relationships upon types of response, exchange length, and terminal moves in exchanges. This relationship between exchange structure and social power possibly was not seen in Eggins and Slade's data because their discourses were drawn from casual conversations between co-workers, friends, and parents with adult children—all of which are much more egalitarian relationships than parents with pre-adolescent children.

When the coding of moves in the corpus was expanded so that the lines with initial moves contained a code for the responses given to the moves (as detailed in 4.4), not only was it possible to easily determine the length of exchanges, but another related phenomena became apparent. Positive responses usually ended exchanges, but Challenges often led to additional responses (three or more turns). In order to reveal the significance of response type, exchange length and the moves of final turns, the final move of the final turn of each exchange was coded with a 't' (for 'Terminal')

and Tables 6.2 to 6.6 display how exchanges developed and ended in the different cultures.

   Each table indicates the outcome of parents' and children's initial moves. Numbers indicate occurrences of turns with each type of response, and 't' indicates the number of turns with that response type which were terminal. Positive response outcomes are shaded in the tables in order to clearly illustrate that these moves lead to closure more often than Challenging or Negative moves. The data from these tables is further summarized into Table 6.7 and Charts 6.1 and 6.2.

Singapore						
Turn1 Parent Initiates				Turn1 Child Initiates		
T2 Child Responds	Pos	Chal		T2 Parent Responds	Pos Neg	Chal
	23:t	14 (5:t)			1:t 1:t	2:t
T3 Parent Responds	Chal					
		9 (8:t)				
T4 Child Responds	Pos					
		1:t				

Table 6.2 Exchange Structures and Terminal Moves in Singaporean Dialogues

Malaysia						
Turn1 Parent Initiates				Turn1 Child Initiates		
T2 Child Responds	Pos	Chal		T2 Parent Responds	Pos	Chal
	15 (14:t)	6 (2:t)			12 (11:t)	3 (2:t)
T3 Parent Responds	F1:Ack F1:Con	Chal		T3 Child Responds	Pos	Chal
	1: 1:t	3:t			1:t 1	
T4				Parent Responds	F1:Con	
						1:t

Table 6.3 Exchange Structures and Terminal Moves in Malaysian Dialogues

Philippines							
Turn1 Parent Initiates				**Turn1 Child Initiates**			

Turn1 Parent Initiates

Turn2 Child Responds	Pos Neg			Chal	
	26 (21:t)		(2:t)	22 (15:t)	
Turn3 Parent Responds	F1:E	Pos		Pos Ch	al
	4:t	1:t		1:t 6	(4:t)
Turn4 Child Responds	Ch			al	
				2	
Turn5 Parent Responds	F1:E			Chal	
				1:t 1	:t

Turn1 Child Initiates

Turn2 Parent Responds	Pos Neg			Chal
	29 (25:t)		9:t	4:t
Turn3 Child Responds	F1:A	F1:E	Pos	
	2:t	1:t	1:t	

Table 6.4 Exchange Structures and Terminal Moves in Filipino Dialogues

North American								
Turn1 Parent Initiates								

Turn1 Parent Initiates

T2 Child	Pos Neg				Chal				
	59 (49:t)		11 (9:t)		31 (18:t)				
T3 Parnt	FE	FA	Po	Ch	FC	Po	F:C	Pos	Chal
	7:t	1:t	1:t	1:t 1	:t	1:t 3	:t	1:t 9	(2:t)
T4 Child						Pos Neg			Chal
						1:t 3	:t 3		:t

Turn1 Child Initiates

T2 Parent	Pos Neg			Chal
	65 (58:t)		16 (13:t)	14 (12:t)
T3 Child	FE	FA	FC	Pos	Chal Ch	al	Chal
	1:t	2:t	1:t	1:t	2(1:t)	3 (2:t)	2 (1:t)
T4 Parent					Chal* Ch	al	Chal
					1 1	:t	1
T5 Child					Chal*		Chal
					1		1:t

*this exchange continued with T6 Parent Chal and ended with T7 Child Pos:t

Table 6.5 Exchange Structures and Terminal Moves in North American Dialogues

Confirming Eggins and Slade's assertion, it was found that nearly all Positive response turns were terminal (Table 4.12 and Chart 4.5). In the less than 20% of instances when a turn containing a Positive response (and any continuations) was followed by another turn, that turn was usually a Follow-up, very seldom another Positive response, and in only one case in the corpus, a Challenge. In other words Positive responses lead to either immediate closure or a Follow-up or second Positive which terminated the exchange.

In the Singaporean stories, Positive responses from both parents and children were always terminal (Table 6.2). This is a reflection of the lower levels of interaction between the parents and children in these stories. The Malaysian stories showed only slightly more interaction in these terms as in one case a parent gave a Follow-up:Endorse to the child's Positive response, and once a child added another Positive move to the parent's Positive (Table 6.3).

In the Filipino stories (Table 6.4) 16% of the time that a child gave a Positive response, the turn was followed by a parent's Follow-up of Endorsement or another Positive move to end the exchange. On the other hand, when the parent produced a Positive response, the child ended the exchange 13.8% of the time by adding a Follow-up of Endorsement, Acknowledgement, or another Positive move. This shows a much higher degree of interaction than in the Singaporean and Malaysian stories.

The North American stories (Table 6.5) displayed slightly less interaction than those in the Filipino corpus with parents adding a terminal turn to children's Positive responses 14.7% of the time with the majority being F1:Endorsements. Likewise, the children followed parents' Positive responses only 4.8% of the time. Of these turns, two were terminal while one led to an extended exchange of playful Challenges that ended with a Positive response from the child.

Speaker	Malay		Sing		Phil		N Amer	
	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child	parent	child
Positive	12	16	1	23	31	27	67	61
% terminal	91.7%	87.5%	100%	100%	87.1%	81.5%	91.1%	83.6%
Neg + Chal	6	7	11	14	11	24	42	159
% terminal	83.3%	28.6%	90.9%	35.7%	81.8%	62.5%	69.1%	45.2%

Table 6.6 Cross-Cultural Comparison of Parent-Child Moves in Terminal Turns
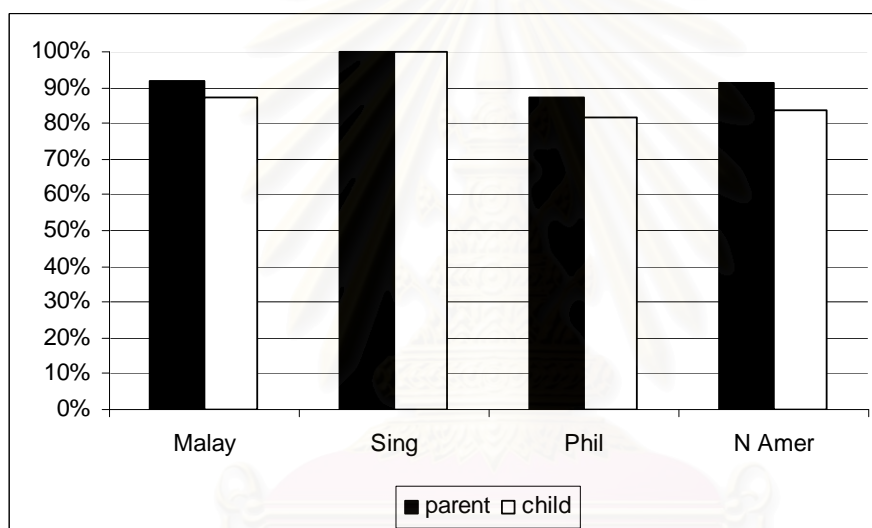
Chart 6.1 Percent of Positive Responses that were Terminal
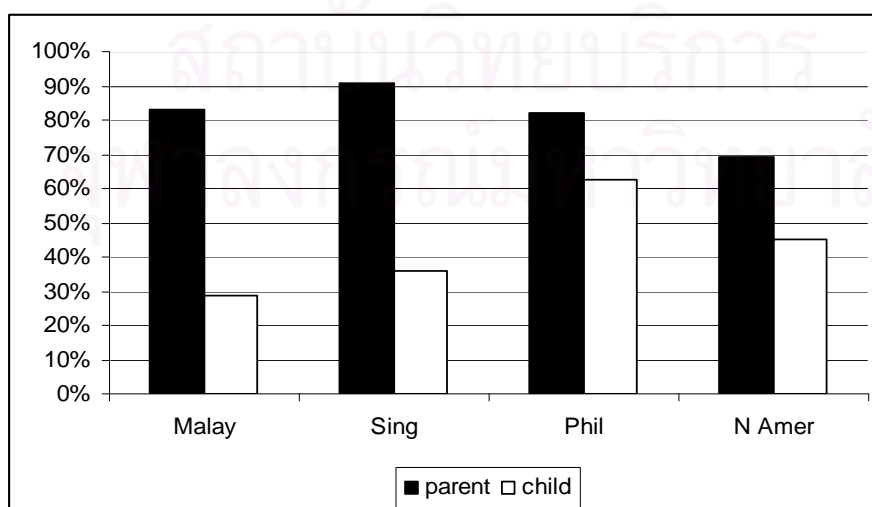
Chart 6.2 Percent of Challenging and Negative Responses that were Terminal

Chart 6.1 illustrates the data for Positive responses as summarized in Table 6.6. As shown, the percentages of Positive terminal responses produced by parents and children never differed by more than 7.5% across cultures though parents were always more likely to produce the final turn. This is a relatively small percentage when compared to the differences between Negative and Challenging terminal responses. Typically when a Positive response is not terminal it is because a follow-up move is present or in a few cases a second Positive response ends the exchange. Thus, the data for Postive terminals is closely linked to the presence of follow-up moves, and both are signs of increased interaction. The Singaporean stories show no interaction after a Positive response while greater degrees of interaction are seen in the Malaysian, Filipino, and North American stories respectively.

The last two rows of Table 6.6 which are illustrated in Chart 6.2 further affirm Eggins and Slade's assertion by demonstrating that Negative and Challenging responses were more likely to be followed by additional turns. What Eggins and Slade do not address is the relationship between Challenging moves and getting the last word in relationships where the interactants have unequal status. In this study making the final turn ('getting the last word') in exchanges with Challenging or Negative responses was found to be a salient feature of parent-child discourse.

The last two rows of Table 6.6 and Chart 6.2 demonstrate that Negative and Challenging responses are far more likely to be terminal when produced by parents in all cultures. Furthermore, it was found that in the cultures oriented toward hierarchy (Malaysian and Singaporean) when the parent initiated a conversation (see the left-hand side of Tables 6.2 and 6.3) and the child's response was Negative or a Challenge, the parent would usually respond to the child's Challenge with another Challenge which ended the exchange. Though this was also the typical situation in the

Filipino and North American dialogues, both of these more egalitarian cultures showed instances of the child re-challenging the parent (Tables 6.4 and 6.5). However, in the Filipino dialogues these re-challenges by the children were never terminal—the parent still got the last word. In the North American stories it was more common for the child to be allowed to have the last word in the exchanges that were initiated by the parent but that received Negative or Challenging responses from their children.

Likewise in all three SE Asian cultures, when the child initiated an exchange (see the right-hand side of each table), and the parent gave a Negative or Challenging response, the second turn by the parent was terminal. The only exception was in one Malaysian dialogue where the child challenged the parents' challenge, yet even in that case the parent got the last word by adding a follow-up of Concession. In contrast the North American dialogues contained several instances of children challenging the parents' challenges and being allowed to have the last word.

In conclusion, the analysis of terminal moves demonstrates that Singaporean and Malaysian parent-child discourse in the dialogue of stories reflects very hierarchical orientations. These characters produce less positive follow-ups and parents get the last word when Negative and Challenging responses are present. The Filipino stories are more egalitarian in that they are more interactive and parents allow the children to challenge more, but parents still get the last word. Though the percentages in Table 6.6 and Chart 6.2 seem to indicate that the Filipino children are allowed to terminate with Negatives and Challenges more than the North American children, Tables 6.4 and 6.5 show that in the North American dialogues, exchanges with Challenges extended to three or more turns and in these exchanges the children were more likely to get the last word.

6.3 Conclusion

The summary at the end of Section 6.1 demonstrated that parents' and children's use of follow-ups is not only universal in that parents always use more follow-ups than children but also that cultural variation orients the discourse toward hierarchy or egalitarianism. Though the Singaporean stories contained no follow-ups, this was explained as a sign of parents' extreme authority and the lack of interaction in these stories. The other cultures' use of follow-ups showed Malaysians to be the most authoritarian while the Filipino stories were more egalitarian and the North American stories the most strongly oriented toward egalitarian values.

Approximately 80% of the exchanges in the corpus ended with the second turn while the remaining 20% extended to three or more turns to end with Positive or Negative responses, Challenges, or follow-up moves. In all cultures, Positive moves by parents or children were nearly always terminal (90.3% on average) while Negative and Challenging moves by children were terminal only 43% of the time, and those by parents were terminal an average of 81.3%. This supports Eggins and Slade's (1997) assertion that Positive responses lead to closure, but Negative and Challenging responses lead to further discussion. Universally, parents made the last moves (of every type) in conversational exchanges more often than their children.

Cultural variation revealed that Singaporean stories were the most hierarchically oriented with no use of follow-ups and parents usually terminating exchanges that contained Challenges. The Malaysian stories were very similar in terms of the outcomes of Challenges, but were slightly more interactive due the use of follow-ups by parents. Though Filipino children were allowed a higher percentage of terminal Negatives and Challenges than in other countries' stories, their parents ended with these moves as frequently as the Malaysian parents. The North American

dialogues displayed egalitarian values as the children were seen to rechallenge more often in exchanges and it was far more common for these children to get the last word in Challenging exchanges.

Hierarchical _____Egalitarian

      Singaporean   Malaysian   Filipino   North American

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION: CULTURAL VALUES

REFLECTED IN LITERARY DIALOGUE

Chapters IV – VI present the results and discussion of this study of parent-pre-adolescent child dialogues represented in the short stories of four different cultures. In order to facilitate quantifiable cross-cultural analysis, the data in those chapters is primarily organized according to the move/act analysis framework. By looking at each functional type of move and act and comparing its use across cultures, discrete contrasts are easily recognizable. Chapter VII begins with a summary of the results of this discourse analysis of characters' interactions. In 7.2 a broader perspective on the data is provided in order to extend the discussion by looking at the literature studied as discourse between authors and readers. This perspective puts the trends seen in the results into the context of the stories, writing communities, and the cultures that shaped them. The chapter ends with recommendations for future study.

7.1 The Discourse of Parent-Child Dialogues in Literature

While several scholars in the field of literary Stylistics have applied methods from Conversation and Discourse Analysis to literary dialogues (see Chapter II), the majority of that research has analyzed the text of plays. The studies that examine novels and stories typically focus on only a few passages by one or a hand-full of authors and analyze selected speech acts rather than seeking a more exhaustive description. On the other hand, studies that use a corpus of literary texts show that stories are amenable to large-scale quantitative analysis. Researchers using corpora have examined methods of speech representation and applied Biber's multi-

dimensional analysis to fiction corpora. This research has sought to combine and extend both fields (CA/DA and corpora approaches) by demonstrating that a systemic-functional framework of discourse moves and acts can be applied to a corpus comprised of dialogues from a variety of authors from several writing communities. This is a valuable tool that can be used by researchers, teachers, and students for analyzing and interpreting character relationships as portrayed in the dialogues of stories. The following sections summarize the findings of this research.

7.1.1 Malaysia

The analyses in Chapters IV – VI demonstrate the functional moves and acts that the Malaysian authors studied use to portray parent-child relationships which are oriented toward values of social hierarchy. In summary, the children's discourse role is functionally limited to seeking and giving information and expressing emotions (usually sorrow and surprise). The children typically give Positive responses, and when they disagree, they often do so non-verbally so that it is not perceived by the parents. As shown in Chapter V, the Malaysian children in these stories do not exhibit any Requesting or Directing behaviors whereas the children in every other culture do produce these speech moves. Furthermore, the Malaysian children rarely get the last word when they give Challenging responses.

The Malaysian parents exhibit a wider range of functions than their children. The most frequent functions found among them is giving information, instructions, and advice, and eliciting a child's commitment to a future action. The parents' percentage of Requests is also the lowest of all the four cultures. When combined with Directing moves, the frequency of these moves is lower than in the Singaporean and the Filipino stories. The parents' many initial moves that provide factual reports

and their Positive responses to their children's Elicitations for information are continued more often than in the other cultures. This tendency to continue their moves results in much higher moves per turn for parents than children in these stories.

7.1.2 Singapore

The Singaporean stories studied portray very authoritarian relationships. The difference between the discourse moves and acts attributed to mothers and those of their daughters is the greatest of all the cultures studied. This strict hierarchical orientation is conveyed through the mothers' use of frequent Directing moves which are often continued and the daughters' Positive responses. The other moves commonly produced by the mothers are Informing moves to criticize and Elicitations for the daughters to inform or agree that they had done something wrong. Thus, the daughters make far fewer moves than the mothers and play mainly a responding role.

7.1.3 The Philippines

The discourse moves and acts and their realizations which are found in the Filipino parent-child dialogues clearly portray a communication style that is different from the other two Southeast Asian cultures studied and from the North American stories. These dialogues have the highest ratio of child-to-parent moves per turn of all the cultures studied. While the Filipino parents and children display a narrower range of discourse functions than the North American parents, many more roles are open to them than in the other Southeast Asian stories. Furthermore, the differences between the parents' distribution of moves and the children's distribution is much less than in the Malaysian and Singaporean stories but still greater than in the North American stories.

These stories contain additional elements that make them appear to have a very egalitarian orientation. The Filipino children's discourse is characterized by their many Elicitations for information which is often of a personal nature. The children are also shown to Challenge their parents more than in the other Southeast Asian stories studied. On the other hand, the parents produce a much higher percentage of Directing and Requesting moves than in both the North American and the Malaysian stories. The Filipino dialogues are further differentiated by the authors' portrayal of non-verbal communication that is an adjunct to interaction, often physical, more frequently than in the other cultures studied.

7.1.4 North America

The most egalitarian values are seen in the North American parent-child dialogues. The degree of difference between these parents' and children's roles is less differentiated than in the other cultures. While the Malaysian and Singaporean stories demonstrate a vast difference between the role of parent and that of child, in the North American stories the children's contributions to the dialogues were closer in frequency and distribution to their parents than in the other cultures. Just as the parents exhibited a wider variety of initial moves and acts than in other cultures, so too the roles open to children through the use of many types of speech acts was greater. In almost every category of speech act, the parents' and children's proportions of moves is closer than in the other cultures.

The parents' relatively infrequent use of Directing moves and children's Challenging responses also characterized their discourse. The presence of particular speech acts also conveyed egalitarian values such as children criticizing parents and parents criticizing themselves to their children. Similarly, the content of moves

convey egalitarian values as discussed in Chapter V regarding parents' Elicitations of information and making offers, and children's Requests for action and assessments of others.

7.1.5 Hierarchy and Egalitarianism in Parent-Child Dialogues

In Chapter II the review of research into language socialization and parenting practices revealed several apparent 'universals' in these interactions. Within these broad generalizations, there is variation in the discourse roles of parent and child among different cultures which is a reflection of different underlying values. This research confirms these conclusions, but with a note of caution. Because the parent-child conversations studied are fictional dialogues, it is possible that they are a reflection of authors' stereotypes of interaction. Would a collection of fictional dialogues written by 10 year-olds show the same patterns of parental authority? Would an analysis of transcripts of actual parent-child conversations from these countries produce the same results? These questions highlight the emphasis of this research project: the portrayal of parent-child interaction in culturally different communities of fiction writers. The findings reported in Chapters IV to VI are in accord with the research reviewed in Chapter II. Thus, authors' portrayals of conversations in realistic fiction are a *reflection* of both universal patterns of discourse and cultural orientations for roles in interaction.

From the perspectives of Conversation and Discourse Analysis and Sociolinguistics, this research reveals that unequal status relationships between parents and children are evident in the speech acts they produce. The framework of discourse moves used in this study can be summarized into two paradigms of interaction. The first paradigm is that of Speech and Action which is entailed by the

use of Directing and Requesting moves and their responses. Figure 7.1 presents a

cline from high authority/status at the top to low authority/status at the bottom.

In traditional parent-child relationships, where the parent has very high status,

authority will be signaled by initiations from parents and responses from children near

the top of the figure. Vice-versa, initiations from children and responses from parents

will be composed of speech acts near the bottom of the figure. Relationships that are

more egalitarian will be composed of initiations and responses near the center of the

figure. This is, of course, a generalization, that may be effected by other factors such

as the content of the initiations as well as possibility of different combinations of

initiations and responses such as all Challenging responses to many Directing moves

but Positive responses to a few Requests. However, this research into parent-child

relationships in literature supports the general principle of the Speech and Action

Authority Scale shown below. Note: 'Directing and Requesting' means there is more

of the former than the latter.

	High Authority / Status	
Initiations	Responses	
Directing / No Requesting	Positive	
Directing / No Requesting	Positive, Negative, and Challenging	
Directing and Requesting	Positive	
Directing and Requesting	Positive, Negative, and Challenging	
Requesting and Directing	Positive	
Requesting and Directing	Positive, Negative, and Challenging	
Requesting / No Directing	Positive	
Requesting / No Directing	Positive, Negative, and Challenging	
	Low Authority / Status	

Figure 7.1 Speech and Action Authority Scale

The second paradigm is Information Exchange which is entailed by the use of Eliciting and Informing moves and their responses. Figure 7.2 presents another cline with high authority/status at the top and low authority/status at the bottom. The most traditionally hierarchical relationships will feature parents making initiations and children responding with moves near the top and vice versa.

High Authority / Status		
Initiations	Responses	
	Informing / No Eliciting	Positive
	Informing / No Eliciting	Positive, Negative, and Challenging
	Informing and Eliciting	Positive
	Informing and Eliciting	Positive, Negative, and Challenging
	Eliciting and Informing	Positive
	Eliciting and Informing	Positive, Negative, and Challenging
	Eliciting / No Informing	Positive
	Eliciting / No Informing	Positive, Negative, and Challenging
Low Authority / Status		

Figure 7.2 Information Exchange Authority Scale

Multiple factors can effect how status relationships are conveyed in interaction, and some move types in this framework contain acts that are subtly different. For example, within the class of Directing moves, threats are more authoritarian than warnings. However, a warning is still more authoritarian than an invitation which is a Requesting move. The results of this research demonstrate that, in Austin's words, people "do things with words." What they do is a reflection of who they are and their relationship to the person they are talking to. Authors embed their culturally

determined expectations of communication into the dialogues of their characters in order to portray relationships.

7.1.6 Positive vs. Negative and Challenging Responses

This study supports Eggins and Slade's (1997) assertion that Positive responses in exchanges lead to closure while Challenges (and Negatives in Tsui's 1994 framework) lead to further negotiation (see Chapter VI). In parent-child dialogues, in which the status of the speakers is unequal, the amount of negotiation is related to speakers' perceptions of their discourse rights. In cultures where egalitarian relationships are valued, there is more negotiation. This is demonstrated in Chapter VI which reports that the North American dialogues have many Negative and Challenging responses which do not end the conversation but extend it further. The converse is true of the Malaysian and Singaporean stories in which authority is highly valued. In these dialogues the exchanges have fewer turns because children challenge less and parents' Challenges more frequently terminate exchanges. This has implications for how we perceive the nature and function of conversational discourse, interpersonal communication, and status relationships between speakers. Analysis of types of responses and the lengths of exchanges can be applied to other relationship domains to reveal hierarchies and to describe the function and structure of conversations.

7.2 Beyond the Discourse Level of Characters

As discussed in Section 3.4, literary stylistics research seeks more than just empirical data based on linguistic analysis. For findings to be relevant and insightful, they should account for how authors create and how readers interpret literature while

also addressing the role of literary works in a community of writers or the larger culture. For a study such as this one, the concept of discourse level as explained by Short (1996) bridges the linguistic analysis of dialogues to the broader themes and meanings present in the stories.

At the 'lowest' discourse level of a story, characters talk to each other. To the extent that the fictional world created by the text resembles our own, the same norms of conversational interaction apply to the characters as apply to people in everyday situations. If this were not true, readers would not recognize normal and deviant interaction in conversations represented in fiction (Toolan 1985). The fact that readers do recognize invented dialogue as a representation of speech and bring their own pragmatic presuppositions into interpretation underlies this research project. The analysis in Chapters IV through VII have focused on explaining the interaction of parents and children at the discourse level of characters within the stories.

The 'highest' discourse level is between the author and the readers.[1] At this level the entirety of a story is viewed as a message that is sent from the writer via the text to the readers. Section 7.2 addresses this discourse level in order to bring the discussion to the broader contexts of the stories. Elements of literary narratives such as themes, titles, characterization, and point of view are employed to provide a more insightful analysis of the stories. This section is organized by countries and literary themes in order to emphasize issues of gender, authorship, culture and foregrounded ideas that are directly related to the portrayal of parent-child relationships through dialogue. The order in which the countries are addressed below is a reflection of the degree to which the stories convey traditional hierarchical values in parent-child

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[1] For simplicity, intermediate discourse levels of narrator to implied reader are not addressed here—see Short (1996) for a complete account.

relationships from highest to lowest: Malaysia, Singapore, Philippines, and North America.

7.2.1 Malaysia

The five Malaysian stories that were analyzed in this study showed many similarities in their portrayal of parent—pre-adolescent child relationships. Two stories by the same author, "Till Their Blood Ran Dry," and "Sleep, Atok, Sleep," by Noraini Md. Yusof and "The Geology of Malaysia" by Christopher Yin are tributes to fathers and grandfathers and the nurturing bonds of family. The parent-child relationships in these stories are central to both plot and theme. Thus, it should not be surprising that dialogues in these stories account for most of the Malaysian representation in the corpus, and the discourse of these dialogues (summarized in 7.1.1) places parents in the traditional role of teacher, caretaker, and counselor.

In all of these stories, parents are portrayed as authority figures who benevolently try to do what is best for their children. This is shown through parents' many Informing moves that provide factual reports, their Positive responses to their children's Elicitations for information, and the parents' tendency to continue their moves so that they produce many more moves per turn than children. On the other hand, children are shown to be the quiet, respectful receptacles of lessons, and when they disagree, it is usually non-verbal. Their discourse role is primarily that of responder—when they do initiate exchanges, it is to Elicit information or clarification, to Inform with a report or to express their surprise or sorrow. Children are never shown to make Directing or Requesting moves though parents do.

In Malaysian culture where power-distance is highly valued (see Chapter II), and where context and shared meaning guides communication (Salleh 2005), the

parents do not Request and Direct as much as in the Singaporean and Filipino stories. This supports Salleh's assertion that, "In making a request, Malays are generally indirect. It would appear impolite to make a request outright, so Malays talk around what they intend to convey in the hope that their message is understood" (ibid 7). It is an implicit part of these shared values that the parent plays the role of teacher and caretaker and the child of elicitor and silent, obedient listener (even when he or she disagrees). This is the dominant view of these family relationships as portrayed in all the short stories written in English in Malaysia that were included in this study.

In the other two Malaysian stories, the parent-child dialogues were a less prominent feature of the texts, but the same cultural value of parents as authority figures was present. In "The Tamarind Tree" by Saffura Chinniah, the interaction that occurs when a mother enters her daughter's room to wake her up for school shows the mother as a caregiver, but not with the air of servitude present in the same 'sick child' situations in the North American stories. This, too, is conveyed through the function of discourse moves and acts—the Malaysian parent brings medicine (invite) and leaves with a kiss (express) while the North American parent supplies the child with a bell so that she can summon her mother or father.

The mother-daughter relationship in "Under the Blanket" by Hanna Alkaf presents a mother who does not take seriously her daughter's prattling and seeks to correct her—at first about her belief in ghosts, and later about her contention that Uncle Jay had touched her inappropriately when he had come into her bedroom at night. In the discourse of these interactions, the child gives Informing reports which the mother Challenges, and the mother Elicits commitments to future behavior. This is a different situation from those above, but with similar patterns of speech moves and acts and a similar value orientation.

Alkaf's treatment of child abuse is characteristic of the Malaysian perspective. The author's titling of the story "Under the Blanket" emphasizes what appears to be only a minor element of the narrative. When the daughter tells her mother that Uncle Jay had touched her, the mother dismisses it as a childhood delusion and admonishes her daughter for speaking negatively about a close adult family member. In a review of child abuse and neglect Shwartz-Kenney and McCauley (2007) cite Sham Kassim's (2001) study of child abuse in Malaysia. Kassim explained that in Malaysia child abuse was long considered a problem of Western cultures; Malaysians believed that their strong family ties and reliance on extended family had always prevented child abuse from ever happening.

This attitude is clearly portrayed by the mother in the story who cannot imagine that her brother would abuse her daughter. Instead the touching is dismissed as a misinterpretation or the over-active imagination of the daughter. If the story were told from an objective point of view (third-person narration) or from the first person perspective of the mother, we may agree with the mother's interpretation. However, the author, Alkaf, writes the story in first person from the daughter's point of view. By seeing the situation first hand, we know that her Uncle Jay, smelling of alcohol, crept into her room at night to touch her private parts and then admonish her to keep it a secret. By portraying the mother as disbelieving, Alkaf highlights the presence of traditional values, but in a way that reveals how they can mask a problem that is now acknowledged in contemporary Southeast Asia.

This is the only story in which traditional values of parental authority are questioned, for the uncle did touch the girl inappropriately, and the mother's refusal to take her daughter seriously could allow it to continue. However, in the first four stories, the consequences of the traditional roles are embraced and extolled by the

authors. These results are consistent with Malaysian cultural values and social policies. After achieving independence, in the 1950s, the government's educational and language policies sought to unify the multi-ethnic constituents of Malaysian society into a more homogenous and traditional national culture with fewer outside influences. Thus, traditional Asian and Muslim values of respect for authority and cohesion in the family unit have been maintained, and this is reflected in how authors portray parents and their pre-adolescent children.

Though Malaysia is a multicultural country composed of ethnic Malays, Chinese, and Indians, the majority of the population are Malays, and their religion and language greatly influence the country's cultural milieu. The parent-child discourse in these five stories is a direct reflection of Malaysian cultural values and governmental policies. Furthermore, this study supports previous research on communication style in Malaysia. The imbalance of parent to child moves per turn discussed in Chapter IV is a reflection of a culture in which, "a child who interrupts elders who are speaking is seen as behaving rudely" (Salleh 2005: 4).

7.2.2 Singapore

All three of the Singaporean stories studied feature mother-daughter relationships. In the first story, an abandoned mother raises her daughter alone; the mother is constantly, ordering, shouting, and insulting. The story is told from the daughter's point of view, so that the reader learns first-hand how bad the daughter feels in this "tragedy."[2] In the next story, there is another abandoned mother but with two daughters. This mother is less abusive and more neglectful—she sends her children to a week-long summer camp then forgets to pick them up for several days

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[2] The title of the story is "Tragedy of My Third Eye."

which is typical of her parenting. When she finally returns there's a suggestion of abuse as the mother raises her hand in an innocent gesture, and the daughter flinches away saying 'don't hit me'. This daughter, however, is a less reliable first-person narrator and may be acting out to seek the attention which her mother refuses to give. Thus, in the Singaporean stories, child abuse and neglect is developed into a prominent theme[3]. These relationships, as shown in Chapters IV – VI, are conveyed through the authors' choice of speech functions represented in the dialogues, notably Directing moves and the children's immediate or eventual compliance.

In "Mid-Autumn" by Hwee Hwee Tan, the mother is portrayed as far more benevolent, sacrificing herself through extra work that will pay for her daughter's education while her husband shows no interest and controls the family money for his own desires. The interactions between this mother and daughter are more egalitarian, and this is reflected in the small percentage of the child's Requesting and Directing and Challenging. However, the orientation toward hierarchical values is still present in the mother's expressions, criticisms, and Challenging responses with many continuations.

The pervading theme in all of these stories, the devaluation of women, especially daughters, is an old one in Chinese culture which is predominant in Singapore. According to Burgess and Zhuang (2002) preference for son's over daughters is deeply rooted in Confucian values that give fathers, husbands, and sons power over all women. In contemporary China, the effects of these beliefs are seen in differing birth and mortality rates between sons and daughters and in unequal household spending on health care and education for boys and girls. These gender

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[3] The line between normal and strict parenting and what might be considered abuse is of course socially and culturally determined.

inequalities tend to be less pronounced in urban than rural families. Despite Singapore's urban setting, economic advancement, and international image, the stories examined in this study point to these enduring Confucian values which are passed down from Chinese to Singaporean cultures.

The changing role of mothers as they adapt to modern society is also conveyed through these stories. Choo's (2000) study of adolescents' attitudes toward mothers and fathers in Singapore reveals that mothers are seen as the more strict and controlling guardians of childhood behavior and that they exert this influence through psychological means. As husbands spend more time at work (or abandon the family as in the case of two of these fictional stories) the mothers must play the role of primary guardians. This is seen in all three of the Singaporean stories.

The first two stories discussed are narrated by the abused and neglected daughters, while the third is told by the struggling wife. These perspectives ensure that readers encounter each scene through the perceptions of the devalued women or daughters in order to identify with their situations. All three of the Singaporean stories are by widely published female writers. Educated, dedicated, and celebrated authors, their portrayal of women and daughters as devalued, presupposes these underlying societal beliefs. By creating these stories, the authors stand the traditional patriarchal attitude on its head by illustrating negative consequences of this cultural value. The little power that the women have is exerted over their daughters. In contrast to most of the Malaysian stories in which the reader is encouraged to favor parents as authority figures, in the Singaporean stories the authors force us to question parenting practices and consider the possible negative effects of a society where women must rely on men to make a living.

7.2.3 The Philippines

As discussed in the previous two sections, the theme of child abuse in its several methods (physical and emotional) and manifestations (destructive or neglectful) is a minor motif in the Southeast Asian stories. In the Filipino stories, this takes the form of a father who fondles his daughter while on the Holy Week family vacation. The irony of the situation is emphasized by the story's title ("Holy Week" by Nina Evangelista). Hours after the father delivers moral proclamations to his family while driving to the beach, he lingers over his daughter's body after changing her into a swimsuit. The story ends with the parents in bed at night, the daughter between them, her body stiffening with apprehension as her father's hand moves down her side. This is social commentary at its height with the author plainly contrasting the ideals of the Catholic religion and privileged family life in the Philippines with an underlying moral depravity.

Just as with verbal messages, the meanings communicated by touching others vary according to age, gender, solidarity, status, and the formality of the situation. The study of nonverbal communication through touch is called Haptics. Touching behaviors are a reflection of social norms and constraints (Wood 2005), and recent research has shown vast differences in the manifestations of these behaviors across cultures (Porter and Samovar 2003). When dealing with nonverbal communication and especially a sensitive issue such as child abuse, it is important to recognize that an outsider's interpretation of others' touching behaviors may be culturally biased. In order to provide an accurate assessment of the nonverbal communication in the stories, cultural differences are considered and touching behaviors are viewed in the context of the narrative.

Child abuse that occurs "Under the Blanket" is an issue in all cultures as demonstrated by Alkaf in Malaysia and Evangelista in the Philippines and the Singaporean authors discussed in Section 7.1.2. The discussion of this topic in this and the previous sections is not meant to imply that child abuse and neglect and gender inequality are present in Southeast Asia but not in North America. The presence of these unfortunate realities in Southeast Asian stories is better viewed as a sign that authors are addressing a current social concern which was not acknowledged in the past. Likewise, the lack of these topics in the North American stories studied does not indicate that they are not a problem in the US and Canada. However, they are problems that were addressed decades ago; thus, their impact as conflict in stories has lessened, and North American authors have began to address parent-child conflicts that are of contemporary concern such as family illness which is a theme in the stories studied in this research.

If one reads the Singaporean and Malaysian stories and gets the impression that children are to be 'seen but not heard', when reading the Filipino stories, one is left with the feeling that children are little bundles of emotion: playful, inquisitive, sensitive, and petulant. In a few stories, "Hunting Season" by Ino Manalo and "Holy Week" by Nina Evangelista, the parent-child relationship is the central focus of the stories though in most it is secondary to larger themes of growing up and family obligations. Yet, as the analysis in the previous chapters has shown, a consistent pattern of behavior emerges—a pattern that was not part of the initial hypotheses of this research.

The Philippines is an ASEAN country, grouped geographically with Singapore and Malaysia, Hong Kong and Indonesia, and so it may be expected that Asian cultural values are displayed. As cultural studies have shown, Filipinos value

authority and collectivism and use High Context Communication. Contrary to this expectation that parent-child relationships as portrayed in the Filipino short stories would be oriented toward hierarchical values to a lesser degree than in the other Southeast Asian cultures, the discourse of these dialogues appeared by all measures to be much closer to the Western orientation to egalitarian values. There are several intertwining reasons for these results.

To begin with, these exchanges are highly interactive which is especially seen in the turn/move analysis in Chapter IV. This verbal interactivity, when viewed in conjunction with the use of non-verbal interaction frequently referred to throughout Chapter V, suggests that the most salient dimension of Filipino discourse is not hierarchy—authority as seen in the other cultures studied here. Instead the most relevant cultural dichotomies are those of interdependence—independence and High or Low Context of Communication. At first glance, this seems problematic because as stated in Chapter II cultures that value hierarchy typically also value interdependence and display features of High Context communication. So why do the Filipino dialogues appear to be oriented closer to Western values?

The answer to this question can be explained by the lack of a one-to-one correspondence between discourse structures and functions and cultural orientation. As the analysis of the Singaporean, Malaysian, and North American stories showed, the Asian cultures foregrounded authority while the latter emphasized equality. The Filipino parents and children, however, were less concerned with expressing either of these traits than they were with expressing interdependence—they appear to be performing within a different paradigm. By attempting to situate Filipino culture on the same scale that is relevant for the other three cultures, some distinctions can be lost—this is a peril of cross-cultural comparison. Rather than asserting that the

Filipino dialogues are very closely oriented toward Western values, it is more accurate to say that their style of interaction is a reflection of Filipino culture which varies along different scales.

In a review of significant features of Filipino psychology, Pe-Pua and Protacio-Marcelino (2000) discuss the importance of 'indirect communication', and state that, "Part of our socialization is being sensitive to non-verbal cues, having concern for the feelings of others, being truthful but not at the expense of hurting others' feelings" (56). They also explain that, "the indirect pattern of communication of Filipinos has thus resulted in indirectness or euphemisms in verbal exchange, expressive body language, voice intonations that say more than the words themselves, and other similar behaviors" (57). When viewed by those from other cultures, this style of interaction in parents and children may appear to be less authoritarian, and the specific discourse features (turns and moves, types of initiations and responses) may seem to demonstrate a more egalitarian orientation than is warranted.

But the other Southeast Asian cultures studied here are also reported to be highly interdependent and use High Context Communication. Thus, the question posed above should be reconceptualized to read, 'Why then are the Filipino dialogues more interactive than in the other Southeast Asian stories?' The simple answer is that Filipino culture is distinct from other Asian cultures just as Malaysia is different from Singapore. The influences upon Filipino culture are not so simple though. As Rosca (1990) poetically summarized,

> "In the case of the Philippines, that matrix [which shapes the 'self']
> includes the following: 150 languages, eight major, two colonial; 7100
> islands; a past remarkable for its political and cultural discontinuity…
> And beneath it all, elusive and pervasive, lies the layer of relics from
> prehistory, a mastodon's graveyard of animistic beliefs, matriarchal

tendencies, and a sense of exile from the first voyager from the Asian mainland…" (238).

Standard histories point out the three centuries of Spanish colonization and the pervasive influence imposed by the Catholic Church, feudal structure, and Spanish language. However, Shulze (2004, referring to Lin et al 1990) contends that despite extensive exposure to Western influences, "Indigenous Filipino cultural beliefs nevertheless exert directive force on the behaviors of Filipinos" (Schulze 2004: 392). Concerning parenting practices, Schulze argues that, "Three hundred years of colonization by the Spaniards did little to influence these practices. Filipinos made a conscious effort to retain their sense of cultural identity throughout their colonization by Spain and the USA respectively" (ibid 392). This emphasis on indigenous ethnic identity is seen in many contemporary scholarly articles about the Philippines. Church et al (1999) for example state that, "although the Philippines were exposed to Western influences during and after the Spanish and American colonial periods… it is easy to overestimate the extent of Western influence on the less superficial aspects of society and personality" (508).

On the other hand, Bauzon's (1991) description of the influence of Spanish culture provides many examples of how Catholic missionaries influenced the daily life of Filipinos. The aim of the Spanish friars was not only to convert the formerly scattered populace that they gathered into villages, but, "[to remodel] Filipino culture and society according to the Hispanic standard" (195). Bauzon asserts that, "This influence is evident even in the way we tell time ("alas singko y media"), in the way we count ("uno, dos, tres"), and in the family names we carry (De la Cruz, Reyes, Santos, etcetera)" (ibid). With this in mind, it seems possible that Hispanic modes of interaction influenced the Filipinos. Or possibly the indigenous people, having been

separate from mainland Asia for so long were by then predisposed to accepting a more interactive communicative style—one of the Hispanic social customs that was most widely accepted and is still present in the Philippines is the fiesta.

Given the conflicting reports of academics, it is problematic to posit that the highly interactive parent-child discourse style displayed in the stories is directly linked to one historical-cultural influence. It may best be concluded that, "the Philippines has transmuted some of the cultural influences of its neighbors and the former imperial powers to constitute a cultural identity that is uniquely Filipino" (ibid 392 citing Smolicz and Nical 1997). In a cross-cultural study of Chilean and Filipino adolescents' reporting of parent-child interaction, Cumsille et al (2002) revealed that Filipino youths indicated higher beliefs in the legitimacy of parental authority, greater obligation to obey, and more rules than Chilean youth. However, their study also revealed that although Filipinos show a more prevalent belief in the legitimacy of parental authority, Filipino youth also reported much more conflict with parents. This study of the portrayal of parent-child relationships in stories supports the cross-cultural research by demonstrating that Filipino children Challenge their parents more than in the other two SE Asian countries studied.

This study also reveals that cultural dichotomy scales do not capture all of the subtleties of culture. To hold a value in very high regard will lead to its being a salient feature of the discourse. Clearly this is the case for Malaysia and Singapore where authority is very highly valued and North America where egalitarianism is very highly valued—these orientations are easily seen in the parent-child discourse of their stories. This research suggests that in the Philippines, the authority-egalitarian dichotomy is less salient than a scale that would measure interaction, especially physical.

The Filipino parent-child dialogues place a high value on interaction. This is signaled by the relatively high frequency of children's moves per turn, the multiple discourse functions open to both parents and children (especially Eliciting information), the presence of Challenging responses, and their frequent non-verbal moves. This orientation is a reflection of Filipino communication style and parenting practices which have multiple influences. Even though these results differ from what was expected and are difficult to align with the paradigm that best describes the discourse of the other cultures in this study, they strongly support Hypothesis 3: the representation of parent-child dialogues in stories is influenced by traditional attitudes and the historical, cultural, and linguistic ties between countries.

7.2.4 North America

As with the stories from the Philippines, the parent-child dialogues in the North American stories varied in importance from constituting the majority of the text in the story to being an additional means through which a parent-child relationship was conveyed to illustrating scenes that were less central to the main conflict and themes of the stories. These stories also showed a broader range of conversation lengths than the other stories with longest extending to 56 turns (33 turns was the longest in the Singaporean, 19 in Filipino, and 12 in the Malaysian stories). This could be a factor of the typically longer length of short stories published in North America where the production of literary journals and magazines carrying short fiction is more prolific. Literary conventions in this large writing community may also influence the amount of dialogue that writers tend to use in stories. A more interesting cause of the longer parent-child dialogues which seems to be supported by this research is the Low

Context of Communication in North American culture where greater emphasis is placed on explicitness in verbal interaction.

The range of situations and socio-economic classes depicted in these stories also varied greatly. There were families of international vacationers, eccentric engineers, and Southern aristocrats though most were middle or working class families. In some stories a deep sense of parent-child camaraderie was conveyed by the very egalitarian discourse while in others the Challenging behavior increased the conflict between generations. Yet when examining the stories as a whole as in Chapter IV to VI, a common depiction of parent-child interaction emerges.

The analysis in Chapters V and VI showed quantitative differences between these dialogues and those from other cultures. This was expressed by contributions of move types that were closer to being equal in number than in the other stories. Role availability was also important in demonstrating that children's and parents' roles were less differentiated than in the other cultures. As the previous chapter demonstrated, North American parents allowed their children to get the last word in exchanges more frequently than the other parents. Thus, by nearly all measures, the North American stories displayed egalitarian values in these relationships.

With twenty North American stories in the corpus, each from a different author, it is beyond the scope of this study to describe all of the relevant thematic or situational tendencies. However, one conflict stood out, for it is central to the concerns of this research. Three of the stories portrayed first and second generation immigrants in the United States—two Indian-American families and one Chinese-American family. In all of these stories, one of the central themes is the clash of traditional cultural values with those of the contemporary U.S. One way that this

theme was dramatized was to depict parents and children whose expectations about how to communicate with each other were at odds.

In "Mrs. Dutta Writes a Letter" by Chitra Divakaruni, the father is as Indian who moved to the U.S. as a young man. His mother in India had arranged a bride for him and sent her to America, but the mother, Mrs. Dutta, didn't go until years later. As an elderly widow and grandmother, her son invited her to come live with his family. In addition to many other aspects of American culture that mystify Mrs. Dutta, she is bewildered when her son knocks on her grandchildren's bedroom doors to summon them, "a curious custom, this, children being allowed to close their doors against their parents," she thinks (31). Mrs. Dutta also overhears the conversation included in the corpus (in which the mother Directs the children, they Challenge, the mother rechallenges, and the children stomp away grumbling). During and after, she, "hopes that Shyamoli [her daughter-in-law] will not be too harsh with the girl. But a child who refers to elders in that disrespectful way ought to be punished" (32) And later she is not sure, "what she feels most—anger at the children for their rudeness, or at Shyamoli for letting them go unrebuked" (32). Eventually the cultural dissonance is too much for the family, and Mrs. Dutta returns to India.

"Interpreter of Maladies" by Jhumpa Lahiri moves the opposite direction geographically. In this story, two second-generation Indian-Americans take their three children (third-generation Americans) on vacation to India. Their driver and guide on a day trip is a middle aged Indian man, Mr. Kapasi. After driving the family for some time and observing the parents' and children's behavior, the narrator informs us,

> *They were all like siblings, Mr. Kapasi thought as they passed a row of*
> *date trees. Mr. and Mrs. Das behaved like an older brother and sister,*
> *not parents. It seemed that they were in charge of the children only for*

the day; it was hard to believe they were regularly responsible for
anything other than themselves (227).

The parents had been Directing and the children Challenging and then the daughter made repeated Requests that the mother Challenged until the daughter renewed the Request and the mother gave a Negative response (not to mention other exchanges as well as the content of the moves). His comments are direct reflection of his different expectations of parent-child discourse.

The third story with this theme is "The Eve of the Spirit Festival" by Lan Samantha Chang. Here the father, from China, is a university instructor in the United States where his two daughters were born and his wife recently passed away. The narrator of the story is the younger daughter who reports her elder sister's conversations with her father. In the middle of the second conversation in the story, after the elder daughter says, "You're nuts, Dad," the younger daughter comments that, "she had begun addressing him the way an American child does" (42). In other words she had begun to Challenge his Directing moves, express her anger, and give criticism to her father.

It should be noted that most of the North Amerian stories present more typical relationships some of which portray authoritarian parents and parents who played a teacher role. However, the overall results of this study demonstrate that cultural values of egalitarianism and independence are conveyed in the dialogues between parents and children in North American stories. These findings support the wide body of cross-cultural research in to Western and North American values, parenting, and language socialization.

Furthermore, this research does not suggest that all American children are disrespectful and that all Asian children are deferent. Rather, it demonstrates that by

looking at enough examples of parent-child discourse, culturally determined patterns of interaction such as those described above begin to become recognizable. The authors included in this study are members of established writing communities whose stories, chosen by editors, are part of the local culture's literary landscape. Contrary to writers and scholars who argue that a foreign tongue (English) cannot adequately transmit native cultures, this study proves that English fiction in outer circle contexts can convey subtle messages about societal values. This attests to the social-semiotic function of language and literature—they are products and processes that allow for the creation and maintenance of culture.

7.3 Recommendations for Future Research

The development of the Conversation and Discourse Analysis framework used in this study and the creation of a corpus of fictional dialogues opens many doors for future research. The recommendations made below range from refining and extending the current analysis to applying the methodology to other stories and corpora. It is hoped that these suggestions will encourage additional work which explores how conversations are portrayed, for this is a window into how discourse is perceived and the sociosemiotic function that it serves.

Gender and Dialogue

Given the gender considerations discussed in Chapters II and IV and the above discussion of the Singaporean stories, it is strongly suggested that future research into the dialogue of stories consider gender as a significant variable. Such studies would enrich the analysis of cultural values by examining author's portrayal of gender relationships. Other relationship domains such as husbands and wives, adult family

members, or coworkers can be explored using the same methods in order to reveal authors' and readers' perceptions of gendered discourse.

Abandoned Moves

As demonstrated by this methodology, another benefit of corpus creation and coding is the discovery of previously unrecognized features and patterns of discourse. The first revealed in this study was the presence of 'abandoned moves' and the distinction between moves that are abandoned at the discourse level of the characters in the story, and those that are abandoned by the narrator (the more inclusive discourse level of narrator to reader). Though not explored in detail here, the use of these abandoned initiations is a stylistic choice that all authors must make when writing dialogue. Furthermore, the gap that must be filled-in by readers when they encounter moves abandoned the narrator promises to inform narrative theory and any discussion of the shared knowledge (often cultural) that writers presuppose and readers rely on when dealing with literary texts.

Terminal Turns

Another unexpected finding was the importance of terminal turns in conversational exchanges. In all cultures, parents made more terminal turns than children. Cross-cultural comparison showed that in authoritarian discourse the speaker with higher status (the parent) more often produced the last turn whereas in more egalitarian relationships the speaker with less status was sometimes allowed to get the last word. This cultural difference was especially apparent in exchanges with Negative or Challenging responses. In these situations the children of egalitarian parents were allowed to get the last word far more often than the children of

authoritarian parents. Examination of this phenomena should be expanded to the analysis of discourse in other relationship domains as well as gender studies. Just as sentences have end-focus with the comment, or predicate, carrying the new information, it appears that the terminal units in conversational exchanges contribute significantly to the pragmatics of interaction.

Analysis of Responses

It is common in speech act research to emphasize initiating moves and acts and downplay analysis of responses. This research follows Tsui (1994) in an attempting to create functional categories for responding moves. Eggins and Slade (1997) employ a more detailed systemic framework of response acts, but even their framework does not account for the fact that responding moves can be realized by the same surface structure as initiating moves. Thus, as mentioned at the end of Section 4.4, a more comprehensive study of responses would include not only the functional move type (Positive, Negative, Challenge) but also an indication of the form of the response if it is realized by the same structure as an initiation. Such research would clarify the important role that sequence plays in conversational coherence and pragmatic meaning.

Non-Verbal Communication in Literature

The literary representation of non-verbal communication is, likewise, a rich and relatively unaddressed aspect of dialogue studies. This research has shown that non-verbal actions are a salient element of how authors create and develop characters and relationships. This should be especially helpful in contrasting High and Low Context cultures which vary so greatly in their use of non-verbal communication. Likewise, it

is possible that literary conventions for the representation of non-verbal acts in dialogue has changed over time just as the representation of regional and social dialects has changed (Page 1988). Research focused on authors' representations of non-verbal communication in dialogue can enhance existing literary studies and be used by literature teachers' and writers to better perceive how interactions between characters are conveyed.

Application of Discourse Analysis to a Corpus of Literary Dialogue

The methods employed here can be used by other researchers in several ways. Corpora studies of collected short stories of one author or various groups of authors from different time periods or cultures, or those who use different varieties of English has potential benefits for literary Stylistics, World Englishes, and cross-cultural examination. Furthermore, it is hoped that researchers and teachers will apply this or similar Discourse Analysis frameworks to the study of fiction whenever it contains dialogue, for these methods are a powerful tool for understanding how authors create and readers interpret characters' interactions.

Methods of Speech Representation

Corpora and contrastive studies of methods of speech representation have revealed stylistic tendencies which highlight the relationship that authors create between narrator and reader. The use of direct and indirect speech, the 'free' forms of these, as well as narrative report of speech acts and narrative report of voice are important choices that authors make when crafting a narrative. Corpora such as the one created here can easily be used to extend this field of analysis to authors and groups whose dialogues have not been studied.

7.4 Conclusion: Culture, Language, Literature, and Learning

The dialogue present in fiction is a crucial element of narrative. Many aspects of represented speech are significant to characterization (such as approximating regional and social dialects) and conflict development (such as the types of speech acts and responses conveyed). Stylistic analysis of dialogues explains how these passages are constructed and interpreted. This study of literary dialogue reveals how parent-child relationships are represented in stories through their discourse structure and functions. Stylistic tendencies of authors' creations reveal both universal perceptions of parent-child interaction and cultural differences that reflect the underlying values of different societies.

The stories included in this study are a concrete example of how the English language has been both adopted and adapted to suit the literary expression of writers in various cultures of Southeast Asia. In addition to exemplifying the growth of English as an international language, this study highlights the connection between language and culture. The use of English literature in language teaching has waxed and waned in the last century. In colonial contexts it was often used as a subtle tool for the indoctrination of the colonizer's values. With the shift toward postcolonial attitudes in which English is seen as a neutral medium, the cultural impact of English has been downplayed. Likewise, the currently ubiquitous English courses for special and applied purposes often ignore the cultural nuances of communication. This research is a reminder that all language is socially constructed and cultural-bound. To neglect this basic linguistic truth is dangerous, for it can lead to both cultural erosion, and the breakdown of communication.

In an ever-shrinking, increasingly globalized world, one of the greatest challenges we face is maintaining cultural identity while accepting the differences of

others. This research stands as an example of how the study of literature facilitates cultural analysis and cross-cultural understanding. Attention to the literature from newer varieties of English can benefit not only the realm of academic research but also language teaching and learning.

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APPENDICIES

APPENDIX A

LIST OF AUTHORS, STORIES, AND SOURCES

Organized by Country and Gender

(original publication year in parenthesis when known)

Letter and number at the left margin indicates the story's code in the corpus

Singapore

<u>Female Authors</u>

S7   Lim, Suchen Christine. *Tragedy of My Third Eye*. (2002) 2002. *The Merlion and the Hibiscus: Contemporary Short Stories from Singapore and Malaysia.* Mukherjee, Dipika, Kirpal Singh, and M.A. Quayum (eds). New Delhi: Penguin Books India.

S22   Tan, Hwee Hwee. *Mid-Autumn*. (2001) 2001. *Old Truths, New Revelations: Prizewinning ASEAN Stories.* Seet, K K (ed.). Singapore: Times Books International.

S6   Yu, Ovidia. *Kimmy*. (1986) 2002. *The Merlion and the Hibiscus: Contemporary Short Stories from Singapore and Malaysia.* Mukherjee, Dipika, Kirpal Singh, and M.A. Quayum (eds). New Delhi: Penguin Books India.

Malaysia

<u>Female Authors</u>

M23   Alkaf, Hanna. *Under the Blanket*. (2003) 2006. *25 Malaysian Short Stories: Best of Silverfish New Writing 2001-2005.* Nesa Sivagnanam (ed). Kuala Lampur: Silverfish Books.

M34   Chinniah, Saffura. *The Tamarind Tree*. (2001) 2006. *25 Malaysian Short Stories: Best of Silverfish New Writing 2001-2005.* Nesa Sivagnanam (ed). Kuala Lampur: Silverfish Books.

M35   Yusof, Noraini Md. *Till Their Blood Ran Dry*. (2001) 2006. *25 Malaysian Short Stories: Best of Silverfish New Writing 2001-2005.* Nesa Sivagnanam (ed). Kuala Lampur: Silverfish Books.

M11   Yusof, Noraini Md. *Sleep Atok Sleep*. (1998) 1998. *In Blue Silk Girdle: Stories from Malaysian and Singapore.* Quayum, Mohammad A. (ed.). Selangor D.E., Malaysia: Universiti Putra Malaysia Press.

<u>Male Author</u>

M22   Yin, Christopher. *The Geology of Malaysia*. (2005) 2006. *25 Malaysian Short Stories: Best of Silverfish New Writing 2001-2005.* Nesa Sivagnanam (ed). Kuala Lampur: Silverfish Books.

Philippines

<u>Female Authors</u>

P81   Amante, Isolde. *Dance*. (2000) 2002. *The Likhaan Book of Poetry and Fiction 2000*. Niel J. Garcia and Charlson Ong (eds). Manila: University of the Philippines Press.

P83   Evangelista, Nina. *Holy Week*. (2000) 2002. *The Likhaan Book of Poetry and Fiction 2000*. Niel J. Garcia and Charlson Ong (eds). Manila: University of the Philippines Press.

P49   Lacambra-Ayala, Tita. *The Concert*. 1995. *Mindanao Harvest 1: An Anthology of Contemporary Writing*. Jaime An Lim and Christine Godinez-Ortega (eds). Quezon City: New Day Publishers.

P90   Locsin-Nava, Ma. Cecilia. *The Prodigal*. (2000) 2002. *The Likhaan Book of Poetry and Fiction 2000*. Niel J. Garcia and Charlson Ong (eds). Manila: University of the Philippines Press.

P69   Miraflor, Norma O. *Gypsies in My World*. (1995) 1996. *The Likhaan Book of Poetry and Fiction 1995*. Gemino H. Abad and Christina Pantoja Hidalgo (eds). Manila: University of the Philippines Press.

P1   Torrevillas, Rowena. *The Fruit of the Vine*. (1980) 2000. In *Don Carlos Palanca Memorial Awards for Literature: An Anthology of Winning Works, The 1980s Short Story*.

P44   Villanueva, Marianne. *Lizard*. (1992) 2000. In *The Best Philippine Short Stories of the Twentieth Century*.

<u>Male Authors</u>

P108   Casocot, Ian Rosales. *Old Movies*. (2002) 2004. *The Likhaan Book of Poetry and Fiction 2002*. Marra PL. Lanot and Carla M. Pacis (eds). Manila: University of the Philippines Press.

P126   Madrid, Renato (Friar Rodolfo E. Villanueva). *The Death of Anacleto*. 1993. In *Brown River, White Ocean.* L. H. Francia (ed). New Jersey: Rutgers UP.

P68   Manalo, Ino. *Hunting Season*. (1995) 1996. *The Likhaan Book of Poetry and Fiction 1995*. Gemino H. Abad and Christina Pantoja Hidalgo (eds). Manila: University of the Philippines Press.

P119   Tui, Marcario. *Nanking Store*. (1999) In *Best Philippine Short Stories*. H. O. Santos (ed). http://www.sushidog.com/bpss/stories/nanking.htm.

North America

<u>Female Authors</u>

NA42   Cooke, Carolyn. *The Sugar-Tit*. (2002) 2002. In *The Best American Short Stories 2002*. K. Kenison and S. Miller (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA168   Chang, Lan Samantha. *The Eve of the Spirit Festival*. (1996) 1996. In *The Best American Short Stories 1996*. K. Kenison and J. E. Wideman (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA43   Cummins, Ann. *The Red Ant House*. (2002) 2002. In *The Best American Short Stories 2002*. K. Kenison and S. Miller (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA104   Divakaruni, Chitra. *Mrs. Dutta Writes a Letter*. (1999) 1999. In *The Best American Short Stories 1999*. K. Kenison and A. Tan (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA7   Eisenberg, Deborah. *Some Other, Better Otto*. (2004) 2004. In *The Best American Short Stories 2004*. L. Moore and K. Kenison (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA190   Gilchrist, Ellen. *The Stucco House*. (1995) 1995. In *The Best American Short Stories 1995*. K. Kenison and J. Smiley (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA116   Lahiri, Jhumpa. *Interpreter of Maladies*. (1999) 1999. In *The Best American Short Stories 1999*. K. Kenison and A. Tan (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA67   Lee, Andrea. *Brothers and Sisters Around the World*. (2001) 2001. In *The Best American Short Stories 2001*. K. Kenison and B. Kingsolver (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA70   Munro, Alice. *Post and Beam*. (2001) 2001. In *The Best American Short Stories 2001*. K. Kenison and B. Kingsolver (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA118   Munro, Alice. *Save the Reaper*. (1999) 1999. In *The Best American Short Stories 1999*. K. Kenison and A. Tan (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA139   Nelson, Antonya. *Unified Front*. (1998) 1998. In *The Best American Short Stories 1998*. G. Keillor and K. Kenison (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA98   Packer, ZZ. *Brownies*. (2000) 2000. In *The Best American Short Stories 2000*. E. L. Doctorow and K. Kenison (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA22   Straight, Susan. *Mines*. (2003) 2003. In *The Best American Short Stories 2003*. K. Kenison and W. Mosley (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA197   Williams, Joy. *Honored Guest*. (1995) 1995. In *The Best American Short Stories 1995*. K. Kenison and J. Smiley (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Male Authors

NA160   Byers, Michael. *Shipmates Down Under*. (1997) 1997. In *The Best American Short Stories 1997*. K. Kenison and A. Proulx (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA84   Carlson, Ron. *The Ordinary Son*. (2000) 2000. In *The Best American Short Stories 2000*. E. L. Doctorow and K. Kenison (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA41   Chabon, Michael. *Along the Frontage Road*. (2002) 2002. In *The Best American Short Stories 2002*. K. Kenison and S. Miller (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA156   Edgerton, Clyde. *Send Me to the Electric Chair*. (1997) 1997. In *The Best American Short Stories 1997*. K. Kenison and A. Proulx (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA205   Falco, Edward. *The Artist*. (1995) 1995. In *The Best American Short Stories 1995*. K. Kenison and J. Smiley (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

NA140   Powell, Padgett. *Wayne in Love*. (1998) 1998. In *The Best American Short Stories 1998*. G. Keillor and K. Kenison (eds). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

APPENDIX B

SUMMARY OF CODING PROCEDURES AND ABREVIATIONS

STEP 1: Move Identification for Corpus Construction

Column 1. The move identification in the first column provides the corpus retrieval information for each move. The example moves below begin with a new exchange initiated by the father in the middle of the 3rd turn of the 7th conversation in Malaysian story number 35.

Country code: M = Malaysia, S = Singapore, P = Philippines, NA = North America

Story identification number from separate index of stories

Conversation   number within the story

Turn number within the conversation

Move/act within the turn (if there is only one move, no letter is given)

Column 2. Speaker to Addressee: F = Father, S = Son, M = Mother, D = Daughter

Column 3. Text

Column 4. Method of Speech Representation: ds = direct speech, is = indirect speech, nrsa = narrative report of speech act, NV = Non-Verbal

M35.7.3d	F to S	you find work in town.	ds	I:Elic	commit	C	
M35.7.3e	F to S	Weekends you can help me.	ds	I:Elic	:C	R:Chal:C	R:Chal:t
M35.7.4a	S to F	Work? Work?	ds	R:Chal			
M35.7.4b	S to F	What can I be but a clerk?	ds	R:Chal	:C		
M35.7.5	F to S	The money can still help.	ds	R:Chal	:t		

STEP 2: Description of Moves and Acts

Column 5. Move description:

I = Initiation	Org = Organizing
	Elic = Eliciting
	Req = Requesting
	Dir = Directing
	Inf = Informing
R = Response	Pos = Positive
	Neg = Negative
	Chal = Challenge
F = Follow-up	End = Endorse
	Con = Concede
	Ack = Acknowledge

Column 6. Act description: See Table 3.3, p 92
for the complete list of Initiating acts,
C = Continuing move,
t = terminal move

M35.7.3d	F to S	you find work in town.	ds	I:Elic	commit	C	
M35.7.3e	F to S	Weekends you can help me.	ds	I:Elic	:C	R:Chal:C	R:Chal:t
M35.7.4a	S to F	Work? Work?	ds	R:Chal			
M35.7.4b	S to F	What can I be but a clerk?	ds	R:Chal	:C		
M35.7.5	F to S	The money can still help.	ds	R:Chal	:t		

Column 7. Next move or 2nd Speaker: For each Initial move, the following moves in the exchange (located on the lines below) are also added to the Initial move line in order to code for the result of each Initiation. Thus, if an Initiation is Continued, a C is placed in Column 7. If a second speaker responds, all moves of the second turn are coded into Column 7. If an Initial move is abandoned, the following abbreviations are used: as = abandoned by speakers, an = abandoned by narrator.

Column 8. Response from 1st Speaker: Subsequent responses ar added in order to track the outcome of each Initial move.

APPENDIX C

COMPLETE CORPUS

Singaporean Dialogues

reference	speaker	text	rep	move	act	response	3rd turn	4th turn
S006.1.1a	M to D	what have you done to your face?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t		
S006.1.1a	M to D	Silly little goosey,	ds		tm			
S006.1.1b	M to D	**touched her fingers lightly on my forehead**	NV	I:Inf	express	R:Chal:t		
S006.1.2a	D to M	**pushed her hand away**	NV	R:Chal				
S006.1.2b	D to M	It was because of that horrible man without any clothes on,	ds	R:Pos				
S006.1.3	M to D	What horrible--	ds	I:Elic	clarify	as		
S006.1.4a	D to M	you know how Kimmy makes up stories.	ds	I:Inf	assess	as		
S006.1.4a	D to M	Oh Mom,	ds		tm			
S006.1.4b	D to M	She was clumsy and knocked her head looking for comics, that's all.	ds	I:Inf	report	as		
S006.1.4c	D to M	Don't listen to her.	ds	I:Dir	warning	as		
S006.1.5a	M to D	Was it true?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t		
S006.1.5b	M to D	tell me the truth now.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	as		
S006.1.5b	M to D	Kimmy,	ds		tm			
S006.1.6a	D to M	No,	ds	R:Pos				
S006.1.6a	D to M	**silence, moved away**	NV		delay			
S006.1.6b	D to M	it was just a lie;	ds	R:Pos:C				
S006.1.6c	D to M	I'm sorry, Mom,	ds	I:Inf	express	as		
S006.1.7	M to D	**raised her hand**	NV	I:Dir	threat	R:Chal:t		
S006.1.8	D to M	please don't hit me--	ds	R:Chal				
S006.1.9	M to D	Kimmy--	ds		tm			
S007.1.1a	M to D	Mama.	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Chal:t		
S007.1.1b	M to D	Call me Mama.	ds	I:Dir	threat	as		
S007.1.2	D to M	You're not my Mama!	ds	R:Chal				
S007.1.3	M to D	**pushed me into the room and locked the door**	NV	I:Dir	threat	R:Chal	R:Chal:t	
S007.1.4	D to M	**banged on it**	NV	R:Chal				

S007.1.5	M to D	**caned me without mercy**	NV	R:Chal				
S007.2.01a	M to D	What are you doing?	ds	I:Elic	inform	as		
S007.2.01a	M to D	Ping!	ds		tm			
S007.2.01b	M to D	Turn off the tap!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c		
S007.2.01c	M to D	NOW!	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	as		
S007.2.01d	M to D	Are you stupid or what?	ds	I:Inf	criticize	as		
S007.2.01e	M to D	Look at you!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	as		
S007.2.01f	M to D	Dripping wet!	ds	I:Inf	criticize	as		
S007.2.01g	M to D	Strip off that uniform!	ds	I:Dir	threat	as		
S007.2.01h	M to D	What were you doing?	ds	I:Elic	inform	c		
S007.2.01i	M to D	Tell me!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	as		
S007.2.01j	M to D	Did you fall down in school?	ds	I:Elic	confirm:C	R:Chal	R:Chal:t	
S007.2.02	D to M	**silence**	NV	R:Chal				
S007.2.03a	M to D	**yanked the blue pinafore over my head, and unbottoned my white blouse**	NV	R:Chal				
S007.2.03b	M to D	Take off your socks and shoes!	ds	I:Dir	threat	c		
S007.2.03c	M to D	Hurry!	ds	I:Dir	threat:C	R:Pos:t		
S007.2.04	D to M	**pulled them off**	NV	R:Pos				
S007.2.05a	M to D	Into the bathroom!	ds	I:Dir	threat	c		
S007.2.05b	M to D	Now!	ds	I:Dir	threat:C	R:Pos:t		
S007.2.06	D to M	**went inside and closed the door**	NV	R:Pos				
S007.2.07	M to D	Ping!	ds	I:Org	summon	R:Pos:t		
S007.2.08	D to M	**opened my eyes**	NV	R:Pos				
S007.2.09a	M to D	Bathe!	ds	I:Dir	threat	c		
S007.2.09b	M to D	What're you gaping at?	ds	I:Elic	inform	as		
S007.2.09c	M to D	**threw cold water over me.**	NV	I:Dir	threat:C	R:Pos:t		
S007.2.10a	D to M	**took off my panties**	NV	R:Pos				
S007.2.10a	D to M	**gasped**	NV		delay			
S007.2.11	M to D	Soap.	ds	I:Dir	threat	R:Pos:t		
S007.2.12	D to M	**scrubbed that spot again**	NV	R:Pos				
S007.2.13a	M to D	Did you fall in school?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	as		
S007.2.13b	M to D	How many times do I have to tell you not to climb those rails in school,	ds	I:Elic	inform	as		

		eh?						
S007.2.13d	M to D	Did you climb?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	c		
S007.2.13e	M to D	Did you?	ds	I:Elic	confirm:C	R:Chal	R:Chal:t	
S007.2.13f	M to D	Answer me	ds	I:Dir	threat	as		
S007.2.14	D to M	**silence**	**NV**	R:Chal				
S007.2.15a	M to D	**flung jugs of water on me … rubbed me down with a large towel**	**NV**	R:Chal				
S007.2.15b	M to D	Run to our room and stay there till I call you for dinner	ds	I:Dir	threat	R:Pos:t		
S007.2.16	D to M	**raced down the corridor, plunged into the safety of our bedroom and shut the door**	**NV**	R:Pos				
S007.3.01a	M to D	Don't just sit there!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c		
S007.3.01a	M to D	Ping!	ds		tm			
S007.3.01b	M to D	Eat!	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	c		
S007.3.01c	M to D	Must I feed you too?	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Chal	R:Chal	R:Pos:t
S007.3.02	D to M	**sits there**	**NV**	R:Chal				
S007.3.03	M to D	Eat	ds	R:Chal				
S007.3.04	D to M	**spooned out some rice and put it in my mouth**	**NV**	R:Pos				
S007.3.05	M to D	Eat the fish, ingrate!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t		
S007.3.06	D to M	**crammed some fish into my mouth**	**NV**	R:Pos				
S007.3.07	M to D	Eat!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t		
S007.3.08	D to M	**shoved another spoonful into my mouth**	**NV**	R:Pos				
S007.3.09a	M to D	What're you crying for?	ds	I:Elic	inform	c		
S007.3.09b	M to D	I'm not dead yet.	ds	I:Elic	inform:C	as		
S007.3.09c	M to D	Stop it!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	as		
S007.3.09d	M to D	Drink up!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t		
S007.3.10	D to M	**drink a spoonful of soup**	**NV**	R:Pos				
S007.3.11a	M to D	Eat your fish!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c		
S007.3.11b	M to D	Now!	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	c		
S007.3.11c	M to D	Swallow what's in your mouth.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	c		
S007.3.11d	M to D	Eat your fish even if you can't finish your rice.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Pos:t		
S007.3.12	D to M	**swallowed hard**	**NV**	R:Pos				
S007.3.13	M to D	Is there a bone stuck in your throat?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t		
S007.3.14	D to M	**shook my head vigorously**	**NV**	R:Pos				

S007.3.15a	M to D	You think the fish will bite you?	ds	I:Elic	inform	c	
S007.3.15b	M to D	eh?	ds	I:Elic	confirm:C	as	
S007.3.15c	M to D	You think you're doing me a great favour by eating!	ds	I:Inf	criticize	as	
S007.3.15d	M to D	Don't eat!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c	
S007.3.15e	M to D	Starve!	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Pos:t	
S007.3.16	D to M	**kept my eyes on the plate**	**NV**	R:Pos			
S007.3.17	M to D	Eat up!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Chal	R:Chal:t
S007.3.18	D to M	**was about to put some rice in my mouth**	**NV**	R:Chal			
S007.3.19a	M to D	**grabbed my hand and took away my spoon**	**NV**	R:Chal			
S007.3.19b	M to D	Open your mouth	ds	I:Dir	threat	as	
S007.3.19c	M to D	**shoved a spoonful of fish and rice into it**	**NV**	I:Dir	threat	c	
S007.3.19d	M to D	Now chew quickly.	ds	I:Dir	threat:C	R:Pos:t	
S007.3.19e	M to D	Don't you dare to cry.	ds	I:Dir	threat	as	
S007.3.20	D to M	**bit hard**	**NV**	R:Pos			
S007.3.21a	M to D	Open your mouth!	ds	I:Dir	threat	c	
S007.3.21b	M to D	Now!	ds	I:Dir	threat:C	an	
S007.3.21c	M to D	**shoved another mouthful of fish and rice into me**	**NV**	I:Dir	threat	c	
S007.3.21d	M to D	Chew and swallow quickly!	ds	I:Dir	threat:C	R:Chal	R:Chal:t
S007.3.22	D to M	**[thought I was going to faint]**	**NV**	R:Chal			
S007.3.23a	M to D	**grabbed my shoulders and shook me**	**NV**		tm		
S007.3.23b	M to D	Don't shut your eyes.	ds	R:Chal			
S007.3.23c	M to D	Swallow your food.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t	
S007.3.24	D to M	**swallowed**	**NV**	R:Pos			
S007.3.25a	M to D	Drink some soup.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c	
S007.3.25b	M to D	**pushed the bowl toward me**	**NV**	I:Dir	instruct:C	c	
S007.3.25c	M to D	Drink up!	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Chal	R:Chal:C:C:C:C:t
S007.3.26	D to M	**hesitated**	**NV**	R:Chal			
S007.3.27a	M to D	**held the bowl to my mouth**	**NV**	R:Chal			
S007.3.27b	M to D	Open up!	ds	R:Chal:C			
S007.3.27c	M to D	Wider!	ds	R:Chal:C			
S007.3.27d	M to D	No!	ds	R:Chal:C			
S007.3.27e	M to D	Wider!	ds	R:Chal:C			

S007.3.27f	M to D	Now drink!	ds	I:Dir	threat	R:Chal	R:Chal:t	
S007.3.28	D to M	**coughed and gasped for air**	**NV**	R:Chal				
S007.3.29a	M to D	**mother pushed her away**	**NV**	R:Chal				
S007.3.29b	M to D	Don't you dare puke on me!	ds	I:Dir	threat	as		
S007.3.29c	M to D	Go to the bathroom, you little devil!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t		
S007.3.30	D to M	**[in the bathroom]**	**NV**	R:Pos				
S007.3.31a	M to D	You're not going to bed in those filthy pajamas.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c		
S007.3.31b	M to D	Go and change!	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Chal:t		
S007.3.32	D to M	**looked at the time**	**NV**	R:Chal				
S007.3.33a	M to D	Hurry!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c		
S007.3.33b	M to D	Get into bed.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	an		
S022.1.1a	D to M	Candle so inconvenient,	ds	I:Inf	assess	as		
S022.1.1b	D to M	buy me that plastic Mickey Mouse lantern.	ds	I:Req	action	c		
S022.1.1b	D to M	Mummy, Mummy,	ds		tm			
S022.1.1c	D to M	It got light-bulb.	ds	I:Req	action:C	c		
S022.1.1d	D to M	Wind no problem.	ds	I:Req	action:C	R:Neg:C:C:C:t		
S022.1.2a	M to D	Ai-ya,	ds	R:Neg				
S022.1.2b	M to D	when the Chinese beat the Mongolian government, they where got use battery Mickey Mouse lanterns?	ds	R:Neg:C				
S022.1.2c	M to D	**shook my head**	**NV**	R:Neg:C				
S022.1.2d	M to D	**reminded my daughter what the lantern meant**	nrsa	R:Neg:C				
S022.1.2d	M to D	**[tells story (171 words) count as part of previous nrsa move]**	fis					
S022.2.01	D to M	I'm thirsty.	ds	I:Req	action	R:Pos:t		
S022.2.02	M to D	**ordered Ovaltine**	nrsa	R:Pos				
S022.2.03	M to D	Cool enough,	ds	I:Dir	advice	R:Pos:t		
S022.2.04	D to M	**lifted the suacer to her lips**	**NV**	R:Pos				
S022.2.05	M to D	Where's your Mickey Mouse?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t		
S022.2.06	D to M	Sandpit.	ds	R:Pos				
S022.2.07a	M to D	Idiot!	ds	I:Inf	criticize	c		
S022.2.07b	M to D	Tell you to always keep it with you but you never listen.	ds	I:Inf	criticize:C	as		
S022.2.08a	M to D	Someone stole your lantern!	ds	I:Inf	report	as		
S022.2.08b	M to D	Your new lantern!	ds	I:Inf	express	I:Dir		

S022.2.09a	D to M	Mummy,	ds		tm			
S022.2.09a	D to M	don't be sad,	ds	I:Dir	advice	R:Chal:C:R:Chal:C:t		
S022.2.09b	D to M	can always buy new one.	ds	I:Req	invite	R:Chal:C:R:Chal:C:t		
S022.2.10a	M to D	Ai-ya,	ds	R:Chal				
S022.2.10b	M to D	so gek sim.	ds	R:Chal:C				
S022.2.10c	M to D	New lantern--just bought today.	ds	R:Chal				
S022.2.10d	M to D	so gek sim.	ds	R:Chal:C				

Malaysian Dialogues

reference	speaker	text	rep	move	act	response	3rd turn	4th turn
M011.1.1a	F to D	Call him,	ds	I:Dir	advice	c		
M011.1.1b	F to D	go on.	ds	I:Dir	advice:C	c		
M011.1.1c	F to D	Speak loudly.	ds	I:Dir	advice:C	R:Chal	R:Chal:C:t	
M011.1.2	D to F	But father, he's asleep.	ds	R:Chal				
M011.1.3a	F to D	No, no.	ds	R:Chal				
M011.1.3b	F to D	He's always like this now.	ds	R:Chal				
M011.1.3c	F to D	Go on,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c		
M011.1.3d	F to D	loud enough so that he can hear you.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Pos:t		
M011.1.4	D to F	Atok, Atok…	ds	R:Pos				
M011.1.5	F to D	Louder!	ds	I:Dir	advice	R:Pos:t		
M011.1.6	D to F	Atok!	ds	R:Pos				
M011.2.01	D to F	Father?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:t		
M011.2.02a	F to D	Leave him, Ros.	ds	R:Pos				
M011.2.02b	F to D	Let's go.	ds	R:Pos				
M011.2.02c	F to D	Let him go back to sleep.	ds	R:Pos				
M011.2.03	D to F	he's calling my name!	ds	I:Inf	report	as		
M011.2.04a	D to F	Oh, no, no, father!	ds	I:Inf	express	as		
M011.2.04b	D to F	He's not talking anymore!	ds	I:Inf	report	as		
M011.2.05a	F to D	He's fallen asleep.	ds	I:Inf	report	as		
M011.2.05b	F to D	Leave him be.	ds	I:Dir	advice	R:Chal	F1:Con:C:t	
M011.2.06	D to F	But father, he called my name just now!	ds	R:Chal				
M011.2.07a	F to D	I know, sayang,	ds	F1:Con				

M011.2.07b	F to D	I heard	ds	F1:Con			
M011.2.07c	F to D	But you have to remember, at this age, he doesn't remember anymore.	ds	I:Inf	report	c	
M011.2.07d	F to D	He's senile.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c	
M011.2.07e	F to D	He's already 85.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	as	
M011.2.08a	D to F	Oh, father!	ds	I:Inf	express	c	
M011.2.08b	D to F	**started crying**	**NV**	I:Inf	express:C	as	
M011.2.09	F to D	**pulled her away from the bed**	**NV**	I:Req	proposal	R:Pos:t	
M011.2.10	D to F	**pulled her away from the bed**	**NV**	R:Pos			
M011.2.3	D to F	Father,	**ds**		**tm**		
M011.2.5b	F to D	Ros.	**ds**		**tm**		
M022.1.1	F to S	There are seashells on Mount Everest,	ds	I:Inf	report	I:Elic	
M022.1.2	S to F	How come?	ds	I:Elic	clarify	an	
M022.2.1	S to F	how come you became a geologist?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t	
M022.2.1	S to F	Papa,	**ds**		**tm**		
M022.2.2	F to S	**tells story (216 words)**	**fis**	R:Pos			
M022.2.3	S to F	Were there diamonds?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t	
M022.2.4a	F to S	There aren't any diamonds in Malaysia.	ds	R:Pos			
M022.2.4b	F to S	It's too young.	ds	R:Pos			
M022.2.5	S to F	Did you go and look?	ds	I:Elic	inform	an	
M022.3.01	S to F	How do you know where to go?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t	
M022.3.02a	F to S	You find a river and keep following it until you start going uphill.	ds	R:Pos			
M022.3.02b	F to S	You keep going up into the jungle until you find something.	ds	R:Pos			
M022.3.03a	S to F	Find something?	ds	I:Elic	clarify	c	
M022.3.03b	S to F	Like this?	ds	I:Elic	clarify:C	R:Pos:t	
M022.3.04a	F to S	Tri-lobe-ite.	ds	R:Pos			
M022.3.04b	F to S	See the three longitudinal lobes?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	as	
M022.3.04c	F to S	That's where its name comes from.	ds	I:Inf	report	I:Elic	
M022.3.05	S to F	How old is it?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t	
M022.3.06a	F to S	This one's from the Silurian period, or maybe the Ordovician.	ds	R:Pos			
M022.3.06b	F to S	It lived in the sea.	ds	R:Pos			
M022.3.07	S to F	Was it hard to find?	ds	I:Elic	inform	as	
M022.3.08	S to F	why did you become a geologist?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:C:C:t	

M022.3.08	S to F	Papa,	**ds**		**tm**			
M022.3.09a	F to S	I wanted to be a doctor.	ds	R:Pos				
M022.3.09b	F to S	**tells story (166 words)**	**fis**	R:Pos				
M022.3.09c	F to S	Geology, another someone says.	ds	R:Pos				
M022.3.09d	F to S	So that same day I wrote to my father and told him I had changed my mind.	ds	R:Pos				
M022.3.09e	F to S	I was going to be a geologist.	ds	R:Pos				
M022.3.10	S to F	I want to be a doctor.	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Pos	R:Pos:t	
M022.3.11	F to S	**laughed**	**NV**	R:Pos				
M022.3.12	S to F	**laughed**	**NV**	R:Pos				
M022.4.1a	M to S	Give me your shirts,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t		
M022.4.1b	M to S	Papa's putting on his swimming trunks.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Pos:t		
M022.4.2	S to M	**unbottoned them and held them out to her.**	**NV**	R:Pos				
M022.4.3	S to M	**unbottoned them and held them out to her.**	**NV**	R:Pos				
M022.5.1	F to S	Where are you going?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos	F1:Ack:t	
M022.5.2	S to F	To look for diamonds,	ds	R:Pos				
M022.5.3a	F to S	**laugned**	**NV**	F1:Ack				
M022.5.3b	F to S	There aren't any diamonds in Malaysia.	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t		
M022.5.4a	S to F	Okay then,	ds	R:Pos				
M022.5.4b	S to F	We'll look for gold.	ds	I:Inf	report	an		
M022.6.1a	S to F	I didn't see any diamonds.	ds	I:Inf	report	c		
M022.6.1b	S to F	Not even underwater.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Pos:t		
M022.6.2	M to S	**sigh**	**NV**	R:Pos				
M022.6.3	F to S	I told you there are no diamonds in Malaysia. Didn't I?	ds	I:Elic	agree	R:Chal:t		
M022.6.4	S to M	I'm hungry.	ds	R:Chal				
M022.7.1	S to F	Papa,	**ds**		**tm**			
M022.7.1	S to F	why did you become a geologist?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t		
M022.7.2	F to S	**gave me some story**	**nrsa**	R:Pos				
M023.1.1a	D to M	My best friend May Lin says that if you close your eyes real tight and put your head under the blanket then monsters wont come an get you at night when its dark.	is	I:Inf	report	c		
M023.1.1b	D to M	She says they cant see you.	is	I:Inf	report:C	c		
M023.1.1c	D to M	Theyre too stupid.	is	I:Inf	report:C	c		

Code	Speaker	Text						
M023.1.1d	D to M	She says thats how come the monsters dont come and get her anymore.	is	I:Inf	report:C	R:Chal:R:Chal:C	R:Chal	R:Chal:F1:Con:t
M023.1.2a	M to D	May is a Silly Girl	fis	R:Chal				
M023.1.2b	M to D	there are no such things as monsters.	fis	R:Chal				
M023.1.2c	M to D	it's just a Fayze im going through and i'll grow out of it.	fis	R:Chal				
M023.1.3	D to M	I already grew an inch since my last birfday	fis	R:Chal				
M023.1.4a	M to D	**laughed**	NV	R:Chal				
M023.1.4b	M to D	Thats not what I mean Honey.	fis	F1:Con				
M023.2.1a	M to D	Leanne Elizabeth,	**fis**		**tm**			
M023.2.1a	M to D	don't you ever play with my makeup again,	fis	I:Elic	commit	as		
M023.2.1b	M to D	that's my good lipstick, Shannel and real espensive,	fis	I:Elic	commit	as		
M023.2.1c	M to D	**spanked my bottom**	NV	I:Inf	criticize	R:Pos:t		
M023.2.2	D to M	**cryed**	NV	R:Pos				
M023.3.1	D to M	**tried to tell**	nrsa	I:Inf	report	R:Chal:C:C:C:t		
M023.3.2a	M to D	**laughed**	NV	R:Chal				
M023.3.2b	M to D	I was dreaming,	fis	R:Chal				
M023.3.2c	M to D	it was another Fayze like the one with the monsters	fis	R:Chal				
M023.3.2d	M to D	I had an overaktivve imajinashun.	fis	R:Chal				
M023.3.2e	M to D	I shoodnt say things like that about uncle Jay because hes helped us a lot and hed be real hurted if he knew.	fis	I:Elic	commit	an		
M034.1.1	M to D	**touch**	NV	I:Org	summons	R:Pos:t		
M034.1.2a	D to M	**screwed up my face to express intense pain**	NV	R:Pos				
M034.1.2b	D to M	It's my stomach.	ds	I:Inf	report	c		
M034.1.2c	D to M	I think it's food poisoning.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c		
M034.1.2d	D to M	I feel like vomiting,	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Pos:t		
M034.1.3a	M to D	**tut-tutted, patted me on the back**	NV	R:Pos				
M034.1.3b	M to D	go right back to bed.	is	I:Dir	advice	as		
M034.1.3c	M to D	**bringing me a glass of water and a Panadol,**	NV	I:Req	invite	as		
M034.1.3d	M to D	**blew a kiss and went off**	NV	I:Inf	express	as		
M035.1.1	F to S	Salleh,	ds		tm			
M035.1.1	F to S	wake up!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t		
M035.1.2	S to F	**jerked up**	NV	R:Pos				
M035.1.3	F to S	Go pray and get ready,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t		

M035.1.4	S to F	**got up without a word**	NV	R:Pos				
M035.2.1a	F to S	Faster!	ds	I:Dir	threat	c		
M035.2.1b	F to S	**slapped Salleh's arm**	NV	I:Dir	threat:C	R:Pos:t		
M035.2.2	S to F	**quickly scraped at the scarred lines, stepped forward to the next trunk**	NV	R:Pos				
M035.3.1	S to F	Apak,	ds		tm			
M035.3.1	S to F	will we ever stop doing this?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:C:t		
M035.3.2a	F to S	this is our land.	ds	R:Pos				
M035.3.2a	F to S	Eh, Salleh,	ds		tm			
M035.3.2b	F to S	We will never stop.	ds	R:Pos				
M035.3.2c	F to S	We shouldn't.	ds	R:Pos				
M035.3.2d	F to S	Your grandfather cleared the land years .ago	ds	I:Inf	report	c		
M035.3.2e	F to S	I cleared more later on.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c		
M035.3.2f	F to S	This soil has our family sweat and blood. in it	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c		
M035.3.2g	F to S	You were a baby then.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c		
M035.3.2h	F to S	If it had not been for the government land scheme for rubber plantations, we would still be without anything.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c		
M035.3.2i	F to S	No land, no house.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c		
M035.3.2j	F to S	And no money.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	as		
M035.3.2k	F to S	No, no, this work must go on.	ds	R:Pos				
M035.3.3	S to F	But Apak,	ds		tm			
M035.3.3	S to F	I don't want to spend the rest of my life tapping the trees.	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Chal:t		
M035.3.4a	F to S	How can you say that?	ds	R:Chal				
M035.3.4b	F to S	Don't you know it's the trees that have allowed us to live?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	as		
M035.3.4c	F to S	These trees give us food.	ds	I:Inf	report	c		
M035.3.4d	F to S	The latex puts you through school.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c		
M035.3.4e	F to S	Your brothers too.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c		
M035.3.4f	F to S	As long as the latex flows, the blood in your veins flows too.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c		
M035.3.4g	F to S	You care for the trees and they care for you.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	as		
M035.3.4h	F to S	You remember that, Salleh!	ds	I:Elic	commit	as		
M035.3.4i	F to S	The trees are your life.	ds	I:Inf	report	c		
M035.3.4j	F to S	Our life.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c		

M035.3.4k	F to S	If you don't care for it others will grab it from you.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c	
M035.3.4l	F to S	Once you lose it, you'll never get it back.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c	
M035.3.4m	F to S	It'll be gone forever.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	as	
M035.3.4n	F to S	Remember, money does not last forever, you spend it and it's gone.	ds	I:Inf	report	c	
M035.3.4o	F to S	But you work the land and it'll always be there for you.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Pos:t	
M035.3.5	S to F	**quickened his steps to widen the gap of trees between them**	**NV**	R:Pos			
M035.4.1	M to S	Speak … speak … damm you, speak!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t	
M035.4.2	S to M	**trying to tell them**	**nrsa**	R:Pos			
M035.5.1a	F to S	**was hugged**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	c	
M035.5.1b	F to S	Mat … Mat … Mat …	ds	I:Inf	express:C	R:Chal:t	
M035.5.2	S to F	**pull away**	**NV**	R:Chal			
M035.6.1a	F to S	Love this land, Salleh.	ds	I:Elic	commit	as	
M035.6.1b	F to S	Work it, it will never fail you.	ds	I:Inf	report	as	
M035.6.1c	F to S	When it's time, it will be your turn to take over from me, my firstborn.	ds	I:Inf	report	c	
M035.6.1d	F to S	Just as I did from my father.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	as	
M035.6.1e	F to S	This land will keep our family together.	ds	I:Inf	report	as	
M035.6.1f	F to S	Soon you will go to the secondary school in town.	ds	I:Inf	report	as	
M035.6.1g	F to S	Get on with your studies.	ds	I:Elic	commit	as	
M035.6.1h	F to S	That's important too.	ds	I:Inf	assess	as	
M035.6.1i	F to S	Use your education to help you reap more reward from the land.	ds	I:Elic	commit	as	
M035.6.1j	F to S	There's talk about the government opening a new agricultural	ds	I:Inf	report	c	
M035.6.1k	F to S	It would be good if you can go there.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Pos:t	
M035.6.2	S to F	**cringed [silence]**	**NV**	R:Pos			
M035.7.1a	F to S	Sorry, son.	ds	I:Inf	express	as	
M035.7.1b	F to S	I can't let you go.	ds	I:Inf	report	c	
M035.7.1c	F to S	There's no money.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c	
M035.7.1d	F to S	The fees are too much.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Chal:R:	R:Chal:C:C:t
M035.7.2a	S to F	I want to go.	ds	R:Chal			
M035.7.2a	S to F	But Apek,	**ds**		tm		
M035.7.2b	S to F	You said I could!	ds	R:Chal			
M035.7.2c	S to F	I worked hard for this.	ds	R:Chal			
M035.7.2d	S to F	You said I could go to university,	ds	R:Chal			

M035.7.3a	F to S	Then you were the only one child.	ds	R:Chal				
M035.7.3b	F to S	Now your brothers and sisters need schooling too.	ds	R:Chal				
M035.7.3c	F to S	No,	ds	R:Chal				
M035.7.3d	F to S	you find work in town.	ds	I:Elic	commit	c		
M035.7.3e	F to S	Weekends you can help me.	ds	I:Elic	commit:C	R:Chal:C	R:Chal:t	
M035.7.4a	S to F	Work? Work?	ds	R:Chal				
M035.7.4b	S to F	What can I be but a clerk?	ds	R:Chal				
M035.7.5	F to S	The money can still help.	ds	R:Chal				

Filipino Dialogues

reference	speaker	text	rep	move	act	response	3rd turn	4th turn	5th turn
P001.1.1	M to D	If you don't come with me you'll be all alone in here,	ds	I:Req	action	R:Chal:t			
P001.1.2	D to M	I don't care.	ds	R:Chal					
P001.1.3	M to D	But why don't you want to come?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:R:Chal:C:t			
P001.1.4a	D to M	Because.	ds	R:Chal					
P001.1.4b	D to M	**began crying**	NV	R:Chal					
P001.1.4c	D to M	Because. Because. Because.	ds	R:Chal:C					
P001.1.5	M to D	Then I don't know what to do with you,	ds	I:Inf	report	an			
P044.1.1a	M to D	No	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c			
P044.1.1b	M to D	**pulled her close**	NV	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Pos:t			
P044.1.2	D to M	**face her grandmother**	NV	R:Pos					
P044.2.1	D to M	**ask to be held**	nrsa	I:Req	action	R:Neg:C:t			
P044.2.2a	M to D	Not now,	ds	R:Neg					
P044.2.2b	M to D	it is time for your bath,	ds	R:Neg:C					
P044.2.3	D to M	**came back a little later**	NV	I:Req	action	R:Chal:t			
P044.2.4a	M to D	I am tired.	ds	R:Chal					
P044.2.4b	M to D	See what Zenaida is cooking for supper.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	an			
P044.3.1	D to F	**staring**	NV	I:Req	permission	R:Pos	R:Pos:t		
P044.3.2	F to D	If you've finished eating, you can leave the table.	ds	R:Pos					
P044.3.3	D to F	**got up at once**	NV	R:Pos					
P044.4.1a	M to D	**smiled**	NV	I:Org	greet	R:Pos:t			
P044.4.1b	M to D	Come, Wito!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t			

P044.4.2.3	D to M	**nodded and trailed slowly behind**	**NV**	R:Pos					
P044.5.1	M to D	Would you like some of this, Wito?	ds	I:Req	offer	R:Chal	R:Chal:t		
P044.5.2	D to M	**failed to answer her**	**NV**	R:Chal					
P044.5.3	M to D	**took no notice**	**NV**	R:Chal					
P044.6.1	M to D	**ask her to sit on her lap**	**nrsa**	I:Req	proposal	R:Pos	R:Pos:t		
P044.6.2	M to D	**play silly games**	**NV**	R:Pos					
P044.6.3	D to M	**play silly games**	**NV**	R:Pos					
P044.6.4	M to D	Who is my kamatis?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos	F1:End:t		
P044.6.5	D to M	me	ds	R:Pos					
P044.6.6a	M to D	**kiss**	**NV**	F1:End					
P044.6.6b	M to D	Who is my sibuyas?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos	F1:End:t		
P044.6.7	D to M	me	ds	R:Pos					
P044.6.8	M to D	**kiss**	**NV**	F1:End					
P049.1.1a	D to M	do you have an extra handkerchief?	ds	I:Req	action	c			
P049.1.1a	D to M	Mommy,	**ds**		tm				
P049.1.1b	D to M	I still have colds.	ds	I:Req	action:C	R:Pos:C:t			
P049.1.2a	M to D	**rummage in my bag**	**NV**	R:Pos					
P049.1.2b	M to D	Ah, here.	ds	R:Pos:C					
P049.1.2c	M to D	This doesn't belong to me,	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Chal:C:t			
P049.1.3a	D to M	That's yours,	ds	R:Chal					
P049.1.3b	D to M	I gave that to you.	ds	R:Chal:C					
P049.1.3c	D to M	Gimmy.	ds	I:Dir	threat	as			
P049.1.3d	D to M	**snatches the handkerchief**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	an			
P068.1.1a	M to S	So you're awake already,	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
P068.1.1b	M to S	**touching his brow**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	as			
P068.1.1c	M to S	How do you feel?	ds	I:Elic	inform	c			
P068.1.1d	M to S	Are you sure you're all right?	ds	I:Elic	inform:C	R:Pos:C:t			
P068.1.2a	S to M	Yes.	ds	R:Pos					
P068.1.2b	S to M	I'm fine.	ds	R:Pos:C					
P068.1.3	M to S	Do you want to go?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
P068.1.4	S to M	Yes,	ds	R:Pos					
P068.2.1a	F to S	Take the gun	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c			
P068.2.1b	F to S	but be careful not to point it at anyone.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Chal	R:Chal:t		

P068.2.2	S to F	**not hold the rifle properly**	**NV**	R:Chal					
P068.2.3a	F to S	Look out--	ds	R:Chal					
P068.2.3b	F to S	see if the gun was loaded, it might have gone off and hit your Tita Lilia!	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
P068.2.4	S to F	**picked up the rifle again**	**NV**	I:Req	permission	as			
P068.2.5	F to S	Hold it upright, always upright.	ds	I:Dir	advice	R:Chal:t			
P068.2.6	S to F	**put it down**	**NV**	R:Chal					
P068.2.7a	F to S	Look,	ds	I:Dir	warning	as			
P068.2.7a	F to S	Bobo!	**ds**		tm				
P068.2.7b	F to S	now you're pointing it at your own mother!	ds	I:Inf	criticize	R:Chal:t			
P068.2.8	S to F	**ran from the room**	**NV**	R:Chal					
P068.3.1	M to S	**waving**	**NV**	I:Org	summon	R:Chal:t			
P068.3.2	S to M	**did not wave**	**NV**	R:Chal					
P068.3.3	M to S	Did you bring your new jacket?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:t			
P068.3.4	S to M	**did not answer.**	**NV**	R:Chal					
P068.4.1	F to S	It looks like the Matto Grosso,	ds	I:Inf	report	I:Elic			
P068.4.2	S to F	What is the Matto Grosso, Papa?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t			
P068.4.3a	F to S	That is the name of a very dense jungle,	ds	R:Pos					
P068.4.3b	F to S	probably the largest in the world.	ds	R:Pos:C					
P068.5.1a	S to M	Mama,	**ds**		tm				
P068.5.1a	S to M	if animals are our friends, why does Papa kill them?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:t			
P068.5.2a	M to S	**turned her eyes away … did not answer for some time**	**NV**		delay				
P068.5.2a	M to S	One is allowed to kill animals once in a while,	ds	R:Pos					
P068.5.2b	M to S	there's a season for it.	ds	R:Pos:C					
P068.5.2c	M to S	There's a season for killing and for protecting.	ds	R:Pos:C					
P068.5.3	S to M	There's a season for killing?	ds	I:Elic	clarify	R:Pos:C:t			
P068.5.4a	M to S	Yes,	ds	R:Pos					
P068.5.4b	M to S	you call it hunting season--	ds	R:Pos:C					
P068.5.4c	M to S	your father only hunts during the hunting season.	ds	I:Inf	report	I:Elic			
P068.5.5	S to M	How do we know when the season starts?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos	F1:Ack:t		
P068.5.6	M to S	One can only go hunting when it's not time for the animals to have babies.	ds	R:Pos					
P068.5.7a	S to M	Oh,	ds	F1:Ack					
P068.5.7b	S to M	so you don't kill mothers.	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:C:t			

P068.5.8a	M to S	Yes, yes, that's right--	ds	R:Pos	confirm				
P068.5.8b	M to S	and babies too.	ds	R:Pos:C	confirm				
P068.6.01a	F to S	Be careful,	ds	I:Dir	warning	c			
P068.6.01b	F to S	you might get hit.	ds	I:Dir	warning:C	a			
P068.6.02	S to F	What are you doing, Papa?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
P068.6.03	F to S	I'm trying to get rid of some dirt.	ds	R:Pos					
P068.6.04a	F to S	See, there's cotton with some oil at the end of the wire--	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
P068.6.04b	F to S	that will get the dirt out.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	I:Elic			
P068.6.05	S to F	Do you always have to clean your rifle?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C	F1:Ack:t		
P068.6.06a	F to S	Of course,	ds	R:Pos					
P068.6.06b	F to S	that way you're sure that the bullet won't get stuck on something when you fire.	ds	R:Pos:C					
P068.6.07a	S to F	Oh,	ds	F1:Ack					
P068.6.07b	S to F	then you can hit better.	ds	I:Elic	agree	R:Pos:t			
P068.6.08	F to S	Of course.	ds	R:Pos	confirm				
P068.6.09a	S to F	Papa--	ds	I:Org	metastate	R:Pos:t			
P068.6.09b	F to S	Yes?	ds	R:Pos					
P068.6.10	S to F	Macao is a Portuguese colony, isn't it?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t			
P068.6.11	F to S	I think so.	ds	R:Pos					
P068.6.12	S to F	Do you know where it is?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos	F1:End:t		
P068.6.13	F to S	It's near Hong Kong.	ds	R:Pos					
P068.6.14a	S to F	Yes,	ds	F1:End					
P068.6.14b	S to F	it's on the coast of China, west of Hong Kong--	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
P068.6.14c	S to F	we took it up last year when I was in Grade Three.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Chal:t			
P068.6.15	F to S	**looking at the inside of his barrel**	NV	R:Chal					
P068.6.16a	S to F	do you think there are macaws in Macao?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:C:t			
P068.6.16a	S to F	Papa,	**ds**		**tm**				
P068.6.17a	F to S	**looked up abruptly**	NV		delay				
P068.6.17a	F to S	**frowned**	NV	R:Chal					
P068.6.17b	F to S	You're being silly again.	ds	R:Chal:C					
P068.6.18a	F to S	Let's go back to the camp.	ds	I:Req	proposal	c			
P068.6.18b	F to S	They must be finished with the setting up by now.	ds	I:Req	proposal:C	R:Pos:t			
P068.6.19	S to F	Yes, Papa.	ds	R:Pos					

P068.7.1a	F to S	Look for the black lines …	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c			
P068.7.1a-		*father's hands adjusting the angle of his head and shoulders*							
P068.7.1b	F to S	don't squint so much …	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	as			
P068.7.1c	F to S	squeeze the trigger softly when you're ready …	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c			
P068.7.1d	F to S	don't rush …	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Pos:t			
P068.7.2a	S to F	**fired several times and missed**	**NV**	R:Pos					
P068.7.2b	S to F	**stood up abruptly and gave the gun back to one of the men**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	I:Elic			
P068.7.3	F to S	Where are you going?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:t			
P068.7.4	S to F	**did not answer**	**NV**	R:Chal					
P068.7.5	F to S	Come back here!	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Chal:t			
P068.7.6	S to F	**did not answer**	**NV**	R:Chal					
P068.7.7	F to S	**thrown down his rifle**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	as			
P068.8.1	F to S	You're not going with us!	ds	I:Dir	threat	R:Chal	R:Chal	R:Chal	R:Chal:t
P068.8.2	S to F	But I want to see the deer hunt.	ds	R:Chal					
P068.8.3	F to S	You're not going with us!	ds	R:Chal					
P068.8.4	S to F	**hesitated for a few moments**	**NV**	R:Chal					
P068.8.5	F to S	**yanked out of the truck**	**NV**	R:Chal					
P069.1.1	D to M	Who's she?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
P069.1.2	M to D	Someone Grandfather knew long ago.	ds	R:Pos					
P069.1.3a	D to M	She's pretty.	ds	I:Inf	assess	as			
P069.1.3b	D to M	Did you know her?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
P069.1.4	M to D	Of course.	ds	R:Pos					
P069.1.5	D to M	When did you know her?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t			
P069.1.6a	M to D	Long ago.	ds	R:Pos					
P069.1.6b	M to D	When I was your age.	ds	R:Pos:C					
P069.1.7	D to M	That long ago?	ds	I:Elic	clarify	as			
P069.2.01	D to M	Did you love her very much, like I love you?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
P069.2.02	M to D	Of course.	ds	R:Pos					
P069.2.03	D to M	Tell me about Papa.	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
P069.2.04	M to D	He was a painter.	ds	R:Pos					
P069.2.05	D to M	Did he paint that?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
P069.2.06	M to D	**[narrator describes the picture]**	**NV**	R:Pos					
P069.2.07	D to M	It's a nice picture, Mama.	ds	I:Inf	compliment	R:Pos:t			

P069.2.08	M to D	Thank you.	ds	R:Pos				
P069.2.09	D to M	When did he paint it?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t		
P069.2.10	M to D	A very long time ago.	ds	R:Pos				
P069.3.1	F to D	Jovita takes very good care of you, doesn't she?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t		
P069.3.2	D to F	Yes, she does.	ds	R:Pos				
P069.3.3a	F to D	I want only the best for you, Edwina.	ds	I:Inf	report	as		
P069.3.3b	F to D	You understand that?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t		
P069.3.4	D to F	Yes.	ds	R:Pos				
P069.3.5a	F to D	Something happened to your mother.	ds	I:Inf	report	c		
P069.3.5b	F to D	She has left us and she's not coming back.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	an		
P069.4.1a	F to D	It will be very good for the two of you to be together.	ds	I:Inf	assess	as		
P069.4.1b	F to D	She's two years older than you.	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Chal	R:Chal:t	
P069.4.2	D to F	I don't need a friend.	ds	R:Chal				
P069.4.3a	F to D	Miranda is your sister.	ds	R:Chal				
P069.4.3b	F to D	Now don't look at me that way.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	as		
P069.4.3c	F to D	You're still my dearest girl, Edwina,	ds	I:Inf	compliment	as		
P069.4.3d	F to D	Edwina?	ds	I:Org	metastate	an		
P069.5.1	F to D	Say hello to Miranda, Edwina.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t		
P069.5.2	D to F	Hello.	ds	R:Pos				
P069.6.1	D to M	Look, Mama!	is	I:Org	summon	R:Pos:t		
P069.6.2	M to D	**wave**	**NV**	R:Pos				
P081.1.1	D to M	Why do you always point it out to your friends?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t		
P081.1.2	M to D	Because it's charming!	ds	R:Pos				
P081.2.1	M to D	What are you doing?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t		
P081.2.2a	D to M	Hootchy-kootchy,	ds	R:Pos				
P081.2.2b	D to M	Dance, Mommy, dance.	ds	I:Req	proposal	R:Neg:t		
P081.2.3a	M to D	No,	ds	R:Neg				
P081.2.3b	M to D	Enough fidgeting.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Neg:t		
P081.2.4	D to M	**pouts**	**NV**	R:Neg				
P081.2.5a	M to D	Go to sleep, Isadora.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c		
P081.2.5b	M to D	It's time for your nap.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	an		
P081.3.1	D to M	Music.	ds	I:Req	action	R:Neg:t		
P081.3.1	D to M	Mommy,	**ds**		**tm**				

P081.3.1	D to M	**pulls at my skirt**	**NV**		**tm**				
P081.3.2	M to D	**my disaproval**	**NV**	R:Neg					
P081.3.3	M to D	Dorrie,	**ds**		**tm**				
P081.3.3	M to D	don't tug at Lolo like that.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	an			
P081.4.1	D to M	Is Mommy mad?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:t			
P081.4.2	M to D	No, baby.	ds	R:Neg					
P083.1.1	D to M	wants to ride the horses in Baguio,	is	I:Req	permission	R:Neg:C:t			
P083.1.2a	M to D	the roads to the north have been destroyed by mudflow.	is	R:Neg					
P083.1.2b	M to D	she is one of the lucky children who did not lose her home in floods this past monsoon season.	is	R:Neg:C					
P083.2.1	F to D	if they are hungry	is	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
P083.2.2	M to D	if they are hungry	is	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
P083.2.3a	D to F	yes	is	R:Pos					
P083.2.3b	D to M	yes	is	R:Pos					
P083.3.1	F to D	these are bad men who are trying to earn God's forgiveness by punishing themselves.	is	I:Inf	assess	R:Pos:t			
P083.3.2	D to F	**nods and continues watching**	**NV**	R:Pos					
P083.4.1	F to D	**pretends to loose count**	**nrsa**	I:Inf	report	R:Chal:C	R:Chal	R:Pos:R	R:Pos:
P083.4.2a	D to F	Eight. Daddy!	ds	R:Chal					
P083.4.2b	D to F	That's the eighth carabao!	ds	R:Chal:C					
P083.4.3	F to D	But we were at seven before that, so it should be nine.	ds	R:Chal					
P083.4.4a	D to F	**laugh**	**NV**	R:Pos					
P083.4.4b	D to F	No, no, it's eight.	ds	R:Chal					
P083.4.4c	D to F	After seven it's eight!	ds	R:Chal:C					
P083.4.5a	F to D	**smiles**	**NV**	R:Pos					
P083.4.5b	F to D	You're absolutely right, princess.	ds	F1:End					
P083.4.5c	F to D	After seven is eight.	ds	F1:End:C					
P083.5.1	D to M	**wants to change into her swimsuit and play in the ocean**	**nrsa**	I:Req	permission	R:Neg:t			
P083.5.2a	M to D	No,	is	R:Neg					
P083.5.2b	M to D	she must have some lunch first.	is	I:Dir	instruct	an			
P083.6.1	D to M	if she may play on the beach.	is	I:Req	permission	R:Neg:t			
P083.6.2	M to D	No.	is	R:Neg					
P083.7.1a	F to D	Come on. Tin-tin.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c			

P083.7.1b	F to D	Time to change.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Pos:t		
P083.7.2	D to F	**jumps up**	**NV**	R:Pos				
P083.8.1a	F to D	Wait,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c		
P083.8.1b	F to D	we're not done yet.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Pos:t		
P083.8.2	D to F	**watches**	**NV**	R:Pos				
P083.9.01	M to D	Come sleep between Mommy and Daddy,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Chal:C:t		
P083.9.02a	D to M	I'm not sleepy,	ds	R:Chal				
P083.9.02b	D to M	I want to play jackstones some more.	ds	R:Chal:C				
P083.9.03a	F to D	Tin-tin,	**ds**		**tm**			
P083.9.03a	F to D	that's enough,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c		
P083.9.03b	F to D	it's time to go to bed.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Pos:t		
P083.9.04	D to F	**looks up… climbs up to the cot**	**NV**	R:Pos				
P083.9.05	M to D	Don't you want to sleep here with us, Tin-tin?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Chal	R:Pos:C:C:t	
P083.9.06	D to M	What's that sound?	ds	R:Chal				
P083.9.07a	M to D	That's a tuko.	ds	R:Pos				
P083.9.07b	M to D	**giving a wet kiss**	**NV**	R:Pos:C				
P083.9.07c	M to D	It's a kind of lizard.	ds	R:Pos:C				
P083.9.08	D to M	Like a butiki?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t		
P083.9.09	M to D	Like a butiki, but much bigger.	ds	R:Pos				
P083.9.10	D to M	It's in the house?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Neg:t		
P083.9.11	M to D	It might be under the house or on the roof,	ds	R:Neg				
P083.9.12a	F to D	**laughs**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	as		
P083.9.12b	F to D	Don't worry, princess,	ds	I:Dir	advice	c		
P083.9.12c	F to D	it won't bite you if it sees you're sleeping with us,	ds	I:Dir	advice:C	a		
P083.9.12d	F to D	**put his arm around her**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	R:Neg:t		
P083.9.13	D to F	**stiffens**	**NV**	R:Neg				
P083.9.14	M to D	Did you say your prayers?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:R:	F1:End:t*	
P083.9.15a	D to M	**shakes her head**	**NV**	R:Neg				
P083.9.15b	D to M	Angel of God…	ds	R:Pos				
P083.9.16	M to D	**say the prayer with her**	**nrsa**	F1:End				
P083.9.17	F to D	**say the prayer with her**	**nrsa**	F1:End				
P090.1.1a	S to M	Mama,	**ds**		**tm**			
P090.1.1a	S to M	did you get the crayonth I asked you to buy?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t		

P090.1.1b	S to M	**offering his face for a kiss**	**NV**	I:Req	action	an		
P090.1.2	M to S	Of course,	ds	R:Pos				
P090.1.3a	S to M	**hugged her waist, smacked both her cheeks wetly**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	as		
P090.1.3b	S to M	Are you really going to bake brownies like you promised last night?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t		
P090.1.4	M to S	Sure,	ds	R:Pos				
P090.1.5	M to S	Where's Lily?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t		
P090.1.6a	S to M	She went to market to buy Lola's tobacco.	ds	R:Pos				
P090.1.6b	S to M	Lola's here you know,	ds	I:Inf	report	as		
P090.1.7	S to M	Can we thleep with you and Papa tonight?	ds	I:Req	permission	R:Pos:t		
P090.1.8a	M to S	Certainly,	ds	R:Pos				
P090.1.8b	M to S	but run along now because Mama's going to cook dinner.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	an		
P090.1.8c	M to S	Remember, no fighting over the crayons,	ds	I:Elic	commit	c		
P090.1.8d	M to S	there's a lot to share.	ds	I:Elic	commit:C	an		
P090.2.1a	S to M	Lily's back,	ds	I:Inf	report	as		
P090.2.1b	S to M	shall I bring Lola her tobacco?	ds	I:Req	permission	R:Pos:t		
P090.2.2a	M to S	Go ahead.	ds	R:Pos				
P090.2.2b	M to S	Take Panguy with you	ds	I:Dir	instruct	an		
P090.2.2c	M to S	and entertain Wawa while Mama's finishing up with supper.	ds	I:Elic	commit	an		
P090.3.1	M to S	Pangga what's wrong?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t		
P090.3.2a	S to M	Dado hit me Mama.	ds	R:Pos				
P090.3.2b	S to M	I wanted to bwing Lola her tobacco but he thwacked me tho he could bwing it himthelf.	ds	R:Pos:C				
P090.3.3	M to S	come back here at once.	ds	I:Dir	threat	R:Pos:t		
P090.3.3	M to S	Dado,	**ds**		**tm**			
P090.3.4	S to M	**comes**	**NV**	R:Pos				
P090.3.5	M to S	Don't you ever hit your older brother again or I'll smack you myself.	ds	I:Elic	commit	R:Chal:C:C	R:Chal:C:t	
P090.3.6a	S to M	It's his fault.	ds	R:Chal				
P090.3.6b	S to M	Mama.	**ds**		**tm**			
P090.3.6b	S to M	He hit me first.	ds	R:Chal:C				
P090.3.6c	S to M	He said the one who grabs the tobacco from Lily first gets to bring it to Wawa.	ds	R:Chal:C				

reference	speaker	text	rep	move	act	response	3rd turn	4th turn	5th turn
P090.3.7a	M to S	You bully, you …	ds	R:Chal					
P090.3.7b	M to S	you always have an excuse for everything.	ds	R:Chal:C					
P090.3.7c	M to S	Get out of here before I give you a hot butt.	ds	I:Dir	threat	an			
P090.4.01	M to S	Anybody who finds my keys gets a ten-peso reward	ds	I:Req	proposal	R:Pos	F1:End:t		
P090.4.02	S to M	I got them! I got them!	ds	R:Pos					
P090.4.03	M to S	Good boy,	ds	F1:End					
P090.4.04	S to M	Be sure you'll pay me,	ds	I:Elic	commit	R:Pos:t			
P090.4.05	M to S	You go-getter,	ds	R:Pos					
P090.4.06	M to S	Panguy,	**ds**		**tm**				
P090.4.06	M to S	tell Wawa breakfast is ready.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Chal:t			
P090.4.07	S to M	I'll go get her,	ds	R:Chal					
P090.4.08a	S to M	I knocked and knocked but there was no answer.	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
P090.4.08b	S to M	Her door's locked.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	I:Inf			
P090.4.09	M to S	She's probably asleep,	ds	I:Inf	report	I:Inf			
P090.4.10	S to M	She used to wake up earlier than me,	ds	I:Inf	report	I:Inf			
P090.4.11a	M to S	Well,	**ds**		**tm**				
P090.4.11a	M to S	she must be tired coming all the way from Salvacion.	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
P090.4.11b	M to S	Remember it's two hours from Bacolod by bus.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	an			
P108.1.1	S to M	Ma?	ds	I:Org	summon	R:Neg:t			
P108.1.2	M to S	Ava,	ds	R:Neg					
P119.1.1	S to F	Mama says you should go home and eat,	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Chal:t			
P119.1.2a	F to S	I have eaten.	ds	R:Chal					
P119.1.2b	F to S	Go home.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Chal:t			
P119.1.2c	F to S	Tell Mother I'll follow in a short while,	ds	I:Elic	commit	R:Chal:t			
P119.1.3	S to F	**stayed on and watched**	NV	R:Chal					
P119.1.4	F to S	I said go home,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Chal:t			
P119.1.5	S to F	**did not budge**	NV	R:Chal					
P119.1.6	F to S	Go home.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	an			
P126.1.1	F to S	Where are you--beast of a boy!	ds	I:Org	summon	R:Chal:t			
P126.1.2	S to F	**Duck**	NV	R:Chal					

North American Dialogues

reference	speaker	text	rep	move	act	response	3rd turn	4th turn	5th turn

A007.1.1a	M to D	Oh, Dear!	ds	I:Inf	express	as			
A007.1.1b	M to D	**had an arm around Portia**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	c			
A007.1.1c	M to D	It's all right, sweetie,	ds	I:Inf	express:C	as			
A007.1.1d	M to D	It all happened a long time ago.	ds	I:Inf	report	I:Elic			
A007.1.2a	D to M	But why are we celebrating that we killed them?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:C	R:Chal:C:t		
A007.1.2b	D to M	**started crying**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	as			
A007.1.3a	M to D	We're not celebrating because we killed the Indians, darling,	ds	R:Neg					
A007.1.3b	M to D	We're celebrating because we ate dinner with them.	ds	R:Neg:C					
A007.1.4a	D to M	Did we eat dinner with the Indians, or did we kill them?	ds	R:Chal					
A007.1.4a	D to M	Listener poll,	**ds**		**tm**				
A007.1.4b	D to M	**strode over … and held out her fist**	**NV**	R:Chal:C					
A007.1.5a	M to D	And Porita's mommy sent a terrific present, didn't she,	ds	I:Elic	agree	R:Pos:t			
A007.1.5b	M to D	You don't have to say, darling, if you don't like.	ds	I:Org	metastate	as			
A007.1.6	D to M	My mother gave me two tickets to go to Glyndebourne on my eighteenth birthday	ds	R:Pos					
A022.1.1	M to D	Take your meds.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Neg:t			
A022.1.2	D to M	Flintstones, Mama,	fds	R:Neg					
A022.2.1	D to M	**ran up to me with a book**	**NV**		**tm**				
A022.2.1	D to M	wanted an American Girl story.	nrsa	I:Req	action	R:Pos:t			
A022.2.2	M to D	**went to the cash register**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A022.3.1	D to M	Pocahontas braids,	ds	I:Req	action	R:Pos:t			
A022.3.2	M to D	**twist the ties at the ends.**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A022.4.1a	M to S	Oh, yeah,	**ds**		**tm**				
A022.4.1a	M to S	you gonna load this thing.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c			
A022.4.1b	M to S	Knives go in like this.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	c			
A022.4.1c	M to S	Plates like this.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	as			
A022.4.2a	S to M	Why you yelling, Mama?	ds	I:Elic	inform	as			
A022.4.2b	S to M	I see how to do it.	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A022.4.2c	S to M	I did it at Grandmere's before.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c			
A022.4.2d	S to M	Ain't no big thing.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	as			
A022.4.2e	S to M	I like the way they get loaded in exactly the same every time.	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A022.4.2f	S to M	I just don't let Daddy know.	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A022.4.2g	S to M	**grinned.**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	an			

A022.5.1	M to S	You foldin?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t		
A022.5.2	S to M	They my clothes.	ds	R:Pos				
A022.5.3	M to S	Don't tell your daddy.	ds	I:Elic	commit	R:Pos:t		
A022.5.4	S to M	I don't tell him much.	ds	R:Pos				
A041.1.1a	S to F	Dad.	ds	I:Org	summons	an		
A041.1.1b	S to F	Look.	ds	I:Req	invite	an		
A041.1.1c	S to F	Look, Dad.	ds	I:Req	invite:C	an		
A041.1.1d	S to F	There's a snake in that skull's eyehole,	ds	I:Inf	report	as		
A041.1.1e	S to F	What if that snake was for real?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t		
A041.1.2	F to S	That would be very cool,	ds	R:Pos				
A041.1.3	S to F	But it's only rubber.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	as		
A041.1.4	F to S	Thank goodness.	ds	I:Inf	express	as		
A041.1.5a	S to F	Can we get a skull, too,	ds	I:Elic	commit	c		
A041.1.5b	S to F	and put a snake inside it?	ds	I:Elic	commit:C	R:Neg:t		
A041.1.6	F to S	We only do pumpkins in our family.	ds	R:Neg				
A041.1.7	S to F	Is that because we're Jewish?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t		
A041.1.8a	F to S	Why, yes, it is,	ds	R:Pos				
A041.1.8b	F to S	Come on, Nick.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c		
A041.1.8c	F to S	**gave him a helpful nudge in the direction of the pumpkins**	**NV**	I:Dir	instruct:C	c		
A041.1.8d	F to S	Start shopping.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	an		
A041.2.1	S to F	voice rising at the end in a question	nrsa	I:Req	action	R:Neg:t		
A041.2.2	F to S	a low monosyllable	nrv	R:Neg				
A041.2.3	S to F	question	nrsa	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:t		
A041.2.4	F to S	When I say so,	ds	R:Neg				
A041.3.01	S to F	**bump against my leg … pressing his face to my thigh**	**NV**	I:Org	summons	R:Pos:t		
A041.3.02a	F to S	Hey, Nick.	ds	R:Pos				
A041.3.02b	F to S	What's up?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:t		
A041.3.03	S to F	**no reply**	**NV**	R:Chal				
A041.3.04	F to S	What's the matter?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal	R:Pos:t	
A041.3.05	S to F	Who is that guy you're talking to?	ds	R:Chal				
A041.3.06	F to S	I don't know,	ds	R:Pos				
A041.3.07	F to S	why did you choose such a small one?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:t		
A041.3.07	F to S	Nicky,	**ds**		**tm**			

A041.3.08	S to F	**shrugged**	**NV**	R:Neg					
A041.3.09a	F to S	Go on, Nick,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	c			
A041.3.09b	F to S	Go find yourself a nice big pumpkin.	ds	I:Dir	instruct:C	as			
A041.3.09c	F to S	Andre's right--	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A041.3.09d	F to S	you won't be able to put a candle in this one.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Chal:C:C:t			
A041.3.10a	S to F	I don't want a big pumpkin.	ds	R:Chal					
A041.3.10b	S to F	I don't want to put a candle in it.	ds	R:Chal:C					
A041.3.10c	S to F	I don't want you to cut it open with a knife.	ds	R:Chal:C					
A041.3.10d	S to F	**A tear sprang loose and arced like a diver down his cheek**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	as			
A041.3.10e	S to F	I want to call Mommy,	ds	I:Req	action	c			
A041.3.10f	S to F	On the cell phone.	ds	I:Req	action:C	R:Neg:C:t			
A041.3.10g	S to F	She will tell you not to cut up my pumpkin.	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A041.3.11a	F to S	We can't bother Mommy,	ds	R:Neg					
A041.3.11b	F to S	She's resting right now.	ds	R:Neg:C					
A041.3.12	S to F	Why is she resting?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:t			
A041.3.13	F to S	You know why.	ds	R:Chal					
A041.3.14a	S to F	I don't want her to rest anymore.	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A041.3.14b	S to F	I want to call her.	ds	I:Req	action	as			
A041.3.14c	S to F	Call her, Dad.	ds	I:Dir	threat	as			
A041.3.14d	S to F	She'll tell you not to cut it up.	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A041.3.14e	S to F	I want this one,	ds	I:Req	action	as			
A041.3.14f	S to F	And I'm going to name it Kate.	ds	I:Req	permission	R:Neg:C:	R:Chal:t		
A041.3.15	F to S	You can't do that,	ds	R:Neg					
A041.3.15	F to S	**shook my head**	**NV**	R:Neg					
A041.3.16	S to F	Please?	ds	I:Req	permission:C	R:Neg:C:t			
A041.3.17a	F to S	No, honey,	ds	R:Neg					
A041.3.17b	F to S	We don't name our pumpkins.	ds	R:Neg:C					
A041.3.18	S to F	We don't believe in it?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t			
A041.3.19	F to S	That's right.	ds	R:Pos					
A041.4.1a	F to S	Andre!	ds	I:Org	summons	as			
A041.4.1b	F to S	What I tell you to do?	ds	I:Elic	inform	as			
A041.4.1c	F to S	get back in that car.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t			
A041.4.1c	F to S	Boy,	**ds**		**tm**				

A041.4.2	S to F	Can I get a pumpkin?	ds	I:Req	action	R:Neg:t			
A041.4.3	F to S	What?	ds	I:Elic	repeat	R:Pos:t			
A041.4.4	S to F	Can I get a pumpkin?	ds	R:Pos					
A041.4.5	F to S	**could not be answered**	**NV**	R:Neg					
A041.4.6	S to F	**turned, walked back to the firebird, and got in**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A041.5.1a	F to S	Hey, Nick,	**ds**		**tm**				
A041.5.1a	F to S	Listen.	ds	I:Org	summons	an			
A041.5.1b	F to S	You can name it Kate if you want to.	ds	R:Pos					
A041.5.2a	S to F	I don't want it,	ds	R:Chal:t					
A041.5.2b	S to F	I want to get a bigger one.	ds	I:Req	permission	R:Pos:t			
A041.5.3	F to S	All right.	ds	R:Pos					
A041.5.4a	S to F	Because she didn't get to have a pumpkin,	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A041.5.4b	S to F	since she didn't get to ever be alive.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Pos:t			
A041.5.5	F to S	Good thinking,	ds	R:Pos					
A041.5.6a	S to F	But I still don't want to cut it up,	ds	I:Elic	commit	an			
A042.1.1	S to M	asked about it	nrsa	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t			
A042.1.2a	M to S	The rug is gone,	ds	R:Pos					
A042.1.2b	M to S	to a museum!	ds	R:Pos:C					
A042.1.3	S to M	Why?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t			
A042.1.4a	M to S	It was two hundred years old--	ds	R:Pos					
A042.1.4b	M to S	the best of its kind!	ds	R:Pos:C					
A043.1.1a	M to D	Theresa,	**ds**		**tm**				
A043.1.1a	M to D	I bet you'd like some other little girl to have the music box, since you have birthday presents.	ds	I:Elic	agree	c			
A043.1.1b	M to D	Wouldn't you?	ds	I:Elic	confirm:C	R:Neg:t			
A043.1.2	D to M	didn't want to	nrsa	R:Neg					
A043.1.3a	M to D	That would be the polite thing,	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A043.1.3b	M to D	Maybe you'd like to give it to Leigh.	ds	I:Req	action	an			
A043.2.1	M to D	Help me with these sheets,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Chal:R:pos:t			
A043.2.2	D to M	**couldn't stop crying**	**NV**	R:Chal					
A043.2.3	D to M	**helped pull the sheet away from the matress**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A043.2.4	D to M	We should bury that sheet.	ds	I:Elic	commit	R:Neg:C:t			
A043.2.5a	M to D	It's a perfectly good sheet.	ds	R:Neg					

A043.2.5b	M to D	We'll wash it.	ds	R:Neg:C					
A043.3.1a	M to D	The cats have chewed their paws off.	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A043.3.1b	M to D	They are under the bed.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Chal	R:Chal:	R:Chal:t	
A043.3.2	D to M	there are no cats.	ds	R:Chal					
A043.3.2	D to M	Mother,	**ds**		**tm**				
A043.3.3a	M to D	Look under the bed.	ds	R:Chal		c			
A043.3.3b	M to D	See for yourself.	ds	R:Chal:C					
A043.3.4	D to M	didn't want to	nrsa	R:Chal					
A043.4.1a	M to D	Where does little Terry go when her mama's working?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:t			
A043.4.1b	M to D	If we had any room at all, I'd have that child here.	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A043.4.1c	M to D	If we weren't doubled up already.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	as			
A043.4.2	D to M	Hang her on a hook,	ds	R:Chal					
A043.4.3a	M to D	Don't smart-mouth.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	an			
A043.4.3b	M to D	Do you think she would like to come here?	ds	I:Elic	inform	an			
A043.5.01	M to D	She doesn't stay with that man, does she?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Chal	R:Chal	R:Neg:t	
A043.5.02	D to M	Joe Martin is his name.	ds	R:Chal					
A043.5.03	M to D	I don't care to know his name.	ds	R:Chal					
A043.5.04	D to M	I don't know where she stays.	ds	R:Neg					
A043.5.05a	M to D	**sighed**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	as			
A043.5.05b	M to D	He has a wife and children, you know.	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A043.5.05c	M to D	Over in Dolores.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c			
A043.5.05d	M to D	I understand he has two little children.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	as			
A043.5.05e	M to D	You mustn't say anything to the little girl, though.	ds	I:Elic	commit	as			
A043.5.05f	M to D	I'm sure she doesn't know.	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A043.5.05g	M to D	I understand, that he abandoned his family.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	as			
A043.5.05h	M to D	I don't know how they make do.	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A043.5.05i	M to D	Now just look.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	an			
A043.5.05j	M to D	**laughed**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	as			
A043.5.05k	M to D	I have no circulation,	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A043.5.05l	M to D	**laughed**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	as			
A043.5.05m	M to D	I'll be glad when this is over, Leigh.	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A043.5.05n	M to D	I guess we'll all be glad, won't we.	ds	I:Elic	agree	as			
A043.5.05o	M to D	Let's get some soap and get this ring off.	ds	I:Req	action	R:Pos:t			

A043.5.06	D to M	**went for the soap and water**	NV	R:Pos					
A043.5.07	M to D	Don't you love the sound?	ds	I:Elic	agree	I:Elic			
A043.5.08	D to M	What sound?	ds	I:Elic	clarify	R:Pos:t			
A043.5.09a	M to D	Of the children playing.	ds	R:Pos					
A043.5.09b	M to D	Listen to them.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t			
A043.5.10	D to M	**My brothers were kicking the can in the street.**	NV	R:Pos					
A043.5.11a	M to D	You should be out, Leigh.	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A043.5.11b	M to D	Your poor old mom is all laid up,	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A043.5.11c	M to D	but you should be out.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	as			
A043.5.11d	M to D	Why don't you go on out now?	ds	I:Req	invite	as			
A043.5.12	D to M	Shall I tell Mr. Richter he has to come and cut this ring off your	ds	I:Elic	inform	as			
A043.5.13a	M to D	Go on out,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	as			
A043.5.13b	M to D	and tell little Terry what I told you.	ds	I:Elic	commit	as			
A043.5.13c	M to D	I know you want to.	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Chal:t			
A043.5.14	D to M	I'm not going to say anything.	ds	R:Chal					
A043.5.15a	M to D	**shook her head**	NV	I:Inf	express	as			
A043.5.15b	M to D	I was wrong to tell you.	ds	I:Inf	self-critic	c			
A043.5.15c	M to D	I don't know why I told you.	ds	I:Inf	self-critic:C	c			
A043.5.15d	M to D	It was very, very wrong of me.	ds	I:Inf	self-critic:C	c			
A043.5.15e	M to D	I would not have told you if I were myself.	ds	I:Inf	self-critic:C	as			
A043.5.15f	M to D	You understand that?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
A043.5.16	D to M	Yes.	ds	R:Pos					
A043.5.17a	M to D	**frowned and shook her head**	NV	I:Inf	express	as			
A043.5.17b	M to D	It's only natural that you should go tell her now.	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A043.5.17c	M to D	A child cannot keep such a secret.	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A043.5.18	D to M	You want me to tell her?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Neg:t			
A043.5.19a	M to D	Of course I don't want you to tell her.	ds	R:Neg					
A043.5.19b	M to D	But you will.	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Chal	R:Chal:	R:Chal:t
A043.5.20	D to M	No I won't.	ds	R:Chal					
A043.5.21a	M to D	Yes you will.	ds	R:Chal					
A043.5.21b	M to D	You cannot keep a secret.	ds	R:Chal:C					
A043.5.22	D to M	**didn't say anything**	NV	R:Chal					
A043.5.23	M to D	Leigh?	ds	I:Org	summons	R:Pos:t			

A043.5.24	D to M	What?	ds	R:Pos					
A043.5.25	M to D	Can you keep a secret?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
A043.5.26	D to M	Yes.	ds	R:Pos					
A043.5.27	M to D	Look at me.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t			
A043.5.28	D to M	**looked at her**	NV	R:Pos					
A043.5.29a	M to D	**took my chin … pinched it**	NV	I:Org	summons	an			
A043.5.29b	M to D	You are the one, … who cannot keep a secret.	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A043.5.29c	M to D	Am I right?	ds	I:Elic	agree	R:Chal	R:Chal:t		
A043.5.30	D to M	I can,	ds	R:Chal					
A043.5.31a	M to D	**shook my head back and forth**	NV	R:Chal					
A043.5.31b	M to D	Here,	ds	I:Org	summons	an			
A043.5.31c	M to D	**put my face against her belly**	NV	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t			
A043.5.32	D to M	**the baby was kicking**	NV	R:Pos					
A043.5.33a	M to D	Feel that?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	as			
A043.5.33b	M to D	That's your blood, too.	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A043.5.33c	M to D	**put her hand on my cheek and held my face there**	NV	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t			
A043.5.34	D to M	**the baby stopped kicking**	NV	R:Pos					
A043.5.35a	M to D	**laughed**	NV	I:Inf	express	as			
A043.5.35b	M to D	Well,	**ds**		**tm**				
A043.5.35b	M to D	it probably doesn't matter.	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A043.5.35c	M to D	It's just as well that little girl knows what kind of man is living under her roof.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Chal:t			
A043.5.36	D to M	I can keep a secret.	ds	R:Chal					
A043.5.37a	M to D	**closed her eyes again ... leaned her head against the wall**	NV	I:Inf	express	as			
A043.5.37b	M to D	I believe, … we're going to have to cut this ring off.	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A043.5.37c	M to D	I cannot feel this finger anymore.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	an			
A043.6.01a	F to D	What shall I do?	ds	I:Elic	inform	c			
A043.6.01b	F to D	Shall I take the transfer?	ds	I:Elic	inform:C	as			
A043.6.01c	F to D	Tell me what to do,	ds	I:Req	proposal	c			
A043.6.01d	F to D	and I'll do it.	ds	I:Req	proposal:C	as			
A043.6.01e	F to D	It would mean a smaller house.	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A043.6.01f	F to D	You girls would all have to share one room,	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c			
A043.6.01g	F to D	and the boys would have to share the other.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c			

A043.6.01h	F to D	But we'd eat good.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	as			
A043.6.02	F to D	What do you think, Leigh?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
A043.6.03	D to F	Let's go.	ds	R:Pos					
A043.6.04	F to D	You'd have to leave all of your friends.	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t			
A043.6.05	D to F	That's okay.	ds	R:Pos					
A043.6.06	D to F	I think somebody's only thinking of herself,	ds	I:Inf	assess	R:Pos:t			
A043.6.07	F to D	**winked and took my hand**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A043.6.08	D to F	Good jobs are not that easy to come by,	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t			
A043.6.09	F to D	**squeezed my hand**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A043.6.10	D to F	We should put our fate in the hands of the Lord,	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:C:t			
A043.6.11a	F to D	**laughed**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A043.6.11b	F to D	Not bad advice,	ds	R:Pos:C					
A043.7.1a	D to F	That's the man who sniffs around Rosie Mooney,	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A043.7.1b	D to F	and I bet that's his wife and kids.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Pos:C:t			
A043.7.2a	F to D	**looked at Joe**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A043.7.2b	F to D	Wouldn't be the first time for old Joe Martin,	ds	R:Pos:C					
A043.8.1a	D to F	That old boy, … probably has a wife in every state.	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A043.8.1b	D to F	Don't you think?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Chal:C:C:t			
A043.8.2a	F to D	**put his hands in his pockets**	**NV**	R:Chal					
A043.8.2b	F to D	You shamed him, Leigh.	ds	R:Chal:C					
A043.8.3	D to F	Joe?	ds	I:Elic	clarify	R:Chal:t			
A043.8.4a	F to D	**looked at me**	**NV**	R:Chal:C					
A043.8.4b	F to D	You shamed me,	ds	R:Chal:C					
A043.8.5	D to F	She shamed them, didn't she, Dad?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Chal:t			
A043.8.6	F to D	**didn't say anything … watched the air in front of him**	**NV**	R:Chal					
A067.1.1a	S to M	what did you do?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:t			
A067.1.1a	S to M	Mama,	**ds**		**tm**				
A067.1.1b	S to M	Ismail says you hit a lady.	ds	I:inf	report	as			
A067.1.2	M to S	**grab Lele and kiss him all over**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	R:Chal:t			
A067.1.3	S to M	**struggles to get away**	**NV**	R:Chal					
A067.1.4a	M to S	Yes, that's right,	ds	R:Pos					
A067.1.4b	M to S	I did hit a lady,	ds	R:Pos:C					
A067.1.4c	M to S	She needed hitting.	ds	R:Pos:C					

A070.1.1	M to D	told Elizabeth to stay and watch Daniel	nrsa	I:Dir	instruct	R:Chal:t		
A070.1.2	D to M	This isn't a playground,	ds	R:Chal				
A070.1.3a	M to D	I just have to run upstairs and back.	ds	I:Req	action	c		
A070.1.3b	M to D	Just for a minute, okay?	ds	I:Req	action:C	an		
A070.2.1	D to M	Now read Madeline,	ds	I:Req	action	R:Neg:C:t		
A070.2.2a	M to D	I don't think I brought Madeline,	ds	R:Neg				
A070.2.2b	M to D	No. I didn't bring it.	ds	R:Neg:C				
A070.2.2c	M to D	Never mind, you know it by heart.	ds	I:Req	proposal	R:Pos	R:Pos:t	
A070.2.3	D to M	*recites story with mother: 53 words*	ds	R:Pos				
A070.2.4a	M to D	*recites story with daughter: 53 words*	ds	R:Pos				
A070.2.5	M to D	**stops reciting before they are finished**	**NV**	I:Org	conclude	as		
A070.2.6	D to M	Mommy,	**ds**		**tm**			
A070.2.6	D to M	Why did you stop?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:t		
A070.2.7a	M to D	I had to, for a minute.	ds	R:Pos				
A070.2.7b	M to D	My mouth got dry.	ds	R:Pos:C				
A070.3.1a	D to F	I never got to see the bridge,	ds	I:Inf	report	as		
A070.3.1a	D to M	I never got to see the bridge,	ds	I:Inf	report	as		
A070.3.1b	D to M	Why didn't you wake me up to see the bridge?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:t		
A070.3.1b	D to F	Why didn't you wake me up to see the bridge?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:t		
A070.3.2	M to D	**nobody answered her**	**NV**	R:Chal				
A070.3.3	F to D	**nobody answered her**	**NV**	R:Chal				
A070.3.4	D to M	Daniel's arm is all sunburnt,	ds	I:Inf	report	as		
A070.3.4	D to F	Daniel's arm is all sunburnt,	ds	I:Inf	report	as		
A070.4.1	D to M	it's cold	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Chal:t		
A070.4.1	D to M	Mommy--	**ds**		**tm**			
A070.4.2	M to D	**no response**	**NV**	R:Chal				
A070.4.3a	D to M	Mommy!	ds	I:Org	summons	c		
A070.4.3b	D to M	Come here.	ds	I:Org	summons:C	R:Chal:t		
A070.4.4	M to D	**no response**	**NV**	R:Chal				
A084.1.1	F to S	And who are these people coming in the door?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos	F1:End:t	
A084.1.2	S to F	It is your son and his friend,	ds	R:Pos				
A084.1.3	F to S	Good,	ds	F1:End				
A098.1.1a	M to D	I don't know what Robert will do when Ocatvia and I are gone.	ds	I:Inf	report	as		

Code	Speaker	Utterance	Mode	Move	Act	Col7	Col8	Col9	Col10
A098.1.1b	M to D	Who'll buy him cigarettes?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:t			
A098.1.2	D to M	Mama	ds	R:Chal					
A098.2.1a	M to D	Y'all know I like those songs, girls.	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A098.2.1b	M to D	Why don't you sing one?	ds	I:Req	action	R:Pos:C:t			
A098.2.2a	D to M	C'mon, everybody,	ds	R:Pos					
A098.2.2b	D to M	She likes 'The Brownie Song' best	ds	R:Pos:C					
A098.3.1	M to D	Sing another one,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Chal:C:	F1:Con:t		
A098.3.2a	D to M	God, Mama,	ds	R:Chal					
A098.3.2b	D to M	get over it,	ds	R:Chal:C					
A098.3.3	M to D	**started to leave**	NV	F1:Con					
A098.4.1	M to D	I guess you Brownies are almost Girl Scouts, right?	ds	I:Elic	agree	R:Pos:t			
A098.4.1	M to D	Well,	**ds**		**tm**				
A098.4.2a	D to M	And about, … a million more cookies to sell.	ds	R:Pos					
A098.4.2b	D to M	**waiting to say goodbye**	NV	I:Req	permission	as			
A098.4.3a	M to D	**walked to the doorway … held Octavia's chin**	NV	I:Org	summons	an			
A098.4.3b	M to D	You'll be good?	ds	I:Elic	commit	R:Pos:t			
A098.4.4	D to M	Yes, Mama.	ds	R:Pos					
A098.4.5a	M to D	And remember to pray for me and your father?	ds	I:Elic	commit	c			
A098.4.5b	M to D	If I'm asleep when you get back?	ds	I:Elic	commit:C	R:Pos:t			
A098.4.6	D to M	Yes, Mama.	ds	R:Pos					
A104.1.1a	M to D	Minnie!	ds	I:Org	summons	an			
A104.1.1b	M to S	Pat!	ds	I:Org	summons	an			
A104.1.1c	M to S	What d'you mean you still haven't washed up?	ds	I:Elic	inform	as			
A104.1.1c	M to D	What d'you mean you still haven't washed up?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t			
A104.1.1d	M to S	I'm late to work every morning nowadays because of you kids.	ds	I:Inf	criticize	as			
A104.1.1d	M to D	I'm late to work every morning nowadays because of you kids.	ds	I:Inf	criticize	as			
A104.1.2a	D to M	But Mom,	**ds**		**tm**				
A104.1.2a	D to M	she's in there.	ds	R:Pos					
A104.1.2b	D to M	She's been there forever…	ds	R:Pos:C					
A104.1.3	M to S	So go to the downstairs bathroom.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Chal	R:Chal:	R:Neg:C:t	
A104.1.3	M to D	So go to the downstairs bathroom.	ds	I:Dir	instruct		R:Chal:C	R:Chal:	R:Neg:C:t
A104.1.3	M to S	**Pause.**	NV		**delay**				
A104.1.3	M to D	**Pause.**	NV		**delay**				

A104.1.4	S to M	But all our stuff is here,	ds	R:Chal			
A104.1.5a	D to M	It's not fair.	ds	R:Chal			
A104.1.5b	D to M	Why can't she go downstairs?	ds	R:Chal:C			
A104.1.6a	M to S	**Pause.**	**NV**		**delay**		
A104.1.6a	M to D	**Pause.**	**NV**		**delay**		
A104.1.6b	M to D	That's enough!	ds	R:Chal			
A104.1.6b	M to S	That's enough!	ds	R:Chal			
A104.1.6c	M to D	Go put on your clothes,	ds	R:Chal:C			
A104.1.6c	M to S	Go put on your clothes,	ds	R:Chal:C			
A104.1.6d	M to D	hurry!	ds	R:Chal:C			
A104.1.6d	M to S	hurry!	ds	R:Chal:C			
A104.1.7a	D to M	grumblings	nrsa	R:Neg			
A104.1.7b	D to M	**Footsteps clatter down the stairs**	**NV**	R:Neg:C			
A104.1.8a	S to M	grumblings	nrsa	R:Neg			
A104.1.8b	S to M	**Footsteps clatter down the stairs**	**NV**	R:Neg:C			
A116.1.1	F to S	Don't touch it,	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Chal:C	F1:Con:t
A116.1.2a	S to F	I want to give it a piece of gum,	ds	R:Chal			
A116.1.2b	S to F	**trotted ahead**	**NV**	R:Chal:C			
A116.1.3	F to S	**frowned but appeared to have no intention of interviening**	**NV**	F1:Con			
A116.2.1	F to S	Bobby,	**ds**		**tm**		
A116.2.1	F to S	make sure that your brother doesn't do anything stupid.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Chal:C:t	
A116.2.2a	S to F	I don't feel like it,	ds	R:Chal			
A116.2.2b	S to F	**not moving**	**NV**	R:Chal:C			
A116.3.1	F to D	isn't it Tina?	ds	I:Elic	agree	R:Chal:t	
A116.3.2	D to F	I don't have to go to the bathroom anymore,	ds	R:Chal			
A116.3.3	F to D	Where's Mina?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t	
A116.3.4	D to F	**pointed to where Mrs. Das was**	**NV**	R:Pos			
A116.4.1a	D to M	**stuck out a hand**	**NV**	I:Req	action	c	
A116.4.1b	D to M	Mine too.	ds	I:Req	action:C	c	
A116.4.1c	D to M	Do mine too.	ds	I:Req	action:C	R:Chal:C:t	
A116.4.2a	M to D	Leave me alone,	ds	R:Chal			
A116.4.2b	M to D	**turning her body slightly**	**NV**	R:Chal:C			
A116.4.2c	M to D	You're making me mess up.	ds	I:Inf	criticize	an	

A116.5.1	S to F	Daddy,	**ds**		**tm**				
A116.5.1	S to F	why is the driver sitting on the wrong side in this car too?	ds	I:Elic	inform	as			
A116.5.2	F to S	Don't call your brother a dummy,	ds	I:Elic	commit	as			
A116.6.1	D to F	What's Dallas?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t			
A116.6.2a	F to D	It went off the air,	ds	R:Pos					
A116.6.2b	F to D	It's a television show.	ds	R:Pos:C					
A116.7.1	D to M	renewed her plea that she wanted her nails done too,	nrsa	I:Req	action	R:Neg:t			
A116.7.2	M to D	**flicked a drop of polish on the little girl's finger before depositing the bottle back inside her straw bag**	**NV**	R:Neg					
A116.8.1	F to S	It says the temple occupies about a hundred and seventy	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A116.8.2	S to F	It's like a desert,	ds	I:Inf	report	I:inf			
A116.9.1	D to F	the monkey's hurting Bobby,	ds	I:Req	action	R:Neg:t			
A116.9.1	D to F	Daddy,	**ds**		**tm**				
A116.9.2	F to D	**wiped his palms on the front of his shorts**	**NV**	R:Neg					
A118.1.1	S to M	He got lonesome,	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:C:t			
A118.1.2a	M to S	Yes.	ds	R:Pos					
A118.1.2b	M to S	He got lonesome for us.	ds	R:Pos:C					
A139.1.1a	D to M	begged for tinkets	nrsa	I:Req	action	R:Chal:t			
A139.1.1b	D to M	begged for tinkets [2nd D]	nrsa	I:Req	action	R:Chal:t			
A139.1.2	M to D	if they didn't stop complaining they were never going anywhere again.	fis	R:Chal					
A140.1.1a	S to M	Cool!	ds	I:Inf	assess	as			
A140.1.1b	S to M	**looking at Felicia to gauge her approval**	**NV**	I:Req	permission	R:Pos:t			
A140.1.2a	S to M	Cool! [2nd son]	ds	I:Inf	assess	as			
A140.1.2b	S to M	**looking at Felicia to gauge her approval [2nd son]**	**NV**	I:Req	permission	R:Pos:t			
A140.1.3	M to S	**expressionless**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A140.1.4a	F to S	**took it from them**	**NV**	I:Dir	instruct	an			
A140.1.4b	F to S	Git.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:R:Pos:t			
A140.1.5	S to F	**did**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A140.1.6	S to F	**did [2nd son]**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A156.1.01	M to S	Where's 'at other sock?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
A156.1.02	S to M	I 'on't know.	ds	R:Pos					
A156.1.03	M to S	Didn't you have it on yesterday?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Neg:t			

A156.1.04	S to M	No.	ds	R:Neg				
A156.1.05	M to S	Do you want me to whip you?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t		
A156.1.06	S to M	No.	ds	R:Pos				
A156.1.07	M to S	You say no ma'am.	ds	I:Dir	threat	R:Pos:t		
A156.1.08	S to M	No ma'am.	ds	R:Pos				
A156.1.09	M to S	You say no ma'am to Mrs. Toomey, you hear?	ds	I:Elic	commit	R:Pos:t		
A156.1.10	S to M	Yes ma'am.	ds	R:Pos				
A156.1.11a	M to S	She's taking you to see the electric chair,	ds	I:Inf	report	as		
A156.1.11b	M to S	and if you don't behave, when you grow up that's where you'll	ds	I:Inf	report	c		
A156.1.11c	M to S	Just like she said.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	an		
A156.2.1a	M to S	Honey,	**ds**		**tm**			
A156.2.1a	M to S	I don't think that's true about a electric paddle.	ds	I:Inf	report	c		
A156.2.1b	M to S	I think somebody made that up.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Chal:C	F1:Con:R:Chal:C:t	
A156.2.2a	S to M	That's what Leland said.	ds	R:Chal				
A156.2.2b	S to M	Said he had one in his office.	ds	R:Chal:C				
A156.2.3a	M to S	Well, I know,	ds	F1:Con				
A156.2.3b	M to S	but I don't believe that's true.	ds	R:Chal				
A156.2.3c	M to S	That's a rumor.	ds	R:Chal:C				
A156.2.3d	M to S	Let Terry play with the car.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	R:Pos:t		
A156.2.3d	M to S	Paul.	**ds**		**tm**			
A156.2.4	S to M	**handed the car to Terry**	**NV**	R:Pos				
A156.2.5a	M to S	Now, the reason we're doing this is so you-all can see what will happen if you ever let the devil lead you into a bad sin.	ds	I:Inf	report	c		
A156.2.5b	M to S	If you commit a bad crime they'll put you in the electric chair and electrocute you.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	c		
A156.2.5c	M to S	And little crimes can lead up to big crimes.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	as		
A156.2.5d	M to S	See how big the building is?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	an		
A156.2.5e	M to S	That's because there's so many prisoners.	ds	I:Inf	report	as		
A156.2.5f	M to S	See up there?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	an		
A156.2.5g	M to S	If they try to escape, that guard will shoot him.	ds	I:Inf	report	c		
A156.2.5h	M to S	That's a shotgun he's got.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	as		
A156.3.1	S to M	What do prisoners get to eat?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t		
A156.3.2a	M to S	They eat bread and water.	ds	R:Pos				

A156.3.2b	M to S	Maybe a few vegetables.	ds	R:Pos:C					
A160.01.01	F to D	Looks like a war zone,	ds	I:Inf	assess	R:Pos:t			
A160.01.02	D to F	Bluh.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.01.03	F to D	Tranh says you're sick,	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t			
A160.01.04	D to F	Bluh.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.01.05a	F to D	Ooh, jeez, Najee,	fis	I:Inf	express	as			
A160.01.05b	F to D	You're really hot.	fis	I:Inf	report	I:Inf			
A160.01.06	D to F	I have a fever.	fis	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t			
A160.01.07a	F to D	You sure do.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.01.07b	F to D	**hugged her**	NV	I:Inf	express	an			
A160.01.08	D to F	Tranh kept giving me apple juice.	fis	I:Inf	report	as			
A160.01.09	F to D	You feel all right?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:t			
A160.01.10a	D to F	No.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.01.10b	D to F	**scowled**	NV	R:Pos:C					
A160.01.10c	D to F	I feel sick.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.01.11	F to D	Feel like you're about to yurk?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
A160.01.12	D to F	Maybe.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.01.13	F to D	You haven't yurked yet, have you?	fis	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:C	F1:End:t		
A160.01.14a	D to F	I almost did at school,	ds	R:Pos					
A160.01.14b	D to F	Then I fell asleep in class and I had these weird dreams.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.01.15	F to D	I bet you did.	fis	F1:End					
A160.01.16a	D to F	There were all these lines,	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A160.01.16b	D to F	And I had to keep track of all the lines going back and forth,	fis	I:Inf	report:C	c			
A160.01.16c	D to F	and then they kept cutting in half,	fis	I:Inf	report:C	c			
A160.01.16d	D to F	and I couldn't wake up.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	as			
A160.01.16e	D to F	Then Tranh had to pick me up and I almost yurked in the car.	fis	I:Inf	report	I:Elic			
A160.01.17	F to D	Tranh drove?	fis	I:Elic	repeat	R:Pos	F1:Con:t		
A160.01.18	D to F	Yes.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.01.19	F to D	**sighed.**	NV	F1:Con	Inf:express				
A160.01.20	D to F	It was okay,	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A160.01.21	F to D	I really don't like Tranh's driving,	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Chal	R:Chal	R:Pos:t	
A160.01.22	D to F	I think it's fun.	fis	R:Chal					
A160.01.23	F to D	It gives me nightmares,	ds	R:Chal					

A160.01.24	D to F	Well, we almost ran over a dog,	ds	R:Pos				
A160.02.1	F to S	want to pull back from him, stop inflicting myself upon him	nrsa	I:Req	offer	R:Neg	R:Pos:t	
A160.02.2	S to F	insisted	nrsa	R:Neg				
A160.02.3	F to S	went on with it	nrsa	R:Pos				
A160.03.1	F to D	Yodey yodey,	ds	I:Org	greet	R:Pos	F1:End:t	
A160.03.2	D to F	Rings in reedoreed,	ds	R:Pos				
A160.03.3	F to D	Yes indeedy deed,	ds	F1:End				
A160.03.4	D to F	Finish time.	ds	I:Org	conclude	as		
A160.03.5	F to D	If you need anything, just yell, and I'll come down for you.	ds	I:Req	offer	R:Pos:t		
A160.03.6	D to F	**nodded weakly**	**NV**	R:Pos				
A160.03.7	F to D	**kissed her**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	an		
A160.04.01a	F to S	Ted?	fis	I:Org	summons	c		
A160.04.01b	F to S	**knocked once**	**NV**	I:Org	summons:C	R:Pos:t		
A160.04.02	S to F	What?	fis	R:Pos				
A160.04.03	F to S	You up?	fis	I:Org	greet	R:Pos:t		
A160.04.04	S to F	Yes,	ds	R:Pos				
A160.04.05	F to S	Can I come in?	fis	I:Req	permission	R:Pos:t		
A160.04.06a	S to F	Sure.	fis	R:Pos				
A160.04.06b	S to F	How's Nadia?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t		
A160.04.07	F to S	Still feverish.	fis	R:Pos				
A160.04.08	S to F	Mom said she has to go to the hospital.	ds	I:Inf	report	I:Inf		
A160.04.09a	F to S	Well, maybe tomorrow, if she doesn't get better	fis	I:Inf	report	as		
A160.04.09b	F to S	You should be asleep.	ds	I:Elic	agree	R:Chal	F1:Con:	R:Chal:t
A160.04.10	S to F	I don't have school tomorrow.	fis	R:Chal				
A160.04.11a	F to S	Yeah,	fis	F1:Con				
A160.04.11b	F to S	it's late, though.	fis	R:Chal				
A160.04.12	S to F	Ten minutes,	ds	R:Chal				
A160.04.13	F to S	What're you reading?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t		
A160.04.14	S to F	**tipped the book**	**NV**	R:Pos				
A160.04.15	F to S	Seems like you've read that before.	fis	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:C:t		
A160.04.16a	S to F	Yes,	ds	R:Pos				
A160.04.16b	S to F	many times.	ds	R:Pos:C				
A160.04.17	F to S	What's it about?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:	F1:Ack:t	

A160.04.18a	S to F	Well, there's these two boys, and this girl, and they have a professor friend,	ds	R:Pos					
A160.04.18b	S to F	and they make contact with an alien race with a radio	ds	R:Pos:C					
A160.04.18c	S to F	It's fairly interesting.	ds	R:Pos					
A160.04.19	F to S	Ah.	fis	F1:Ack					
A160.04.20	S to F	It's sort of science fiction.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.04.21	F to S	What do the aliens have to say?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:t			
A160.04.22a	S to F	Well, actually they just send a picture of themselves,	fis	R:Pos					
A160.04.22b	S to F	and then they send more, at the end,	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.04.22c	S to F	but that's where the book ends, unfortunately.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.04.23a	F to S	Let me recommend something,	ds	I:Req	offer	c			
A160.04.23b	F to S	It's about Australia.	fis	I:Req	offer:C	c			
A160.04.24	S to F	Are you in it?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t			
A160.04.25a	F to S	No,	ds	R:Pos					
A160.04.25b	F to S	But I used to read it over and over.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.04.26	S to F	What's it called?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C	F1:End:t		
A160.04.27a	F to S	It's called Shipmates Down Under.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.04.27b	F to S	It's got a green cover.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.04.28	S to F	**sat up straighter in bed.**	**NV**	F1:End					
A160.04.29	F to S	You should read this before we go.	fis	I:Req	invite:C	R:Pos:t			
A160.04.30	S to F	What's it about?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:	R:Pos:t		
A160.04.31a	F to S	Well, it's about this boy, whose name is Lionel, and his friend,	ds	R:Pos					
A160.04.31b	F to S	and they stow away on a pirate ship that's going to India or	ds	R:Pos:C					
A160.04.31c	F to S	and then they go to this emir's castle,	ds	R:Pos:C					
A160.04.31d	F to S	this big old castle in the jungle,	ds	R:Pos:C					
A160.04.31e	F to S	and that's where they have their adventures.	ds	R:Pos:C					
A160.04.32	S to F	**listening**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A160.04.33a	F to S	read aloud,	nrsa	I:Inf	report	as			
A160.04.33b	F to S	See?	fis	I:Elic	confirm	as			
A160.04.33c	F to S	They're stowing away,	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t			
A160.04.34	S to F	Mm-hm.	fis	R:Pos					

A160.04.35	F to S	Late at night Lionel woke believing he felt something climbing over his legs and he shouted out, 'Get off!' and shook his legs with all his might. But he felt nothing more and thought perhaps he had been dreaming. In the darkness of the hold he could see only the colours of black and gray, and these melted into one another a few feet from his eyes. Perhaps it had been a rat. He knew rats lived in the holds of ships, eating the stores of grain and whatever else they could find. Slowly the ship rocked him back to sleep.	fis	I:Inf	report	as			
A160.04.36	S to F	They're going to India?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
A160.04.37	F to S	Yep.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.04.38	S to F	Do they have any money?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t			
A160.04.39a	F to S	No.	ds	R:Pos					
A160.04.39b	F to S	I don't think so.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.04.40	S to F	How're they going to eat?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:C:t			
A160.04.41a	F to S	Well, it's an adventure.	fis	R:Chal					
A160.04.41b	F to S	They don't know how it's going to turn out.	fis	R:Chal:C					
A160.04.42	S to F	Sounds like they're pretty stupid to me.	fis	I:Inf	assess	R:Pos:t			
A160.04.43	F to S	Well, maybe so.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.04.44a	S to F	They should plan things better,	ds	I:Inf	assess	as			
A160.04.44b	S to F	What if they starved?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
A160.04.45a	F to S	I guess so,	ds	R:Pos					
A160.04.45b	F to S	But I liked it because they lived in Perth,	fis	I:Inf	report	c			
A160.04.45c	F to S	so I could pretend it was about me.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	R:Pos:C:t			
A160.04.46a	S to F	**nodded**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A160.04.46b	S to F	Oh.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.04.47a	F to S	Actually I had a friend in Perth named Lionel,	fis	I:Inf	report	c			
A160.04.47b	F to S	but I don't think he ever read it.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	as			
A160.04.48	S to F	Why not?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:t			
A160.04.49	F to S	I don't know,	ds	R:Neg					
A160.04.50	S to F	I'll read it after this,	ds	R:Pos					
A160.05.1	M to S	A hundred and four,	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t			
A160.05.2	S to M	Uh-oh.	fis	R:Pos					

A160.05.3	S to F	She doesn't look too good.	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t			
A160.05.4	F to S	No, she doesn't.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.06.1	S to F	Dad!	ds	I:Org	summons	R:Pos:t			
A160.06.2	F to S	**came running up the stairs**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A160.07.1a	D to M	Over in the end,	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A160.07.1b	D to M	Tall and tall and tall.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	c			
A160.07.1c	D to M	And the mag's around.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	R:Pos:t			
A160.07.2	M to D	**petted Nadia's hair**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A160.08.01	F to S	Hey!	**ds**		**tm**				
A160.08.01	F to S	Good book.	fis	I:Inf	assess	as			
A160.08.02	S to F	Where's Mom?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
A160.08.03	F to S	Taking care of business,	ds	R:Pos					
A160.08.04	S to F	How's Nadia?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t			
A160.08.05a	F to S	The same.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.08.05b	F to S	She'll be fine.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.08.06a	S to F	I like this book,	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A160.08.06b	S to F	I like their school.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	I:Inf			
A160.08.07a	F to S	that's a real school, you know,	fis	I:Inf	report	c			
A160.08.07a	F to S	Ah,	**fis**		**tm**				
A160.08.07b	F to S	in Perth, the Palmer School.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	I:Elic			
A160.08.08	S to F	Did you go there?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:C	R:Chal	R:Chal:t	
A160.08.09a	F to S	No.	fis	R:Neg					
A160.08.09b	F to S	It was for rich kids.	fis	R:Neg:C					
A160.08.10	S to F	You were rich.	fis	R:Chal					
A160.08.11	F to S	We were definitely not rich,	ds	R:Chal					
A160.08.12	S to F	Did people really talk like this?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:t			
A160.08.12	S to F	**felt his hair**	**NV**		**delay**				
A160.08.13	F to S	Like what?	fis	I:Elic	clarify	R:Pos:t			
A160.08.14	S to F	Like 'This is a gosh-awful bore.'	fis	R:Pos					
A160.08.15a	F to S	Oh, no way.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.08.15b	F to S	At least no one I knew did.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.08.15c	F to S	I didn't.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.08.16	S to F	What did you talk like?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:R:Pos:t			

A160.08.17a	F to S	Me?	fis	I:Elic	clarify	as			
A160.08.17b	F to S	I don't know.	fis	R:Neg					
A160.08.17c	F to S	We used to say things were shorey.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.08.18	S to F	Shorey?	fis	I:Elic	clarify	R:Pos:t			
A160.08.19	F to S	It meant sort of like cool.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.08.20	S to F	Where'd that come from?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:R:	F1:Ack:t		
A160.08.21a	F to S	I don't know.	fis	R:Neg					
A160.08.21b	F to S	We used to say decent.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.08.21c	F to S	If something was really great, we called it decent.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.08.22	S to F	Mm.	fis	F1:Ack					
A160.09.01	F to S	You haven't moved,	ds	I:Inf	report	I:Inf			
A160.09.02	S to F	Still reading,	ds	I:Inf	report	I:Elic			
A160.09.03	F to S	You like it?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
A160.09.04a	S to F	Yeah.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.09.04b	S to F	They're in Ceylon now.	fis	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t			
A160.09.05	F to S	Uh-huh.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.09.06a	S to F	Which I couldn't figure out where they were,	fis	I:Inf	report	c			
A160.09.06b	S to F	but then I looked it up and figured out it's Sri Lanka.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	I:Elic			
A160.09.07	F to S	Have you gotten to the emir's palace?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:C:t			
A160.09.08a	S to F	Ah,	**fis**		**delay**				
A160.09.08a	S to F	just about, I guess.	fis	R:Neg					
A160.09.08b	S to F	They're still walking around the town.	fis	R:Neg:C					
A160.09.09	F to S	The palace is my favorite part,	ds	I:Inf	report	I:Inf			
A160.09.10	S to F	They're still talking weird,	ds	I:Inf	assess	R:Pos	R:Chal	R:Chal	R:Chal:
					6th turn R:Chal		7th turn R:Pos:t		
A160.09.11	F to S	Like I used to.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.09.12	S to F	You still talk weird.	fis	R:Chal					
A160.09.13	F to S	Ha ha.	fis	R:Chal					
A160.09.14a	S to F	You do,	ds	R:Chal					
A160.09.14b	S to F	Leever. Rahther.	fis	R:Chal:C					
A160.09.15	F to S	Listen, smart guy.	**fis**		**tm**				
A160.09.15	F to S	I've been talking since before you were born.	fis	R:Chal					
A160.09.16	S to F	**laughed**	**NV**	R:Pos:t					

A160.09.17a	F to S	At least I don't talk like those guys.	fis	I:Inf	report	c			
A160.09.17b	F to S	If we'd known anyone who talked like that we'd have beat the crap out of him.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	R:Pos:t			
A160.09.18	S to F	**laughed**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A160.10.01	S to F	When's she coming home?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:R:Pos:C:C:C:t			
A160.10.02a	F to S	Well,	**ds**		**delay**				
A160.10.02a	F to S	we don't know.	ds	R:Neg					
A160.10.02b	F to S	Couple days, probably.	ds	R:Pos					
A160.10.02c	F to S	The infection's in her tongue and up here, in her palate.	ds	R:Pos:C					
A160.10.02d	F to S	Very strange.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.10.03	S to F	I'm excited about Australia now,	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:C:t			
A160.10.04a	F to S	Really?	ds	R:Pos					
A160.10.04b	F to S	Well, good,	ds	R:Pos:C					
A160.10.05a	S to F	We might not go, though, right?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	c			
A160.10.05b	S to F	If Nadia doesn't get better.	fis	I:Elic	confirm:C	R:Pos:C:t			
A160.10.06a	F to S	That's right,	ds	R:Pos					
A160.10.06b	F to S	We might not.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.10.07	S to F	I figured.	fis	I:Inf	report	I:Inf			
A160.10.08	F to S	We'll probably go,	ds	I:Inf	report	I:Inf			
A160.10.09	S to F	I'd like to see your house.	fis	I:Inf	report	I:Elic			
A160.10.10	F to S	You would?	fis	I:Elic	clarify	I:Elic			
A160.10.11	S to F	You think it's still there?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
A160.10.12	F to S	Oh,	**ds**		**delay**				
A160.10.12	F to S	it's probably still around.	ds	R:Pos					
A160.10.13	S to F	Can we go see it?	fis	I:Elic	commit	R:Pos:t			
A160.10.14	F to S	Well, sure.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.10.15	S to F	What'd it look like?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:C:C:t			
A160.10.16a	F to S	it was white when we lived in it,	fis	R:Pos					
A160.10.16a	F to S	Ah--well,	**fis**		**delay**				
A160.10.16a	F to S	**sighed**	**NV**		**delay**				
A160.10.16b	F to S	and it had a little concrete porch,	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.10.16c	F to S	and a little walled-in yard.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.10.16d	F to S	It was pretty tiny.	fis	R:Pos:C					

A160.10.16e	F to S	I had a little bedroom in back that I shared with my sister.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.10.17	S to F	Did you have any friends?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:C:t			
A160.10.18a	F to S	sure.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.10.18a	F to S	Oh,	**fis**		**delay**				
A160.10.18b	F to S	Australian friends, you mean?	fis	I:Elic	clarify	R:Pos:t			
A160.10.19	S to F	Yeah.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.10.20a	F to S	Sure.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.10.20b	F to S	I was telling you about that guy Lionel.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.10.20c	F to S	We didn't go to any special school or anything.	fis	I:Inf	report	c			
A160.10.20d	F to S	It was just the elementary school.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	c			
A160.10.20e	F to S	Primary school.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	as			
A160.10.20f	F to S	I'm excited too, if you can't tell.	fis	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:R:Pos:t			
A160.10.21a	S to F	Yeah.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.10.21b	S to F	**gave a small, wry smirk**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A160.10.22	F to S	You think I'm being silly?	fis	I:Elic	confirm	R:Neg:t			
A160.10.23	S to F	No.	fis	R:Neg					
A160.10.24	F to S	Did I ever tell you about the streetcars?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
A160.10.25	S to F	Just about a billion times.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.10.26a	F to S	We used to have a picnic on Christmas morning,	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A160.10.26b	F to S	The seasons are reversed down there, you know.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	c			
A160.10.26c	F to S	We used to have turkey sandwiches and go out to the beach.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	I:Inf			
A160.10.27	S to F	You told me that, too,	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t			
A160.10.28a	F to S	**called out laughing**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A160.10.28b	F to S	I want a book report on my desk by tomorrow!	ds	I:Elic	commit	an			
A160.11.01	F to S	Going somewhere?	ds	I:Elic	confirm	R:Neg:t			
A160.11.02	S to F	Nope.	fis	R:Neg					
A160.11.03	F to S	What are you doing?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos	F1:End:t		
A160.11.04	S to F	I'm writing a sequel to that book.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.11.05	F to S	You are?	fis	F1:End					
A160.11.06	S to F	I've got a good plot.	fis	I:Inf	report	I:Elic			
A160.11.07	F to S	What?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C	F1:End:t		
A160.11.08a	S to F	I think I'm going to have them get kidnapped,	ds	R:Pos					
A160.11.08b	S to F	It's going to be an Australian adventure.	fis	R:Pos:C					

A160.11.09a	F to S	Neat,	ds	F1:End				
A160.11.09b	F to S	You finished the book?	fis	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t		
A160.11.10	S to F	I finished it at school today.	ds	R:Pos				
A160.11.11	F to S	Liked it?	fis	I:Elic	confirm	R:Neg	F1:Con:t	
A160.11.12	S to F	I thought the ending was pretty stupid.	fis	R:Neg				
A160.11.13a	F to S	Mm.	fis	F1:Con				
A160.11.13b	F to S	I actually forget what happens at the end.	fis	I:Inf	report	I:Inf		
A160.11.14a	S to F	It was stupid.	fis	I:Inf	assess	c		
A160.11.14b	S to F	They just went home and nobody's noticed they were gone.	fis	I:Inf	assess:C	R:Pos:t		
A160.11.15	F to S	Oh, yeah,	ds	R:Pos				
A160.11.16	S to F	And they'd been gone like a year or something.	fis	I:Inf	assess:C	R:Pos:C:t		
A160.11.17a	F to S	I remember that.	fis	R:Pos				
A160.11.17b	F to S	That was stupid.	fis	R:Pos:C				
A160.11.18	S to F	So I'm going to write a sequel.	fis	I:Inf	report	I:Elic		
A160.11.19	F to S	You'd better have a better ending.	fis	I:Elic	commit	R:Neg:C:t		
A160.11.20a	S to F	I haven't figured that part out yet,	ds	R:Neg				
A160.11.20b	S to F	I'm just determining their route.	fis	R:Neg:C				
A160.11.20c	S to F	I know how I'm going to start it, though.	fis	I:Inf	report	I:Elic		
A160.11.21	F to S	How?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos	F1:End:t	
A160.11.22	S to F	Well,	**fis**		**delay**			
A160.11.22	S to F	I think they're going to get kidnapped by a guy who needs little kids for a burglary because they can fit through some bars that	fis	R:Pos				
A160.11.23	F to S	Not bad.	fis	F1:End				
A160.11.24a	S to F	Then they're going to go rob this museum for him,	fis	I:Inf	report	c		
A160.11.24b	S to F	except they take something they're not supposed to take,	fis	I:Inf	report:C	c		
A160.11.24c	S to F	and then they get in trouble for some reason.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	R:Pos:t		
A160.11.25	F to S	Uh-huh.	fis	R:Pos				
A160.11.26	S to F	After that I don't know.	fis	I:Inf	report	I:Inf		
A160.11.27a	F to S	Sounds better than the first book,	ds	I:Inf	assess	as		
A160.11.27b	F to S	Will I get to read it?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos	F1:End:t	
A160.11.28	S to F	I guess so.	fis	R:Pos				
A160.11.29a	F to S	Good.	fis	F1:End				
A160.11.29b	F to S	I hope you're not mad about not going this year.	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t		

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A160.11.30a	S to F	No, I'm not mad.	ds	R:Pos					
A160.11.30b	S to F	I'm disappointed,	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A160.11.30c	S to F	I wanted to do some research.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	R:Pos:t			
A160.11.31	F to S	Sure.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.11.32	S to F	Also, I wanted you to go.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	R:Pos:t			
A160.11.33	F to S	Oh you did.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.11.34	S to F	I think you'd have had a really good time.	fis	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t			
A160.11.35	F to S	I do too,	ds	R:Pos					
A160.11.35	F to S	Well,	**ds**		**delay**				
A160.11.36	S to F	I think it'd have been good for Mom, too.	fis	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t			
A160.11.37	F to S	probably.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.11.37	F to S	Well,	**fis**		**delay**				
A160.11.38	S to F	She's been pretty cranky lately,	ds	I:Inf	assess	I:Inf			
A160.11.39	F to S	She's got a tough job,	ds	I:Inf	report	I:Inf			
A160.11.40	S to F	I think she needs a vacation.	fis	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t			
A160.11.41	F to S	Me too,	ds	R:Pos					
A160.11.42	S to F	You should take her somewhere,	ds	I:Elic	commit	R:Pos:t			
A160.11.43	F to S	Huh.	**fis**		**delay**				
A160.11.43	F to S	Where?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t			
A160.11.44a	S to F	Take her to Idaho or something.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.11.44b	S to F	Someplace weird.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.11.45a	F to S	Yeah.	ds	R:Pos					
A160.11.45b	F to S	I've been cranky too, though,	ds	I:Inf	self-crit	c			
A160.11.45c	F to S	I don't know if she'd want to go with me.	fis	I:Inf	self-crit:C	R:Pos:C:t			
A160.11.46a	S to F	Mm.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.11.46b	S to F	Maybe not.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.11.47a	F to S	I liked how you came and read to your sister	ds	I:Inf	compliment	as			
A160.11.47b	F to S	Her fever's getting better.	fis	I:Inf	report	as			
A160.11.48	S to F	That Dustin kid gives me the creeps,	ds	I:Inf	assess	I:Elic			
A160.11.49	F to S	Why?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
A160.11.50	S to F	He was like making faces at me the whole time.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.11.51	F to S	You see his leg?	fis	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t			
A160.11.52a	S to F	Yeah.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.11.52b	S to F	Gross.	fis	I:Inf	assess	c			

A160.11.52c	S to F	Also he kept trying to interrupt me.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	I:Inf			
A160.11.53	F to S	I think he's probably pretty bored.	fis	I:Inf	report	R:Chal:t			
A160.11.54a	S to F	No excuse to be rude,	ds	R:Chal					
A160.11.54b	S to F	**laughed**	**NV**	I:Inf	express				
A160.11.54c	S to F	Mom wants to throw him out the window.	fis	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t			
A160.11.55	F to S	I know.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.11.56a	S to F	Aaaaah!	fis	I:Inf	express	c			
A160.11.56b	S to F	**splatted himself on the carpet**	**NV**	I:Inf	express:C	c			
A160.11.56c	S to F	I'm dayuhd,	ds	I:Inf	express:C	an			
A160.12.1	D to F	Your nose is all sharp.	is	I:Inf	report	as			
A160.12.2a	F to D	Ssh ssh,	is	I:Dir	instruct	c			
A160.12.2b	F to D	Listen	is	I:Dir	instruct:C	an			
A160.12.2c	F to D	reads story 156 words	nrsa	I:Inf	report	an			
A160.13.1a	F to S	told him	nrsa	I:Inf	report	an			
A160.13.1b	F to S	A week in San Diego,	ds	I:Req	offer	c			
A160.13.1c	F to S	A consolation prize.	fis	I:Req	offer:C	R:Pos:t			
A160.13.2	S to F	When would I leave?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:C:t			
A160.13.3a	F to S	You could leave right after Christmas, if you wanted.	fis	R:Pos					
A160.13.3b	F to S	Next weekend.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A160.13.4	S to F	**stopped unpacking**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A160.13.5a	F to S	I know it's not the same,	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A160.13.5b	F to S	**put my hand on my son's notebook**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	R:Pos:t			
A160.13.6	S to F	**began packing again**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A160.13.7	F to S	Your grandma'd really like to see you,	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Pos:t			
A160.13.8	S to F	That'd be fun,	ds	R:Pos					
A160.14.1	D to F	Are they rich?	is	I:Elic	confirm	R:Pos:t			
A160.14.2	F to D	You bet they're rich.	is	R:Pos					
A168.1.1	F to D	First daughter	ds	I:Org	summons	R:Chal:t			
A168.1.2a	D to F	Go away, Baba,	ds	R:Chal					
A168.1.2b	D to F	You said she would get better,	ds	I:Inf	criticize	c			
A168.1.2c	D to F	Now you're burning paper money for her ghost.	ds	I:Inf	criticize:C	c			
A168.1.2d	D to F	What good will that do?	ds	I:Inf	criticize:C	I:Inf			
A168.1.3	F to D	I am sorry,	ds	I:Inf	express	R:Chal:t			
A168.1.4	D to F	I don't care.	ds	R:Chal					

A168.2.01a	F to D	They should arrive in half an hour,	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A168.2.01b	F to D	They won't be early.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	c			
A168.2.01c	F to D	Americans are never early.	fis	I:Inf	report:C	I:Inf			
A168.2.02	D to F	I'm going to Jodie's house,	ds	I:Inf	report	R:Chal:R:	R:Chal	R:Chal	R:Chal:
A168.2.03a	F to D	**frowned**	**NV**	R:Chal					
A168.2.03b	F to D	I want you to stay while they're here.	fis	R:Chal					
A168.2.03c	F to D	We might need something from the kitchen.	fis	R:Chal:C					
A168.2.04	D to F	Claudia can get it for them.	fis	R:Chal					
A168.2.05	F to D	She's barely tall enough to reach the cabinets.	fis	R:Chal					
A168.2.06a	D to F	**stood up, clenched her dustcloth**	**NV**	R:Chal					
A168.2.06b	D to F	I don't care,	ds	R:Chal:C					
A168.2.06c	D to F	I hate meeting those men.	fis	I:Inf	express	R:Chal:C	R:Chal:C:C:t		
A168.2.07a	F to D	They're successful American scientists.	fis	R:Chal					
A168.2.07b	F to D	You'd be better off with them instead of running around with your teenage friends, these sloppy kids, these rich white kids who dress like beggars.	fis	R:Chal:C					
A168.2.08a	D to F	You're nuts, Dad,	ds	R:Chal					
A168.2.08b	D to F	You're nuts if you think these bosses of yours are ever going to do anything for you or any of us.	fis	R:Chal:C					
A168.2.08c	D to F	**threw her dustcloth, hard, into our … wastebasket**	**NV**	R:Chal:C					
A168.2.09	F to D	Speak to me with respect.	fis	I:Dir	instruct	R:Chal:t			
A168.2.10	D to F	You don't deserve it!	fis	R:Chal					
A168.2.11a	F to D	You are staying in this apartment!	fis	I:Dir	instruct	c			
A168.2.11b	F to D	That is an order!	fis	I:Dir	instruct:C	R:Chal:t			
A168.2.12a	D to F	I wish you'd died instead of Mama!	ds	I:Inf	criticize	as			
A168.2.12b	D to F	**ran out of the room**	**NV**	R:Chal					
A168.2.13	F to D	**stared at her**	**NV**		delay				
A168.2.13	F to D	**stepped toward her, reached … at her flying braid,**	**NV**	I:Dir	threat	R:Chal	F1:Con:t		
A168.2.14	D to F	cried out as if he struck her	nrsa	R:Chal					
A168.2.15	F to D	**hands dropped to his sides**	**NV**	F1:Con					
A168.3.1	F to D	What are you doing?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:t			
A168.3.2a	D to F	**shook my head**	**NV**	R:Neg					
A168.3.2b	D to F	Is Guijie why you didn't go play bridge tonight, Baba?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Neg:t			
A168.3.3a	F to D	No, Claudia,	ds	R:Neg					

A168.3.3b	F to D	I stopped playing bridge last week.	fis	I:Inf	report	I:Elic			
A168.3.4	D to F	Why?	fis	I:Elic	inform	R:Chal:R:	F1:Con:t		
A168.3.5	F to D	It's not important,	ds	R:Chal					
A168.3.6	D to F	Okay.	fis	F1:Con					
A168.3.7a	F to D	I'm getting old,	ds	R:Pos					
A168.3.7b	F to D	Someone ten years younger was just promoted over me.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A168.3.7c	F to D	I'm not going to try to keep up with them anymore.	fis	R:Pos:C					
A190.1.1a	M to S	Oh, baby, oh, my precious baby.	ds	I:Inf	express	as			
A190.1.1a	M to S	Teddy,	**ds**		**tm**				
A190.1.1b	M to S	Eric tried to kill me.	ds	I:Inf	report	c			
A190.1.1c	M to S	He pushed me down the stairs.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Chal:C:C:t			
A190.1.2a	S to M	No, he didn't.	ds	R:Chal					
A190.1.2b	S to M	**withdrew from her side**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	as			
A190.1.2c	S to M	He didn't do anything to you.	ds	R:Chal:C					
A190.1.2d	S to M	I went with him.	ds	R:Chal:C					
A190.1.2e	S to M	Why didn't you have any clothes on?	ds	I:Elic	inform	R:Pos:t			
A190.1.3a	M to S	Because I was asleep when he came and made me leave.	ds	R:Pos					
A190.1.3b	M to S	He pushed me and I fell down the stairs.	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Chal:t			
A190.1.4a	S to M	You probably had a hangover.	ds	R:Chal					
A190.1.4b	S to M	I'm going to Mandeville.	ds	I:Inf	report	as			
A190.1.4c	S to M	I'll see you later.	ds	I:Inf	express	as			
A190.1.4c	S to M	Well	**ds**		**tm**				
A190.1.5a	M to S	Teddy,	**ds**		**tm**				
A190.1.5a	M to S	come here to me.	ds	I:Dir	instruct	an			
A190.1.5b	M to S	You have to do something for me.	ds	I:Elic	commit	c			
A190.1.5c	M to S	Tell Granddaddy and Uncle Ingersol that Eric is trying to kill	ds	I:Elic	commit:C	c			
A190.1.5d	M to S	Tell them,	ds	I:Elic	commit:C	c			
A190.1.5e	M to S	will you, my darling?	ds	I:Elic	commit:C	c			
A190.1.5f	M to S	Tell them for me.	ds	I:Elic	commit:C	an			
A190.1.5g	M to S	**reached out a hand for him**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	R:Pos:t			
A190.1.6	S to M	**went back to the bed and held out his arm**	**NV**	R:Pos					
A190.1.7a	M to S	**stroked it.**	**NV**	I:Inf	express	an			
A190.1.7b	M to S	Be sure and tell them.	ds	I:Elic	commit	c			
A190.1.7c	M to S	Tell them to call the President.	ds	I:Elic	commit:C	an			

A197.1.1	D to M	**ring the bell**	**NV**	I:Org	summons	R:Pos:t		
A197.1.2	M to D	**come**	**NV**	R:Pos				
A197.1.3	D to F	**ring the bell**	**NV**	I:Org	summons	R:Pos:t		
A197.1.4	F to D	**come**	**NV**	R:Pos				
A205.1.1a	D to F	He's been telling us stories about you, Dad,	ds	I:Inf	report	c		
A205.1.1b	D to F	when you were young	ds	I:Inf	report:C	R:Neg	R:Chal:t	
A205.1.2	M to D	Your father's still a young man.	ds	R:Neg				
A205.1.3	D to M	Forty-six is hardly young.	ds	R:Chal				
A205.1.3	D to M	Oh please,	**ds**		tm			
A205.1.4	F to D	**made a little motion with his head**	**NV**	I:Dir	instruct	R:Chal:C:C:t		
A205.1.5a	D to F	I want to stay up,	ds	R:Chal				
A205.1.5b	D to F	I want to hear about all the trouble you used to get into.	ds	R:Chal:C				
A205.1.6	D to F	Pleeease,	ds	R:Chal:C				

AUTHOR'S BIOGRAPHY

Robert Allen Troyer was born 1971 in Oregon. In 1994 he completed a Bachelor of Science in Secondary Education / Interdisciplinary Studies (with an English Language Arts teaching certification) from Western Oregon State College, and he began teaching literature and composition at Amity High School. During the following years, he continued his studies at Western Oregon University. Having written a thesis titled, "Writing in Oregon's Secondary English Courses: Standards for Style and Methods of Instruction," he received his Master of Arts in Teaching in 1999 and presented his research at the national conference of the Assembly of Teachers of English Grammar (ATEG).

From 1999 to 2000 he taught English at Chouiefat International School, Cairo, Egypt. In 2001 he accepted a position as English Literature and Language Instructor at Chiang Mai International School in Chiang Mai, Thailand. In 2004 he moved to Bangkok to begin Ph.D. research in the English as an International Language Program at Chulalongkorn University. During the next three years he taught a variety of ESL courses at Chulalongkorn University Language Institute, co-authored two locally published ESL textbooks, and presented his work in literary stylistics at the annual Poetics and Linguistics Association (PALA) conference in 2006 (Finland) and 2007 (Japan). His paper from the 2006 conference, "Dialogue and Discourse Structure: A Speech Move Analysis of Sherman Alexie's Story 'What You Pawn I Will Redeem'" is forthcoming in Greg Watson (ed), *PALA Papers V*, Amsterdam: Rodopi.

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