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Pragmatics and the consequentiality of talk: A study of members' methods at a planning application meeting.

Kelly D. Glover

Abstract

This study explores how *talk is consequential* by examining the sequential and pragmatic phenomena in talk-in-interaction. Reflecting the work of conversation analysis (CA), the approach assumes that the consequentiality of a 'context' must be demonstrated by the informants' sequential practices (cf. Schegloff 1987, Boden and Zimmerman 1991). However, in this study a *model of consequentiality* is proposed, in which not only sequential phenomena but also pragmatic categories are included within the repertoire of *members' methods*. In this way, the indexicality of language as explained by pragmatic theory is seen to contribute to the account of talk as consequential.

The data represent a meeting between an urban planning department and a national development company in which a planning application is discussed. As such, members' methods are seen to invoke the institutional nature of the encounter, in which the formality of the setting and the work-related membership of the interactants is systematically oriented to. The talk consists of a series of negotiated issues in which the developers and the planners propose different *candidate outcomes* reflecting each party's professional aims and the constraints they consider themselves to operate under. In particular, the analysis shows that candidate outcomes are largely managed by sequential *preference* systems and pragmatically characterized face-address (Brown and Levinson 1978,1987).

The notion of *reflexivity* is also seen as a significant component in the study of consequentiality. While the concept is a basic assumption in a CA framework (Garfinkel and Sacks 1969) and is also recognized as fundamental in pragmatic inquiry (Lucy 1993), few studies provide a detailed analysis of members' reflexive awareness of the contexts they create. In this study, the interactants' metalinguistic and metapragmatic orientation, invoked by both pragmatic and sequential methods, is shown to be a prevalent members' resource for indicating awareness of consequentiality. Finally, observations of the kind made in this thesis, wherein pragmatic categories both work together and are systematically related to the sequential environment, contribute to a general re-analysis of pragmatic meaning. At the same time, the interaction of pragmatic and sequential features also represents a dynamic starting point for developing new methodological categories for investigating talk-in-interaction.

A thesis submitted
for the degree of PhD

Pragmatics and the consequentiality of talk: A study of members' methods at a planning application meeting

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1995

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18 MAR 1996

For my family

Mom, Dad, Chris, Dustin
and Andrew

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I confirm that no part of the material offered has previously been submitted by me for a degree in this or in any other University.

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Introduction

Talk as consequential

To analyze *talk as consequential* is to study the relationship between language and context. For example, in what way does the age, gender, race or educational background of the participants influence the communication process and affect the nature of the activity taking place? If these are contexts, then are they relevant to the encounter as *external* variables or are they *internally* invoked by the participants' interactional practices? In other words, do social structural contexts determine the interaction or are they determined by it?

The analysis of talk as consequential favors the latter position, wherein conversational strategies are seen to index contextual matters (Schegloff 1987, Boden and Zimmerman 1991; Duranti and Goodwin 1992; Firth 1995a). This perspective reflects the conversation analytic (CA) approach, in which talk is viewed as a fundamental social action and the basis by which social structural contexts are created. That is to say, rather than being regulated by an abstract, internalized social order, people construct the social world through their everyday actions. In this way, sociality is seen to be an *accomplished* and *occasioned* phenomenon and language use is viewed as a primary means of orienting to a cultural or social context.

Conversation analysis derives from the sociological field of ethnomethodology (Garfinkel

1967), which aims to explain the practical *methods* people use to construct their everyday activities. The mutual understanding of these methods relies on the concept of *membership*: the notion that people exhibit common social behaviors as a way of identifying group affiliation, so that 'unusual' conduct may be explained in terms of other membership categories, e.g., 'child' or 'foreigner'. The means of demonstrating membership are recognized in the actions referred to as *members' methods*—the interactional strategies available to all social actors. The study of how these methods are used on a moment by moment basis is inherent in the analysis of talk as consequential:

> Thus to study the consequentiality of communication is to envision a world composed of a continuous process of meaning production, rather than conditions antecedent and subsequent to this production. To study the consequentiality of communication is to take seriously—for purposes of description and analysis—a world sustained by persons behaving, engaged in the negotiation and renegotiation of messages, not a world of a priori (or a posteriori) cognitive states, cultural rules, social roles or the like.
>
> Sigman 1995:2

In this way, language is viewed as inherently *indexical* (Garfinkel and Sacks 1969[1986]), in that contexts may be indexed by people's linguistic behavior.

As the analysis of consequentiality involves accounting for the methods used to invoke a context, this thesis focuses on the means we have of describing the most basic systems of language in use: *sequential and pragmatic methods.* This will be shown to be an original perspective to the extent that the consequentiality of talk is demonstrated in the analysis of sequential and pragmatic methods as fundamentally interdependent. On one hand, the sequential analysis of talk, reflecting the work of CA, relates to the turn by turn construction

of conversation. On the other, a pragmatic analysis explains a speaker's orientation to the world and, as such, represents the principal linguistic explanation of the role context plays in language use and understanding. In this way, the analysis of consequentiality becomes a study of the 'world as it happens' (Boden 1990), as an achievement of the sense-making work of sequential methods, reflecting the means by which language is the representation of intention and action. Furthermore, by integrating a pragmatic analysis with the conversation analytic approach, this study contributes to a theory of context as relevant to both sociological and linguistic inquiry.

A study of talk as consequential shows that linguistic interaction has a definite outcome and manifests 'real world' consequences. The data examined in this thesis illustrate the ways in which language is used to invoke a specific orientation to a relevant outcome. In particular, the data represent a meeting between an urban planning department and a national development company where a planning application is negotiated. Not only do the data exemplify a social structural context simply by virtue of being an instance of social interaction, but the topic of the talk is a 'real world' social structural context: the planning and development of a housing estate. Moreover, the seven participants in the meeting are seen to recognize the consequences of their talk as relevant for themselves, for the other party and for the wider social structure.

The decision to study this topic initially emerged from an interest in how language, as a cultural activity, is a tool of social organization. As such, the study became one which centered on the way language use not only reflects culture but is a device for constructing it. In the course of the data collection, it became apparent that the planning meeting served as an ideal motif relating to the way in which the social structure is *planned* and *developed*

through language. Furthermore, this interaction seemed to demonstrate four classical tensions involving central dilemmas of the human experience. For the author, the interesting feature in this observation is that these philosophical tensions are not abstract but are clearly exemplified in the ordinary talk of planner—developer interaction:

- Man vs. Man: The labels of 'planner' and 'developer' convey the necessary difference between the two categories of participant in the meeting. In particular, their individual actions are seen to clearly reflect their specific professional aims and motivations—goals which are often inherently at odds with one another.
- Man vs. Government: The authority of the planners represents a mode of social control that is naturally antagonistic to notions of individual freedom of action. That is to say, the planners enforce statutory restrictions and safeguard relevant local planning policies.
- Man vs. Society/Community: The resultant work of the planners and developers directly concerns the society at large, and this concern affects the subsequent outcome of their work. In this case, the local residents voiced their opinion at public hearings and caused prior decisions regarding the development to be reversed.
- Man vs. Nature: Taking into account the natural features of the landscape is an inherent feature of planner and developer work. As such, 'engineers' and 'architects' have to respect geological contours and take into account environmental concerns.

While these philosophical dilemmas are too remote to be analyzed in this study, the issues negotiated in the planning meeting may be seen to directly represent these tensions.

To conclude, the chosen means of analysis—the interaction of sequential and pragmatic phenomena—served as another motivation for conducting this study. That is to say, without this interdisciplinary approach, each area was seen to lack significant theoretical and methodological tools of analysis. As such, the methodology also becomes, in some sense, the topic of the thesis, so that a *sequential pragmatics* is shown to be central to the study of talk as consequential.

An outline of contents

In the above, it was suggested that combining the insights gained from conversation analysis and pragmatic theory provides the analyst with a principled and extensive methodology for examining contexts invoked by linguistic interaction. In investigating this theme, it is necessary to consider the composition of these two areas in order to justify their integration. In this way, the approach to the research and the analysis itself is clarified.

I. Preliminaries to the research and analysis

Chapter 1 explores how the traditional definition of *context* is problematic and, in line with CA methodology, concludes that a context is consequential only when the participants can be shown to relevantly orient to it. This orientation is seen as primarily invoked by members' interactional strategies, i.e. the underlying sequential and pragmatic methods displayed in the talk. A discussion of these ostensible systems is then provided.

Chapter 2 reviews the historical development of the position taken in this thesis regarding *context* by considering both conversation analytic and pragmatic explanations.

II. Approach to the research and analysis

Chapter 3 introduces the planning meeting data by providing ethnographic information relevant to the particular planning application in question. The activity type is then characterized as an *institutional* event and viewed against current studies of work-related talk.

Chapter 4 discusses qualitative research with specific reference to conversation analysis. A *model of consequentiality* is postulated as a methodology to demonstrate how talk invokes social structural categories through the interface of pragmatic and sequential features. In particular, the model accounts for how these systems are used by interactants to indicate a particular orientation to a context.

III. Doing the research and analysis

Chapter 5 examines the procedural quality of members' interactive methods in the planning meeting. The analysis focuses on the *sequential pragmatics* of the data and, in doing so illustrates the kind of 'empirical pragmatics' called for by Bilmes (1993) and Kopytko (1995). Chapters 5 and 6 are the core analysis chapters and illustrate how the model accounts for the data.

Chapter 6 illustrates a further dimension of the model by demonstrating the interactants' *reflexive* awareness of the contexts they produce and of their consequentiality. That is

to say, the metalinguistic and metapragmatic functions of language are shown to be an extensive and inherent feature of participant orientation to social interaction, so that the analysis addresses the need identified by Lucy to establish a framework where it is "possible to characterize more precisely the nature of any given reflexive use" (1993:29).

IV. Considering the research and analysis

Chapter 7 provides an inventory of the findings accounted for by the *model of consequentiality* and discusses the implications of the research and the research methodology.

Chapter 1

Language and context: sequential systems and pragmatic models

A study of talk as consequential requires an understanding of the theoretical relationship between language and context. This chapter discusses the traditional definition of the term *context* and the methodological problems associated with it. In addition, the basic elements of conversational organization and the ostensible categories of pragmatic inquiry are reviewed. These systems inform the analysis of the planning meeting in that they are considered the basic means of constructing talk and, in doing so, orienting to context. In short, they constitute the basic repertoire of members methods. Describing them is the point from which the analysis of the consequentiality of talk begins.

1.1 Context as consequential

Despite definitional problems associated with the notion of *context*, the concept is considered central to the analysis of linguistic interaction. In view of the emerging analytic difficulty associated with identifying *relevant* contextual features, the *micro* analysis of context and, in particular, the conversation analytic approach is seen as contributing a solution to the

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theoretical problem associated with defining context.

Definition: the centrality of context: Traditionally defined, the term *context* in relation to language use refers to the entire range of utterance-external variables (Ochs 1979). In this broad sense, the study of context includes literally all human activity (Davis 1991:3), so that "the term *context* is understood to cover the identities of the participants, the temporal and spatial parameters of the speech event...the beliefs, knowledge, intentions of the participants in that speech event, and no doubt much else besides" (Levinson 1983:5). As such, *context* is typically understood in conjunction with a *focal event*, which represents the phenomenon being contextualized (Goodwin and Duranti 1992:3). In this way, context involves the relationship between two factors: (1) the focal event, or *figure*, and (2) the field of action within which the event is set, or *ground*. These dimensions allow for *framing* or providing a prototypical example of context, which accounts for the way the same conduct can be differently interpreted, e.g., animals biting in a play frame rather than a hostile one (ibid:24). Indeed, this juxtaposition of two interdependent domains typifies the Latin origin of the word *contextus*, meaning 'a joining together', so that the focal event and the surrounding context are seen to combine to create a larger whole. Despite the inclusive nature of the definition, the relationship between two sets of phenomena—a linguistic behavior and a background context—poses problems for analysis with regard to the question of "where is the boundary to be drawn between context and the behavior it is a context to" (Goodwin and Duranti 1992:4). In particular, a broad definition of context is problematic in that relevant contextual features are seen as "indefinitely expandable" (Schegloff 1987:218) and thus defy systematic or principled delimitation.

Problem: context as indefinitely expandable Given the potentially infinite scope of context, the means by which the relevant contextual features are to be determined represents a source of methodological debate in sociology (e.g., Alexander et al. 1987) and among linguists (e.g., Levinson 1983:5ff; Duranti and Goodwin 1992). In sociology, this difficulty is reflected in the *macro–micro* controversy. The traditional, or macro view, of context derives from the Parsonian notion that a larger, external social order is internalized by social actors, who are then regulated by those norms and values (Heritage 1984). The macro view of contextual features lends itself to statistical analysis and other quantitative correlations between features of context and observable behaviors or events. The micro concept of context, on the other hand, contends that the social world is achieved through peoples' own organizing actions and is thus an interactive accomplishment. The work of conversation analysis epitomizes such a methodology by demonstrating the relevance of a context when orientation to context is claimed.

Solution: the micro analysis of context: Within the CA perspective, traditional contextual generalizations (e.g., age, gender, cultural and ethnic background) are seen as abstract, so that determining their relevance at any point in the interaction is regarded as problematical. Instead, it is the interactional strategies, or the *sequential phenomena* of talk which are seen to constitute the *primary* context of the social structure (Schegloff 1987). The system of turn-taking (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974) is a particular example in that it "operates in, and partly organizes, what would appear to be the primordial site of sociality: the direct interaction between persons" (Schegloff 1987:208). Various terms have been used to refer to the distinction between the 'external' social categorization of

context and the 'internal' conversational display of context. These include, for example, *conventions* and *mechanisms* (Wilson 1991), *ritual* and *system* (Goffman 1976)[1], *distal* and *proximal* (Mehan 1991), *exogenous* and *endogenous* (Heritage 1984). With regard to micro analysis, 'distal' contexts, such as statutory constraints, have been shown to influence the 'proximal' construction of talk (Mehan 1991). In this sense, the methods or the 'mechanisms' of talk are regarded as basic and context free, although "the social-structural matters that are the objects of members' recognition and accounting are conventional" (Wilson 1991:26). More radically, Heritage argues that analysis should not rely on 'exogenous' or external interpretative resources such as participant background knowledge. An alternative is to consider context as "*endogenously* generated within the talk of the participants and, indeed, as something created in and through that talk" (1984:281). Despite these different approaches to micro analysis, all micro studies share the notion that language is *indexical*, so that explicating what is indexed and how this is done become the primary focus of investigation.

Summary

As a result of the problems associated with analyzing *context*, the following factors act as an analyst guideline for determining the boundaries by which a micro analysis of context is conducted (Goodwin and Duranti 1992:4-6):

1. Context is analyzed from the perspective of the participant(s). In this way, the relevant context is that which is treated by the language users as significant.

[1]See Schegloff 1988 for a critical analysis of Goffman's emphasis on 'ritual' rather than 'system'.

2. The analysis of context is seen as best studied through the indigenous activities of social actors, so that the behavior is not examined in isolation, or as a constructed environment.

3. Context can only be analyzed adequately under the recognition that it is dynamic and mutable and dependent upon how participants perceive and organize situations. Thus, social actors are seen to be involved in multiple contexts which undergo rapid changes in the moment by moment performance of an activity. For example, a basic element of context is the participants' attention to the other social actors involved in the event, representing the *interactive* dimension of language. As such, informants are seen to reshape the contexts within an interaction as a result of the actions invoked by the co-participant(s).

The above criteria reflect the methodological stance taken in this thesis, in which *members' methods* are seen to constitute basic contexts from which social variables including structures and outcomes are invoked, encoded or attended to (Schegloff 1987). While Schegloff's own work focuses on sequential systems as members' methods, this thesis argues that pragmatic structures are also a component of members' methods which equally index or encode context.

The two following sections examine a number of central concepts significant to both conversational and pragmatic analyses of language use. While sequential mechanisms provide a context free interpretative framework for understanding conversational contributions, the indexical properties of pragmatic phenomena demonstrate the role of inference and 'context' in language comprehension.

1.2 Talk-in-interaction

In a series of papers beginning in the late 1960s and proceeding through the 1970s, Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff, Gail Jefferson and a number of co-researchers described the basic mechanisms underlying talk-in-interaction. This section first outlines the basic theoretical framework of CA and then describes the essential features of a speech exchange system. These include, for example, the production of utterance types, referred to as *adjacency pairs*, the *preference* structure of talk, and the orderly means of dealing with sources of trouble in understanding through the organization of *repair*.

1.2.1 Sequential meaning

From Schegloff's important observation that the "*microdomain* shows extraordinary invariance across massive variations in social structural, cultural, and linguistic context and relatively minor variations fitted to change those variations in context" (1987:213), it is suggested that "*modes of interactional organization might themselves be treated as contexts*" (ibid:221; original emphasis). As such, the following concepts are relevant to the analysis of members' methods as primary contexts which create the social world:

- **Interaction as context sensitive and context free**: While talk is sensitive to the context of prior talk, the mechanisms and strategies enabling talk are fundamental and independent of external context (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). In this sense, the interpretation of a context is *locally managed* through the ongoing sequences of talk as an interactively constituted phenomenon.
- **Interaction as recipient designed**: The principle of *recipient design* refers to "a multitude of respects in which the talk by a party in a conversation is constructed or designed in ways which display an orientation and sensitivity to the particular other(s) who are the co-participants" (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974:727). Recipient

design is realized in topic selection, lexical choice, ordering of sequences and methods, admissibility, etc (cf. Bell 1984).

- **Interaction as procedurally consequential**: Because contextual features are "indefinitely expandable" (Schegloff 1987:218), a principled analysis cannot simply invoke any contextual feature to explain a spate of talk. While Sacks (1972) discussed the *relevance problem* for person categorization, Schegloff (1987,1991,1992a) extends the problem to situational context in order to show how a social category must have direct *procedural consequentiality* to the organization of the interaction. For example, if the context of 'doctor' or 'teacher' is selected, it remains to be shown that the participants make the appropriate *consequential* link to the context in a hospital or in a classroom. In this way, the *procedures* by which an interaction is organized demonstrate the participant orientation to a context. The principle of procedural consequentiality is the basis by which a CA methodology accounts for the notion of 'context'.

Thus, the various interactional strategies available to language users (e.g, *adjacency sequences, repair, preference systems*) are seen as notable social objects regardless of 'external' context. The primary sequential system is represented by the turn-taking model through which all other organizational devices occurs.

1.2.2 Turn-taking organization

The ground-breaking work of conversational description is Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's (1974) model of turn design outlined in 'A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking in conversation'. The underlying principle of the turn-taking model is that all its features are *locally managed*, so that the system operates on a turn-by-turn basis concentrating on a single transition at a time.

The mechanism of talk that organizes turn-taking in conversation may be described as an allocational system. As such, a unit of talk, or a *turn constructional unit*, is the syntactic device used by speakers to construct and allocate turns. The system allocates a single turn unit at a time to an individual speaker who then has exclusive rights to 'the floor'. The

end of each unit, or the *transitional relevance place* (TRP), is the point where speakers may change. At this juncture, a set of ordered rules apply, governing the allocation of turns in the following order (ibid: 704):

- RULE 1: Applies at the first TRP of any turn.
  a) The current speaker selects next speaker.
  b) If the current speaker does not indicate a next speaker, then any other speaker may self-select.
  c) If no party is selected and no one self-selects, then the current speaker may, but need not, continue.
- RULE 2: If the current speaker applies rule 1(c) and continues to hold the floor, then at the next TRP rules 1 (a)-(c) will re-apply. Thus, there is a recursive application of the features of rule 1 at all subsequent TRPs until a speaker change is made.

A primary observation of turn taking in conversation is that one participant talks at a time—accounted for by a system which allocates one turn to a single speaker. Though the number of participants can vary, the system favors small parties, so that in encounters with four or more participants, one conversation may predictably break into more than one, constituting a **schism**.

While short **overlaps** are common, they have a systematic basis as they typically occur close to a TRP, e.g., speakers may overlap in competing to self-select when initiating rule 1(b). At times, overlaps occur where the TRP is accompanied with, e.g., a term of address ('...dear'), an item of etiquette ('...sir'), a tag assertion ('...you know') or a tag question ('...havenche'). An important feature of a unit of talk is its **projectability**. This enables participants to predict the shape or character of a turn so that in "the course of its construction, any sentential unit will rapidly (in conversation) reveal projectable directions and conclusions"

(ibid:709). This aspect accounts for the speed at which speaker transition takes place. Thus, another basis for *overlap* will be the *projectability* of the turn's possible completion:

1) A: Well if you knew my argument why did you bother to a://sk
   B: //Because
      I would like to defend my argument
      (In Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974)

Speaker transitions with no *gap* or with *overlap* are common. Rule 1(b) and (c) also allow for the possibility of a *gap*, while the non-application of rule 1(a)-(c) constitute a *lapse*. An attributable silence may occur after the application of rule 1(a) when the designated speaker does not take the next turn.

The techniques for turn allocation also reflect the sequential nature of a turn unit. A basic method of selecting a next speaker is addressing the participant; since problems with hearing and understanding must be immediately addressed, asking for clarification or **repair** is another central means of speaker transition. *Repair* also illustrates a turn-order bias within the system in which next speaker selects prior speaker. The most successful allocation technique for self-selection, rule 1(b), is simply starting first. At this time, if *overlap* occurs, one speaker will generally drop out and the speaker who continues will recycle the overlapped talk. The sequential nature of a turn unit typically has a three part structure: (1) the turn relates to or addresses the prior turn, (2) the turn addresses its own concern, (3) the turn addresses the following turn.

The model of turn-taking accounts in a principled way for variation within the system. For example, turn size may vary because the syntactic construction of a turn unit allows for sentential expandability. A definition of maximum turn size is also limited by the application

of rule 1(c), which enables a current speaker to retain the floor. Even though turn order is not fixed, there is a bias for prior speaker to regain the floor when speaker change occurs. This preference is due both to the priority of rule 1(a), 'current speaker selects next', as well as the tendency to address troubles in understanding after any turn. A conversation's length is not specified by the model but by closing techniques operating within the turn taking system (Schegloff and Sacks 1973).

The planning meeting data, as an example of talk-in-interaction, is seen to display the regularities observed by the turn-taking model. Moreover, the participants in the data invoke and orient to sequential contexts as a locally controlled feature of the talk.

1.2.3 Adjacency pairs, insertions and pre-sequences

The observation of regularities in the patterning of certain sequences is displayed in the organization of **adjacency pairs**—two adjacent utterances produced by different speakers (Schegloff and Sacks 1973:295). The turns are ordered as a *first part* and a *second part*, so that the first utterance provides for a particular or expectable second. As such, common pairs include questions and answers, greetings met with greetings, offers responded to with either acceptances or rejections, and apologies followed by disclaimers. The rule coordinating this system is that "given the recognizable production of a first pair part, on its first possible completion its speaker should stop and a next speaker should start and produce a second pair part from the pair type of which the first is recognizably a member" (ibid:296). This rule relates to the "sequential implicativeness" of *first pair parts*, in that a first utterance projects certain relevant next actions determining a predictable range of utterance type and speaker selections (ibid).

It is not suggested that the overall structural organization of talk is constituted by consecutive adjacency pairs, but that their 'recurrent, institutionalized' character indicates that they are fitted to resolve common problems, such as initiating/closing a conversation or accomplishing invitations, offers and requests. The close ordering represented by an adjacency pair acts as the general design warranting the occurrence of an expected action. Moreover, the action of an adjacently positioned second utterance indicates how the prior turn was understood and allows the speaker of the first turn to know that understanding.

The concept of close ordering may be disrupted by the occurrence of **insertion** sequences (Schegloff 1972), in which *first pair parts* are followed by utterances that, for example, ask for clarification or represent interactional delays. In the following, the answer to a question is delayed by the *insertion* of another question:

A: May I have a bottle of Mich
B: Are you twenty one
A: No
B: No
In Levinson 1983:304

Levinson (1983:306) notes that the potential for numerous levels of embedding is extensive and suggests that the criterion of adjacency be replaced with the notion of *conditional relevance* (Schegloff 1972). In this way, the linking of adjacent utterances is not based on a formation rule but relates to the immediate expectations set up by a *first pair part.*

A speaker's approach to *first pair parts* or particular conversational contributions may be accomplished by **pre-sequence** structures, which act to "prefigure the specific kind of action, that they potentially precede" (Levinson 1983:346). Devices of this sort are characterized

by *pre-requests*, *pre-arrangements*, *pre-announcements* and *pre-invitations*. In the planning meeting data, it is seen that the organizational component of a *pre-sequence* acts not only to cue intentions, but also allows speakers to interactively decide if an action should be avoided. For example, a response to a *pre-request* structure may provide information relevant to the success of a request by signaling the possibility of a refusal. In particular, the speakers' *pre-sequences* in the data are seen to introduce a proposed outcome and are recognized by the other party as a feature which is leading up to a context they may disagree with.

1.2.4 Preference organization

The function of utterances in conversation may be typed according to a system of **preference** in which a second pair part may represent either a *preferred* or *dispreferred* response. The concept is associated with interpretive frames and observed structural features rather than the psychological notion of preference. Heritage's (1984) table below lists distinctions of *preference* format for selected action types (269):

SEQUENTIAL ACTION	PREFERRED RESPONSE	DISPREFERRED RESPONSE
Request	Acceptance	Refusal
Offer/Invitation	Acceptance	Refusal
Assessment	Agreement	Disagreement
Self-depreciation	Disagreement	Agreement
Accusation/Blaming	Denial	Admission

As Bilmes (1988) points out, Sacks's original concept of *preference* (lectures April 1973) has been developed or expanded as well as widely misinterpreted. In this sub-section what is understood by the notion of *preference* in the literature is reviewed and an account of how the concept is used in this study is provided.

Sacks initially proposed that the notion of *preference* represent a principle of *ordering* (do X unless there is a reason not to), so that an invitation for the evening will 'mention dinner' as a conventional action. This aspect accounts for *relevant absence*—unless otherwise stated infer a commonly expected X, e.g., a party invitation will indicate if it is a costume party and in the absence of such information the inference to come in ordinary dress is upheld (Bilmes 1988:163). The notion, therefore, is a basis for interactant inferences as to the meaning of talk. It is the features of ordering and relevant absence which Bilmes claims make the concept of *preference* "a theory of interpretation, not merely of production" (1988:170).

Following Sacks' work, subsequent investigations of *preference* saw a shift away from the notion of inferencing to a description of the properties by which a particular action is accomplished, e.g., blamings (Atkinson and Drew 1979), name referring (Sacks and Schegloff 1979), corrections (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977) and agreement/disagreement (Pomerantz (1984). Moreover, these initial observations revealed particular structural features, in which 'dispreference markers' (Pomerantz 1984) invoked a *dispreferred* contribution (Levinson 1983:334 *adapted*):

a) Delays: by pauses before delivery; the use of a preface; by displacement over a number of turns via *repair initiators* or *insertion* sequences.

b) Prefaces: markers such as 'uh' or 'well'; token agreements before disagreements; showing appreciation for offers, invitations etc; apologies; qualifiers such as 'I don't know for sure, but...'; hesitation in various forms, including self-editing.

c) Accounts: an explanation for why an act is being done (or is not forthcoming, as in the case of refusing a request).

d) Declining components: a form suited to the nature of a first pair part, but characteristically indirect or mitigated.

The observation of particular structural elements as constituting *dispreferreds* has had implications

for the work of pragmatics (Levinson 1983), sociology (Heritage 1984,1988), politeness theory (Brown and Levinson 1978,1987) and, indeed, the methodology of this thesis.

However, Bilmes (1988:173) prefers to call these features 'reluctance markers', which are differentiated from *preference* in that "preferred responses may be prefaced by reluctance markers without vitiating the preferred response". For example, the preferred *denial* of accusations is easily invoked with 'dispreferred' or, more precisely, 'reluctance', markers, e.g., 'well, uh actually that wasn't what I said' (ibid). In this case, the show of reluctance can be considered a form of etiquette in which the *preferred* acceptance of an invitation is accompanied with *dispreferred* markers. To avoid the confusion which often stems from relating the psychological notion of preference to the technical concept, Bilmes (1993:390) suggests the term 'priority response', so that *denial* is a first priority response to an accusation.

With regard to *preference* organization as related to other social interaction concepts, we have the association of *preference* constituting 'social solidarity' (Heritage 1984:265-80) and encoding attention to face (Brown and Levinson 1987:38-43). In particular, Heritage (1984:265), following Pomerantz (e.g., 1984), suggests that talk in the form of *preference* consists of a 'bias' which works toward maintaining solidarity and avoiding conflict. So that there is a *preference* format for selected action types, such as the *preference* for acceptance of requests and the *preference* for agreement with assessments, which function to maintain social fellowship and general concord.

However, Bilmes (1988:174) disagrees with Heritage's claim that the *preferred* denial of accusations promotes social solidarity, because an accusation sets up a conflictual rift and a denial seals it--a conflict only avoided by an admission of false accusation perhaps in the form of an apology. In defense of Heritage, *preferred* denials are seen as *settling* a

potential rift in social relations created by the accusation, so that silence in a court room as opposed to assertions of innocence may entail guilt (Heritage 1984:269). This example, however, illustrates the tenuousness of generalizing the encoding of 'social solidarity', which is generally taken as an emergent and locally constructed phenomenon.

As Heritage (1984:268) points out, though, the association of social solidarity with *preference* coincides well with the maintenance of face. In the introductory review of reactions to their work on politeness universals, Brown and Levinson (1987:38) indicate the significance of *preference organization* in investigating a wide range of face-preserving strategies. In particular, they note that the interaction of items of face-address with sequential features represents an empirical basis of analysis, so that their politeness framework suggests "a more abstract level of explanation to which conversation analysis might usefully refer, perhaps reconstructing our ideas in line with the emerging empirical observations" (Brown and Levinson 1987:41). It is this last development of the concept of *preference* which relates to the work of this thesis, and in particular the methodology of investigating the *sequential pragmatics* of talk-in-interaction.

1.2.5 Repair organization and formulations

The conversational device of **repair** is a basic and prevalent component of the turn-taking system. In particular, *repair* provides a procedure by which members monitor the understanding of turn units, so that trouble sources such as misunderstandings, mishearings and non-hearings may be corrected. The structural features which fall under the rubric of *repair* are varied and may be invoked as *self-repair* or *other-repair*. Clarification checks, echo questions and repetition of problematic items contribute examples of *other-initiated* repair, while

self-initiated repair can include self-editings where no error is discernible (signaled by glottal stops, lengthened vowels, etc.) as well as clear error replacements (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977).

The placement of *repair* can be minimally coordinated via a three-turn sequence, which accounts for the four opportunities available in invoking correction:

- First opportunity: Turn 1; self-initiated self-repair
- Second opportunity: Between Turn 1 and Turn 2 such as at the end of the turn or after recipient delay; self-initiated self-repair
- Third opportunity: Turn 2; other-initiated repair
- Fourth opportunity: Turn 3; self-repair of Turn 1 provided by other-initiated repair in Turn 2.

A *preference* ranking exists in the organization of repair which favors a *preference* for self-repair over repair by recipients (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977). In the planning meeting data, the participants constantly monitor their talk through *repair* by carefully selecting alternative words and phrases. In this way, the *repair* in the data manifests as a form of face-address, in that it is directed to making proposed outcomes more acceptable.

Akin to *repair*, which provides for the need of on-going qualifications of clarity in talk, is the participants' display of understanding of utterance contexts represented by **formulations**: that part of the conversation, or member's method, that describes, characterizes, explicates, summarizes what is going on in talk (Heritage and Watson 1979:124). As Garfinkel and Sacks note: "the very resources of natural language assure that doing formulating is itself for members a routine source of complaints, faults, troubles, and recommended remedies, *essentially*" (1969 [1986:174]). Like other mechanisms of talk, *formulations of gist* are

sensitive to the turn-taking system and constrain immediately subsequent talk by acting as *first pair parts* to confirmation/disconfirmation seconds (a subclass of agree/disagree). The confirmation is the preferred second, while disconfirmation may jeopardize all previous talk and initiate an inspection of the conversational material covered (Heritage and Watson 1979:139-149).

Formulations have a a 'self-explicating' nature which signals the reflexive quality of talk, so that a previous utterance is shown to be collaboratively understood. At the same time, the sense-making work displayed in *formulations* shows that there is no definiteness of meaning and provides for the possibility of multiple readings for utterances. In this way, there may be a 'candidate reading' of the preceding talk which is subsequently judged for its adequacy or preferredness. In the planning meeting data, the use of *formulations* is also seen to function as a mode of persuasion in discussing a desired outcome (cf. Walker 1995).

While other significant features of sequential structuring have been investigated, e.g., 'trouble-premonitory' responses (Jefferson 1980), the organization of laughter (Jefferson 1984), the sequential placement of 'okay' (Beach 1995), the descriptions above aim to provide a summary of the basic techniques by which talk is organized within Sacks et al.'s turn-taking model. The following section, considers a different category of members' methods: *pragmatic* phenomena.

1.3 Pragmatic categories

Taking pragmatics as representing the linguistic investigation of *language use*, analyses are seen to explain the *implicit* nature of conveyed meaning (e.g., implicature, presupposition),

describe the *indexical* property of language (e.g., deixis) and indicate the *performative* nature of linguistic behavior (e.g., speech acts). This section provides a general overview of pragmatic meaning by discussing the notion of context in relation to pragmatic inference. Secondly, the ostensible pragmatic categories are summarized.

1.3.1 Pragmatic meaning

A pragmatic explanation of language understanding has traditionally accounted for the role *context* plays in language use. In fact, *context* may be seen as the central concern of the field, or as "the quintessential pragmatic concept" (Mey 1993:10), in that pragmatics acknowledges "the many ways in which context enters into the expression and understanding of propositions by language users" (Ochs 1979:1). In addition to *context*, the notion of *inference* is significant to a pragmatic theory of meaning. That is, because much of the meaning of utterances is often implied, the process of understanding language is attributed to people's capacity to *infer* meaning. This sub-section considers the notion of *context* with respect to *inferential* understanding in pragmatic analyses.

To begin, the pragmatic elements of 'context' and 'inference' are supported by other characteristic pragmatic notions, which also aid in accounting for language understanding (Grundy 1995:5-14):

- **Appropriacy**: The idea that speakers assess the context of utterance with regard to their hearers and the intention of their utterance. As such, the *appropriateness* of the talk may reflect conventionalized expectations as to how to behave and in what way people expect to be addressed.
- **Non-literal or indirect meaning**: The fact that typically the literal meaning of words and phrases does not adequately represent a speaker's intended meaning. In

this sense, meanings may be expressed implicitly, as observed in the *indirectness* of everyday language use.

- **Indeterminacy**: In the sense that language understanding requires inference, utterances are seen as *underdetermined* in that they may have several possible meanings. For example, the phrase 'this is my picture' may refer to a picture the speaker owns or one the speaker has drawn—determining which meaning is intended or appropriate to the context of talk is thus an element of the inferencing process required for language understanding.
- **Relevance**: The idea that the participants' sense of how an utterance is relevant to the context of talk guides the interpretation of meaning.
- **Misfires**: The misconstrual of speaker intention or the unintended effect an utterance may have on a hearer constitutes a pragmatic misfire.

The concepts above relate to the distinction analyzed in pragmatics between the form of a *sentence* and its function as an *utterance.*

In particular, while the term 'sentence' denotes abstract decontextualized grammatical form, an 'utterance' represents the subject of pragmatic inquiry in that it is the pairing of sentence meaning with a *context* (Levinson 1983:18). As such, sentence meaning refers to the literal meaning, while utterance meaning relates to speaker intention or communicative effect. This aspect is traced to an early pragmatic influence, the linguistic philosopher, Paul Grice, who proposed a distinction between *natural* and *non-natural* meaning. The natural or literal meaning of an utterance, representing sentence meaning (e.g, 'It's cold in here' as a statement about temperature), is distinguished from the non-natural, inferential understanding, or speaker meaning, that is conveyed (e.g, 'It's cold in here' understood as a request to shut the window) (Grice 1957). Because language use predominately relies on participants working out the non-literal meaning of utterances, language understanding requires inferences to interpret talk. Grice proposed a set of usage principles or maxims (discussed in 1.3.3), which are consequent on the assumption that language is used 'co-operatively', and thus

enable the understanding of non-natural meaning. The cognitive leap required to proceed from literal to non-literal meaning has been referred to as *pragmatic inference* and accounting for it has received wide attention across disciplines.

Philosophical and psychological theories of inference explain the processing of pragmatic inferences differently. On the one hand, if there are usage principles (e.g., Gricean maxims), then pragmatic inferencing is a form of inductive reasoning and therefore a matter of weighing evidence and judging likelihood. On the other hand, if the process is deductive, then the inference is more like an automatic cognitive reflex where usage principles do not play a part. Some analysts argue that inferences are 'probabilistic' and that working out a pragmatic inference is "not a formalized deductive logic, but an informal problem-solving strategy" (Leech 1983:30–1). Other accounts of inferencing argue that "the formation of assumptions by deduction is the key process in non-demonstrative inference" (Sperber and Wilson 1986:83).

The recoverability of pragmatic inference has been accounted for through 'rules of inference' (Sadock 1974, 1975) and 'trigger processes' (Searle 1975). That is to say, inferences were seen as 'triggered' through a mechanism that alerts a speaker to the need to draw an inference. However, because inferencing is an apparently natural and constant process, the idea that an inference is only possible if accompanied by a trigger becomes problematical. Also, the idea that there are 'rules' of inference in which a given set of premises leads to a given set of conclusions is mostly rejected in the literature. Rather, hypothesis formation and hypothesis confirmation is recognized as a more plausible inferencing procedure, (even though adequate accounts of such a process have yet to be produced) (Fodor 1983). The 'relevance model' of inference proposed by Sperber and Wilson (1986) argues that an alternative to 'trigger mechanisms' is the idea that inferencing is more like deductive reasoning and automatic

rather than probabilistic. However, it is doubtful that deduction entirely accounts for human cognitive processing, since as Levinson (1989:466) notes, the counterfactual conditional cannot ever be regarded as a general assumption in deductive reasoning. If this were the case, then the inference would need to be strong enough to provide both the premises and conclusion to an argument. At this point, there is no satisfactory evidence that communicators utilize a mental inductive logic over a deductive one (Manktelow and Over 1990:140).

In particular, Sperber and Wilson's (1986) *relevance theory*, claims that all utterances are *underdetermined* in that they are vague and ambiguous and their illocutionary force is inexplicit. For example, "Have you seen my book?" is underdetermined in that reference to 'my book' is ambiguous and the sense may be 'Have you read' or 'Have you found', etc. Sperber and Wilson contend humans are able to understand because they are adept at recovering meaning through accessing relevant contexts. Thus, the basic tenet of relevance theory is that to understand an utterance is to work out how it is relevant. Moreover, they argue that the principle of Relevance is fundamental because an utterance may cease to be overtly co-operative, but its relevance always applies and cannot be suspended.

Within this paradigm, the relevance of an utterance is guaranteed, and hearers work out the meaning by recovering a context which makes it relevant. In this view, 'context' is seen as an extensive psychological construct including a hearer's entire encyclopedic memory and assumptions about the world and the physical environment. Thus, the model operates on a calculability requirement: RELEVANCE is equal to the contextual effects divided by the cost of effort involved in obtaining the contextual effects (Sperber and Wilson 1986). In order to maximize cognitive efficiency, the first hypothesis consistent with the above principle will be the most relevant. Thus, there are degrees of relevance based on the accessibility of the

context and the processing costs involved in obtaining the inference. Misunderstanding or failure to derive a relevant understanding may be due to processing problems (ibid: 153) or differences in individual knowledge schemata.

While this thesis makes no claims regarding human cognitive processing, the study does assume that because utterances are *underdetermined,* inferential comprehension plays a central role in understanding. In particular, the notion of language as underdetermined, which underlies the relevance theoretic account, provides a basis for the methodology employed in this study. The following sub-sections characterize in more detail the role of context as a component of *pragmatic meaning* by summarizing the pragmatic categories relevant to the analysis of the planning data.

1.3.2 Deixis

Deictic reference provides a prototypical means of encoding context in language (Levinson 1983) because it reveals the mutual orientation between speakers and addressees to the immediate context of utterance (Jarvella and Klein 1982). So that to understand the utterance, 'I'm here now', one would require knowledge of the person intended to be 'I' and the location referred by 'here' as well as the time denoted by 'now'. As this example demonstrates, deictic reference typically derives from an *egocentric* base, with the central ground being the speaker and the speaker's particular time and place of utterance (Bühler (1934[1982]). The term *deixis* is traced to the Greek word meaning 'show to' or 'point out', so that traditionally deictics are regarded as *indexical expressions.* Thus, a defining characteristic of deictic phenomena is the extent to which references to the spatio-temporal context constantly change according to the context of the speech event. To this effect, Silverstein (1976), following Jakobson (who

in turn cites the work of Otto Jespersen (Jakobson 1971:131) [1957]), uses the term 'shifter' to capture this property of indexicality.

The traditional deictic categories, **person, place** and **time** deixis, are represented by a closed class of items in a language, which for English include demonstratives (e.g., this; that), person pronouns (e.g., you; we), time and place adverbs (e.g., now; there) and tense. Person deixis encodes the role of the participants, with 'I' referring to the speaker and 'you' to the addressee(s). Languages generally distinguish between **proximal** place deixis, which indicates that the referential object is relatively close to the speaker (e.g., this; here), and to **distal** place deixis (e.g., that; there) where the referential object is further away from the speaker. A fourth deictic category is described as **discourse** deixis, which makes reference to aspects of prior or subsequent talk. For example, determining the reference of 'the next chapter' requires recognition of the present place in the discourse. Finally, many languages have a range of honorifics, which Levinson (1983) categorizes as **social** deictics in that they encode participant roles as a reflection of the speakers' social values.

Deictic references may be distinguished according to whether they are used **symbolically** or **gesturally**. Understanding a gestural use requires a visual or audio monitoring of the utterance, in that the object of reference is signaled by physical pointing through bodily or vocal gesture. However, the symbolic use of deictic phrases only requires addressees to understand the context of utterance rather than interpret any gestural sign. In some cases, the same words which represent deictic expressions may be used *non-deictically*, i.e. non-demonstratively.

Gestural: *This* is the one I want, not *that* one.

Symbolic: *This* is a beautiful country.

Non-deictic: Oh just *this* and *that.*

In the above, the gestural use of *this* and *that* indicates that the speaker is pointing to the objects identified by the demonstrative forms, so that a visual monitoring of the context of the utterance is necessary. Using the terms symbolically, the context of place must be understood, i.e. in the example given above the 'country' must be identifiable by the addressee(s). Finally, the non-deictic use shows that a context is not required to understand the items.

Descriptive analyses of deictic reference have progressed with the work of Hanks (1990, 1992), who emphasizes the interactive features and multifunctionality of deictic phenomena. In particular, he observes that a deictic item minimally encodes two aspects: 1) the *referent* such as the person, place, time or thing being denoted; and 2) an *indexical* framework which relates the referent to the origo in the speech event (so the type or quality of orientation, such as proximal or distal is communicated) (Hanks 1992:51). In talk, the indexical context represents a dynamic ground rather than any fixed object in that, "As interactants move through space, shift topics, exchange information, coordinate their respective orientations, and establish common grounds as well as non-commonalities, the indexical framework of reference changes." (ibid: 53).

In the planning meeting data, the placement of deictic elements is considered in the context of their sequential environments. In fact, as Levinson notes: "The facts of deixis should act as a constant reminder...that natural languages are primarily designed, so to speak, for use in face-to-face interaction and thus there are limits to the extent to which they can be analyzed without taking this into account" (1983:54). As such, deictic cues are seen as significant to the way the participants orient to the topic of talk and encode membership status.

1.3.3 Gricean theory of implicature

In a series of lectures (William James lectures 1967, Harvard), the linguistic philosopher Paul Grice suggested an explanatory model of language use, now referred to as a theory of **conversational implicature** (Levinson 1983:100). Important to this theory is his distinction between the **entailment** (natural semantic meaning) of an expression and the **implicature** (non-natural implied meaning) which arises from its use within a context. In this way, hearers are seen to work out, or infer, from the sentence structure the conveyed speaker meaning in ways which cannot be explained by a truth-conditional theory of meaning. In short, a theory of implicature explains how speakers are able to express and hearers to understand more than what is literally said in any given utterance.

In particular, Grice proposed that natural language use is regulated by a set of guidelines by which speakers formulate their conversation in effective ways and which hearers rely on to work out conveyed meanings. In particular, conversation is constructed under the assumption that people use language *cooperatively*, and in doing so, are aware of the following principles of conversational usage (Grice 1975:45-6):

Quality maxim: Try to make your contribution one that is true; do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Quantity maxim: Try to make your contribution as is informative as is required; do not make it more informative.

Relevance maxim: Make the contribution relevant.

Manner maxim: Be perspicuous and in particular, avoid obscurity and ambiguity, be brief and orderly.

Implicatures may arise from observing the maxims as well as **flouting** them (Grice 1975:49). For example, with the phrase "This picture is fine", the speaker may be abiding by the maxim

of quantity by being as informative as possible and, in doing so, implies a lack of satisfaction with it. However, tautologies, such as the expression "War is war", flout quantity in that they represent repetitive informative, and yet still signal an implied meaning. Thus, knowing the regulating principles of talk allows speakers and hearers to distinguish between natural and non-natural meaning.

In conversation, speakers regularly qualify their talk. In this way, speakers are seen to *hedge* the maxims by providing a metalinguistic gloss on the extent to which an utterance relates to the conversational principles. For example, the phrase "by the way" *hedges* the maxim of relevance, while the phrase "the point is" *intensifies* it. The maxim of manner may be hedged with the phrase "sort of" and intensified with "to be precise" or "put plainly". A significant observation is that these phrases do not add truth-value to an utterance, which "confirms that hedges and intensifiers are not part of what is said or conveyed by a speaker but a comment on the extent to which the speaker is abiding by the rules for talk" (Grundy 1995:42). In the planning data, the action of hedging is seen as a pervasive feature of the negotiation and a primary means by which the speakers indicate their orientation toward the contexts they invoke.

The different sets of implicature may be categorized as follows:

- **Conventional implicature**: inferences which arise from the conventional or semantic meaning of a word but do not contribute to the truth conditional meaning of the utterance. For example, the conjunction 'but' in the expression 'She was poor but honest' is associated with a notion of *contrast*—an inference which does not arise from the same semantic means of expressing the phrase with the 'and' conjunction as

in, 'She was poor and honest'. Other words which invoke inferences associated with their conventional meaning include, for example, the items 'even', 'therefore', 'yet' and 'actually'.

- **Generalized implicature**: inferences which arise without any particular context being necessary for interpreting the implied meaning. Generalized implicature represent an important linguistic concept (Horn 1988) because the inference is encoded directly as a phenomenon of the language rather than related to a situational matter. For example, the sentence 'Ann went to a party' implies the party was not Ann's—if the speaker knows the party to be Ann's, then he or she could not maintain the cooperative imperative and at the same time say 'Ann went to a party'. Another example is the generalized implicature associated with the item 'and' in sentences such as 'I chopped the onion and fried it', which based on the maxim of manner, and in particular, the sub-maxim 'be orderly', implies the onion was first chopped and then fried.

- **Particularized implicature**: an inference which requires understanding of a particular context in order to derive an implicature. In this sense, an expression such as 'I'm tired' or 'He's good' will signal different meanings, i.e. give rise to different implicatures, according to the specific context of the utterance.

- **Clausal implicatures**: inferences which indicate the degree to which the speaker can epistemically commit to the proposition being expressed. For example, the difference between 'I *believe* this is the case' and 'I *know* this is the case' signals a distinction in the strength of the speaker's conviction. To this effect, language users may select from pairs of *stronger* or *weaker* constructions to convey meanings more precisely (Levinson

1983:137):

STRONGER FORM	WEAKER FORM
p and q	p or q
since p then q	if p then q
a knows p	a believes p
a realized p	a thought p
a revealed p	a said p
necessary p	possibly p

These implicatures are associated with the maxim of quantity, in that speakers try to indicate the amount of evidence they have for their contribution.

- **Scalar implicature**: Similarly, implicatures which are seen to operate along a linguistic scale are associated with the maxim of quantity by signaling the degree of informativeness or semantic strength associated with the expression, for example: [all, most, many, some, few]; [and, or]; [hot, warm]; [always, often, sometimes]; [certainly, probably, possibly, maybe]; [(epistemic uses of) must, should, may]. The lexical item a speaker chooses implies that the speaker is not in a position to assert the higher item on the scale.

The linguistic importance of Grice's theory is that, while the implicata may be seen as derived from a set of metalinguistic principles for cooperative interaction, these guidelines or maxims not only provide a basis that accounts for how implied meaning is recovered, but also significantly affect the structure of conversation, as will be shown in this thesis.

1.3.4 Presupposition

The features of language related to *presuppositional* phenomena have been the subject of both philosophical and linguistic debate (e.g., Kiparsky and Kiparsky 1971, Karttunen and Peters

1979). The term presupposition is usually taken to refer to "propositions whose truth is taken for granted in the utterance of a linguistic expression, propositions without which the utterance cannot be evaluated" (Green 1989:71). The problematic nature of presuppositional inference relates to the extent to which contextual assumptions appear to be built into some linguistic expressions. Rather than summarize the complex arguments related to semantic and pragmatic explanatory models, the aim of this section is provide a brief indication of the types of language phenomena which have typically been considered presuppositional. The following outline a number of *presuppositional-triggers* which signal ways in which shared assumptions are encoded in the structure of language (compiled by Levinson 1983 following Karttunen):

- *Factives*: expressions that take sentential objects or subjects and may include epistemic factives, such as 'know', 'realize' or emotive factives, such as 'regret', 'amazed'

  He *realized* he forgot his coat → He forgot his coat

  She *regretted* leaving → She left

- *Implicative verbs*: expressions which signal necessary and sufficient conditions for the truth of a proposition to be represented.

  They (didn't) *manage* to the reach the summit → They tried to reach the submit

  She *forgot* to bring an umbrella → She intended to bring an umbrella

- *Connotions*: inferences which arise from the definitional association of a word, such as the distinction between 'kill' and the more intentional item, 'murder'. They include verbs of judging in which the implication is attributed to the subject of the verb rather than the speaker.

  Sammy *accused* Sally of forgetting → (Sammy thinks) Sally forgot

  Sally *criticized* Sammy for being rude → (Sally thinks) Sammy was rude

- *Change of state verbs*: inferences associated with the assumption that if a situation changes, then the situation must have existed in the first place.

  The bees *stopped* making honey → They made honey before

The bees *began/didn't begin* to make honey → The bees had not been making honey before

- *Iteratives*: similar to a verbal change of state presupposition, such as 'another time', 'come back', 'repeat'.

  He doesn't send flowers *anymore* → He used to send flowers

  He is sending flowers *again* → He used to send flowers

- *Cleft sentences*: where the presupposition is indicated as a focal element at the beginning of a construction.

  It was/wasn't Jack that Jill hit → Jill hit somebody

  What I miss/don't miss is fried okra → Something is missed

- *Non-restrictive relative clauses*: inferences in which parenthetical information gives rise to presupposed speaker assumptions.

  Horses, which are lovely animals to look at, can/cannot be trusted → Horses are lovely to look at

  The Morgans, who originate from Wales, are traditionally a sea-faring clan → The Morgans originate from Wales

- *Counterfactual conditionals*

  If she had known, she wouldn't have come → She didn't know

  If they had understood the map, then all the gold would be here → They didn't understand the map

- *Questions*

  Who is the guilty man? → There is a guilty man

  Why does John pick his teeth → John picks his teeth

In the planning meeting data, the participants' invocation of presuppositional items is related to the degree of commitment they show to the topic of talk. Moreover, the presuppositional features are seen to work in conjunction with other pragmatic categories and thus contribute to the means by which speakers invoke and orient to a context.

1.3.5 Speech act theory

Speech acts epitomize the etymological meaning of the term *pragmatics*: the study of action or doing (Lyons 1981:75). The concept of a *speech act* was originally proposed by the philosopher Austin in a series of lectures (William James 1958), published under the title *How to do things with words* (1965 [1975]). In particular, the concept provided a challenge to the philosophical school of logical positivism and the view that language could be defined in terms of truth and falsity. To describe or state, for instance, are just two functions of language, or speech acts, so that language is used as a means of accomplishing deeds or actions, e.g., apologizing, ordering, praying or warning. Since actions cannot be categorized as true or false, then neither can language be. Thus, Austin maintained that utterances have the capacity to effect an action simply by virtue of communicating it: in short *to say* it is *to perform* it.

In this way, communication is seen as knowing how a speaker's intent is indicated, that is recognizing the *force* of an utterance. The following represent the three components of utterance action:

1. **The locutionary act**: expressing the semantic content of a sentence.
2. **The illocutionary act**: using the propositional content of the locutionary act to perform an action (e.g., to make a claim or an announcement); this action is defined by its 'force', or purpose.
3. **The perlocutionary act**: the effect of the combined locutionary and illocutionary acts on the addressee, which may or may not be intended by the speaker.

The significant linguistic feature of speech act theory is that it accounts for the distinction between the form of an expression and its function in use.

Indirect speech acts (Searle 1975) derive from the observation that the three essential sentence types—declaratives, imperatives, interrogatives—and their traditional functions, respectively—assertion, ordering, questioning—do not always coincide. For example, the expression "I wonder if it's possible to leave my coat here" has a declarative structure but may function as a question or a request. Searle's work has systemizatized speech acts by suggesting sets of typologies (Searle 1976, Searle and Vanderveken 1987). However, this approach has been criticized as inadequate in explaining the 'countless' types of actions represented by the multifunctional nature of language in use (Levinson 1981, 1983; Schegloff 1984). Thus, while the notion of a *speech act* is a productive descriptive term, its empirical validity and explanatory power remain doubtful within the context of observable conversational phenomena. As such, in this study the application of speech act theory is limited to the assumption that language represents intention and action—a useful theoretical framework for any micro analysis of context.

1.3.6 Pragmatic categories and politeness phenomena

The pragmatic description of **politeness** is a value neutral, non-prescriptive analysis of the ways in which language is used to encode 'polite' behavior. The most extensive investigation of linguistic politeness is represented by Brown and Levinson's (1978,1987) theory, which accounts for a number of universal observations of politeness phenomena. Their model claims that people have a natural desire to be well-regarded by others as well as a need not to be imposed upon, so that in conversation, participants are seen to linguistically orient to the possibility of threatening these wants. While the universal character of the model has been challenged (Matsumoto 1988, Gu 1990, Nwoye 1992) and other theories proposed (cf. Leech

1983), the framework applied in the Brown and Levinson study remains a cogent explanation of the linguistic encoding of social expectations of appropriate conduct. (See DuFon et. al (1994) for a extensive bibliography on linguistic politeness).

In particular, their speech act based[2] model relates to the social notion of **face**, defined as the public self-image all members want to claim for themselves. This concept is similar to a person's general sense of self-esteem, which is seen to materialize in two forms: **positive face** and **negative face**. The positive self-image relates to personality and the desire to be appreciated and approved of, while negative face concerns the wish to be unimpeded by others including the need for freedom of action and freedom from imposition. Brown and Levinson compile a list of positive and negative politeness strategies which people may select to attend to or maintain a hearer's public face :

POSITIVE POLITENESS	NEGATIVE POLITENESS
Notice/attend to hearer's wants	Be conventionally indirect
Exaggerate interest/approval	Question/hedge
Use in-group identity markers	Be pessimistic
Seek agreement	Minimize imposition
Avoid disagreement	Give deference
Presuppose/assert common ground	Apologize
Joke, Be optimistic	Impersonalize
Assert knowledge of hearer's wants	State the imposition as a general rule
Offer, promise	Nominalize
Give of ask for reasons/Give gifts	
Assume/assert reciprocity	
Include speaker and hearer in activity	

In the process of everyday encounters, social actors are seen to be at risk of having their self-image threatened, so that face is constantly attended to as something that can be lost,

[2]In the study's reissue, Brown and Levinson (1987) review the impact of the model and re-evaluate the speech act based approach, indicating that an interactive or conversation analytic perspective would provide a more promising methodology.

maintained and enhanced.

Therefore, the activities in which people commonly engage have the potential to be **face-threatening acts** (FTAs). For example, acts which do not avoid impeding a hearer's freedom of action and thus threaten negative face include requests/orders, suggestions, advice, remindings, threats, warnings and dares. Whereas, acts such as expressions of disapproval, accusations, irreverence, blatant non-cooperation and use of address terms which mis-identify demonstrate a negative evaluation or show lack of concern for a hearer's positive face. FTAs which offend the speaker's negative face include expressing/accepting thanks, making excuses and accepting offers, i.e. incurring a debt. Acts which threaten a speaker's positive face include dealing with apologies, accepting compliments, making confessions and loss of control. Given the opportunity to perform a face-threatening act, members may select from three basic strategies:

1. Do the act **on record**, so that the communicative intention is clear according to the structure of the language. The following illustrate three means of executing a request on-record, in which *redressive* action works to minimize potential face damage:
   a) Baldly, without redress: "Open the window"
   b) Positive politeness redress: "*Be a darling* and open the window"
   c) Negative politeness redress: "*Sorry to bother you* but could you open the window"
2. Do the act **off record**, so that the communicative intent is not clearly or explicitly expressed e.g., "Gosh, its hot in here"
3. Do not do the face threatening act

The system of choosing which strategy to use is based on the computational character of the model, in that people are seen to assess their perception of a situation as a way of selecting the appropriate strategy. That is to say, the degree of *imposition* associated with the FTA is

determined with regard to the perceived *power* relationship and *social distance* (e.g., equal or unequal status/class) relative to the speaker and addressee. Thus, the linguistic encoding of compensation, i.e. amount of redress, regarding an FTA is ranked by the strategies indicated above, where the most polite form is to avoid the act altogether. Thus, a speaker may choose the least 'polite' strategy they can get away with in order to minimize the sense of imposition that a more redressive strategy would indicate.

The study of linguistic politeness is relevant to the pragmatic theoretic concern for indicating notions of *appropriacy* and explicating properties of *pragmatic competence.* In the planning meeting data, the planners and developers constantly attend to face concerns when proposing their own party's desired outcome and responding to alternative proposals. In particular, this orientation to face preservation is seen as sequentially significant to the *preference* systems of talk.

Summary

The overview of the sequential and pragmatic systems of talk contained in this chapter provides only a small indication of their role in everyday interaction. However, taking this as a starting point, descriptions of these features are seen as informing this study, in that they represent a description of *members' methods.* As such, they are the underlying features of analysis employed in the following study of talk as consequential. The talk of the planners and developers is analyzed with regard to how they construct, respond to and encode context by using these basic methods. Moreover, a central methodological aim of the thesis is combining these systems, which have hitherto been insufficiently integrated. That is to say, CA work

has typically concentrated on organizational features of talk, and pragmatics has generally considered phenomena in isolation rather than in sequential context. Thus, the aim of this thesis is to demonstrate how deictic orientation, presuppositional encoding, the relevance of implicature and the face address phenomena can be shown to be sequentially significant to invoking a context as consequential.

Chapter 2

Understanding context: CA and pragmatic perspectives

This chapter reviews the development of *context* as a theoretical construct from both conversation analytic and pragmatic perspectives. It focuses on the treatment of context as predominantly a methodological issue in CA and as a definitional feature of language use in pragmatics. As this chapter represents the final background discussion before focusing on the topic and approach to the research, the final section considers how the thesis is placed in view of past studies and how it contributes to developing CA and pragmatic analyses of language use.

2.1 CA and context

Conversation analysis emerged from the sociological movement of ethnomethodology founded by Harold Garfinkel and initially brought to bear on language use through the work of Harvey Sacks, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson in the 1960s. As a result, the CA view of *context* developed from Garfinkel's ethnomethodological perspective. This section focuses primarily on the evolution of Garfinkel's seminal ideas on the analysis of context within conversation analysis and concludes with a review of Schegloff's most recent speculations. It

shows how recent CA work is concerned with the study of how context is consequential rather than simply with descriptions of the mechanisms which construct context. This is seen as primarily a result of the current interest in 'institutional talk' as well as the growing numbers of researchers who are 'using CA' to explain contextual matters, rather than 'doing CA' to describe them.

In his 1967 work entitled *Studies in ethnomethodology*, Garfinkel rallied against social theorists' attempt to replace 'indexical expressions', i.e., contextual features, with supposedly 'objective' descriptions of social activity (1967:4-7). He criticized traditional methods of sociological inquiry (e.g., 'surveys', 'statistical analysis', 'mathematical models') for failing to indicate *how* the social order is constructed. Instead, Garfinkel proposed that analyzing *context* involves recognizing its *reflexive* nature, in that social situations are not separated from people's descriptions of what constitutes these events. Therefore, the task of the analyst in explicating 'context' becomes that of examining its *constitutive* properties by describing the methods members use to index the social world. Underlying this approach are two theoretical assumptions, *intersubjectivity* and *accountability*: Because social actors are seen to have an operative knowledge of interactional rules, they are considered accountable for their conduct—recognizing the rule is a sign of intersubjectivity, while choosing to adhere to it or not is a sign of human agency (Boden and Zimmerman 1991). In summary, this distinction between the traditional investigation of contextual features as external to the interaction and the description of context as relevant to the participants contributed to the division now referred to as macro and micro sociologies (Knorr-Cetina and Cicourel 1981, Alexander et al. 1987).

The concept of *reflexivity* is expanded by Garfinkel and Sacks, in the 1969 paper, "On

formal structures of practical action". In this work, the role language plays in constructing and organizing the social world is given full recognition by equating the notion of membership with the "mastery of natural language" (Garfinkel and Sacks 1969[1986:163]). In this way, social actors are seen to construct context through their 'glossing practices': for instance, through describing what is being done, e.g., a 'meeting', and *formulating* actions by characterizing, i.e. 'saying-in-so-many-words', what they are doing (ibid:171).

The lectures of Harvey Sacks, beginning Fall 1964, indicate that the investigation of 'mundane conversation' with regard to its discrete features and overall organization was already well under way by 1969 (Sacks 1992). Indeed, Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's important seminal paper on the most basic of sequential features—turn-taking ("A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking in conversation")—circulated in manuscript form for several years before its publication in 1974. At this point the general aim of analysis becomes formulated in the question: "What might be extracted as ordered phenomena from our conversational materials which would not turn out to require reference to one or another aspect of situatedness, identities, particularities of content or context?" (Sacks et al. 1974:699). In fact, it was in the pursuit of answering this question that the field, now referred to as *conversation analysis*, emerged. That is to say, investigating Garfinkel's notion of 'practical action' resulted in a series of papers providing descriptions of sequential structure without reference to external contextual matters.

Conversation analysts have since developed a substantial methodology capable of revealing extensive and distinct findings. By the 1980s, the work of CA, as a specific field of inquiry, was fully recognized as representing a micro framework within sociology (e.g., Cuff and Payne 1979:150, Heritage 1984). Also at this time, the debate between macro and micro analyses

1979:150, Heritage 1984). Also at this time, the debate between macro and micro analyses of context becomes a standard polemical issue in sociological circles (e.g., Knorr-Cetina and Cicourel 1981, Collins 1983, Gerstein 1987). Defending the CA perspective, Schegloff's (1987) contribution to Alexander et al.'s *The macro-micro link* introduces a concept which maintains a radical view of context and sequential analysis:

> Rather than treating the detailed course of conversation and interaction as micro-level phenomena, which invite connection to macro levels of analysis through intervening contexts vernacularly characterized... *modes of interactional organization might themselves be treated as contexts* (original emphasis).
>
> Schegloff 1987:220-1

In distinguishing 'vernacularly characterized' contexts such as *being on the phone* from (analysts' characterizations of) contexts as invoked by *doing being on the phone*, Schegloff confirms early ethnomethodological arguments which maintain that context is represented by the 'practical actions' or the 'methods' chosen by interactants to accomplish and make sense of the activity. The relevance of this perspective to the present study is that the central concern in earlier CA analysis to describe members' methods can be seen to have shifted to *treating these methods as contexts.*

In a series of studies following his 1987 paper, Schegloff problematizes the notion of context and outlines methodological criteria for the principled investigation of it. These papers coincide with the growing interest in conversation analysis with the study of institutional talk, i.e. talk which is distinct from ordinary conversation in that sequential features are seen to construct a more formal setting, such as in work-related activity (e.g., Boden and Zimmerman 1991, Drew and Heritage 1992, Firth 1995a). The importance of Schegloff's

recent treatises on context, both to the development of conversation analysis and indeed to the methodology of this thesis, cannot be underestimated and warrants further consideration.

In particular, it is the concept of *procedural consequentiality*, initially introduced by Schegloff in 1987 and developed in subsequent work (1991, 1992a, 1992b), which is now becoming the methodological bedrock of current conversation analytic work (cf. Firth 1995a). This criterion for explaining context rejects *a priori* theorizing and insists that "relevant contexts should be procedurally related to the talk said to be contingently related to them" (Schegloff 1987:219). The volume of papers collected under the title *Rethinking context* (Duranti and Goodwin 1992) reflects the growing concern among language interaction theorists for a principled explanation of the concept. In their introduction, the editors acknowledge the current CA position by noting that "context and talk are now argued to stand in a mutually reflexive relationship to each other, with talk, and the interpretative work it generates, shaping context as much as context shapes talk" (Goodwin and Duranti 1992:31).

Schegloff's (1992a) contribution to *Rethinking context* is a paper entitled 'In another context', in which he re-analyzes a story-telling event (Goodwin 1987) by addressing the consequentiality of a context, or more precisely its non-consequentiality. In the data, the utterance 'Need some more ice', accompanied by the speaker's exit from the group, constitutes a supposedly *unilateral* event, which is designed not to be noticed by others. Schegloff's analysis reveals that the sequential context relevant to the story-telling sequences, and in particular the speaker's failed interactional aim to change the subject, in fact explains the speaker's departure. In concluding, Schegloff reaffirms the CA position with regard to the methodological implications of analyzing context: "If 'context' is *in* the conduct itself, if it *is* in a sense the conduct itself, then rethinking context is the omnipresent job of analysis"

(Schegloff 1992a:215).

In Drew and Heritage's volume of papers focusing on institutional studies, Schegloff (1992b) again problematizes context by analyzing a TV interview between a news broadcaster, Dan Rather, and the then US Vice-President, George Bush. In these data, the concept of *procedural consequentiality* is invoked to explain a breakdown in what constitutes 'doing an interview'. In particular, the institutional nature of an interview has been empirically established as having an organization in which one party asks a question while the other answers (cf. Heritage and Greatbatch 1991). This *procedure* is seen to be violated when the interviewee, Bush, fails to wait for the interviewer to finish the preliminaries leading to the question. As such, Schegloff argues that "Invoking social structure or the setting of the talk at the outset can systematically distract from, even blind us to details of those domains of events in the world" (Schegloff 1992b:127). Thus, analysts may have an acute intuitive understanding of *context*, but unless they are able to demonstrate how context is *procedurally consequential* to the analysis, the context must be disregarded.

The recent recognition by social theorists of the invocation of context through language use is represented by Sigman's (1995) collection, *The consequentiality of communication.* The editor identifies the central theoretical and methodological problem as "the relationship between the unplanned for and emergent quality of most interactions and the availability of *a priori* behavioral resources for interaction participants" (Sigman 1995:3). Given this problem, most contributors (while accepting that the communication process is the primary resource explaining consequentiality) wrestle with the extent to which micro analysis explains macro concepts (Cronen 1995) and the extent to which an analyst-invoked macro construct accounts for a micro analysis of data (Sanders 1995). Beach's (1995) contribution considers

the consequential nature of the item 'okay' in demonstrating how talk amounts to action and is meaningfully organized by sequential structure. In taking account of the CA view of context, this study of a planning meeting adopts a methodological stance in which 'context' is seen to be *internally* constructed from sequential systems, rather than invoked *externally* by the analyst.

2.2 Pragmatics and context

In this section, the centrality of context as a methodological issue within the linguistic pragmatic perspective is seen as being recognized later than in conversation analysis—a result of the traditional concern in pragmatics with explicating how single utterances are understood rather than specifying detailed contextual features. As such, research in pragmatics, rather than investigating the individual components of context *per se*, traditionally describes how contextual features are encoded in the structure of language and how context is necessary to determine meaning. The review first considers the philosophical roots of pragmatics, focusing on the way in which context is recognized as significant in explaining natural language use. It is seen that proposed definitions of context (e.g., Lyons 1977, Ochs 1979) are critiqued by later pragmatists (e.g., Levinson 1983, Mey 1993) with regard to their scope and empirical adequacy. Finally, the review indicates current trends associated with the future of pragmatics and the role of context within it.

The term *pragmatics* within a linguistic domain was introduced by Morris (1938 [1971]) as the study of the relation between signs and their users—a definition to contrast with the use of syntax (the relation of signs to one another) and semantics (the relation of signs to their

designata). This demarcation implicitly characterizes *context* as the primary defining feature of pragmatics. As a result, the field has sought to account for the wide range of phenomena relating to utterance-external contexts and language use. Apart from an extensive inventory of analyses, pragmatics has also developed various traditions within and across disciplines (e.g., anthropological pragmatics, social interactionalism, philosophy)[1].

The philosophical roots of linguistic pragmatics (and its subsequent account of context) can be related to Wittgenstein's (1958) doctrine of *language games* and Austin's (1962 [1975]) theory of speech acts. In these works, the relation between context, intentionality and the functions of language is addressed. For Wittgenstein, there is an indefinite variety of linguistic activities, 'language games', in which people may engage. In this way, the context of utterance occurs within the occasioned context of the speech event in which the participants are engaged. This relates to the notion of speech acts and the idea that language has a fundamentally performative function, so that an action is carried out simply by virtue of mentioning the appropriate utterance(s). A development of both these theoretical constructs is centered in Levinson's 1979 paper, 'Activity types and language'. Similar to the ethnographic label 'speech event' or 'episode', an *activity type* is any culturally recognized phenomenon which may or may not be constituted by talk: in particular, it refers to "a fuzzy category whose focal members are goal-defined, socially constituted, bounded, events with *constraints* on participants, setting, and so on, but above all on the kinds of allowable contributions" (Levinson 1979:368). Thus, in the concept of an activity type, Levinson seeks a means of defining the parameters of 'context' by demonstrating how language use and participant

[1]The form of pragmatics investigated in this thesis is based on the Anglo-American tradition, wherein the analysis of context and language structure have received primary attention. This is distinct from the 'broader' Continental (or European) tradition (Levinson 1983:6).

understanding of the immediate event are inextricably linked.

As noted in chapter 1, the modern pragmatic account of context is influenced by the work of the linguistic philosopher, Paul Grice. His work helped lay the foundations for a theory of language meaning which accounts for features not captured by truth-conditional, or semantic, models. By the late seventies, pragmatic accounts of meanings that had formerly been held to be semantic began to appear widely, especially in relation to presuppositional phenomena (e.g., various papers in Oh and Dineen 1979). Cole's (1981) edited volume, *Radical pragmatics*, took the possibility of such pragmatic accounts of meaning a step further in suggesting that "many linguistic phenomena, which had previously been viewed as belonging to the semantic subsystem, in fact belong to the pragmatic subsystem" (Cole 1981:xi). At this time, meanings that were once thought of as 'conventional' came to be thought of as 'non-conventional' precisely because they were context-dependent. Also at this time, anthropological pragmatists, such as Michael Silverstein, were attempting to account for the multifunctional quality of natural language. In his 1976 paper, "Shifters, linguistic categories and cultural description", Silverstein contends that the 'pragmatic' function of language acts to create indices and is thus a means of cultural manifestation. The ideas of Silverstein have not been extensively recognized within mainstream linguistic pragmatics until recently (Pressman 1994)—but seem likely to influence the development of pragmatic theory in the future, as discussed below.

At the same time, in the 1970's, studies of face-to-face interaction were revealing insightful observations of how context is accounted for in dyadic and group encounters. For example, Gumperz (1978) suggested that conversationalists signal information about the context of talk through the use of *contextualization cues*, i.e. the conventional verbal and non-verbal signs

which interactants use to accentuate their talk and indicate to recipients how an utterance is to be understood. In the same year, the politeness model proposed by Brown and Levinson, was first published. The contribution of their theory to the pragmatic analysis of 'context' is to suggest that language use can reflect both universal tendencies and language-specific conventions.

With the publication of Levinson's textbook, *Pragmatics*, in 1983, the 'ostensible' areas of pragmatics were brought together under one cover and received an extensive discussion and critique by the author. With regard to context, Levinson points out that a problem in defining pragmatics stems in part from an inexplicit characterization of the notion of context (1983:22). In particular, he notes that, although from the various definitions of context, "we may be able to reduce the vagueness by providing lists of relevant contextual features, we do not seem to have available any theory that will predict the relevance of all such features, and this is perhaps an embarrassment to a definition [of pragmatics] which seems to rely on the notion of context" (ibid:22). Over a decade later, defining the scope of context in pragmatics remains a problematic issue.

However, as Mey's (1993) introductory textbook points out: "A context is *dynamic*, that is to say, it is an environment that is in steady development, prompted by the continuous interaction of the people engaged in language use" (1993:10). The switch from searching for appropriate definitions of context to focusing on the most adequate means of assessing context reflects the influence of work in interactional studies, such as conversation analysis. As such, Grundy's recent textbook, *Doing pragmatics*, points out that pragmatic inquiry now recognizes the significance of moving from the traditional analysis of utterance meaning (which is itself originally a move from sentence meaning) to the analysis of the pragmatics of

sequential meaning (Grundy 1995:120). Thus, at this stage, both pragmatists and conversation analysts are seen to share a common methodological concern for providing an adequate explanation of context.

In acknowledging the role of context in understanding natural language, pragmatic analyses have observed the context-dependency of language structure as well as principles of linguistic usage and inferential understanding. However, the state of pragmatic inquiry is currently undergoing scrutiny and re-evaluation by researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds, e.g., Bilmes (1993), Pressman (1994) and Kopytko (1995). These papers indicate a reflective stage in the discipline, wherein several of the field's central concepts, including the notion of context, are reassessed in view of past interdisciplinary work and current interests.

In Pressman's 1994 paper, "Pragmatics in the late twentieth century: Countering recent historiographic neglect", pragmatic theorists are seen as not adequately recognizing the contribution of the linguist, Roman Jakobson, and his follower in anthropology, Michael Silverstein (e.g., see Jacobson 1960; Silverstein 1976, 1993). In particular, their work has focused on the multifunctional dimension of the communicative event. For example, Silverstein's theory of pragmatic meaning is equated with the *indexical* function of language, in that pragmatic forms both signal and describe context—in particular, this function relates to native speakers' awareness of the effect of their language use, or their *metapragmatic* recognition. Pressman's emphasis on the contribution of this work to pragmatic inquiry is relevant to this thesis in that it represents a move toward a principled account of context within pragmatic theory. In doing so, it indicates the importance of interdisciplinary awareness and the need for research which connects concepts developed across different fields.

An example of Pressman's call for a more a diverse orientation within pragmatics is,

in fact, provided by Jack Bilmes, an anthropologist working within an ethnomethodological and CA perspective. Crucially, among all the current pragmatic studies, the most relevant to this thesis is Bilmes's 1993 paper, "Ethnomethodology, culture and implicature: Toward an empirical pragmatics". In particular, he considers the significance of applying pragmatic theory (specifically with regard to conversational implicature) to the study of talk-in-interaction:

> Perhaps we can reconcile Grice and Garfinkel by treating Grice's maxims as resources that members can call upon and use according to the situation, that is "as recoverable, reproducible stock of knowledge and skills available in daily, routine, mundane ways of talking and acting" (Lee 1992:225). The Gricean maxims are precisely about "situated practices of looking-and-telling," i.e., about accounting practices. Although the maxims are given in general terms, they are deeply indexical: "Make your contribution as informative as is required" or "Be relevant" cannot be applied as principles without a knowledge of the immediate situation. The study of the actual situated application of Grice's maxims appears to be included in the study of accounting practices and, therefore, an ethnomethodological concern.
>
> (Bilmes 1993:387-8)

In this way, Bilmes posits an important theoretical and methodological claim regarding the role of context by suggesting an interactionally-sensitive pragmatics.

Finally, Kopytko's 1995 paper, "Against rationalistic pragmatics" represents a current concern for the predictive strength of concepts which underlie pragmatic analyses, such as the assumption of human rationality and the role of context. With respect to the notion of context, the author recognizes its significance within pragmatics, but indicates that "the relevant features of the context and in what way they will influence the interpretation of an utterance, can only be decided *ex post*, because interpretation is not a deterministic concept (nor is the perlocutionary effect of the utterance)" (Kopytko 1995:487). Taking this view

as a contemporary threshold for this thesis, it is argued that despite the *ad hoc* property of analyzing context, examining members' methods is a sound approach because the participants' invocation of both context and rationality is seen as the relevant one. Moreover, in view of the context-independency of members' methods, this perspective has implications for constituting a possible predictive construct within a modern pragmatic theory.

2.3 Placing the thesis in a context

As the above literature review indicates, both CA and pragmatics have reached a similar stage in recognizing or re-assessing the role of context as a significant theoretical and methodological issue. Taking this current paradigm as a starting point, this thesis endeavors to contribute to a theory of talk as consequential by analyzing the interaction of sequential and pragmatic methods. In particular, Schegloff's (1987) argument in favor of replacing traditional macro descriptions of context with an explanation of members' methods as primary contexts is adopted. This methodology is in line with Bilmes' (1993:407) call for an 'empirical pragmatics', in which phenomena are analyzed from the perspective of the participants by examining their interactional strategies. In this way, it is shown that the analysis of *sequential pragmatics* reveals the consequentiality of talk as a context.

The work of past and current Ph.D theses indicate that a similar approach has yet to be explored in the same way. In fact, from an international theses search, the information provided by dissertation abstracts show a notable absence of studies which combine pragmatics and the consequentiality of talk. However, beginning in 1983, Crow's dissertation represents a recognition of sequential environment as important to a speakers' choice of illocutionary

action. More recently, Lin's (1993) thesis recommends a 'socio-pragmatic' approach which problematizes the concept of utterance meaning alone and suggests examining the relationship between conversation and social interaction. Closest to the present study is He's (1993) dissertation, which aims to contribute to an understanding of context by examining the sequential practices of informants within an institutional setting. In particular, she uses conversation analysis, functional systemic linguistics and ethnographic methods to investigate the organization of academic counseling encounters. Despite the similar theme in contributing to a theory of context by analyzing sequential structures, the notion of pragmatic features as a members' method is not considered. Thus, given the lack of any studies that explicitly investigate how these two areas together enable us to account more fully for what is done when we talk, it is concluded that the integration of the two fields is yet to be addressed in a systematic way.

Chapter 3

The planning meeting data

While chapters 1 and 2 examined the theoretical contributions of conversation analysis and pragmatic theory to a study of consequentiality, this chapter and the subsequent one address the topic and approach to this study of consequentiality. In particular, the present chapter introduces the topic of the thesis by providing ethnographic information pertinent to the planning meeting. This background information is seen as facilitating the interpretation of the data analysis. Following this account, the nature of the activity and the informants are discussed in view of the *institutional* character of the event.

3.1 An ethnographic account of the planning meeting

The means by which an undeveloped site becomes a residential area is an organized process involving communication between numerous individuals representing interested parties and participating in a variety of roles—so that the data in this thesis represent a link in a series of decision-making encounters. In this case, the proposed development concerned a plot of land

once under the authority of the St. Nicholas Hospital located in the northwest of the city of Newcastle upon Tyne. Because the planning negotiation was influenced by the fact the site is a conservation area with statutory conditions on the use of the land, some knowledge of the nature and history of the site is important to understanding the processing of the planning application. Before detailing the events which led to planning approval being granted for this application, the general procedure involved in planning development is explained.

3.1.1 The job of granting planning permission

Seeking and granting planning permission is a standardized process with legal constraints on both applicants and planning authorities. Even though the local planning office has broad powers, it is a statutory institution with regulated duties and therefore subject to government department supervision and judicial review. The process usually begins with the applicant correctly completing the appropriate form and sending it, along with the relevant certificates (e.g., proof of ownership), plan and a non-refundable fee, to the local planning authority. Application forms will usually require a brief description of the proposed plan, including the purpose for which the land is to be used—this is important as often it may be the only written description of a plan available for consideration by an inspector or court if problems arise (Denyer-Green 1982:59). Generally, a plan which includes the construction of a building will require Outline planning permission, in which aspects not covered in the application are considered by the planning officials and permission is granted "subject to conditions that require the approval of the local planning authority to certain matters that commonly include: design and external appearance of the building or buildings, their siting, means of access and the landscaping of the site" (Denyer-Green 1982:63). All planning applications are entered

on a public register and public consensus or dissent may be expressed in the form of letters to the local authority or, where sufficient concern is apparent, may be voiced at a public hearing on a designated date.

A planning authority's decision-making process is influenced by the relation an application has to the 'local plan', which is prepared by the authority and consists of a map and a written statement detailing the development concerns for the area—both planners and applicants consult these plans as they are directly relevant to the nature of any proposed development (Denyer-Green 1982). In tracing the application process, it is important to note that various institutions and organized parties are consulted by the planning department before consent is granted. In particular, the local highway authority must be informed by the planning office before an application of the kind under consideration in this instance can be granted. The highway authority will generally be involved in any development which consists in constructing or altering any means of access as well as any operations which would appear to change the character of traffic in the area. Conservation areas hold a special status in the consideration of planning applications, so that certain controls ensure the preservation or enhancement of areas of environmental or historic interest.

The content of the communication between the planners and the applicant naturally varies according to the complexity of each application. In some cases, the functions of the authority may be delegated to a committee, a sub-committee or an individual planning officer. Oftentimes, planning permission is granted on the understanding that a number of conditions be met. Once approval is granted, unless specified otherwise, the development must usually commence within five years or the permission is rendered invalid (Denyer-Green 1982:47).

3.1.2 The nature and history of the site

The St. Nicholas Hospital was a long-stay mental hospital under the provision of the Mental Health NHS Trust, which since 1989 has been in the process of closing the facility and selling the property. Situated in a lucrative development area, the hospital lands are located northwest of Newcastle adjoining the highly-priced residential area of Gosforth. In 1993, a national developing company, McLean Homes, contracted 'site D' of the hospital lands and sought planning permission to develop it as a housing estate. Site D is located along a main road surrounded by municipal and private housing, while adjacent on the east side is a newly designed wildlife park which provides public open space. The landscaping reflects a distinct tree pattern, originally part of the hospital's 19th century enclosed gardens. Most of the site is surrounded by a high stone boundary wall which provides security, privacy and protection from traffic noise.

In view of the area's historic character and the presence of open space provided by the adjoining land, the property has been labeled a Conservation area—a central influencing factor in negotiating the outcome of the planning application. In particular, the hospital comprises a number of complexes built in stages from circa 1865 to 1900. The original hospital, referred to as 'Dodd's farm', a building dating in its present form from 1865, is located on the west side (i.e. within site D) of the hospital lands and represents one of the first centers for psychiatric treatment in the Northeast. By 1869, the purpose-designed hospital was built and stands as a grand Victorian structure with long symmetrical facades facing north and south along with two large matching pavilions which were added in 1886 (St. Nicholas Hospital Development Brief 1990:1). While part of the east pavilion enters

onto site D, most of the building lies to the southeast within site C and, with regard to future development, this building is to be retained in accordance with the local plan.

Following the decision by the Mental Health Trust to dispose of the facility and surrounding land, the Newcastle planning authority devised an 'Informal Local Plan' based on the 1988 Ordinance Survey 1:1250. The plan maps the proposed development sites (i.e. sites C, D, E, F, G, M, N) indicating tree cover and existing buildings as well as future pedestrian and vehicle access points, and is accompanied by a 'Planning Brief', a written statement recommending principles and strategies regarding site development. The Brief serves as a guideline for both planners and developers and states the conservational aims of the City Council as follows: "Substantial change will come from development of the land, but it is essential to retain as many as possible of the existing features and characteristics such as open parkland, trees, interesting building and walls, and to make the new layouts and buildings sympathetic to them and of high quality" (St. Nicholas Hospital Planning Brief 1990:1). In particular, the site as a whole was considered suitable for housing and low density business park development, and the suggested layout for each individual site indicates which features should be preserved and how development should coordinate with these existing features.

Processing 'site D' planning application

The action of contracting and the negotiating planning permission for site D of the St. Nicholas Hospital land was a process which took approximately half-a-year. The following summarizes the stages in this process and includes the critical meetings and official decisions which led to the approved planning application:

- Autumn 1993: The NHS Mental Health Trust put out for tender site D of the St. Nicholas Hospital lands. Various developing companies with devised plans seek informal consultation with the Newcastle planning authority regarding the development of site D.
- September-November 1993: The developing company, McLean Homes, contract the land and in accordance with an existing legal agreement, the Hospital Trust is consulted on the proposed development. At this time, the planning authority is able to consider in more detail the developer's plan, which originally had been discussed in the informal consultation.
- 4 October 1993: The Chief Planning Officer sends a letter to McLean Homes addressing points of concern with the proposed plan.
- 2 November 1993: The developers and planners hold a meeting at the Planning department to negotiate the development of the site. Shortly after, McLean Homes submits official planning applications to the local authority.
- December 1993-January 1994: The local residents are notified by the planning authority of the proposed development and the plans are made open to public viewing.
- 4 February 1994: A residents hearing is held at the Development Control Sub-Committee. As the Committee members are unable to resolve various issues concerning the application, a site visit is organized.
- 16 February 1994: The members of the Development Control Sub-Committee visit the site.
- 25 February 1994: The developers defend their proposed plan at the Development Control Sub-Committee. The issue of demolishing the farm buildings is informally voted down by the Committee members. Subsequently, McLean Homes submit a revised plan.
- 18 March 1994: Planning permission is granted by the Development Control Sub-Committee with the proviso that a number of conditions be met.

As seen above, once a successful bid had been made for the land, the planners were able to consider the developers' plan in detail. After consulting with the Director of Engineering, Environment and Protection, the Chief Planning Officer outlined various problems or points of concern with the proposed layout in a letter (dated 4 October 1993; see Appendix B). In the letter, McLean Homes were advised that the comments on the proposed development "do not have the benefit of any public consultation and cannot prejudice any future decision

of the Development Control Sub-Committee" (see Appendix B). The issues raised in this letter constituted the agenda for the subsequent meeting on 2 November 1993 between the developing company and the planning authority. This meeting was the main source of negotiation concerning the application between the two parties and constitutes the primary data investigated in this thesis.

McLean's application specified the construction of 72 detached houses on the twelve acres comprising site D, with an access adjoining site E as well as an access from the existing service road to the south (see Appendix A for a map of the area). The next stage in the process involved consultation with local residents, followed by deliberation among the members of the Development Control Sub-Committee (DCSC), which played a principal role in the processing of this particular application. The Newcastle DCSC comprises 16 elected members, including a Chair, who may at their discretion question features of any planning application. After neighborhood notification letters were distributed and the plans were made available for public viewing, two residents' meetings were organized at the local library, which resulted in three letters of objection to the proposed development (DCSC minutes 4/2/94). A resident representative voiced these objections at the DCSC meeting on 4 February 1994, where concern was expressed about maintaining both pedestrian and vehicular access, preservation of the farm buildings, open space, amounts of traffic, construction disturbance and the relationship of the development to the existing hospital buildings. A general point of interest was the impact of possible over-development on the character of the area and the subsequent loss of local amenity. A discussion among the members of the Committee ensued (DCSC minutes 4/2/94).

In particular, a ward member endorsed the concerns of the residents by stressing the

importance of retaining the farmhouses. It was argued that the historical significance of Dodd's farm warranted its retention and that the layout of the surrounding trees should also be preserved. In response, it was acknowledged by the planners that there would be some loss of trees and that replacement planting would be a condition of planning approval. Regarding the subject of the farmhouses, their possible retention had been discussed, but the planners had felt they were of no real value. It was also mentioned that the developers were not prepared to preserve them as this would not be consistent with the proposed scheme of detached housing. Further discussion concerned the retention of public open space and the future of the hospital buildings, and the Conservation Areas Advisory Sub-Committee expressed concern about over-development and house design. It was resolved that deliberation on the application be postponed until a site visit could be organized (DCSC minutes 4/2/94).

The visit took place on 16 February 1994 and consideration of the application resumed at the next DCSC meeting held 25 February 1994. The unresolved issues included the retained farm buildings, pedestrian access and house design, with the principal issue discussed being the preservation of the farmhouse. Two McLean developers, the director and the architect, were present and were accompanied by a professional consultant who spoke to the Committee on their behalf. The developer's spokesman argued that even though it would be possible to retain or convert the farm buildings, their future had not been included in the planning Brief. Moreover, he argued, they were not listed by English Heritage or the Department of the Environment and thus were of no substantial merit; to convert the buildings would result in a net loss of £200,000 and in less residential development. Though the developer would be willing to sell the buildings, it was not feasible as they were only worth the market value of the land. Again, however, a member of the Committee emphatically recommended

their preservation and argued that the buildings were important to the local people, who had actually distributed leaflets, and that respect for social integration with regard to planning schemes was necessary. The Chair reminded the Committee that the present meeting was simply an updating report—so an informal vote was called to indicate to the developers the probable result in lodging a formal proposal to demolish the farmhouses. Six to four votes carried in favor of retaining the buildings (DCSC minutes 25/2/94).

The developers would have had the option to lodge an appeal to demolish the buildings, but instead, the Planning department received a revised proposal with the farmhouses converted into four dwellings and the number of houses, reduced from the original 72 to 69. This was reported by a planning officer at the following DCSC meeting on 18 March 1994. The one remaining issue was the proposed style of houses about which the Conservation Areas Advisory Sub-Committee had expressed concern. In view of this, the members of the DCSC granted consent to the plan with the proviso that the legal agreement to maintain the open space was met and the following conditions were satisfied: notification of the location of the compound and hours of working; details of materials to be used; details of landscaping; details of boundary treatment and tree protection measures; details of conversion of farm buildings; and details of traffic calming measures (DCSC minutes 18/3/94).

This section has provided ethnographic information relevant to the planning meeting in order to facilitate the interpretation of the data analysis. The following section characterizes the planning meeting as an institutional event in which contextual matters, such as 'proposals' or 'resolutions', are seen as created by the interactants as locally situated and interactively constituted phenomena.

3.2 The data as institutional

Institutional talk refers to how ordinary conversational strategies are adapted to invoke an orientation which is more 'formal' (Atkinson 1982) than mundane talk-in-interaction. Typical examples of social activity studied from this perspective are professional domains such as bureaucratic contexts (Mehan 1991), news interviews (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991), legal processing (Atkinson and Drew 1979) and doctor–patient interaction (ten Have 1991). With regard to the planning meeting, the analysis of its institutional nature focuses on "*how* such things as arguments, counter-arguments, proposals and counter proposals—aspects which are prototypically proferred as defining characteristics of negotiation—are interactionally accomplished" (Firth 1995a:4). This section introduces the participants in the meeting and outlines five dimensions of research associated with institutional talk.

3.2.1 Defining the planning meeting

The study of institutional *meetings* conducted by Boden (1994) provides extensive ethnographic description supplemented with transcripts from a variety of work-related meetings—this allows the author to characterize 'meeting talk' as a foundational component of the "overall life of the organization" (Boden 1994:79ff).

As a working definition in institutional contexts, a *meeting* is referred to as "a planned gathering, whether internal or external to an organization, in which the participants have some perceived (if not guaranteed) role, have some forewarning (either longstanding or quite improvisational) of the event, which has itself some purpose or 'reason', a time, place, and in some general sense, an organizational function" (ibid:84). In reference to this definition,

the data for this thesis represent a *planned gathering* which is *external* to the organization of the Planning Department in that attending members include not only planners but also developers—so that, the *purpose* or *reason* for the meeting is to discuss the developers' planning application. There is also a specific *time* and *place*, in that the meeting, lasting approximately 70 minutes, was held at the Newcastle Planning Department in a conference room with seating for eight persons. The *membership* of the meeting is represented by seven British males (ages 45–58), who are identified in the transcription according to their seating arrangement and occupation:

#1 Pl.: Senior planner

#2 PA: Planning architect

#3 PE: Project engineer and highway consultant

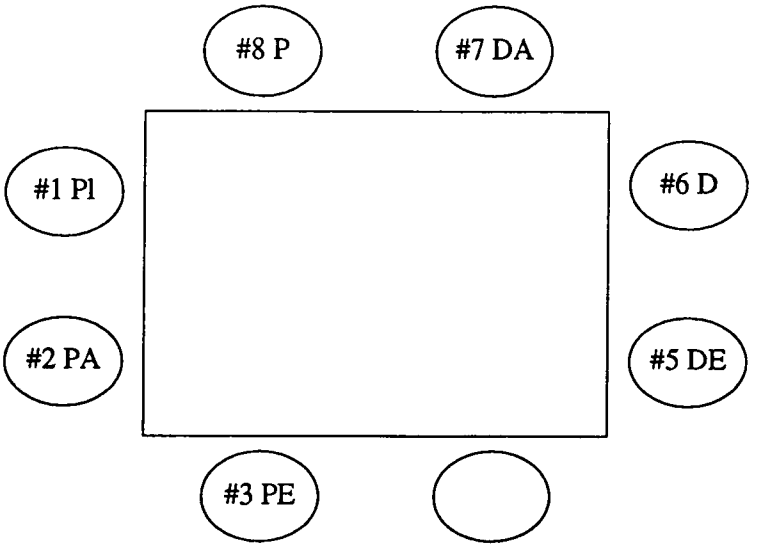
#4 Seat vacant

#5 DE: Developers' engineer

#6 D.: Developers' director

#7 DA: Developers' architect

#8 P.: Senior planner and Chair



Boden's definition also accounts for the participants having *some perceived (if not guaranteed) role.* Following the meeting, each participant completed a 'datasheet' supplied by the researcher in which he described his role or interest in the negotiation and indicated the amount of experience he had had with regard to this type of interaction:

MEMBER	JOB	EXPERIENCE
P: Senior planner	To ensure a good quality housing layout in line with planning policies	10-15 years
D: Developers' director	To ensure that the site can be developed in accordance with the tabled plan	10 years
Pl.: Senior planner	Relationship of scheme to longer term planning objectives and previously prepared site Brief, Conservation area, etc;	20 plus years
DA: Developers' architect	Chief architect for McLean Homes, overall planning concept of layout and house format	20 years
PA: Planning architect	Protection of existing landscape (visual and ecological) achieving of optimum future landscape/housing environment	occasional meetings over 15 years (less than 6 a year)
PE: Project engineer	Highway and parking considerations and standards for proposed housing development	7 years
DE: Developers' engineer	Checking engineering details on behalf of contractor	30-40 years

This table represents the participants' self-assessment of their roles in the encounter—which are thought by these participants to determine their actions in the meeting.

3.2.2 Dimensions of analysis

Within the ethnomethodological/CA framework, the institutional orientation of an encounter must be shown to be *procedurally relevant*, so that it has consequences for "the shape, form, trajectory, content or character of the interaction that the parties conduct" (Schegloff 1992:111). To indicate the relevance of the planning meeting to a work-related context, the following characterizes the data in relation to five (naturally overlapping) dimensions of

institutional talk discussed by Drew and Heritage (1992:29-53):

1. **Lexical choice:** *The use of special or technical vocabularies clearly indexes a relevance to a work-related context and invokes the membership status of the participants involved.*

The planners and developers are seen to orient to an institutional context by using specialized terms (e.g., 'specs', 'horizontal curvature') and referring to team membership with the use of exclusive 'we'. Apart from technical vocabulary, the influence of 'external' contexts on lexical choice may be immediately apparent in institutional settings. For example, Boden indicates that "local agendas are fitted together and 'meshed' with those of others, often distant from the immediate interactional setting" (1995:85). Mehan (1991) observes the effect of *distal factors* which originate outside the organization of talk and yet influence the *proximal* construction of the interaction. Distal effects "are generated from afar" and their sources include government agencies, public policies, administrative or fiscal constraints (Mehan 1991:87). Mehan's notion of *distal* contexts is used in the analysis to account for the mention of 'external' contexts which are procedurally relevant to encoding professional membership or signaling institutional aims. In the data, distal contexts include, for example, the authority which contracts the land, referred to as 'the hospital trust', the document which outlines planning policies, referred to as 'the brief', and 'the letter', which consists of a list of problems which the planners have identified in the developers' proposed plan.

Lexical choice may also be related to Goffman's (1981:124ff) notion of *footing.* In this case, it is the means by which speakers are seen to construct or change their talk so as to maintain a neutralistic stance. For example, a speaker's transition from expressing

a personal viewpoint with the pronoun 'I' to a collective one with the pronoun 'we' signals a change in footing. In the planning meeting, both planner and developer will be shown to regularly achieve a *neutral* footing and issues are seen as negotiated by maintaining an objective, or 'professional' orientation. The analysis also indicates that changes in footing can be systematically associated with a problematic situation. For example, the chair, or senior planner may invoke the *distal* context of 'the brief' or 'the letter' in order to distance himself from personal affiliation with a planner desired outcome.

2. **Turn design:** *The analysis of turn design focuses on the action performed by the turn and its verbal construction.*

In negotiating a planning application, each party is seen to orient to a particular candidate outcome based upon professional constraints and expectations. In the data, invoking a candidate outcome is treated as a potentially conflictual context so *dispreferred* markers such as *accounts* (cf. Firth 1995c) are a prominent feature of turn design. Also, relative to ordinary talk, long turns are considered routine in that they are not as frequently monitored with continuers, e.g., 'yeah', 'okay', 'uh huh'.

The persuasive function of *formulations* and *questions* are also seen as important to turn design and discussing candidate outcomes. For example, the sequential organization of *formulations* is examined by Walker (1995) with regard to concessionary actions during union/management negotiation meetings. She indicates that a speaker's review of information may be seen as a 'tendentious interpretation' of prior talk, which is represented by *formulations* because the position of the other team is under review—a

may have a standard pattern or pre-ordained structure. For example, interactants may follow a set schedule or agenda and be required to invoke a conventional means of opening and closing.

During the planning meeting, the dialogue is shown to be goal-oriented in that the topical content is constrained to talk pertinent to the development and planning of the site. In particular, the participants address issues outlined in a letter to the development company from the Chief Planning Officer, so that the entire dialogue can be seen as a collection of negotiated *topics.* In view of this, a common perception of work-related activity is the notion that the structure of negotiation revolves around 'problems' or 'conflicts'. In fact, Anderson et al.'s (1987) study of a business meeting indicates that each party must work out what an issue means before it can be resolved, and this is done by exchanging information, as opposed to simply making offers and responses. Also, the participants in such encounters are often seen to clarify and then drop an issue without absolute resolution as it is understood that the subject will be reviewed at a later stage (ibid). The planners and developers demonstrate a similar orientation with respect to the issues discussed and to the way they resolve the problems which arise.

5. **Social relations:** *A focal element of institutional talk is the typical asymmetry between participants in relation to "such matters as differential distribution of knowledge, rights to knowledge, access to conversational resources, and to participation in the interaction" (Drew and Heritage 1992:49).*

While the institutional character of the planning meeting is seen in the participants' professional *cautiousness* or invocation of *neutral* footing, it must be stressed that the interaction represents an unequal encounter in that the planners have the authority

to refuse planning permission—an asymmetric membership power feature which is procedurally oriented to by both parties. At the same time, the problems which arise are dealt with in such a way as to the minimize a confrontational context (cf. Firth 1995b, Wagner 1995, ten Have 1991). In this way, even though negotiating parties may not have common interests, the discourse proceeds with 'urbane affability' (Anderson et al. 1987:147). In the planning meeting, each party is seen to orient to the possible consequences of the contexts invoked and yet the competitive nature of negotiation often remains implied or is encoded with indirect strategies. Thus, the planners and developers also exhibit the 'affability' associated with institutional negotiation.

The observations made with regard to these five dimensions of analysis only briefly outline the nature of the planning meeting as a work-related context—the subsequent analysis in chapters 5 and 6 illustrates in more detail the means by which the participants invoke and orient to an institutional domain.

To conclude, the last category of analysis mentioned above—the feature of asymmetric social relations—involves the notion of power in institutional contexts. The perception of power within business organization and the means by which it is managed and dealt with have been shown to vary across cultures (Hofstede 1980). Some societies, for instance, seek to minimalize the hierarchal power relationship between workers and bosses, so that perceived authority positions are typically implied. Hofstede terms this a *low power-distance* value system. The data in this thesis represent an unequal encounter, yet the power status of the planners is rarely encoded in overt ways and the participants are seen to invoke the interaction in a way expected in a low power-distance culture. Hofstede's study of business organization in 40 modern nations indicates that dominant national traits are structured by cultural values.

One value dimension is constituted by the Power Distance Index (PDI), which relates to the notion of human inequality and how it is dealt with. Inequality in society occurs, for example, as a result of differences in wealth, prestige and authority. In work-related situations, power is inevitably unequally distributed, so that PDI values will be reflected in an organization's hierarchal authority structure (Hofstede 1980:119-22 *simplified*):

Low PDI countries	High PDI countries
Managers seen as making decisions after consulting with subordinates	Managers seen as making decisions autocratically and paternalistically
Close supervision negatively evaluated by subordinates	Close supervision positively evaluated by subordinates
Managers more satisfied with participative superior	Managers more satisfied with directive or persuasive superior
Employees less afraid with their boss	Employees fear to disagree with their boss
Managers seen as showing more consideration	Managers seen as showing less consideration
Higher-educated employees hold less authoritarian values than lower-educated ones	Higher- and lower-educated employees share similar values about authority

Thus, differential power positions are predictably encoded in either overt or implicit ways in all work-related activity. The data provided by the planners and developers will illustrate how the behavioral predictions for a low PDI society are relevant in the interactants' use of language in the execution of their everyday work activities.

Chapter 4

The research methodology

As this thesis investigates the 'micro-domain' of talk-in-interaction, its methodology reflects the qualitative character of such research. Following a discussion of qualitative approaches and in particular the CA methodology, the method of data analysis designed for this study is introduced—a method which seeks to explicate how the relevance of a social structural context is shown to be procedural to an ongoing interaction. The theoretical method of analysis is termed a *model of consequentiality.* This method enables the analyst to infer context from members' pragmatic and sequential *methods.*

4.1 Doing qualitative research

This section considers how a qualitative methodology suits the type of investigation conducted for this study. In doing so, it describes what is meant by qualitative research in the context of the procedural analysis of social conduct, and in particular the conversation analytic approach. In addition, the means by which the planning meeting data were collected and transcribed is

presented.

4.1.1 Researching consequentiality

A research methodology is selected with respect to the aims of a study and what is to be demonstrated. In this study, the goal is to determine how talk is *consequential* and, in particular, how linguistic methods are the prime means of invoking and orienting to a context in which the result is a negotiated social structural outcome. In this sense, the method of analysis—a *model of consequentiality*—is designed to demonstrate that the participants orient to a particular context as consequential. The data selected to illustrate this aim consist of an interaction in which the participants are oriented to a relevant 'real world' social structural context. That is to say, the planning meeting represents the means by which an undeveloped site becomes a residential estate—an outcome which has immediate physical consequences for the community and socio-cultural consequences for the society at large.

Although there were no prior definitions of the type of talk-in-interaction to be considered before the project began, there was a prior methodological position. This involved the theoretical assumption that a participant's orientation to context is invoked not only by the mechanisms of talk but also through pragmatic cueing. This approach is viewed as valid because the procedural analysis of interactions "leaves the researcher with ample room to develop his own best-fitting heuristic and argumentative procedures" (ten Have 1990:24). The analysis, therefore, identifies pragmatic features and their sequential placement in order to demonstrate how the talk is procedurally consequential for the participants. The researcher also sets out to show that the *model of consequentiality* employed in this study is theoretically capable of being applied empirically across a wide range of data.

To justify this hypothesis, the researcher considered the way in which a pragmatic account of language use might enhance the CA account. Primarily, it was observed that CA work lacks a systematic method for explaining the linguistic component of talk-in-interaction. For instance, no distinction is made between propositional and pragmatic content—instead, descriptions of methods have relied on intuition or 'common-sense' to explain the talk within them. By their very nature, pragmatic features such as maxim hedges are metalinguistic and are precisely an indication that a method or a context needs to be, and therefore is being, glossed.

The occurrence of pragmatic features is significant in two ways: one concerns language understanding, in that speakers *indirectly* encode a context, so that inference is necessary; and the other accounts for the fact that the type of pragmatic feature used demonstrates speaker-orientation to that context. Thus, pragmatic uses of language encode a mutual orientation and indicate the consequential status of that orientation to the ongoing talk. For instance, deictic reference relies upon mutual orientation between speakers and addressees, and is simply a fact of language understanding. However, the way deixis is actually employed in the talk indicates the orientation that speakers have toward the context. For example, the use of distal or proximal deixis with regard to a topic index demonstrates the status of the context by encoding a specific orientation. This orientation may then be procedurally related to the resolution of the negotiated topic.

Pragmatics distinguishes between literal and non-literal meaning: propositional content, on the one hand, and meanings which are inferred once the relevance of the proposition is established on the other. In a sense, the notion of propositional content is a convenient way of defining what pragmatic phenomena are, i.e. the remaining so-called non-truth conditional

contributions to talk. However, in respect to interactive linguistic behavior, this notion is rather vacuous: in conversation, all propositional and non-propositional content is part of a sequential environment and therefore its meaning is linked to the method in which it is contained. For the practical purposes of separating literal form from function, the distinction remains useful, and more importantly, when a method consists of flagging the propositional nature of an utterance, it is an *explicit* means of indexing a particular context.

To conclude, pragmatics as a *method* which interacts with sequential properties comprises a *model of consequentiality*: on the one hand, CA shows how interactants construct the speech event by using recognizable methods of conversational organization; on the other, pragmatic theory represents the explanatory or metalinguistic component of language use. By illustrating participant use of pragmatic phenomena in a sequential environment, the analyst can account more fully for linguistic communication, face-to-face interaction and the consequentiality of talk.

4.1.2 The CA method as qualitative

The CA approach to social interaction, contrary to a 'macro' methodology, holds that social categories are demonstrated members' phenomena which cannot be quantified. This conflicts with 'positivist' notions of reliability which "assume an underlying universe where inquiry could, quite logically, be replicated. This assumption of an unchanging social world is in direct contrast to the qualitative/interpretative assumption that the social world is always changing and the concept of replication is itself problematical" (Marshall and Rossman 1989, quoted in Silverman 1993:146). In this sense, a basic principle of the qualitative study of interaction is to generalize from descriptions of social activity to theories, with the aim of

establishing universal *tendencies* (Silverman 1993:44).

Within a qualitative approach, valid research may begin without hypotheses, so that in the process of data analysis, hypotheses may be induced and tested (cf. Strauss 1987). In this sense, the methodology of CA also traditionally avoids pre-specified procedures and *a priori* hypothesizing (ten Have 1990:24). However, Silverman (1993:29) indicates four methodological criteria which comprise a "prescriptive model of qualitative research":

- The study should be based on a theoretical framework rather than practical notions of what can be measured or sampled.
- Social phenomena should be examined as "*procedural affairs*, replacing the questions 'why do people do X in the first place?' and 'what keeps people doing X' with 'what do people *have to do* to be (routinely, unremarkably, but recognizably and readily so) doing X"'.
- Common-sense assumptions are problematized when establishing variables and categories of data analysis. For example, what constitutes 'family' or 'organization' must be questioned with regard to how the data demonstrate these features.
- Qualitative methods recognize the importance of using naturally occurring data to explicate the actions of social members within a social situation.

This model also characterizes the approach taken in this thesis in that conversation analysis, as a methodological tool, represents an interpretative practice describing the way members 'do interaction', with the central goal of demonstrating this competence as accountable members' phenomena.

In view of this, the work of CA does not extensively discuss methodological issues because it aims to explicate the problems associated with the particular data at hand (ten Have 1990). Recorded data with specialized techniques for transcription are required for this explication—a mode of data collection which is stable and reliable in that recordings may be repeatedly referred to. The CA database is limited to recordings of naturally occurring

talk-in-interaction (rather than elicited data, interviews, texts), because *post hoc* participant understanding of an action is seen as an unreliable explanation of behavior. Rather, it is the participants' moment-by-moment interpretation of situated action which conversation analysts document and analyze.

The analysis of such situated interaction relies on explicating participants' understanding as a locally managed activity (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974). The aim is to show that there is some observable procedure by which members are seen to hear and understand an object, so that the 'sense' of a context is seen as mutually accomplished by the participants. As Bilmes (1985:340-1) points out, "all analyst's procedures are identical to, or elaborations of, participants' procedures". He suggests four interpretational criteria to aid the analyst:

1. Consistency criterion: Preference is to be accorded to an interpretation that makes the utterance "actively" consistent with (i.e., supportive of) the speaker's previous propositions over interpretations which are merely neutral in this regard, and neutral interpretations are to be preferred over inconsistent ones. (Of course, we are limited to interpretations that are plausible from a semantic point of view.)

2. Internal relevance criterion: When interpreting X, a part of an utterance, preference is to be accorded to that interpretation which makes X relevant to some or all of the rest of the utterance.

3. External relevance criterion: Preference is to be accorded to that interpretation which makes the utterance topically relevant to previous utterances in the conversation. Furthermore, in absence of special markers, relevance to recent utterances is preferred to relevance to more distant ones.

4. Structural relevance criterion: Preference is to be accorded to that interpretation which makes the utterance structurally relevant to previous utterances in the conversation. This instructs us, for example, to hear a response to a question as an answer if it can be so heard, since a question makes an answer structurally relevant.

With a qualitative approach, such as the CA framework, the reliability of the analysis is less frequently addressed in that "the structural organization of talk is to be treated as

on a par with the structural organization of any social institution, i.e. as a social fact" (Silverman 1993:125). Thus, it is the attention to the procedural understanding of context which represents the basic conversation analytic 'hypothesis'.

1.1.3 Collecting and sifting the planning data

Moving from the theoretical considerations about qualitative data discussed above, this sub-section outlines a recommended procedure and an account of how it was followed in this study. In characterizing the CA approach to collecting, selecting and analyzing data, ten Have (1990) suggests a seven step "model of CA's research practices" (32-35). He qualifies it as an idealized scheme and indicates that some researchers may consider steps 4, 5 and 6 as a single category. Below, each of ten Have's recommended steps is italicized and followed by a description of the methods employed in this research project.

1. *The material to be analyzed is recorded with audio (visual) equipment.*

   The data used in this thesis were collected by the researcher. Prior to the meeting, a microphone was placed in the center of the table round which the informants were seated. The researcher was positioned away from the table, but close enough to see and hear all the participants. Each speaker was coded with a number and throughout the interaction, as accurate a record as possible was kept of the turns taken by each informant.

2. *The recording is transcribed using conventional transcription notations. Membership knowledge is inevitably used in the attempt to understand what was said and how it was meant; the researcher may also have the transcription checked by others.*

The work on transcribing the data commenced soon after the recording took place. In this way, the researcher was able to better remember the voices and the faces of the informants, which, together with the notes made at the time of the meeting, facilitated the transcription task. The initial transcription was continuously revised and checked through several versions by two other transcribers over a period of six months.

3. *The researcher decides on the episodes to be analyzed. This varies according to the individual study, but generally consists of a number of sequences in which an action is initiated and responded to.*

   From an initial observation of the data, it was seen to consist of a number of negotiated issues or topics of discussion. Sorting the data according these phases in the talk provided systematic divisions for the analysis which followed.

4. *The researcher then considers what the interactants are 'doing' in the actual utterances and sequences of talk.*

   The initial analysis consisted of 'parsing' the sequential properties of the episode and noting the pragmatic phenomena within those methods used by the interactants. Step 4 is regarded by ten Have as important in that the researcher "tries to explicate the local meaning of utterances and sequences independent of the analytic interests of the project" (34). As a result of considering the data in this way, lists comprising the methods used in a particular episode indicated precisely how the participants constructed the talk.

5. *From the interpretation of the sequential properties in step 4, the researcher constructs a reasoning which supports and accounts for these "typifications". In particular, the "details of the episode" with regard to the methods used are made clear.*

From the lists of sequential and pragmatic features of an episode in the talk, patterns emerged which related to how each party discussed their desired outcome and the consequential status of that outcome. With regard to "details", the pragmatic properties in the data are seen to influence the procedural status of the sequential context and, in particular, the metalinguistic features in the talk cue the participants' orientation to the consequential nature of the encounter.

6. *The analysis may then consist of inspecting subsequent utterances and sequences as the participants may refer implicitly or explicitly to the episode under study.*

   The analysis undertaken via steps 4 and 5 are seen to have systematic properties throughout the data. That is, the typifications resulting from these steps were confirmed by applying the analysis to other episodes in the talk. Moreover, the participants consistently show a metapragmatic awareness of their conduct and of the contexts they invoke with regard to planning and developing.

7. *There may be a comparative element in the analysis and from this the researcher tries to ascertain what is likely or normal. However, a distinction is made between 'single-case analysis' and a 'collection study.'*

   The data examined here constitute a 'single-case analysis', which is representative of the everyday multi-group interaction within an institutional setting. However, the method of data analysis should be general and powerful enough to explain the consequentiality of any episode of talk-in-interaction.

In CA research, the nature of the data is talk-in-interaction and the method is to describe it exhaustively, so that the methodology results, in some sense, from the data. However, in

this study it should be pointed out that the analysis does not endeavor to actually *do CA* in the strictest sense of describing conversational organization, but *use CA* to explicate the consequentiality of participant orientation to social structural contexts, such as 'membership' and 'outcome'.

4.2 A model of consequentiality

Conversation analysts argue that 'context' is a 'local' matter and contingent on the participants' display of relevant interactional strategies. In this view, sequential phenomena are viewed as *the basic contexts* by which socio-structural features are indexed (Schegloff 1987). A consequence of this position is that these social structural contexts can only be *inferred* from members' methods. This section first argues for an inferential theory of sequential organization and then examines how a *model of consequentiality* accounts for the sequential and pragmatic invocation of social structural contexts.

4.2.1 Inferring consequentiality

As seen in chapter 3, CA analyses aim to show that contextual matters are *endogenously generated* (Heritage 1984) by members' methods, so that "everyday practices are examined for the way in which they exhibit, indeed, generate social structures" (Mehan 1991:75). A pragmatic account of these everyday practices requires an inferencing procedure to invoke the relevant context. For example, the invocation of a *pre-sequence* may not be explicit and may not always have uptake, thus, sequential methods and their context-invoking effects need to be inferred. The *non-conventionality* (Grice) or *indeterminacy* (Sperber and Wilson)

of utterance meaning, as demonstrated by the need for pragmatic inference and *repair*, exemplifies how an inferencing procedure is fundamental to language understanding.

The following explores how interpreting sequential phenomena may be analogous to the account of inferencing that Sperber and Wilson's (1986) Relevance Theory hypothesizes for understanding utterances (see pg. 21). In summary, a Relevance account of speaker meaning requires the hearer to *prove* the relevance of the utterance, a process which involves recovering the available contextual information to derive contextual effects involving a cost (time and effort) which aims for the most optimally relevant understanding. Thus under this account, relevance is always guaranteed and context is a variable. In view of this, to what extent might a theory of relevance also account for the production and reception of recognizable conversational routines? It could be argued that in CA *members' methods are always relevant.* That is, understanding the function of a *repair* sequence or a *formulation* is a matter of working out its relevance with regard to contextual matters, such as who is speaking and the sequential placement of the turn[1]. Thus, this procedure may be referred to as working out the *sequential relevance* of talk.

In fact, this position can be traced back to a relatively overlooked part of early CA theory—the notion of *sequential implicativeness* (also see pg 13 with regard to Sacks's notion of *preference* organization and inference). In discussing adjacency pair construction, Schegloff and Sacks (1973) indicate how the speaker may implicate a certain topic or context: "By 'sequential implicativeness' is meant that an utterance projects for the sequentiality following turn(s) the relevance of a determinate range of occurrences (be they utterance types, activities, speaker selections, etc.). It thus has sequentially organized implications" (ibid:296). The

[1]See Moeschler 1990 for an discourse analytic appraisal of Relevance theory.

significance of this concept for this study is the general 'recognizability' of sequential methods, such as *first pair parts*, in which the sequential structure is inferred, and inferred as relevant to a particular context. The notion of *sequential relevance* introduced in this thesis greatly extends the concept of 'implicativeness'. That is to say, if a sequential structure comes with a guarantee of its own relevance, then all sequential phenomena may be regarded as premises which invoke an inferencing procedure. In the same way that utterances are vague and underdetermined, so sequential phenomena are not necessarily and always directly equivalent to some particular interpretation. Their relevance is inferred because their function is generally not explicit.

An illustration of the underdetermined nature of sequential properties is exemplified by Schegloff's (1984) analysis of a *misinferred* members' method. Speaker A. is a talk show host and B. is discussing a problem he has with his high school history teacher on the ethics of American foreign policy. The sequence in question is an example of what Schegloff calls 'empirical ambiguity' (ibid: 36) in that each speaker orients to a different possible understanding regarding the context of the sequence. The contribution 'For whom' is initially inferred by B. as a first pair part of a *question-answer* sequence, rather than a token of *agreement* with B.'s position. Speaker A. realizes the misinterpretation and offers an equivalent of 'For whom' (i.e. 'By what standard') in order to clarify.

```
B: He says, governments, an´ you know he keeps- he talks about
.  governments, they sh- the thing that they sh´d do is what´s
.  right or wrong.
A: For whom.
B: Well he says-  he
A:                By what standard
B: That´s what- that´s exactly what I mean. he s- but he says ...
```
(*Schegloff 1984: 28*)

Schegloff notes the utterance could have also been a *pre-sequence*, an analysis which would further demonstrate the non-conventional and underdetermined nature of the sequential structure. However, the parallel with Relevance Theory is that there needs to be be a most relevant way to understand a contribution, so that what a turn counts as is *inferred.* In some instances, such as large group interaction (e.g., committee meetings and press conferences), a mechanism such as a *turn-taking* device may be made explicit: e.g., "Okay, it's Morgan's turn to speak now I've finished talking". In such cases, the departure from an unmarked norm to a situation in which turn-taking becomes a pre-allocated process will cause an inference to be drawn as to the context being invoked, e.g., an institutional context.

The relevance of a mechanism of talk involves inferring its consequentiality, or how it *changes the context.* To draw a comparison with pragmatic theory, note the traditional distinction between sentence and utterance: a 'sentence' is a proposition while an 'utterance' represents the speaker's action in uttering the sentence to be inferred (e.g., announcement; order; promise; threat). Now consider the distinction between an utterance and its sequential property: the focus is not specifically what the utterance is 'doing', as in traditional pragmatics, but how the context is changed or in what way the contribution is consequential and what sort of mechanism invokes the change. For example, indirect speech acts are not simply inexplicit actions with indirect force, they *change the context* through a *preferred* routine in addressing imposition, which may be consequential to the membership statuses of the speaker and addressee(s)—under this account, not only ISAs, but all speech acts would change the context.

Finally, while the initial work of inferring the relevance or consequential status of a sequential feature lies with the interactants, the analyst considers their interpretations of

consequentiality *post hoc*. As such, the analyst embarks on a different type of inferring in which members' methods are viewed as basic contexts, or tools for constructing socio-structural contexts. The following sub-section considers how participant inference, represented by *sequential relevance*, coordinates with the analyst's mode of inference, represented by the *model of consequentiality*.

4.2.2 Demonstrating consequentiality

The *model of consequentiality* proposes that the notion of *context* consists of two abstract categories: firstly, the superordinate category of *membership*, which consists of who participates in the encounter and how role and status are indexed; secondly, the participants' invocation of a *social structural* context, which is revealed in how interactants orient to it.

A. Two categories of orientation

1. Membership
2. Social structural context

In particular, these contexts are invoked by sequential and pragmatic methods, so that consequentiality is *inferred* from the organization of talk. The consequentiality of **A.** is inferred from the participants' use of **B.**:

B. Two categories of members' methods

1. Sequential methods
2. Pragmatic methods

In particular, the model postulates an *orientation cline* and the methodology is to demonstrate how sequential and pragmatic phenomena consistently and interdependently support this

construct. Crucially, interactants will be shown to invoke *degrees of consequentiality* which relate to the topic of discussion and their commitment that context.

The category *membership* represents all the multi-faceted contexts in which people take on different roles in different settings. Even within a single interaction, the indexing of membership may be constantly in flux in that it moves with the dynamics of the activity—for example in the planning meeting, the membership status encoded at one moment, using inclusive 'we', may change for the purpose of the next by using exclusive 'we'. In this way, professional membership associated with one's own party may only be demonstrated at certain times in the talk. In the planning meeting, the participants are shown to demonstrate their membership as either planners or developers in a procedurally relevant way.

With regard to a *social structural* context, the *model of consequentiality* distinguishes between contexts which are seen by the participants to reflect social structure and those which are created as a result of their talk. Their orientation to contexts, either those proposed as their own or as the other party's desired outcome, in terms of degree of commitment is shown in their talk. As such, participant orientation to context is represented by a continuum, in which contexts are analyzed on a *historical–candidate* cline:

- **Historical Orientation**

  Interactants may invoke contexts which are viewed as 'objective' representations of the 'real' social world. These are considered presupposed realities, *historical* facts, so to speak, and often do not require participant negotiation to arrive at mutual understanding and agreement. In the planning data, overt historical contexts include for instance, 'the brief', 'the letter' and 'the trust'. The sequential use of an *account* offered as an explanation for why a candidate outcome has been chosen, for example, is historical.

- **Candidate Orientation:**

  A *candidate* orientation demonstrates the extent to which a context is viewed as agreed

upon or understood by the speaker and/or the other participants. For example, the use of a *question pair part* as a *pre-sequence* signals a candidate orientation. In the data, issues are frequently treated as *candidate* because they are not considered accepted features of the social structure. Thus, a clausal implicature, introduced by 'if' or 'as long as', implies that the speaker takes a tentative view of the context. Oftentimes, what is referred to as *historic* orientation is invoked even if the context is not yet resolved between the participants as *historical.* In this way, a speaker may orient to a previously invoked context with *historic* orientation when it has a history within the talk, even if the issue is not agreed.

Historical and *candidate* invocations of context represent the two ends of the orientation continuum. Falling between these two poles are the varied degrees by which speakers may orient to a context in different ways. The participants in the planning meeting are clearly aware of different interests which result in different desired outcomes. The need for each party to see their own desired outcome as historical is realized in the way the speakers' dynamically move through different degrees of historicity. In fact, *historic* orientation may be seen as a preferred option when speaking of one's own party candidate outcome.

The cline operates through the *negotiation* of consequentiality. That is, while a particular orientation may be invoked, its degree of consequentiality remains to be negotiated in the subsequent turn(s). For example, an *account* is historical to the social structure, but its consequential status in the talk is determined by how the other participants orient to it. Thus, the degree of a context's consequentiality is a result of participant *negotiation*: "It can be demonstrated in many cases that, for the participants themselves, what an utterance 'means' and what it 'does'—its semantic and pragmatic import—is not fixed, once it is produced, but is liable to be defined and redefined, in short negotiated, in utterances following it" (ten Have 1990:27). Negotiating the consequentiality of a context is the essence of talk-in-interaction and acts as a means of constructing the social structural context as a reality. Furthermore,

the negotiated character of talk is equated with the way in which prior turns or methods are seen as *sequentially relevant* by the interactants.

Thus, this methodology provides the analytical tools for demonstrating how all interaction could be shown to be oriented to 1) the membership or role identities invoked by the participants and 2) the nature of participant orientation to a socio-structural context as invoked along a historical—candidate cline. All talk demonstrates an interplay between what is treated as *accepted* social structure and what remains to be *negotiated.* The latter is represented in the various *descriptions*, *accounts*, *questions* which organize talk and construct the interaction as a new, socially negotiated view of the world. Moreover, by distinguishing between what is considered *historical* and what is considered *candidate* by the participants, we have a principled, theoretical means of demonstrating how talk both reflects and creates the social structure: "Members can and must make their actions available and reasonable to each other and, in doing so, the everyday organization of experience *produces* and *reproduces* the patterned and patterning qualities we have come to call social structure" (Boden and Zimmerman 1991:19). In this sense, participant agreement on what constitutes 'historical' context in the talk may be considered a base or a resource by which new contexts can be achieved within and through the talk.

During the planning meeting, the participants' orientation to the negotiable context is reflected in the means by which issues are discussed and resolved. For example, the meeting commences with the senior planner (P) addressing the known state of affairs between the two parties[2]:

[2]See Appendix C for transcription conventions.

#8	P:	umm right [clears throat] (..) we've got this room	1
		an hour an I don't know how long its going to take	2
		us (.) we (.) we obviously we've have had some	3
		previous discussions (.) to the extent that we've	4
		seen your scheme and given you our comments on it	5
		(..) uuh (.) before you made the bid (.) now (.)	6
		I presume from what we were told (.) in the run up	7
		to that bidding process that the time scale your	8
		now into is a fairly tight one (.)	9
#6	D:	that's right that's the case	10
#8	P:	so (.) w- what sort of are the next steps you're	11
		looking for ?	12

The planner demonstrates *historical* orientation by noting that each party is aware of the initial 'scheme' proposed by the developers and each party knows the 'comments' made on that scheme by the planners (3-5). There may be an implicature at lines 1-2 in that a one hour meeting might not be sufficient time to complete the negotiation.

The alternating use of inclusive and exclusive 'we' distinguishes the membership roles encoded by the speaker. For example, the first use of the pronoun in 'we've got this room' (1) includes both planners and developers, as does the second use—'we obviously we've had previous discussions' (3). These encode a reference to the entire group and affirm what is taken as mutually historical. This is then followed by an inclusive orientation with regard to the planners, which also is set within an historical frame: 'we've seen your scheme' (5). The reference to 'your scheme' presupposes its existence and is thus prototypically historical. The quasi-deictic 'now' (6) then switches the orientation to the immediate situation. The candidate status of what follows is invoked with the item 'I presume' and the inclusive pronoun 'from what we were told' (7). The distal determiner 'that' (8) presupposes its referent, the 'bidding process' and demonstrates an orientation to a context which non-negotiable[3].

The planner's *description* of the state of affairs acts as a *pre-sequence* describing an

[3]The notion that distal deictics demonstrate historic orientation is explained fully in Chapter 5.

historical situation which unfolds into the present interaction—a transition which is signaled by a presumption by the speaker which is acknowledged by the developing director (D) at line 10, and a *question pair part* (11-12). The hedge 'sort of' invites a candidate contribution by the developer.

By distinguishing in a more explicit way between what is *accepted* and what remains to be *negotiated* by participants, we can arrive at a principled method of determining the consequences of talk-in-interaction. The *model of consequentiality* suggests that the means of explaining this distinction lies in analyzing the linguistic component of talk-in-interaction and, in particular, the interplay of pragmatic phenomena and sequential organization. The following three chapters demonstrate in detail how the model is applied to the planning data and the implications of this methodology for the study of talk as consequential.

Chapter 5

Planning talk as consequential

This chapter employs a *model of consequentiality* to show how contexts are inferred from the pragmatic and sequential systems constructing talk-in-interaction. In particular, speakers are shown to orient to contexts on a *candidate—historical* scale, representing the degree to which a speaker invokes a context as consequential. In demonstrating the model, the analysis focuses on the issue of the location of an access road from the site to be developed to an adjoining site. The participants are shown to invoke their role identity through negotiating *candidate outcomes* and demonstrate a form of *preference* organization in which face address is seen as a significant component.

5.1 The sequential pragmatics

The issue of 'the access' is problematic for both the planners and the developers, in that a non-present third party influences the decision making process. That is to say, because the access road in question links the developers' site with land still owned by the hospital trust,

both parties are legally obliged to consult with the trustees. In this way, there are potential conflicts between the interests of the trust, the developer's plan and the planners' Brief, as becomes clear in the course of the planning meeting. The following analysis concentrates first on the sequential occurrence of deixis and then the use of implicature and presupposition as the issue of 'the access' unfolds. In particular, the concept of linguistic politeness is seen as a fundamental feature explaining the conduct and orientation of the participants.

5.1.1 Deixis

The deictic cues within the planning meeting reflect the participants' orientation toward the particular candidate outcome being addressed. This sub-section mainly focuses on the invocation proximal and distal deixis. As each party has a different location for the access in mind, the following hypotheses are considered:

- Proximally marked deictics (e.g., *this, here*) signal an orientation to a problematic or unresolved issue. The choice of proximal reference tends to be used when introducing a feature into the talk.

- Distal reference (e.g., *that, there*) reflects an historic orientation to the issue being addressed[1]. Its occurrence may also exhibit face address, in that historic orientation may be assumed with regard to other-party candidate outcome as a politeness strategy at the beginning of a turn.

[1]This feature may be compared with Hanks's (1992:56) observations of Mayan interaction in which a switch from proximal to distal reference to the same object can be made within the same turn: a proximal reference introduces an object into the talk, while a distal reference orients to the aspect which has been now established.

In this way, objects of reference in the planning data are identified in relation to the *candidate–historical* scale with four identifiable points. The deictic 'this' typically shows speaker orientation to the *candidate* nature what is being proposed, while the distal 'that' indicates *historic* orientation. Quasi-deictics such as 'somewhere else' may also signal *historic* orientation, while non-deictic references such as 'at point A' are invoked as mutually accepted or presupposed and thus refer to *historical* features.

Some references to the location of an 'access' in the data demonstrate *analogical deixis* (Klein 1982,1983). This occurs when the 'real' deictic space being referred to is actually represented by an analogue on a map or plan. Thus, the senior planner (P. #8) orients to the unresolved status of the location of the access road beginning at line 590:[2]

		(2.0)	589
#8	P.:	the (.) now the access to (...) the adjoining site	590
		umm (.) sites C and (..) D (..) we are a little	591
		unclear and this may now have been (.) resolved	592
		with the (.) hospital trust as to where the access	593
		should be (.) we we felt it should just come	594
		straight through at this po*int	595

Present tense and proximal deixis, 'this' (592), invoke a candidate orientation to the context. The outcome proposed by the planning department at line 595 is also indexed by the proximal 'this', marking the outcome as candidate and hence negotiable.

The developers' director, D, responds with a different candidate outcome initiated by an *account* of why they differ. D's alternating use of distal and proximal deixis in referring to the access is systematic to the stages in the *account* he is giving:

[2]The line numbering corresponds to the placement of talk in the meeting, with the entire meeting represented in the transcription as lines 1–1762.

#6	D.:	* we (..) before we	596
		submitted the bid and certainly after we'd seen	597
		yourselves (.) and before we submitted the bid (.)	598
		we went- or I went to see the uh (.) the agents	599
		asking on- acting on behalf of the hospital trust	600
		(..) with <u>these</u> points of access (..)	601
#8	P.:	yeah	602
#6	D.:	and they eventually came back and said that they	603
		were happy with a point <u>there</u> and a point even	604
		below <u>this</u> one (..) because there's a cottage down	605
		from <u>there</u> um Rose cottage s'll be down	606
		* <u>there</u> as well-	607
#8	P.:	* yeah <u>that's</u> right	608
#6	D.:	which is (.) obviously (.) w-w-why it's not- [.]	609
		particularly concerned about access to Rose cottage	610
		(.) certainly <u>that access</u> (.) I mean can go	611
		virtually anywhere=	612
#8	P.:	=umm=	613
#6	D.:	=whether or not it's got- www	614
		(.) they uh were certainly happy with <u>that</u> point	615
		and were happy with <u>that</u> point <u>there</u>.	616

The *account* begins by invoking a past time with temporal clauses at lines 596-598 (e.g., 'before we submitted', 'after we'd seen'). This is introduced with proximal orientation with 'these points' (601), which reflects the candidate notion invoked by the planner as 'this point' at line 595. The 'there' at line 604 is distal because it is agreed between the trust and the developers. However, he encodes the same point as proximal at line 605 because it refers to one of the two candidate points encoded as 'these' at line 601; in this way, the context is also invoked by the developer as having a problematic status.

As D's *account* indicates, the decision to propose 'these points' is the result of actions taken in the past. So that, as the developer's *account* unfolds and the process by which the points were established is revealed, he moves to referring to the access points with distals. So that the distal 'that' (615) refers to the same point as 'there' (604) which was first referred to as 'these' at line 601. Mention of 'that' and 'there' at line 616 are also distal because

the developer is stating the position agreed between himself and the trust. In this way, he develops through his talk an orientation to the status of the access from the perspective of the developers. That is, the developers' candidate outcome is placed within a historical setting with respect to arrangements with another party—the hospital trust.

In coordination with the turn-taking process, the senior planner produces confirmation and *continuation devices* throughout the developer's *account.* The *overlapped* 'yeah, that's right' (608) signals confirmation with what appears to be a conventionalized historical orientation, i.e. agreements are conventionally expressed in this form. The senior planner responds to D's *account*:

#8	P.:	right (1.0) but they didn't (.) you didn't discuss	617
		any al-alternatives with them they jus said they	618
		were they were you know satisfied with those- I	619
		mean the reason I ask that is that (.) the brief	620
		(..) saw access umm (..) I think jus coming through	621
		at this point=	622

P orients to the consequences of D's *account* with a *formulation*, in which he refers to D's proposed access points as 'those' (619). This orients to the status of the access points as historic because they represent the perspective of the trust. However, this will not prevent him questioning the judgment or expertise of the trust later. Secondly, he provides a *self-formulation* starting at line 620 with 'I mean', which attempts to account for the planners' desired access point by noting the development Brief. In repeating the proposed outcome, P again chooses a proximal reference (622), which demonstrates that the topic is yet unresolved.

The senior planner's restatement of the planners' proposed access (622) is followed by *overlap* between D, P and Pl below. The director gains the floor and continues with a more

explicit *account* of his responsibility to develop an access by providing specific information about the issue:

#6	D.:	=okay *well what what we'd [..]-	623
#1	Pl:	* [..coming from] tthe main	624
		hospital drive	625
#8	P.:	* [..] there was the assumption	626
		on their part * [.]	627
#6	D.:	* th-that it-it was* you know provide	628
		access between points A and B uh and B and C (.) um	629
		which is what we did	630
#8	P.:	right	631
#6	D.:	uuh (.) you know you could have in fact been	632
		anywhere (.) b- (.) but you know I think point A	633
		started around here somewhere	634
	?:	yeah	635
	?:	yeah	636
#6	D.:	and then (..) point B is somewhere down here=	637

The director again displays historical orientation with the past tense, yet he acknowledges the problematic nature of the topic. At line 629, the situation is depicted as historical as he explicitly describes the location points without using deictic cues. However, as the *account* continues, vague spatial references with regard to the area problematize what is now represented as historic. His deictic *descriptions* of the plots employ a proximal orientation, 'here', and yet they are accompanied by the quality hedge and quasi-deictic 'somewhere' which complement the non-deictic 'anywhere' (633-637). In this way, the developer encodes the context as problematical: that is, one might expect that the use of vague quasi-deictics such as '*around* here *somewhere*' and '*somewhere* down here' to be phrased distally, e.g., 'around there somewhere' and 'around down there'. It is precisely the problematic and candidate nature of the ongoing context which explains this orientation.

Furthermore, the director's *account* orients to his obligation to provide access and does not explain why this access point is beneficial. So that we have the first *description* of why this is viewed by the planners as problematic:

#1	Pl:	=I think th-that the problem with that one is I	638
		mean if you come this way you're into- there's a	639
		road here and there's a circulating ring road and	640
		if you come this way there's a very tight corner	641
		here, I think it's the norm (.) to get any kind of	642
		(.) sort of decent uh radius * ya-	643
#2	PA:	* jus looking at it-	644
		certainly the fact is there's not very much more	645
		[room]=	646
#8	P.:	=yeah (.) uhh that that might be very tight	647
		t-to any maneuverings in this area at all=	648

At line 638, Pl's probable use of gestural deixis, 'that one', refers to the developers' proposed access point. Here, it is suggested that the distal has a politeness function which relates to its sequential property of coming at the beginning of the turn unit—so that the planner views the situation from the previous speaker's perspective with historic orientation before identifying the developers' perspective as a problem with 'this way' (639). Indeed, 'that one' refers to the access point while the two uses of 'this way' (639/641) denote the approaches to the access point, so that the projection of the point of origin of Pl's utterance to the developer's point of origin only obtains in the reference 'that one'. These data also clearly demonstrate that deictics mark more than proximal and distal relations, since if literal proximity was being encoded rather than historicity, one might expect both a 'this way' and a 'that way' to refer to the approaches to the access, rather than the two uses of 'this way'.

The relevance of this *description* is confirmed by the planners' architect (644-646) as well as the senior planner, P, at line 647. The latter's *formulation* orients to the developers'

proposed outcome with the deictic 'that' (647), which is identical to Pl's supposed gestural acknowledgment at line 638. P then orients to the problematic nature of the proposal with a proximal, 'this area' (648). The developers' contribution to resolving this trouble is initiated by their architect with a *question pair part*:

#7	DA:	=could	649
		that not be anything more than a set of factors of	650
		this building now 'cos that that would be different	651
		[.for some future..*.]	652
#2	PA:	* yep	653
#1	?.	uhum	654
#7	DA:	[.*]	655
#1	Pl:	* I I'm not I'm not quite sure what that access	656
		would serve then, what its purpose would be (.)	657
		because it might be taken jus t- (.) to get a	658
		refuse truck or something like * that but [.]-	659

The developer's 'that' at line 650 orients to the historic status of the problem as seen from his perspective. However, in shifting the focus of the problem, he also shifts his own focus of deictic orientation. In this way, Pl's reservation about maneuverings in 'this area' (648), referred to as 'that' (650) by DA, is refocused as factors relating to 'this building' at line 651. The item 'now' at line 651 coordinates with this proximal orientation. In questioning the consequentiality of the architect's comment, Pl refers to 'that access' (656), which orients to the developers' preferred outcome as historic. The item 'then' (657) marks his tentative acceptance of 'this building' as problematic. Interestingly, the developer's orientation to the context as problematic combines the two items 'this' and 'now' (651), while the planner refers to this context (which is by this time sequentially historical) with the expected historic orientation using 'that' and 'then' at lines 656-657.

So at this point in the interaction, the participants have introduced a topic as unresolved and invoked two different candidate outcomes with *accounts* for why these outcomes are preferred by the respective parties. Finally, there is discussion of a problem with one of the candidate outcomes (i.e. the developer's access point). Both parties are able to show mutual recognition of the conflicting aims as turn initial 'that' demonstrates. So that the issue itself, even though unresolved, has a history within the interaction. Indeed, in seeking a resolution, a non-controversial or face-preserving means of addressing the issue is via a distal reference: this also reflects the give-and-take 'affability' associated with many institutional encounters in low power-distance cultures. Below, we find precisely this orientation as the director inquires if a decision on the issue could be postponed.

#6	D.:	* wull (.) can we	660
		take that up with uhh (.) with the agents and	661
		discuss (.) their future (1.0) * proposals	662
#8	P.:	* yeah	663
#6	D.:	and in fact what they what they hope to achieve.	664

In the short sequence which follows, the developers' architect presumably responds to a previous comment with regard to the access points, and as the points are established, he encodes them with a distal orientation.

#7	DA:	I think as long as there is- well you know I mean	665
		that´s (.) a little group of houses there, it´s	666
		much better than if we can build a house there	667
		[you start literally to the reverse of houses...]	668
		which is what would result in *[..]	669
#8	P.:	* in creating a-a	670
		sort of a closed-	671
#7	DA:	yeah [..*.]	672
#2	PA:	* a stop (.) a stop on the end	673
		(1.5)	674

At line 666, DA invokes a historic orientation with the distals 'that's' and 'there' and the anaphoric 'it's'. DA's comment appears to be a consequential one in that both P and PA recognize its relevance and the long pause (674) perhaps indicates the planners consideration of it. However, it is only acknowledged in passing by the senior planner with the distal reference 'that' at line 675 below. Instead, P begins an *account* describing the planners' assessment of the various schemes by prospective developers which were submitted to the Department before the bids to contract the land were made. The talk results in accepting D's suggestion to postpone the resolution of the issue.

#8	P.:	well th-that may be a fair point yes I mean what	675
		the difficulty we had when we were looking at all	676
		these schemes is that (.) we laid down in the brief	677
		a fairly- (.) standard and clear way of developing	678
		* the sites	679
#6	D.:	* yes	680
#8	P.:	one after the other (.) and what the	681
		hospital trust then did was to kind of set up that	682
		process (.) um that we felt (.) was an arbitrary	683
		[one] (.) s-so we we really will have to rethink	684
		that (.) now obviously we can do that now (.) now	685
		we know it's you * and	686
#6	D.:	* yes	687
#8	P.:	none of the others umm (...) and it may be that	688
		yes, that closing that off and just having one way	689
		through might actually (.) fit in well with the	690
		* uh scheme.	691

In the planner's *account*, reference to 'these schemes' at line 677 demonstrates his orientation to the immediacy of the situation: 'all these schemes' are history but not *historical* because the one scheme is still being negotiated. In particular, 'all these' represents an unforeseen problem for the planners who had in mind a unified 'scheme' as represented in the Brief (677). As noted before at line 620, P makes clear the importance of the Brief by alluding

to its authorship at line 677. Just as the director orients to the issue as established with the distal 'that' (661), P chooses a distal orientation by stating that the planners ('we we') need to 'rethink that' (684). Thus, the *account* which is initially anchored in the past tense, leads into a tentative *offer* made with reference to the future.

Once the *offer* is established, the temporal deictic 'now' (685) orients to a present time and the planner makes reference to the developers' proposed candidate outcome. Exceptionally, the item 'it's' (686) appears to have a quasi-deictic function in that it refers to the proposition that the present developing company are the winning contractors. Reference to this historical issue, as well as reference to the developers' proposed outcome, mitigates the situation and is face saving for the developers.

The analysis above demonstrates that the participants' use of place deixis systematically shows their orientation to the object of reference on a *candidate–historical* scale. In conclusion, it is important to recognize the special significance of the sequential placement of new speaker distal reference:

- New speaker distal references located at the start of a turn project the point of origin of the utterance from new speaker to previous speaker.

- This has politeness status because the new speaker is referring to the object in relation to the other speaker's perspective as *historic*, prior to invoking a proximal or *candidate* orientation of their own.

Moreover, the participants' act of placing distals at the start of turns to project the origo from new speaker to previous speaker is significant because it links sequential organization and pragmatic features in an interdependent relationship.

5.1.2 Politeness, implicature and presupposition

In this section, the issue of 'access' is analyzed to show how the sequential placement of other pragmatic categories, such as implicature and presupposition, invoke the speakers' contextual orientation. In the previous section, it was shown that obtaining an agreed perspective on a context's consequentiality involves the local negotiation of *candidate outcomes.* The presence of certain types of pragmatic inference is evidence of the need to preserve face when a potentially conflictual context is invoked—as in the case of alternative candidate outcomes. That is to say, a conventional tool for negotiating an agreed outcome is through face-address invoked by pragmatic politeness phenomena. It is in this sense that talk is pragmatically negotiated: given that members are considered accountable for their actions, interactants conventionally address face concerns to the extent that the absence of face-address is viewed as noteworthy. As Goffman states, "Ordinarily, maintenance of face is a condition of interaction, not its objective" (1967:12). As such, this section shows that a central means by which the planners and developers achieve agreement of an outcome is through *face-preservation.*

In particular, the invocation of a candidate outcome is related to the concept of *preference* as follows:

- With regard to Sacks' original principle of *ordering* (see page 13), there is a *preference* to mention an alternative outcome if one exists; otherwise opposition is assumed *absence relevant* (lectures April 1973). This relates to the function of inference in language behavior. In some institutional contexts, such as committee meetings, the 'tabling of objections' is actively sought as an on-record requirement of negotiation activity.
- However, within the negotiation itself, a candidate outcome is invoked with *dispreferred,* or reluctance markers which functionally construct the context. In this sense, a candidate outcome is seen as representing a potential 'rift' in social solidarity (Heritage 1984) and is, therefore, presented with face-preserving strategies. In the event that a candidate

outcome is opposed, the invocation of the alternative is tantamount to a *rejection* of or *disagreement* with the original and thus is a *dispreferred* contribution.

So in the analysis of the planning data the mention of an opposing candidate outcome is seen as a *preferred* context with regard to an interpretative principle of *ordering* and yet is largely encoded with *dispreferred* markers. Moreover, this analysis reflects the notion of *preference* as related to face-address and conflict avoidance: the inherent social discord represented by alternative candidate outcomes generates attention to face wants.

As we have already seen, the access issue is introduced by the senior planner (#8 P), who orients to the unresolved status of the topic. While the planner presupposes an access, its location is still a candidate issue.

		(2.0)	589
#8	P.:	the (.) now the access to (...) the adjoining site	590
		umm (.) sites C and (..) E (..) we are a little	591
		unclear and this may now have been (.) resolved	592
		with the (.) hospital trust as to where the access	593
		should be (.) we we felt it should just come	594
		straight through at this po*int	595

By using the item 'the' (590) to preface 'access' and 'adjoining site', the planner refers to a speaker-hearer shared one-member set in which the existence of the referents are presupposed. Such definite descriptions are almost always associated with the historical. Before announcing the planners' proposed access point, he refers to the candidate nature of the situation in that the planners are 'a little unclear' (591). This is face-saving in the sense that the planner may be predicting a problem but seeks to minimize it. Indeed, he is clear about the planners' proposed outcome, which is introduced with the verb of recommendation, 'we felt' (594). The hedge 'just' is a conventional implicature conveying the implicit meaning 'no more than'.

At line 594, it signals the distinction between the candidate outcomes by acting as a hedge introducing the planners' access point: the conversational implicature being that the planners' proposal is simple.

Thus the issue of access is introduced with the planner invoking a context with both candidate and historic orientation. This opening is presented pragmatically because of the issue's unresolved status. Given that the developers' candidate outcome is different, the director provides an *account* of why this is the case:

#6	D.:	* we (..) before we	596
		submitted the bid and certainly after we'd seen	597
		yourselves (.) and before we submitted the bid (.)	598
		we went- or I went to see the uh (.) the agents	599
		asking on- acting on behalf of the hospital trust	600
		(..) with these points of access (..)	601
#8	P.:	yeah	602
#6	D.:	and they eventually came back and said that they	603
		were happy with a point there and a point even	604
		below this one (..) because there's a cottage down	605
		from there um Rose cottage or something down	606
		* there as well-	607
#8	P.:	* yeah that's right	608
#6	D.:	which is (.) obviously (.) w-w-why it's not- [.]	609
		particularly concerned about access to Rose cottage	610
		(.) certainly that access (.) I mean can go	611
		virtually anywhere=	612
#8	P.:	=umm=	613
#6	D.:	=whether or not it's got- www	614
		(.) they uh were certainly happy with that point	615
		and were happy with that point there.	616

By providing an *account*, the developer mitigates his position as the proposer of an opposing candidate outcome. In the literature, an *account* may represent a *dispreferred* contribution (Pomarantz 1984), which, in this case, is viewed as face saving with regard to the conflictual context being invoked. The developer's talk appeals to a historical framework in that the temporal clauses, denoting a past time at lines 596-598, are presupposing structures; due to

their repetition, they also flout the Gricean maxim of quantity and function as a bid to assert historic status. A scalar implicature gives rise to the inference that a point higher up on a scale does not obtain—in view of this, the developer encodes the highest point on a scale of conviction with 'certainly after we had seen yourselves' (597). The item 'certainly' addresses the face concerns of the planners (the implicature being that the planners should be consulted before plans are presented to the trustees) and at once encodes the membership roles of the participants (i.e. the high status of the planners). Also in this phrase, the reference to 'yourselves' (587) flouts quantity, which is also presumably status acknowledging.

Once the developer has stated the points agreed upon by the trust, he provides a further *account* signaled by the item 'because' at line 605, which explains that the trust agreed on 'a point even below this one' (604). The item 'even' gives rise to the conventional implicature that the following item is at the the end of a scale of some kind. In this context, 'even below this one' gives rise to the conversational implicature that the access was not problematical for the hospital agents, while it might be considered a problem by either or both of the two parties present. Furthermore, the item suggests that the trustees are open with regard to where the access is placed, which preserves the face of the planners who have in mind a different access. Thus it is the developer's use of 'even' which leads him to *account* for the presence of this implicature by explaining that it would be convenient for Rose Cottage.

Given that the conventional implicature associated with 'even' results in the conversational implicature indicated above, the developer's *account* concerning the access point near Rose cottage is invoked as *non-consequential* (605-612). For instance, as a *repaired* sequence, 'obviously (.) w-w-why its not- [.]', the proposition is not complete and the hedge 'obviously' assumes a common perspective and is a bid for the historic. The hedges 'not particularly'

, 'certainly', 'I mean' and 'virtually' either assert or bid for the historic. They are face preserving in that the information in the *account* is either not new or not wanted and therefore invoked with *dispreferred* markers. The clausal implicature that arises from 'whether or not its got-' (614) shows that the speaker is not in a position to say more; indeed, he does not, and the clause is *repaired* with an assertion which essentially changes the topic back to what is regarded as consequential: a restatement of the developers' candidate outcome. Thus, the developer's *account* includes numerous pragmatic and sequential features (repair, quality intensifiers, assertion following a clausal implicature and the use of distal deixis) which both establish historic orientation because of the *account* and indicate that Rose cottage is considered by the speaker as non-consequential. Indeed, the topic of Rose cottage neither has uptake by the planner nor is pursued again by the developer.

The developer's *account* is seen as face-preserving in that it mitigates a problematic situation by explaining the historical background of the conflicting candidate outcome. This redress also demonstrates the *dispreferred* status of *account-giving*, in that the *account* functions to reject the other party's proposed outcome. The *acknowledgment* provided by the senior planner at line 602 works as a continuation marker, while the 'that's right' (608) with its distal deictic orientation is a conventional agreement to the historical status of the context invoked. Often a positive acknowledgment confirms mutual understanding of rather than mutual agreement on the consequentiality of the context invoked. And often *accounts* do not actually contribute to solving the problem at hand. The senior planner's response is structured as a *formulation*:

#8	P.:	right (1.0) but they didn't (.) you didn't discuss	617
		any al-alternatives with them they jus said they	618
		were they were you know satisfied with those- I	619
		mean the reason I ask that is that (.) the brief	620
		(..) saw access umm (..) I think jus coming through	621
		at this point=	622

The planner's pragmatic use of language is sequentially sensitive to the historical status of the developer's preceding *account*. For example, the 'right' at the turn's beginning is a sequential acknowledgment which signals understanding, provides a token agreement and preserves face. However, the conventional implicature associated with 'but' switches the situation back to its candidate status. The item 'but' conventionally indicates a contrast, although both assertions must be true (in other words historical) in order for the conjoined sentence to be true. Therefore, while the planner acknowledges the developer's *account* as historical, he also aims to (once more) assert the planners' proposed points. The key factor here is that until agreement is reached these propositions represent only *candidate* outcomes, and thus the face concerns of both parties are addressed.

Moreover, the repair, 'they didn't (.) you didn't discuss' suggests that it is the developers' responsibility to discuss the planners' candidate outcome as stipulated in the Brief. The *formulation* contains the item 'jus' (618) implying the information in the developer's *account* is not sufficient; the phrase 'you know' (619), which appeals to a common perception, hedges 'satisfied', which is the planner's way of referring to the situation referred to by the developer's 'certainly happy' (615). This interactional strategy shows that the planner is oriented to the consequences of D's prior *description* and implies that the developers' proposed outcome is not satisfactory to the planners. The indirectness with which this is conveyed preserves the developer's face in view of this criticism and reformulation of his position. Moreover, the

mechanism of a *formulation* invokes a candidate orientation in that it presupposes the prior context is not mutually understood or agreed upon: in this case, the developer's *account* is being questioned.

At this point, the use of 'I mean' (619) intensifies relevance/manner and provides a beginning of a *self-formulation* which works to restate the planners' candidate outcome. The phrase 'the reason I ask' goes on record, in contrast to the other pragmatic features, and demonstrates metapragmatic awareness regarding his own prior *formulation.* Thus, this remark implies that the planner's *formulation* (617-619) was an indirect means of criticizing the consequences of D's *account*, rather than a lack of understanding of it. P's *self-formulation* invokes a presupposed distal factor, 'the brief' (620), which lends authority to and explains the position of the planners. The hedge on quality with 'umm (..) I think' at (621) accompanies 'jus coming through' to preserve the face of the developers in view of the repeated information. However, this time, the context is invoked with enhanced membership status by mentioning 'the brief', which is recognized by both parties as procedurally consequential to the issue. With regard to the last section, the distal deictic 'those' (619) and the proximal 'this' (622) demonstrate the speaker's orientation as respectively historic from the developer's perspective and candidate from his own.

This restatement of the planners' points orients to the still problematic and candidate nature of the topic, which complicates the situation and results in *overlap* by the two senior planners and the director.

#6	D.:	=okay *well what what we'd [..]-	623
#1	Pl:	* [..coming from] tthe main	624
		hospital drive	625
#8	P.:	* [..] there was the assumption	626
		on their part * [.]	627
#6	D.:	* th-that it-it was* you know provide	628
		access between points A and B uh and B and C (.) um	629
		which is what we did	630
#8	P.:	right	631
#6	D.:	uuh (.) you know you could have in fact been	632
		anywhere (.) b- (.) but you know I think point A	633
		started around here somewhere	634
	?:	yeah	635
	?:	yeah	636
#6	D.:	and then (..) point B is somewhere down here=	637

The director accepts the planner's prior formulation with the item 'okay'; the marker 'well' (623) introduces his forthcoming *account* as a *dispreferred* and indicates that agreement is still in question. In the *overlap*, Pl begins to address what appears to be a technical problem (which is in fact what he does in a subsequent turn at line 638). Meanwhile, P is continuing his prior turn by approaching the problem from an administrative perspective—he implies the hospital trustees were misinformed with 'there was the assumption on their part' (626). However, once the floor is gained at line 628, D provides an explicit *account* of his responsibility to develop an access. In doing so, he first establishes a historical setting in referring to the obligation to place an access at a specified place. The auxiliary assertion, 'which is what we did' at line 630, shows that the *account* is a relevant contribution to the context being invoked because of the outcome which resulted. That is, it shows that the *account* is relevant and therefore consequential with regard to that particular outcome.

However, what is taken as historical is then problematized with the modal and quality intensifier 'could have in fact', the conventional implicature 'but' and the quality hedge 'I think' starting at line 632. Hedges such as 'I think' coordinate with the non-deictic and

non-specific item 'somewhere' (634) which demonstrate non-historic orientation. The hedge 'you know' (628, 632 and 633), which claims kinship or assumes mutual understanding, has underlying face-address in that it makes an appeal for agreement and is thus a bid for the historic. The hedges work to pragmatically ensure agreement from the planners by assuming a speculative orientation and appealing to a shared point of view. The planner's acknowledgment of this orientation is also face-preserving.

The *account* is then followed by Pl's *description* of why the developers' candidate outcome is regarded as problematical.

#1	Pl:	=I think th-that the problem with that one is I	638
		mean if you come this way you're into- there's a	639
		road here and there's a circulating ring road and	640
		if you come this way there's a very tight corner	641
		here, I think it's the norm (.) to get any kind of	642
		(.) sort of decent uh radius * ya-	643
#2	PA:	* jus looking at it-	644
		certainly the fact is there's not very much more	645
		[room]=	646
#8	P.:	=yeah (.) uhh that that might be very tight	647
		t-to any maneuverings in this area at all=	648

Pl goes on record in stating a 'problem' with the developers' candidate outcome at line 638: the phrase 'I think' hedges quality, however this is followed by 'I mean' which simultaneously intensifies relevance/manner and acts as a method of *self-formulation.* The 'if' statements (639/641) operate as scalar implicatures making what is proposed as no more than possible, and so confirm the issue as unresolved. This is also reflected in the appeal to a historical context with the hedge 'I think' on 'it's the norm' at line 642, which together function to verify his *description.* Acting as a phrasal hedge, the item 'sort of' hedges 'decent' (643), which also appeals to a sense of what is considered accepted social structure. The items

'I think' and 'sort of' preserve face in that the planner is not being overtly direct in his criticism of the developers' candidate outcome. As noted, the distal deictic 'that' (638) has face-address, as encoding a historic orientation to the developers' position before invoking a candidate one.

The relevance of this *description* is endorsed by the two planners (PA and P). At line 644, the planning architect enters the discussion with 'jus lookin at it' and confirms the accuracy of Pl's assertion with the quality intensifier 'certainly the fact is'; the senior planner provides a less historic orientation with the modal 'might be' at line 647. The developers' response is provided by their architect:

#7	DA:	=could	649
		that not be anything more than a set of factors of	650
		this building now 'cos that that would be different	651
		[.for some future..*.]	652
#2	PA:	* yep	653
#1	?.	uhum	654
#7	DA:	[.*]	655
#1	Pl:	* I I'm not I'm not quite sure what that access	656
		would serve then, what its purpose would be (.)	657
		because it might be taken jus t- (.) to get a	658
		refuse truck or something like * that but [.]-	659

Posing the response as a *question pair part*, DA addresses face as his turn functions to oppose the planners' suggested outcome (638-643). It also orients to the candidate status of the access point: a question, by definition, invokes a non-historic orientation. The phrase 'not anything more than' is a marked variant of 'nothing more than', so that the former is more face-saving than the latter. It is possible that the difficulty of retrieving the entire turn unit for the transcription relates to the fact that it is a face-threatening act. The face-preserving distal 'that' is also used at lines 650 and 651. The planner's response beginning at line 656 is an

attempt to view the consequences of the developers' access point ('that access') as historic as indicated by the item 'then'. The hedge 'quite' in 'I'm not quite sure' shows face-address in suggesting he does not see the consequentiality of the developers' position. The presence of these and other hedges does not add truth value to the propositions being expressed. Rather, they have pragmatic functions as face-saving strategies and indicators of a speaker's attitude toward the context being invoked.

As we have already seen, this turn is slightly *overlapped* by the director with a *question pair part* aiming at resolution. This turn unit begins with the *dispreferred* marker 'wull' (660), which demonstrates *projection* of the prior turn. This *projection* is explained because Pl (656-659) signals dissatisfaction with the developers' proposal. That is, while the planner attempts to see the positive consequences with 'it might be taken', this positive context (an access for a refuge truck) is not a sufficient reason as indicated by the conventional implicatures 'jus' (658) and 'but' (659)—the later implying a contrast from a possibly positive feature to the idea that it is probably not acceptable enough. In this case, the planner adopts the face-preserving strategy of not completing his turn and the developer *projects* with the item 'wull':

#6	D.:	* wull (.) can we	660
		take that up with uhh (.) with the agents and	661
		discuss (.) their future (1.0) * proposals	662
#8	P.:	* yeah	663
#6	D.:	and in fact what they what they hope to achieve.	664

The sequential placement and content of the turn indicates that the director has priority as a negotiator. However, he orients to the asymmetric membership relation with regard to the Planning authority by proposing a resolution in the form of a *question* rather than an *offer*.

The sequential ordering of his suggestion at first presupposes that they will have proposals (662) and then presupposes that there is some goal that they hope to achieve (664). The director's 'in fact' (664) alludes to the problematic status of the issue in that neither party can proceed without liaison with the trust. At this point, the developers' architect provides a comment, presumably as a response to the turn by Pl back at lines 656-659. The sequential placement of this turn is also linked to the director's presuppositions (662,664) implying a particular purpose or concept of consequentiality.

#7	DA:	I think as long as there is- well you know I mean	665
		that's (.) a little group of houses there, it's	666
		much better than if we can build a house there	667
		[you start literally to the reverse of houses...]	668
		which is what would result in *[..]	669
#8	P.:	* in creating a-a	670
		sort of a closed-	671
#7	DA:	yeah [..*.]	672
#2	PA:	* a stop (.) a stop on the end	673
		(1.5)	674

DA's remark is again invoked with various face-saving hedges such as 'I think', 'well', 'you know', 'I mean'. The *self-repair* after the clausal implicature 'as long as there is' (665) pragmatically orients to a more historic invocation of the context with 'that's' (666). The description 'it's much better' (666-7) asserts the speaker's view of consequentiality. Although the comment is acknowledged as probably consequential, it is too late to discuss the issue as P indicates that the planners will need to 'rethink that' (684):

#8	P.:	well th-that may be a fair point yes I mean what	675
		the difficulty we had when we were looking at all	676
		these schemes is that (.) we laid down in the brief	677
		a fairly- (.) standard and clear way of developing	678
		* the sites	679
#6	D.:	* yes	680
#8	P.:	one after the other (.) and what the	681
		hospital trust then did was to kind of set up that	682
		process (.) um that we felt (.) was an arbitrary	683
		[one] (.) s-so we we really will have to rethink	684
		that (.) now obviously we can do that now (.) now	685
		we know its you * and	686
#6	D.:	* yes	687
#8	P.:	none of the others umm (...) and it may be that	688
		yes, that closing that off and just having one way	689
		through might actually (.) fit in well with the	690
		* uh scheme	691

After acknowledging the prior turn, the planner switches to the point of his own by using the relevance/manner intensifier 'I mean', which functions to *formulate* his purpose (675). The *pre-sequence* in the form of an *account* topicalizes 'all these schemes' (676) and the item 'fairly' (678) hedging 'standard and clear way' addresses face for the developers who are proposing an outcome contrary to that suggested in the 'brief'. P's *account* displays historic orientation and the director acknowledges the talk with the item 'yes' (680/687), which confirms historicity and is pragmatic because it provides acceptance where no *question pair part* has been supplied.

The *account* acts to build up to the object of the talk—an *offer* to postpone a decision on the issue. This is announced with the discourse deictic marker 'so' (684) which is a logical connector indicating that the planner's *account* concerning 'all these schemes' acts as a premise or a *pre-sequence* by which the conclusion to postpone decision on the issue is arrived at. This conclusion is prefaced by the hedge 'really' (684), which intensifies quality. This turn unit also demonstrates his status as a negotiator, i.e. as chair of the meeting.

At this point, the three uses of 'now' at line 685 coordinate with the context of talk at that moment. The first mention appears to have a non-deictic or perhaps a discourse function in that it effects a move from an historical situation to a more immediate context. Thus, the following two mentions of 'now' refer to the present time and in particular, a time in which the planners are aware of the particular development company they must negotiate with. The action of viewing the situation from the developers' perspective has certain face-address. However, a candidate orientation invoked by the modal phrase 'it may be that yes' (688), where the 'yes' is an acknowledgment of the developers' candidate outcome and an allusion to the power of the planners to grant planning permission. In describing the developers' proposed access route, the hedge 'might actually' (690) comments on the problem the planners have in seeing the beneficial consequences of that access point. That is to say, the literal meaning, 'in actuality/in reality', is at odds with the conventional implicature that credibility is questioned. Indeed, the 'uh' which prefaces 'scheme' (691) is a hedge orienting to the tentativeness of the situation: however, it provides face-address in that 'the' presupposes a set scheme as opposed to the candidate nature of 'all these schemes' (677). Despite its candidate orientation, this final description functions as a *agreement* with D's query to postpone deciding the outcome of the access at lines 660-4. In this way, the access issue has reached a semi-resolved status, in that while it is not fully resolved, there is an agreed basis on which to proceed.

The aim of the above analysis has been to demonstrate that the participants took into account *face wants* when invoking an alternative candidate outcome. Moreover, pragmatic categories were seen as the essential features constructing this context. The following indicate the degrees of orientation which may be invoked between the poles of *candidate* and *historical*:

1. A **candidate** orientation by means of scalar implicatures and proximal deictics such as 'whether or not', 'if', 'this'

   A historic orientation by means of quality intensifier and distal deictics such as 'in fact', 'that'

   A bid for the historic by means of hedges such as 'you know', 'I mean'

2. Encoding a context as **historical** with presupposed distal contexts such as 'the brief', 'point A' and sequentially historical contexts, such as *accounts*

Pragmatic phenomena are thus seen to be a members' method of encoding aspects of context and, in this case, showing a speaker's own orientation to that context through face-address.

The above analysis shows that the use of pragmatic strategies is also systematically related to the sequential environment. For instance, pragmatic markers are used to direct or cue a speaker's talk to the purpose of their own turn after a prior turn has been acknowledged. That is to say, the turn-taking device which *acknowledges the previous turn* before addressing the current one (Sacks et al. 1974:707) is pragmatically marked at the point where the switch to address the present turn is made. Below, the item 'but' and the intensifier on relevance/manner 'I mean' act as pragmatic switch markers.

'right (1.0) **but** they didn't...' (617)

'well th-that may be a fair point yes **I mean**...' (675)

'it might be **but**...' (692:section 6.3)

'yeah (.) I can't answer for them **but**...' (701:section 6.3)

These examples reflect a member's method of addressing a prior turn before pragmatically indexing the present context.

While the mechanisms of talk invoke a particular context (e.g., an *account*, a *repair* sequence), the pragmatic features show participant orientation to the context along the

candidate—historical cline. For example, the *accounts* in the data may be seen to function in different ways:

1. The director's (D) first *account* (lines 596-616) displays historical orientation given the presuppositional material and pragmatic intensifiers on quality, such as 'obviously' and 'certainly'. This method functions to invoke the developers' alternative candidate outcome.

2. The senior planner's (P) final *account* (lines 675-683) is set within a historical framework, but this method functions as a descriptive *pre-sequence* leading up to a confirmation (lines 680-681) to postpone a decision on the issue.

In both cases, it is not only the sequential environment but the pragmatic features of the turn unit which indicate the participants' orientation to consequentiality. So that the *sequential pragmatics* in the data are a primary means in invoking a context's consequentiality.

5.2 Membership

Though the participants' orientation to membership is present throughout the data, the following talk is examined because of its relevance to an unresolved issue. These sequences are conducted by the director and the senior planner, Pl. Below, Pl *overlaps* the senior planner, P, where the antecedent of 'it' at the beginning of the turn (692) appears to relate to P's proposition that fall within the scope of 'it may be that' (688); however Pl encodes the situation more remotely with 'it might be'. So that while 'may be' is a candidate orientation, 'might be' is the even more candidate mode in which Pl begins by both accepting and questioning P's suggestion.

#8	P.:	...none of the others umm (...) and it may be that	688
		yes, that closing that off and just having one way	689
		through might actually (.) fit in well with the	690
		* uh scheme	691
#1	Pl:	* it might be * but then I'm not sure what purpose	692
		that'll serve because I'm not sure the trust had	693
		thought through what would actually happen once you	694
		get in there (.) * you know	695
#6	D.:	* wull-	696
#1	Pl:	whether they could actually do anything- (.)	697
		sensible that (.) that you know *...	698
#6	D.:	* I- I-	699
#1	Pl:	might be g-good ideas and all=	700

The discourse marker 'then' at line 692 is a means of orienting to the possible consequences of P's reference to the developers' proposed outcome. The two distals, 'that'll' (693) and 'there' (695) follows P's distal at line 688. This addresses membership status in that he projects the same orientation as the chair of the meeting. He expresses dissatisfaction with this candidate outcome by questioning the expertise of the hospital trust. This orientation is face-saving because he does not criticize the developers or P directly. Also, in using the personal pronoun 'I' instead of 'we', he is indicating both his membership status and the nature of the outcome as still not accepted as historical. That is, he cannot say 'we' at this point because it would presume disagreement among the planners; as the issue stands, the planners must officially 'rethink' the consequences as a group. The conventional implicature, 'actually', is embedded within a wh-structure, 'what would actually happen' (694), presupposing that something would happen. This is then linked to 'actually' in the clausal implicature 'whether they could actually do anything' (697), which orients to the still candidate nature of the topic resolution. The phrase, 'you know' (695/698) is a bid for mutual understanding and common membership and thus appeals for agreement.

The director follows by acknowledging the prior turn and then repeating his *account* of

the situation.

#6	D.:	=yeah (.) I can't	701
		answer for them * but	702
#1	Pl:	* yeah	703
#6	D.:	all I can say is that we we did actually go along	704
#2	PA:	mmm	705
#6	D.:	to see them (.) to put forward our proposals (.)	706
#2	PA:	umhum=	707
#6	D.:	= there's one point of access, there's the	708
		other	709
#2	PA:	mmm=	710

The repetition of this information, the metalinguistic quantity hedge 'all I can say' and the intensifier on quality 'actually' at line 704, together with the past tense and distal references at line 708 contribute to set this *account* within a historical orientation. Following this sequence is a similar sequence in which the talk proceeds quickly probably because the *accounts* are *dispreferred* as methods in the context of opposing candidate outcomes and the content is not new but simply repeated information. The director's use of distal 'there's' (708) is perhaps a rapid means of invoking historic orientation because the more the same account is repeated the more face-threatening it becomes.

Finally, we have a move toward establishing agreement and this action is accomplished by the appropriate member—P, the chair of the meeting. His orientation reflects both the unresolved nature of the topic and the agreed means of proceeding with the decision-making process.

#8	P.:	=*I think* at some point we must to get together	734
		with er the [.] our our engineers must er get get	735
		together with the hospital trust to resolve these	736
		future accesses *now* (.) whether we do that	737
		separately (.) or you do it separately or whether	738
		we do it all together (.) I I dont know which	739
		would be best, in which way we should approach them	740
		(.) *but* I think (..) for a start (.) we´re legally	741
		obliged to consult them on any schemes *so* we´re	742
		gonna have to involve them as * [part of a team]	743
#6	D.:	* yeah	744

P's turn acts as a *closing* frame for the access talk regarding responsibility and the access decision. The talk prior to this turn was specifically about the role of the trust in relation to the development and planning of the site; as such, the planner's talk reflects this subject and attempts to summarize what has been agreed.

This turn can be divided into several sequential phases, each indicated by a pragmatic marker (italicized above). In line with the prior talk, the planner begins by stating that the trust should be contacted. He initiates this with 'I think' (734) which hedges on quality. The repair from 'the' to 'our' (735) encodes membership and the repetition of 'our our', 'er get get' (735) and the proximal deictic 'these future accesses' (737) orients to the unresolved and candidate nature of the situation. His mention of the 'accesses' orients to the unresolved status of both the access under discussion and future ones. Finally, the indeterminacy of the pronoun 'we' (734) and 'our' (735) in relation to the members' roles as either inclusive or exclusive contributes to the still problematic orientation of the issue.

The second phase, in which the planner speculates on how the trust is to be dealt with, is marked by the item 'now' (737). Again, this is acknowledged with various references to membership role and descriptions of possible alternative ways of resolving the issue. The clausal implicatures, 'whether we do that' (737), 'whether we do it all together' (738) and the

item 'or' (738) indicate that the speaker cannot or is unwilling to make a stronger suggestion. These invoke the candidate status of the issue. At which point the third stage is initiated with the pragmatic marker 'but' and the hedge 'I think' at line 741. The conventional implicature associated with the item 'but' functions as a prototypical device for switching perspectives. So that at this phase of the turn, the planner switches to a less candidate orientation by referring to historical statutory requirements concerning the trust. The phrase 'for a start' appears to be an intensifier on manner in which he is being orderly with regard to what is known. The reference to 'any schemes' (742) is non-presuppositional and indicates that this is a general historical issue and not just pertinent to the scheme in question. This switch of perspective naturally leads into the final phase, which is presented as being the end of a logical argument with the discourse marker 'so' at line 742.

In this sequence, the senior planner artfully summarizes and concludes the unresolved issue of the 'access'. The sequential placement of his turn is determined by the agreement to postpone a decision on the access issue, and the talk now focuses on the membership status of the participants in relation to each other and the hospital trust. The planner's turn orients to this problem and in doing so refers to planner and developer on several occasions using 'we' and 'our' in ways which are sometimes ambiguous between inclusive and exclusive deictic reference. Furthermore, the membership status of the senior planner, P, is indicated by the fact that he both opens and closes the issue of the access.

In summary, we negotiate with the goal of reaching an *agreement.* The inherent conflict in such negotiations is particularly attended to, as evidenced by demonstrating concern for the face-needs of those whose candidate outcomes outcomes we oppose. The organization of *account-giving* in the data serves to exemplify this notion:

- *Account-giving* is a device which is routinely provided (or demanded) when an expected action is required or requested but not forthcoming. In the context of opposing candidate outcomes, the participants are sensitive to the desired outcome of the other party. Thus, they provide *accounts* when they are unable to comply with the outcome they are being pressured to accept or when they seek to justify an outcome which the other party is unwilling to accept. In this sense, as Heritage (1988) notes, *accounts* are particularly attuned to issues of *face.* This chapter has shown how the *dispreferred* method of an account is directly associated with the notion of candidate outcomes and participants' attention to face wants. Thus, in the form of *accounts*, the interactants created an environment in which inequalities were minimalized. In fact, *accounts* are extended 'reasons' consistent with Brown and Levinson's (1978, 1987) list, which includes 'providing reasons' as a positive politeness strategy (see pg. 33).

- Another feature of *account-giving* examined in this chapter is the speaker's attribution of responsibility to an outside source. For example, the authority of 'the brief' and the constraints the hospital 'trust' impose are accountable contexts invoked by the participants. Heritage also observes a similar quality in the *accounts* considered in his paper: " ...all have a 'no fault' quality...None of them implicates a lack of willingness to respond in the proposed way, or challenges the other's right in the situation. All of the responses avoid any threat to the speaker, and they also avoid any threat to the social relationship between the parties" (Heritage 1988: 136)

Thus, the sequential placement of an *account* is significant to membership as a historical orientation and is potentially consequential to negotiated agreements.

5.3 Conclusion

These data demonstrate that the participants orient to their role as planners and developers by invoking contexts pertinent to professional constraints and expectations. Indeed, the context invoked as the 'access' issue can only be satisfactorily accounted for by considering the consequence or outcome each party envisages. In this chapter, the data have been analyzed with regard to this orientation. In particular, the *sequential* and *pragmatic* features demonstrate the degree of consequentiality invoked with regard to a *candidate—historical* orientation cline. The local management of the interaction enables these contexts to be interpreted as *sequentially relevant* to the ongoing talk, whose goal is to establish a satisfactory 'historical' agreement.

Moreover, the talk in itself and the membership roles displayed are considered consequential precisely because they are situated actions performed by accountable social actors (Garfinkel 1967). However, we can distinguish between the specific contexts inferred from members' methods as *sequentially relevant* (accounts, implicatures, repair) and the social structural context which results from the talk—that is, the difference between talk as consequential as a social action in itself and as consequential to the domain of social structure to the extent that a specific *outcome* results. Indeed, the agreed outcome of the access issue was to postpone reaching a decision. It was precisely the participants' recognition of the consequences of their negotiation for the social structure which motivated both planner and developer to organize the resolution in the way they did.

Chapter 6

Awareness of consequentiality

While candidate outcomes are overtly invoked and discussed, the motivation for supporting or opposing them is often implicit. In the planning negotiation, the planners are seen to invoke contexts relevant to *land conservation*, including attention to aspects of formality and tree retention; in constrast, the developers show a motivation toward *economic development* of the land, in which the number of houses and the cost of their features is significant. This chapter develops the analysis of *consequentiality* by considering the metapragmatic signals of awareness of the consequentiality of talk in relation to candidate outcomes and membership roles.

6.1 Metalanguage and consequentiality

The previous chapter showed how a context is *created* by the participants through sequential and pragmatic methods. In particular, speakers were shown to invoke these contexts according to a candidate—historical orientation scale. The way in which language is reflexively used to

refer to these contexts also signals the speakers' orientation to and awareness of them. That is to say, the reflexive function of language is the essential means by which speakers indicate their orientation to the structure of language and thus their awareness of the contexts they create. In fact, "speech is permeated by reflexive activity as speakers remark on language, report utterances, index and describe aspects of the speech event, invoke conventional names, and guide listeners in the proper interpretation of their utterances" (Lucy 1993:11). This chapter will analyze how contexts are not only indexed or created but also *referred to* within and across turn units. This action reflects the metalinguistic function of language use, in that utterances or features of the talk are monitored and qualified throughout the interaction.

Metalinguistic speech is represented by a wide range of linguistic phenomena (Lucy 1993) and includes at least reflexive speech, reported speech and metalinguistic use:

Reflexive speech is that talk which explains language, often by making reference to structure or function. This includes *mention* (e.g., 'The word 'cat' is a noun'; 'The word 'well' is a hedge') and *glossing*, or providing semantic equivalence. *Comments* about language in general, such as 'French sounds lovely', are also reflexive in nature. This category extends to word meaning queries and comments on language use such as *typification*—that talk which distinguishes between conventional and idiosyncratic uses of language.

Reported speech may be represented in the form of a *quote* (e.g., 'He said 'Great Haircut"') or a *gloss* (e.g., 'He complimented me'). The nature of reported speech is realized in the complicated management of *footing*—the way in which participants align themselves to their utterances (Goffman 1981, Levinson 1987).

The metalinguistic *use* of forms is exemplified in instances when language use is an object of description, such as reference to chunks of language, e.g., 'well, let's put it *this way*'. Taking examples such as 'What makes you say *that*', '*Now* that you've admitted it, don't you feel better' and 'Don't talk to me *that way*', Hanks (1993:132) claims that even though "they do not *reproduce* linguistic forms, as do paradigm cases of mention and quotation, they nonetheless *refer* to events of speech, as is clear from the verbs of speaking with which they are used." This category would also include *metasequential* references to the organization of talk such as 'and then *back* to some more general points' or '*Now* can I tell you the story'.

The categories of reflexive and reported speech could be said to represent the most traditionally recognized and explicitly metalinguistic phenomena. The category of *use* has more interactive implications in that sequential structure is also accounted for by it.

Working within a 'discourse unit' framework, Schiffren (1980:201) identifies three indicators of 'meta-talk': meta-linguistic referents, operators and verbs. Metalinguistic referents are words and phrases which refer to the language *per se* and include discourse deictic elements such as 'former', 'latter', 'the next point'. Metalinguistic operators act as 'higher level predicates' which modify propositions in the text, such as 'right' and 'wrong', or act as discourse connectives, such as 'like' and 'for example'. Metalinguistic verbs include verbs of saying, 'say', 'tell', 'ask', verbs which indicate a piece of talk, 'clarify', 'define', and ones which describe speech events, such as 'argue' and 'joke'.

In addition to these overt metafunctions, the use of everyday language may be characterized as reflexive in a variety of ways. For example, indexicals or *shifters* are "forms which reflexively take account of the ongoing event of speaking itself, in terms of which we can use and understand their referential and predictional value" (Lucy 1993:10). Furthermore, given the performative nature of language, reporting events and the reported event are indistinguishable–e.g., 'I promise I'll come' (ibid:15). In this sense, the reflexive function of language resembles its indexical capacity: speakers simultaneously index or create contexts, and in doing so, demonstrate an awareness of what they are doing in using language.

Within a wider scope, all metalanguage is a *pragmatic* function, because it represents language in use. And most metalinguistic activity is essentially *metapragmatic*, in that it deals with the appropriate *use* of language (Lucy 1993:17, Blum Kulka and Sheffer 1993:196ff). This awareness may be explicitly declared: For example, discourse which reports a pragmatic

activity or describes types of speech (e.g., formal; informal), or it may be implicit in ordinary conversation "as speakers undertake to contextualize pragmatic forms, that is, signal how such forms are to be appropriately interpreted" (Lucy 1993:17). This chapter argues that a member's *metapragmatic awareness* may be represented by items of face-address as well as all non-truth conditional language, such as contextualization cues (Gumperz 1978), sequential structures and pragmatic hedges. Thus, for the purposes of this chapter, *metalinguistic* references are items which refer to language and *metapragmatic* references are items which implicitly refer to the effect of language by glossing or explaining its function in the discourse.[1]

Moreover, metapragmatic activity shows how speakers at once exhibit implicit awareness of the structure of their talk and of the consequentiality of the contexts invoked. In the planning meeting, the participants invoke different candidate outcomes which sustain their distinct professional membership interests issue by issue. In particular, these outcomes and goals are related to either ensuring a quality environment in a conservation area or developing the site in an economical manner. Therefore, this chapter focuses not only on the participants' invocation of contexts but also on their recognition of the consequences of their talk for themselves, for the other party and for the wider social structure. This is illustrated in excerpts of data below which show planner and developer explicitly invoking their respective professional motivations.

[1]For clarity, the metafunctions, including sequential mechanisms, produced by the participants are italicized.

#8 P.: ...because we we´re looking 214
at it from the point of view uh that the trees are 215
there and (.) should stay and the houses set around 216
them (.) um now it isn´t quite as simple as that at 217
the end of the day but that´s jus sort of a starting 218
point (.) uh now... 219

#6 D.: because eh (...) we have tried to- (.) whiles it- 1077
while I know it´s not your problem (.) uh we have 1078
tried to (1.0) develop this site (.) eh- he- (..) 1079
y-you know to the maximum for us to (.) to be the 1080
successful bidder 1081

While both sequences explicitly reflect membership goals, they employ the face-saving method of an *account* and each speaker recognizes the position of the other party: P *now it isn't quite as simple as that* (217); D *I know its not your problem* (1078). The historical orientation of an *account* also illustrates metapragmatic awareness of the context of the prior talk, (explicitly referred to with the item *because* 214, 1077), and gives reasons or provides a history that justifies its invocation. So that the participants are at once signaling face address and showing awareness of consequentiality: P's comment at line 217 conceptualizes the consequences of what has just been said with the metasequential item *now* and the metapragmatic gloss, *it's not as simple as that*, which is face-preserving for the developer; D's comment, *it's not your problem* (1078), glosses the consequentiality of the developer's situation in relation to the planners.

The reflexive function of language is evidence of speaker's the ability to use language effectively and demonstrates metapragmatic awareness. As Hanks (1993:129) observes, using indexical forms appropriately shows metalinguistic competence because of the need to judge the relationship between speech and context. In this sense, "Metalinguistic discourse is

an essential part of pragmatics because it is itself a kind of language use and embodies the interpretative frames guiding interaction" (Hanks 1993:131). The following sections demonstrate in greater detail how the participants invoke an awareness of the structure of their talk and the contexts they create.

6.2 Candidate outcomes and consequentiality

The distal context referred to as 'the brief' in the data plays a significant role with regard to the candidate outcomes for both parties, with the result that the speakers invoke or orient to the context in different ways. The quotations below are selected from the Brief because of their relevance to the contexts referred to in the data discussed this chapter:

- "Substantial change will come from development of the land, but it is essential to retain as many as possible of the existing features and characteristics such as open parkland, trees, interesting building and walls, and to the new layouts and buildings sympathetic to them and of high quality." (p.1)
- "It should be clear from the Brief that St Nicholas represents a unique development opportunity within the City of Newcastle, and that an imaginative response is expected from developers. The fundamental principle underlying the whole strategy is that design must respond to and respect the characteristics of the site. It must in all cases be treated as integration of purpose-designed development into a mature setting of high quality, and not as free-standing development on a blank greenfield site." (p.3)
- "The outstanding features of the hospital, such as turrets, chimneys, bays, may provide useful focal points or closure of vistas." (p.6)
- "Tree felling will not be permitted simply as an expedient to allow a conventional layout: the layout must be tailored to the retention of the trees which will be the dominant site feature, i.e. the roads and buildings will be in a setting of trees, not vice versa." (p.11)

As observed in the previous chapter, in invoking and reacting to candidate outcomes, both parties show attention to face wants. For example, as an outcome may have differing

consequences for each party, *accounts* are often provided and *requests* are executed with face-saving strategies. This section first exemplifies the participants' metapragmatic awareness of *accounts* as a method in either establishing a candidate outcome or resisting an unacceptable one and then goes onto examine the action of agreement and disagreement in responding to *requests.*

6.2.1 Accounts

In the data below, the planners specify a problematic aspect of the developers' plan—their intention to remove several beech trees rather than the more expendable pines. The problem is complicated by the fact that the developers have provided a *'pretty'* (P 468) or a *'beautiful'* (D 490) open space which would be lost by the need to re-route an intersection in order to save the beech trees. The senior planner, P, opens the topic after a significant pause with the item *'right'* (465), which functions pivotally[2] as an acknowledgment to the previous turn and, more particularly, as a metasequential forward-looking discourse marker indicating a relevant contribution:

		(2.5)	464
#8	P.:	right, okay (..) down to these umm (.) obviously	465
		(..) yeah th-the sort of group of trees in the	466
		middle (..) what we uh (.) said in the letter was	467
		that (.) first of all it was (.) pretty to see that	468
		sorta open space leaving the (.) trees in the	469
		middle (.) s-so everyone would have a chance to	470
		look at a nice good focal point (.) what we were	471
		(..) concerned about though was this (.) ...	472

The issue is introduced with a candidate orientation using the proximal *'these'*, which is

[2]Similar to Beach's (1995) analysis of 'Okay' who cites Jefferson's (1981) description of 'Yeah' as having a "topically dual-faceted character" and making "topical movement transparently relevant".

repaired to the hedged presuppositional *'th-the sort of* group', referring to the context of the trees—such items metalinguistically relate to deictic center or origin of utterance. In particular, awareness of this *repair* is indicated by the phrasing *'yeah the'*, and the mention of *'down to'* indicates sequential awareness of the issues which must be covered in the talk. The phrase, '*what* we uh (.) said in the letter' (467), glosses the upcoming context and, as a cleft structure, presupposes a context and thus provides historical orientation. The manner intensifying gloss, *'first of all'*, indicates awareness of sequential structure, and the context is described with the distal *'pretty* to see *that'* (468), which is face relevant in that the developers' quality outcome is being criticized. In line with this face-address, the item *sort of* (466) hedges the problematic subject of the 'group of trees'. The common membership knowledge assumed by the quality intensifier *'obviously'* (465) is reinforced by mentioning the distal context of '*the* letter' (467), which both parties are assumed to be familiar with. As a Gricean hedge, the item *'obviously'* also performs a metapragmatic gloss and makes a bid for the historic.

In recounting the positive acknowledgment made in the letter of the *'sorta* open space' at line 469 (where *'sorta'* hedges a context which is problematic for the planners because it represents the developers' candidate outcome), P invokes a *pre-sequence* preference structure of agreement before turning to the problematic context (471). Within this structure, the adjectival items *'a nice good focal* point' (471) signal the interpretative frame in which the developers' candidate outcome is referred to. This *pre-sequence* organization acts as a gloss and illustrates metapragmatic awareness of the upcoming context of the planners' candidate outcome. Indeed the presuppositional cleft structure, '*what* we were (..) concerned about though was *this'* (471), indicates historical orientation and shows metapragmatic awareness

of the problematical nature of the topic to be mentioned in the upcoming discourse. The non-truth conditional item, *'though'*, metalinguistically signals the contrast in orientation to outcomes, and the proximal *'this'* indicates that the upcoming context is problematic.

The meta-functions of P's opening talk as constituted by both sequential and pragmatic methods may be summarized as follows:

- Turn initial *right* metasequentially marks the upcoming TOPIC
- Deictic *these* repaired to *the* conceptualizes planner OUTCOME with historic orientation.
- Quality hedge *obviously* relates to MEMBERSHIP and is a bid for the historic
- Phrasing *down to* indicates a metapragmatic awareness of AGENDA
- The structure *yeah th-the* shows awareness of the need to REPAIR the context
- The cleft-type phrase *what we uh said* presupposes and glosses OUTCOME
- The descriptions *pretty to see that* and *nice good focal* gloss developer OUTCOME and indicate awareness of FACE
- The cleft-type structure *what we were concerned about* glosses upcoming TOPIC
- The item *though* metalinguistically contrasts CANDIDATE OUTCOMES and effects a movement from pre-sequence to topic
- The overall *pre-sequence* organization indicates awareness of FACE

Treated as a candidate orientation, the action proposed by the developers' plan is described with 'you've gone through...' (473), which is *repaired* to the more formal 'taken the road through'. This *description* is metalinguistically oriented to with the phrase *'and so doing'* (474), leading into the problem the planners have with regard to this action.

```
                                ...(.) what we were          471
(..) concerned about though was this (.) you've              472
gone through (.) taken the road through the beech            473
trees (.) umm and so doing you avoid the (.) pine            474
trees (.) but the initial view on site perhaps J---          475
will confirm that too is that the beech trees are            476
much more important and add to the- quality of the           477
site than the pine trees (..) hhh so (.) and this            478
is what we said to all the developers at the time            479
that in preference hh (..) well lets put it this             480
```

The item *but* (475) leads into invoking the view the planners had with regard to the beech trees. P appeals to the professional membership of the planner 'J—' (Pl) at line 475 and makes reference to having informed prospective developers of this view (479), which confirms the veracity of P's *account* concerning the history of their candidate outcome. The impersonal phrase, 'the initial view', and the inserted 'perhaps J— will confirm *that* too' (476) are a bid for the historic in which the distal is used to make reference to a context not yet invoked, i.e. the importance of the beech trees. The problematic context is then referred back to with the proximal *'and this is what we said'* (478), indicating a metalinguistic reference to a historical situation.

The reference *'at the time'* is to the original meetings involving interested contractors, however this account is left uncompleted at line 480, which indicates its low consequential status in relation to the upcoming contribution. This context is made metalinguistically explicit with the phrase *'well let's put it this way'*, where the cataphoric 'it' and 'this way' project to the planners' candidate outcome. Thus, P uses the metalinguistic phrase to signal a switch from the *account* to invoking the planners' candidate outcome and shows awareness of the effect of his intention to be on-record with *well* and *this.*

#8	that in preference hh (..) well let's put it this	480
	way we we would rather those were kept and we were	481
	able to avoid it even if it is at the expense of	482
	those (.) pine trees (..) umm now th-that does make	483
	a a fundamental difference because that's a key	484
	point to coming through the umm the estate in	485
	connecting the southern entry to the small inter-	486
	section (.) but we feel that should be done either	487
	to the west or east (.) I think uh [..=]	488

The distal *those* referring to the beech trees (implicit, 480) and the pine trees (explicit, 483) provide a more historic orientation as the subject is now introduced. The planner implicitly recognizes the developers' outcome by invoking the conventional implicature associated with *'even if'* (482). At line 483, this recognition continues in the form of a metasequential marker, *'now'*, a metalinguistic reference to the new outcome proposed, *'now that'*, and a metapragmatic description of the effect that outcome has, *'now that does make a fundamental difference'*. An *account* beginning with *'because that's* a key point...' (484) both encodes awareness of accounting and reinforces the consequences of the planners' desired outcome for the existing plan. This recognition leads to a suggestion, '*but* we feel...' (487), before the developer takes the floor.

The developer responds to the planner's last comment about connecting the intersection by pointing out an aspect already noted (by the planner and in the letter) about losing the open space.

#6	D.:	=th-the only thing is (.) if we do that P--- (.)	489
		what we do is (.) lose this beautiful open space it	490
		means we´ve got to (.) relocate dwellings	491
		elsewhere so you take away that [f´rexample]	492
		green field	493
		(1.0)	494
		you know w-which we´ve achieved´at present (..)	495
		y-you know with the road coming through here I mean	496
		that is (..) just (.) basically [looking] through	497
		th-the houses wherever you want to	498
	?:	yeah	499
#6	D.:	as soon as (.) if the road comes round here and	500
		then goes through that way (.) then obviously (.)	501
		we need to be able to relocate plots and	502
		everything else.	503

A candidate orientation with the 'if' clause (489) introduces the cleft structure, '*what* we do is' (490), presupposing the consequences for the developers' plan. The movement from distal *'that'* (489), referring to the planners' desired outcome and demonstrating face-address for the planners, to proximal, *'this'* (490), referring to the developers' proposal, reflects its candidate status for D. The *self-formulation* beginning with *'it means'* (490) refers to the consequences for the developers' plan and leads to the metalinguistic discourse deictic *'so'* (492), indicating D's metapragmatic awareness of this action.

D conceptualizes the developers' preferred outcome with the present perfect referring to a past event in a present discourse frame, with *'w-which* we've achieved *at present'* (495). The prepositional clause, 'with the road coming through *here'*, is an absolute structure in that it has no grammatical connection to the sentence in which it is embedded—here, it appears to presuppose a weak causal relationship, as signaled by the *self-formulation* at line 496, *'I mean'*. Both the relevance/manner intensifier, *'I mean'*, and the *repair*, in which *'as soon as'* is *repaired* to *'if'* (500) to give a weaker clausal implicature than would otherwise have been inferred, have a metapragmatic function in that a need to clarify a context is recognized. In this sense, speakers also show awareness of the underdetermined nature of language and the

desirability of enabling appropriate inferences to be recovered.

A candidate orientation is invoked with the hedge *'just'* (497), and the intensifiers *'obviously'* (501) and *'basically'* (497) act as a bid for the historic—these hedges provide a series of metapragmatic glosses on the context being invoked. Metapragmatic reference to *'and everything else'* (503) implies further problems with economically developing the site in view of that change. At this point, a contribution by the planning architect invokes a possible third candidate outcome:

#2	PA:	I d-don't know from the engineering point of view	504
		or from your point of view as well but (.) I'm jus	505
		uh throwin (.) an idea out (.) um it did occur to	506
		me that it would be possible to- possibly s-stop	507
		that bit there (..) and pull this through here	508
		around these trees...	509

The metapragmatic awareness illustrated in this turn is related to its *pre-sequence* organization and the largely candidate orientation to the upcoming context.

- The relevance hedge *I don't know from the engineering point of view* glosses upcoming TOPIC
- The inclusive *or* indicates awareness of developers' FACE
- The phrasing *as well* indicates awareness of two MEMBERSHIP parties
- The disclaimer *I'm jus throwin an idea out* hedges the relevance or perhaps the quality of the context to be described
- The personalized gloss *um it did occur to me* indicates MEMBERSHIP by alluding to the origin of the proposed OUTCOME (i.e. the proposal is not based on the Brief)
- The negative politeness of the *pre-sequence* organization indicates speaker awareness of the candidate status of his proposal and is *speaker-face-preserving*
- The scalar implicature *possibly* glosses the *candidate* status of the proposal
- The proximals *this, here, these* also orient to the *candidate* status of the speaker's proposal

PA's *description* proceeds to line 528, but perhaps because his idea has not been previously discussed (or the consequences are implicitly not agreed upon), the context receives no uptake, as indicated by the one second pause at line 529.

In the following sequence, the senior planner metapragmatically orients to this one second pause with the phrase *'its going to be difficult to react it seems'* (529). This indicates that neither party feels in a position to respond to PA's suggestion—a effect which is oriented to by PA below:

		(1.0)	529
#8	P.:	the main- it's going to be difficult to react it	529
		seems *	530
#2	PA:	* yeah I'm sorry * [.]	531
#8	P.:	* to like at this stage to *	532
		[it's just *..]-	533
#2	PA:	* I-I probably- probably shouldn't have	534
		thrown this in bu-but it's jus that-	535
#6	D.:	*no no *	536
#2	PA:	*I [..]*	537
#8	P.:	*I think anything- anything you say is going *	538
		to be fine-	539
#2	PA:	*[.] * I- I think for a lot of this area th-there	540
		may be a bit of room for pushing the er the tree	541
		edge canopy back.	542
→ #8	P.:	right I mean I wonder (.) perhaps if we could just	543
		go through through these points better=	544
#6	D.:	=yes	545
→ #8	P.:	we could explain our reasoning	546
#6	D.:	yeah=	547

Here PA recognizes the problem of multiple candidate outcomes and apologizes for complicating the situation with *'yeah I'm sorry'* (531), indicating a metapragmatic awareness of his having introduced a new and possibly unlicensed context. However, this redress acts as a *pre-sequence* to invoking the context of his own candidate outcome again at line 540. The end of the *pre-sequence* is signaled by the conventional implicature associated with *'bu-but'* (535), which

encodes a contrast to the preceding apology with the hedge *probably* (534). The items *'jus'* (535), *I think* (540) and the proximals *'this'* (535/40) indicate a candidate orientation and its problematic status. Responses to the apologetic *pre-sequence* display *preference* organization by disagreeing with the planner's self-denigrating redress. That is, the developer's 'no no' (536) and the planner's metalinguistic reference to PA's talk, *'anything you say is going to be fine'* (538), are preferred means of acknowledgment to this context. In this sense, 'no no' is seen as an affiliation marker addressing the sequential context rather than propositional content[3].

The amount of *overlap* is also seen as indicative of the problematic situation. However, by line 543 the senior planner is able to resume his intention to provide an *account* of the original outcome proposed by the planners. The item *'right'* (543) acts as a tool of forward-looking topic control (cf. line 465) and together with the intensifier on relevance/manner, *I mean* and the minimalizer *'perhaps'*, enable P to redirect the issue. The need for an *account* is then explicitly oriented to with a *repaired* candidate orientation 'I wonder (.) perhaps if... *these points'* (543), and is thus face-saving. It is clear that the *account* in this sequential context mitigates a complicated situation and provides the expected explanation regarding the candidate outcome originally proposed by P. In particular, reference to making an account (544,546) demonstrates a metapragmatic awareness of the problematic context and thus the need to invoke a *dispreferred* as a face saving device—and in this case, the *account* also serves to motivate a proposed outcome.

In the next example, the developer explicitly refers to an *account* as a method by which to proceed once the particular issue is raised. Both parties know the issue has conflictual

[3]cf. Jefferson, G. Is 'no' an acknowledgment token? *ISFW6.* Antwerp: UFSIA, August 1994

status as 'the letter' specified it as a problem in the developers' plan.

		(2.5)	947
	#8 P.:	right	948
	#7 DA:	uh so uh-	949
		(...)	950
	#8 P.:	can we jus well uh (..) I was wondering whether we	951
		can just move on to the one sor of (.) final [other	952
		points] we had in the letter umm (..) which really	953
		related to the layout (..) umm and then back to	954
		some more general points (.) the the thing we	955
		raised about this corner was this issue of	956
		overlooking (..)	957
	#6 D.:	that's * right	958
	#8 P.:	* uh the flats umm (.)	959
→	#6 D.:	can we give our reasons on this one ?=	960
	#8 P.:	=yep	961

The senior planner displays membership status by introducing the new topic, again with the metasequential *'right'* (948), and face-saving strategies. The initial phrase is self-repaired and includes the face-saving item *'jus'* together with the *dispreferred* marker, *'well'* (951), indicating that a problem is expected. This probably relates to the way the meeting is organized by the participants as a discussion of the preconceived problems outlined in the letter to the developers. Furthermore, by invoking the context of 'the letter' (953), the planner makes reference to a historical context which is a source of inherent conflict for the two parties. Thus the hesitations and the minimalizing items *'just'*, *'sor of'*, *'one'* and *'final'* at line 952 also demonstrate face-address.

The *repaired* topic shift is prefaced with the functionally modal, 'I was wondering' which projects forward, so that the original 'can we jus' (951) is restated as *'whether we can just move on'* (952). The reference to *'move on'* indicates metasequential awareness of the agenda and this is reinforced by another metasequential reference to the meeting's organization

with *'and then back to some more general points'* at line 954. Once the topic shift has been completed, the planner invokes the context of the issue with a quality intensifier as *'really* related to the layout' (953). The context is metapragmatically topicalized with the presupposing cleft *'the thing we raised'*, which introduces a candidate orientation with regard to *'this* corner' and *'this issue'* (956). The mention of *issue* has metapragmatic status in that it is a direct reference to the conflictual status of the topic being invoked. This description, along with the term 'overlooking' (which occurs in the letter[4]), triggers *projection* by the developer who recognizes the context being referred to at line 958. The overlap at this point indicates the complication of this 'issue' for the developer, namely that it will cost money. Still using face-saving moves with the *'uh'* and the uncompleted turn after *umm (.)*, the planner finishes the context invoked in of his previous turn at line 959. The metafunction of *'umm'* is interesting because it indicates that the speaker is deciding what language, if any, to use.

Essentially, the planners are concerned about the view for the existing buildings, whereas the developers must use all the space available for new housing. So at this point the developer explicitly introduces an *account* with *can we give our reasons on this one* in the form of a *question pair part* (960). The mention of *'this one'* is also a metasequential reference to the series of negotiated topics that comprise the planning meeting. Thus, the nature of the situation is oriented to by both parties as problematic: face-saving items are employed by the planner in introducing the issue, and a *dispreferred* method is invoked by the developer in responding to it. Moreover, the approach to the talk indicates how problematic

[4] "Plots 21-23 are significantly overlooked by 3 storey flats and the social club, some redesign of the layout is required to avoid this."

'overlooking' will be for the two parties. This example again illustrates the role of *accounts* as a metapragmatic organizational tool used to mediate the inherent conflict of opposing candidate outcomes.

6.2.2 Requests

Given the dynamics of interaction and the underdetermined nature of language, identifying *requests* is a complicated issue of analysis. In encounters where unequal power relations are evidenced, membership status may be encoded through the execution of and response to requests/orders. However, despite differential power positions, the invocation of the *requests* reflects an awareness of the differing consequences for each party's proposed outcome.

The following *request* is marked by the absence of interactive negotiation or disagreement concerning the context invoked. However, the face-saving strategies which prevail indicate awareness of the inherent potential for conflict. The initial talk (250-5) functions as a *pre-sequence* leading to a *request* by the planner—this is face-saving and metapragmatic in that it glosses the upcoming planner candidate outcome.

#1	Pl:	uh one other point we make is uh uh in this area	250
		here (.) obviously was (..) umm (...) in the brief	251
		it it suggests uhh this'll [present] a very formal	252
		arrangement here, it's it's a (.) long access hh	253
		where that that could reflect on the development	254
		there (.) and therefore you might want to have a	255
		more (.) uh sorta regular (..) uh alignment of the	256
		houses there (.) at the front of the building	257
#7	DA:	ummhum	258

In performing the topic shift, Pl hedges on relevance and invokes planner membership with *'uh one other point we make... in the brief'* (250-1), where the topicalized 'one other point'

is a reference to the context of the brief. A candidate orientation, *'this area here'* (250), is prefaced with the face-saving *'uh uh'* and invoked with regard to a presupposed assumption of agreement concerning the policy outlined in the development Brief. The intensifier on quality, *'obviously'* (251), metapragmatically glosses a common perspective and acts as a bid for the historic. Thus, a combination of presupposed phrasal structuring and the invocation of a distal context ('the brief') indicates that the planner purposefully invokes an historic orientation while the proximal deictics indicate that the situation is problematic.

The *description* composing the *pre-sequence* contains proximal deictics, *'this'll'* (252) *'here'* (253), which introduce the feature and area of concern—the desired outcome being the retention of a formal atmosphere, especially around the retained building. However, presumably the developers have houses spread around in order to maximize land use without the *'sorta regular'* (256), *'sorta square'* (262) arrangement suggested by the planner. With the point of the *description* made (i.e. reference to the long formal access road), the *pre-sequence* is completed and metalinguistically oriented to with the discourse deictic *'and therefore'*. In this sense, the *pre-sequence* functions as a preface to an argument in which the existence of the *'long access'* (253) determines the formality of development in that area, so that now the *request* becomes apparent and is delivered with face-preserving methods. For example, the epistemic meaning of the modal 'you might want to have' (255) gives the *request* the form of a suggestion, which is further redressed with *'uh sorta'*, a hedge on *regular* (256). In summary, the provision of a *pre-sequence* indicates that the speaker exhibits metapragmatic awareness in making the *request*—that is to say, *requests* are typically made indirectly because of their face-threatening nature.

#7	DA:	ummhum	258
#1	Pl:	and in particular try and avoid houses coming in	259
		front of the the the end of the building (..) the	260
		retained building (.) if possible (.) uhh but to	261
		try and sorta square them up to the building and	262
		when you get into this area here it's much more	263
		informal but at that point it's it's a much more	264
		formal arrangement with (.) the retained buildings	265
	?.	yes	266

As the *request* concerns an architectural context, the appropriate developer acknowledges the sequence at line 258. The planner continues now in the form of an imperative with 'try and avoid' prefaced with *'and in particular'* (259), which has a metapragmatic function in pointing out the most relevant part of the *request.* The area in question is then specified, *'the retained building'*, signaling a historical context, so that the notion of formality is emphasized as important to the development process.

The face-saving clausal implicature, *'if possible'*, acts to minimize, and the conventional implicature associated with *'uhh but'* at line 261 mitigates the request. The contrast implied by the presence of 'but' also appears to have a metapragmatic function in that it seems to effect a contrast with 'avoid houses coming in front...' (259), which originally functioned as part of the *request*, and yet is here used as a form of contrast to the context or sentiment expressed (i.e. that houses should not be placed there). So that unlike the more expectable 'and', the item *but* contrasts the existing situation, although no contrast with 'try and avoid' is required. Again 'try and *sorta* square them up' (262) addresses the face of the developers (who have not squared them up) and is redressive to the request being invoked. The proximals of *'this area here'* (263) are very likely gestural and certainly analogical, while the location referred to with proximals in 250-3 is encoded with the distal *'but at that point'* (264).

The above sequences are delivered with face-preserving strategies because the context

being invoked represents a possible conflict between candidate outcomes. However, the developers do not resist the *request* and thus the context appears to be agreed upon without pragmatic negotiation between the participants. In contrast to this situation, the talk which immediately follows illustrates how, when a problematic issue arises, the speakers create contexts of an essentially pragmatic character. That is to say, besides face-address, sequential methods are employed to confirm understanding or account for the conflictual context being invoked.

Below the planning architect invokes a topic shift using the indirect method of a *question pair part*, 'could-could I *add*' signaling awareness of his membership status in that topics are generally raised by the senior planner, P. The issue is made relevant by referring to the area being discussed with the historic *that* (267) while the phrase *'something else'* is a reference to the prior context as well as the one to be invoked.

#2	PA:	could-could I add something else about that area,	267
		o-one thing that isn't shown on this plan (.) and	268
		uh it's- th-there are immediately adjoining (..) um	269
		in the sunken garden along the boundary (.) there	270
		are (.) six I think (..) leafy oak trees w-which	271
		are with actually w-within the site=	272
#6	D.:	=they're	273
		* they're they're-	274
#2	PA:	* they haven't got preservation orders on them (.) I	275
		think	276
#6	D.:	they're they are * inside the boundary aren't they?	277
#2	PA:	* there there * actually there's	278
		also one two * three here	279
#6	D.:	* that's right	280
#2	PA:	two there and then another	281
		set back * there	282
#6	D.:	one * yes that's-	283

The topic is introduced with a metapragmatic relevance hedge at line 267 and a cleft-like structure *'one thing* that isn't shown on *this* plan' (268), which together act as a caption

glossing the context to be invoked. Reference to this 'one thing' (i.e., that six oak trees are not shown on the plan) invokes the consequentiality associated with the upcoming *request*, while the proximal *'this* plan' (268) indicates its candidate status. Following the metapragmatic caption (267-268), the talk is *repaired* so that existential assertion *'th-there are'* (269) replaces the anaphoric 'it's', so that the problem is *described* as a situation rather than stated as a problem.

This *description* again shows how a *request/order* is introduced in the form of a *pre-sequence*, indirectly functions as a face-preserving method. The conventional implicature associated with *'actually'* is metapragmatically oriented to within a *repair sequence* (272)—the potential 'within the site' is *repaired* to *'actually within the site'*, so that unintensified 'within' represents a trouble source. In doing this, PA refers to the trees which are part of the whole site but may not all be within the plot that the developers have contracted[5]. However, this depiction of the situation as a historical context remains to be negotiated. Acceptance of this *description* is not immediate in that D signals his intention to take the floor and seek *repair* at line 273.

The planner's parenthetical assertion concerning the preservation orders indicates the low consequential status of the trees. The amount of *overlap* (277-8) signals non-acceptance of the context being invoked by the planner as the developer continues to seek *repair*. PA's deictic descriptions work to establish agreed ground as to the location of the trees using mainly distal and certainly gestural–analogical reference. The item *'also'* (279) appears to specify exact location and together with *'actually there's'* (278), the planner cites examples to argue his case. Again, another *repair* introduces the item *'actually'*. However, the spatial

[5]The assumption being is that 'the boundary' (270) and 'the site' (272) (though they may not represent the same location) are both regarded as relevant to the developers' land and the subsequent planning scheme.

location of the trees has distinct consequences with regard to their constructed location as either within or beyond the developers' boundary. Indeed, PA's assertion that the trees are *'actually* w-within the site' (272) is qualified in the sequence below.

#2	PA:	they´re actually outside the boundary * but	284
#6	D.:	* yes	285
#2	PA:	obviously anything that´s done there (..) around	286
		the boundary should be planned=	287
#6	D.:	= yes well (.) I mean	288
		obviously (..) uh we are not- (.)	289
#2	PA:	yeah	290
#6	D.:	our operations don´t extend (..)	291
#2	PA:	beyond the boundary=	292
#6	D.:	=beyond * the boundary.	293

PA's *'actually'* invokes a conventional implicature, which may be glossed here as 'technically' and is coherent with the implicature associated with *'but'* (284), where the planner makes clear for the first time his intention—that is a *request* to show care in development of the boundary area. The amount of *overlap* in the prior talk shows the developer's metapragmatic awareness or, indeed *projection*, that in view of PA's description of tree locations, a request was forthcoming. The planner's quality intensifier *'obviously'*, the distal *'there'* (286) together with the historical 'around the boundary' act as a bid for the historic.

At line 288-91, the developer invokes a *dispreferred* with *'yes well I mean obviously'*, in which the *'yes'* shows acknowledgment of the context invoked by the planner but marks it with the *dispreferred* item, 'well'; he then uses a manner/relevance intensifier, *'I mean'*, to adjust to the context of his own turn. The pauses and hesitations, *'uh'*, and the fact D first repairs (289-291) and does not complete the turn is indicative of the face-threat being implied and his metapragmatic awareness that face-address is necessary. Indeed, the planner himself supplies the face-threatening item, 'beyond the boundary' (292), which is accepted as an echo

by the developer at line 293.

This acceptance is *overlapped* by PA who orients to the face-threat with the metapragmatic use of *'it'* as unproblematic and intensifying the context with *'really'* (294-5). The developer's 'no' (296) shows affiliation to the context and lends evidence to the assumption that speakers avoid conflict and seek agreement in talk. PA then follows with a *dispreferred* by beginning an *account* for why the boundary area concerned him.

#6	D.:	our operations don't extend (..)	291
#2	PA:	beyond the boundary=	292
#6	D.:	=beyond * the boundary.	293
#2	PA:	* I-I * I don't see it	294
		being a problem really=	295
#6	D.:	=no	296
#2	PA:	but it's just for getting- (.) perhaps when one's	297
		thinking about the way that uh was treated an' (.)	298
		as J--- would say that's [sorta] perhaps the way its	299
		treated formally (..) umm relates up to those (.)	300
		trees which exist.	301
		(1.0)	302

The conventional implicature associated with *'but'* signals a contrast with the content of his previous turn in which the situation was described as unproblematic. It sequentially introduces his *account*, which functions to save his own face by explaining the relevance of his request (i.e. to be careful with the trees around the boundary). This context is then related to Pl's original request beginning at line 255 that the area retain a formal appearance. In doing so, he provides a possible metalinguistic gloss of reported speech in which he hypothesizes that, *'J— [Pl] would say that...'* (299) signaling metapragmatic awareness of the context: He begins with *self-repair* (297) and qualifies the context with 'perhaps'; a neutral membership is invoked by the phrase 'when one's thinking' (297); and the item *'umm'* (300) shows the speaker is deciding how to conclude his *account.* A significant pause follows, indicating the

issue is closed for the developers.

However, the senior planner, P, resumes the context of the request by providing a substantial reason for it and thus is face-saving for PA:

#8	P.:	uh it may be significant because (...) one point we	303
		make we made in the letter about the sunken gardens	304
		was that if it is (.) backed onto houses there	305
		should be some (.) umm more formal (.) tradition (.)	306
#6	D.:	uh that's right *[.]-	307
#8	P.:	*[on both sides] of the boundary*	308
		now if if you're building a a stone wall for	309
		example around there (..) it may be significant to	310
		where [.] there tree roots * [are	311
#6	D.:	* yes	312

The turn's beginning, *'uh it may be significant'* (303), shows metapragmatic orientation both to the *request* made by PA with the anaphoric *'it'* (294) and contradicts its assumed non-consequentiality as indicated by D. The epistemic 'may be' indicates the status of the resumed context, while the item *'because'* (303) orients to an explanation for this contradiction. P also invokes the presupposed authority of 'the letter' (304), which again relates to the context of formality; in this case, the planner is noting that both sides of the boundary are in fact relevant for the developers.

The *repair* from *'make'* to *'made'* (304) shows a metapragmatic decision not to project the deictic center backwards because the point is already made in the historical context of the letter. In this sense, the present tense of 'make' seems to encode membership status more formally and thus is less affable, so that 'made' attends to D's face and simultaneously makes the reference historical. The non-deictic use of *'now'* (309) acts as a topic-shift marker and indicates metapragmatic awareness preceding a forthcoming context. The point about the 'stone wall' is made with a candidate orientation to the actual outcome regarding the

development of the site. So that clausal implicatures beginning with 'if' (305/309) and the item *for example* act to hypothesize the consequences of any development for those trees (referred to by PA) located both within and beyond the boundary.

Analysis of the planning architect's issue above shows how a description of a situation (such as the location of trees) can be inferred by the participants as a *pre-sequence* to a *request.* In this case, the *pre-sequence* is interactively complicated by *overlap.* And this *overlap* appears because the historical nature of a context is disputed. So that through his *overlap*, the developer shows metapragmatic awareness by actually being able to respond to PI's upcoming request before it is invoked with the on-record assertion, 'obviously...our operations don't extend...beyond the boundary' (289-293). Thus, requests may be metapragmatically oriented to through the awareness of consequentiality inferred from the unfolding *pre-sequence* structure. And this *pre-sequence* structure allows for an off-record and inherently interactive approach to *request-making.*

In this section, the roles of *accounts* and *requests* in the construction of opposing candidate outcomes have been examined. Both sequential features are face-threatening contexts and their structures reflect the specific face-threat of invoking an opposing candidate outcome:

- *Account-giving* indicates metapragmatic awareness of face-preservation in that a *dispreferred* marker is used to construct a candidate outcome. Moreover, the awareness of their metapragmatic function is indicated by implicit items, such as *'because'*, and explicit ones, such as *reasoning* (546) and *'our reasons'* (960) (cf. The access issue: *'the reason I ask* 620, see page 104).

- *Requests* were made with similar *dispreferred* strategies, typically including the use

of *accounts* as a *pre-sequence.* Because of the potential for conflict between the parties, requests were delivered with candidate orientation markers and other methods of face-address. In the first example, Pl's *request* invokes a planner candidate outcome which is not opposed by the developers and gives rise to the inference that an alternative outcome is not desired. However, in the second, the developer is able to *project* the intention of PA's talk as a *request* and therefore endeavors to object even before the face-threat of the *request* occurs.

Moreover, the participants have been shown to invoke contexts of *accounts* and *requests* as relevant to their separate professional expectations, indices which are further examined in the next section.

6.3 Membership and consequentiality

The analysis of membership affiliation in the previous chapter showed how the participants invoked their professional status following an unresolved issue. That is, the negotiation of 'access' was followed by talk in which both parties displayed a 'no-fault' (Heritage 1988) view of the unresolved issue (i.e. a third party, the hospital Trust, was referred to). The sets of data examined in this section also represent contexts which are sequentially invoked after unresolved negotiation. In the first example, membership role is overtly referred to by both P and D, and in the second example, membership role is defined as relevant to the social structure being planned and developed. In both, the participants demonstrate metapragmatic awareness of the context of their talk.

In the following episode, both planner and developer explicitly invoke their own job

responsibility and acknowledge this relationship to the other party. This is a rare invocation of context in that usually membership roles and expectations remain implicit. The participants have failed to reach an agreement on an issue (relating to trees and houses) and thus resort to appealing to their professional motivations. In particular, the *accounts* do not invoke a 'no-fault' attribution to being unable to reach mutual agreement, but instead refer to their respective goals and hence each party's notion of consequentiality.

#8	P.:	yeah (1.0) but it may be at the end of the day that	1056
		we still (..) will come back to you and say that	1057
		(.) those houses must come out because the trees	1058
		are more important than the houses uh (.) I don't	1059
		know what sorta position you're in (.) in terms of	1060
		numbers of houses and the possibility of [any	1061
		numbers] at this stage.	1062

At line 1056, the planner's *'yeah (1.0) but it'* invokes metalinguistic recognition of the previous context before addressing his own. P intensifies relevance with *'at the end of the day'* (1056), and makes an explicit allusion to the planners' authority with *'those* houses must come out' (1058). Even though the houses do not in reality exist, they are present on the plan and have been discussed, so a face-saving distal deictic is used. This demonstration of professional membership is *accounted* for at line 1058, *'because* the trees are *more* important', which explicitly refers to his membership motivation.

A face-saving orientation is then invoked by the inquiry into the developers' professional situation. This inquiry is in the form of an off-record *question pair part* beginning with the phrase 'I don't know...at line 1059. The hedge *'sorta'* (1060) and the proximal *'at this stage'* (1062) orient to the candidate status of the unresolved issue. The term *'stage'* shows metapragmatic awareness that the present speech event is a link in a chain of ongoing

negotiations with various parties before the actual building may begin. This assumption is reinforced by the planner's use of *'still'* (1057) and *'come back'* (1057), which presuppose a past stage and implies a future one in which the planners can enforce their candidate outcome by virtue of their membership status. Below, D continues from a perspective in which *'still'* is implicitly acknowledged.

#6	D.:	well (.) um (.) as long as I end up with uh (..) I	1063
		say I, as long as we end up with 71 plots (.) then	1064
		we're quite happy (...) you know if (.) if you say	1065
		that that tree there (.) has to stay and we lose	1066
		that house in order to you know- (.) you know if	1067
		you said now (.)	1068
#2	PA:	mmm	1069
#6	D.:	well uh (.) well (.) put it in there or if you say-	1070
#2	PA:	*yeah..*	1071
#6	D.:	*take it* out there and put it in over there (..)	1072
		*then	1073
#2	PA:	*yeah	1074
#6	D.:	then then we'd be happy.	1075
#8	P.:	right	1076

The developer invokes *dispreferreds* with delays and the turn initial *'well (.) um (.)'* hedging the upcoming clausal implicature, *'as long as'* (1063/4), which indicates a more likely, and thus less candidate, possibility than the item *'if'*. A *self-repair* structure is also invoked, which shows attention to developer membership with the switch from *'I'* to *'we'*. The perceived fault is metalinguistically referred to with *'I say I'* (implying 'I mean we') before the *repair* is made. This demonstrates a metapragmatic awareness of the difference between saying and meaning, (and in particular an awareness of the function and effect of *repair*), so that his orientation is to the pragmatic dimension rather than the propositional content of what he says. That is to say, the first 'I' is metalinguistic in that, as a deictic, it relates referent to speaker, while the second 'I' is a quotation; the item 'say' shows clear metalinguistic awareness. Moreover, the

object of the *repair* is to check his invocation of membership—that is to say, in speaking as an organization, the pronoun 'we' invokes the desired sense of impersonality and authority associated with institutional talk.

In answering P's question, D hedges with *'you know'* (1065/1067), which bids for common membership. A clausal implicature introduces the metalinguistic device of quotation to hypothesize possible planner talk with *'if (.) if you say that...'* (1065). This strategy continues with *'you know if you said now (.)'* where 'now' focuses the context of D's description in which options are being considered with explicit, on-record awareness. *Dispreferreds*, *'well uh (.) well'* and the continued clausal implicatures are predictable given the developer is constructing the context from the perspective of the planners' authority. The *overlapped* turns at 1071-74 may indicate face-awareness for the developer. The distal *'there'* (1072) and the items *'then then'* (1075) display historic orientation, while the 'if...then' structure is more candidate.

Below, the developer continues by *accounting* for the conflictual consequences of different goals, and in doing so explicitly invokes the developers' underlying professional motivation.

#6	D.:	because eh (...) we have tried to- (.) whiles it-	1077
		while I know it's not your problem (.) uh we have	1078
		tried to (1.0) develop this site (.) eh- he- (..)	1079
		y-you know to the maximum for us to (.) to be the	1080
		successful bidder	1081
#8	P.:	right	1082
#6	D.:	it would be also (.) in in line that we think that	1083
		it will be approved by (..) the local authority	1084
		(..) you know so w-we've looked at sensitively	1085
#8	P.:	mmm	1086
#6	D.:	you know to- (.) I think we've done our very best.	1087
#2	PA:	uh well-	1088
#6	D.:	=to work around the trees I I see what	1089
		your're saying that there are the trees=	1090
#2	PA:	=yeah * yeah	1091

The various *delays* in the form of *repair, an account* and *pauses* beginning at line 1077 clearly invoke the *dispreferred* context with regard to developer membership goals:

because eh (...) (1077) invokes the beginning of an *account.*

we have tried to- (.) whiles it (.) while I know it's not your problem (.) (1077-8) acts as a *repaired insertion* sequence in which D overtly recognizes the planner membership as a distinct context. The *repair* also includes 'I know', which intensifies the quality of the assertion and indexes developer membership.

uh we have tried to (1.0) (1078) hesitation 'uh' and one second pause before on-record statement of his membership goal.

eh- he (..) y-you know (1079) more pauses and a bid for common membership with 'y-you know'

The developer continues by explicitly relating their expectations with regard to their relationship to the planners (1083-1085). Using the metapragmatic *'also'* and the impersonal *'it'* (1083) to refer to this expectation, D continues by addressing the negative face of the planners by referring to them as 'the local authority' (1084). The appeals for common membership *'you know'* (1085/1087) conjoin with a *description* of developer professionalism invoked as historical actions: 'we've looked at *it sensitively'* (1085); 'I think we've done our *very best'* (1087).

The dispreferred *'uh well'* (1088) by PA perhaps signals a *dispreferred* contribution or at the same time might indicate a metapragmatic awareness that reference to professionalism is not a *preferred* context as it makes explicit the inherent conflictual status between the parties. The developer concludes with a metalinguistic report which confirms his understanding of the planners' situation (as invoked by P 1058) with *'I see what you're saying...'* at line 1090. This contribution shows that, while the developer may encode professional membership, he also demonstrates metapragmatic awareness of the effect this context has for the other party and thus recognizes planner professional motivation as well—illustrating once more the distinction between saying and meaning.

The explicit affiliation to membership in the above data is explained by the talk's sequential placement following an unresolved issue. That is to say, in the face of opposing candidate outcomes, it follows that the talk will focus on professional interests and *descriptions* of work-related goals. In particular, this action signals overt participant awareness of the underlying consequentiality of their own membership status in relation to proposed outcomes. Moreover, while both planner and developer encode awareness of their own professional membership, they also show metapragmatic awareness of what effect appealing to membership has for the other party. And they both subsequently invoke recognition of the other party's situation, thus indicating face-preservation. Attending to face-concerns in this way (i.e. recognizing consequentiality for the other party vis-a-vis invoking one's own professional interests) is evidence that the explicit invocation of professional membership is a *dispreferred* contribution when the negotiation process reflects conflicting candidate outcomes.

Given that recognizing differences in professional interests is *dispreferred*, contexts may be invoked which allude to the mutual concerns of both parties. One such concern which

both planners and developers can say they share is the desire for a quality layout on the site, (even though the consequences in obtaining a quality layout are different for each party, in that such a success for the planners may be an expense for the developers). The 'road issue' examined below represents another unresolved issue in which membership is consequential to how it is invoked and the way in which it is discussed. Before examining the details of how the issue is concluded, its history within the negotiation should be presented.

Firstly, the 'road issue' was a recycled topic on two occasions because the appropriate decision-making member of the meeting, the project engineer (#3 PE), was late in arriving. As a representative of the Highway authority, PE possesses separate professional status from the senior planners and has a special responsibility concerning road layout regulations. His separate membership is made relevant when issues concerning roads and speed restrictions are invoked—similarly, he conspicuously does not contribute to the talk when other planning and developing contexts are raised. It is also apparent that the developers' engineer (#5 DE) interacts with the project engineer, signaling awareness of their own specific professional expertise within the meeting. The issue that needs to be resolved is the location of an access into the site from an existing road, which is connected at a roundabout to a main highway running alongside the site. As cited in the letter and stipulated by PE, regulations require a ninety-metre road from the highway to access into the site. Related to this issue is the layout of roads within the site as well, and specifically, the traffic speed regulations which are related to the curvature (i.e. 'the radii') of the roads or the placement of intersections and their relationship to the number of houses being served. To indicate the relevance of the data examined, the following excerpts provide a sense of how the issue progresses within the meeting:

The 'road issue' is in fact the first issue raised by the developer after the initial agreement to discuss the points and problems listed in the letter.

#6	D.:	I think initially I mean obviously the road issue	29
		and everything else (.) uh I think it's agreed (.)	30
		now that (.) it comes off square here (.) which is	31
		obviously uh	32
#5	DE:	yeah	33
		(2.0 looking for aerial photo)	34

Interestingly, the developer's overt historical orientation suggested by 'it's agreed' is ill-placed or presumptuous as the senior planner, P, suggests 'well should we come back to that when' PE arrives (42). The developers' engineer, DE, shows relevant membership status at line 33 in contributing to this particular issue.

Subsequently, Pl notes the speed regulations which affect the road layout and the placement of houses. At this point, DE asks if there are any new speed limit specifications in relation to the curvature of the road. Pl responds that the engineer (PE) will be able to provide an answer, but that normally it is not more than thirty miles an hour. To this DE comments on the consequences that these specifications have for the general area, dubbing them as 'very extravagant' (169).

#1	Pl:	there's a designed speed of normally not more than	164
		thirty miles an hour (.) designed so that	165
		only thirty	166
#5	DE:	*[but it's a-]*	167
#1	Pl:	miles an hour is as much-	168
#5	DE:	a v-very extravagant in the Tyne and Wear area	169
		which is a very big road with big sweeping curves	170
		an=	171
#1	Pl:	=yes [laughs]=	172
#5	DE:	=war that's designed for low speed.	173

At this point, the senior planner alludes to the complication of having three parties involved in this issue: the planners, the developers and the Highway authority. In particular, the planners must balance 'traffic management' which is under the control of PE and 'standards' concerning layout—a membership conflict which becomes relevant once, PE ('G—'), arrives.

#8	P.:	yes uh on the one hand we want traffic management	174
		but we're still pretty sold on uh standards (.) but	175
		uh G--- will be able to fill you in on that (...)	176
		probably	177

Then, we have the arrival of PE. After general introductions, the senior planner immediately turns the talk to the road issue.

#8	P.:	right one point we skipped over (.) which perhaps	360
		go back to now is the question of (.) the access	361
		and (.) the exact route of the access (..) and	362
		following on from that the specifications for the	363
		twenty mile an hour speed limit.	364
#3	PE:	yes (.) well (..) I think we want to slap a	365
		junction there (..) that kinda strip- (.) that	366
		looks like it goes straight across from the outer	367
		spur [that over to the right] and (..) what we've	368
		been asking for is ninety metres from the center	369
		line of that road (.) to the center line of the	370
		access in here (.)...	371

Thus, with the project engineer present, the real negotiation of the issue begins. In short, PE concludes: 'so I think we want that (..) access point changed' (384). In response to D.'s *question pair part*, 'can we work it so we get th- the road as far across this way (.) as ever * possible' (397), PE consents 'providing the horizontal radius isn't less than the minimum' (407).

This leads to the previous question raised by DE concerning the minimum speed regulations and road radii, with hopes of establishing as tight a radius as possible and subsequently a low speed limit. In answer, PE quotes a minimum of twenty miles an hour but indicates the old specification of a thirty-meter radius and a thirty-mile-an-hour zone still applies—changing it to twenty-mile-an-hour is 'more long-winded' (429) in that it requires department of transport approval.

At this point, the senior planner affiliates with the developers with a *question pair part* directed to PE concerning the prospect of changing the speed regulations.

#8	P.:	= I mean is there any prospect of that	438
		changing cause obviously in a scheme like this (.)	439
		it (.) uh may be critical at various points=	440
#6	D.:	=that's	441
		right	442

In answer to the planner's question, PE claims that 'in principle (.) i-it me-means a slight relaxation of the radii requirements' (449), which essentially concludes the issue.

However, at line 825 the topic is recycled by DE in relation to the placement of houses around trees and that a tighter, i.e. lesser, than thirty-meter radius would be required. This comment is not satisfactorily discussed as the talk turns to the problem of the hospital trust and is therefore invoked again shortly following this talk by the developers' director with the metalinguistic reference to prior talk, 'y-you know jus just going on one more further

(.) about what C— [#5 DE] was saying...' (904). So at this point, we come to the last mention of the issue and, with reference to the whole process, can see the consequentiality of membership in relation to the parties involved and their professional agendas:

#3	PE:	I think on the horizontal curvature I mean (..) if	926
		y-you come to us with a specific suggestion that	927
		you want a rada- a lesser radius than in there	928
#5	DE:	I-I think we'll * know in-	929
#3	PE:	*I'll consider it* but I can't sort	930
		of give blanket approval=	931
#5	DE:	=no=	932
#3	PE:	=at this stage and say	933
		yes well you can ignore the the horizontal	934
		* radial parts.	935

PE topicalizes the issue with historical orientation using a definite description, *'the* horizontal curvature' (926), which signals metapragmatic awareness that the curvature referred to is mutually recognized. This topic structure is *repaired* in the form of a *self-formulation* and relevance/manner intensifier, *'I mean'* (926), indicating the speaker's metapragmatic need to first monitor his talk with the *repair* and then qualify his talk with the *self-formulation.* The conditional 'if' indicates a candidate orientation with regard to the developers' desire for a lesser radius. Indeed, it is PE's apparent awareness of this consequentiality which explains his metapragmatic *repair*—'you want a rada- a *lesser* radius' at line 928. The project engineer's separate and specific membership authority is overtly invoked with 'I'll consider ' while qualifying that authority with the conventional implicature associated with *'but* I can't *sort of* give *blanket* approval' (930). DE's *'no'* acknowledges this proposition and indicates a metapragmatic awareness of PE's talk and membership status by using a negative marker to echo 'can't...give blanket approval'. PE concludes with reference to *'at this stage'* and a metalinguistic self-quote starting line 933, *'and say yes well you can ignore the the*

horizontal radial parts'. Interestingly, the content of the quote is to point out what PE in fact cannot say—thus explaining the presence of the *dispreferred* marker *well* in addressing the issue. Below, the developers' engineer shows overt metalinguistic orientation with regard to his interpretation of the context at issue:

#5	DE:	* I think the idea is now what we're talking about	936
		are traffic lights and putting road signs in we aren't	937
		talking about tighter radiuses generally we're	938
		talking about the quality of the North of England	939
		and then what goes on in those respects,=	940
#3	PE:	=mm=	941
#5	DE:	I mean every authority's talking about fifteen to	942
		tens as opposed to thirty fives to twenties heh	943
		(..)	944
#5	DE:	slow them down any means you can	945
#3	PE:	yeah	946
		(2.5)	947

DE refers to a context which has consequentiality for the membership of both parties as it relates to a mutual concern. This context is invoked with explicit metalinguistic strategies in the sequential form of a *formulation*:

- *now what we're talking about are traffic lights*
- *we aren't talking about tighter radiuses generally*
- *we're talking about the quality of the North of England*
- *I mean every authority's talking about* (reported gloss)

Here, DE uses 'we' inclusively to include PE in an outcome he may be reluctant to accept. In short, these concluding remarks between DE and PE are essentially membership confirming contexts: firstly, in recognizing the developers' desire for a tighter radius, PE explains the limit of his present authority; and secondly, despite indicating that it is rather unusual in relation

to what other local authorities do, DE metalinguistically affiliates with the consequentiality of PE's proposed outcome by noting that quality planning is enhanced. In doing so, he invokes the sense that both planners and developers share a common interest in constructing quality layouts. Thus, with regard to the relation between consequentiality and membership, both planner and developer have been shown to explicitly invoke their professional membership and, at the same time, show metapragmatic awareness of the membership status of the other party.

6.4 Acknowledging consequentiality

As already noted, the planning meeting exemplifies the nature of institutional negotiation settings, in that issues are seen to have different consequences for different parties as a result of the diverse professional goals of the participants. In this section, the consequences of a candidate outcome at first remain implied and then are overtly and interactively recognized. In particular, the analysis considers the sequential relevance and metapragmatic function of the planning architect's contribution *'I mean that sort of acknowledges it'* at line 1185.

The issue of 'house types' is invoked as procedurally relevant to each party's professional interests. In this case, the planners' request for architectural information with regard to the style of houses to be constructed does not receive a satisfactory response from the developers. The planners hold the view that the houses should reflect the style of the nearby Victorian hospital building as recommended by the Brief and mentioned in the letter. It is precisely the implied consequences of the planners' desired outcome (i.e. that building houses in the style of the older buildings would not be economically feasible for the development company)

which explains the developers' subsequent reluctance to commit themselves to specific details.

Unlike other problematic issues discussed in the data, the topic of 'house types' is invoked without the initial use of *accounts*. This reflects the nature of the topic in that the possibility of opposing candidate outcomes is not made immediately relevant. In this case the developer, rather than providing a history which might seem to justify a different candidate outcome, supplies unsatisfactory information about a proposed house style. In the face of these responses, the planner clarifies his point through another *request*, further *descriptions* and finally an *account*. This action involves the member's method of *pursuing a response*:

> If a speaker performs an action that solicits a response, it may or may not succeed... They [the addressees] may hear and understand the talk but withhold their responses. If a recipient does not give a coherent response, the speaker routinely sees the recipient's behavior as manifesting some problem and deals with it. He or she may abandon the attempt to get a response, may infer the recipient's response but let it remain unarticulated, or may pursue an articulated response.
>
> (Pomerantz 1984: 152)

Obtaining appropriate articulated responses with regard to particular topics or issues, such as 'house types', is an important part of the negotiation process. Ways in which a speaker attempts to solve the problem of unsatisfactory responses are clarification methods, elaborating on assumed mutual knowledge and modifying the position being pursued (Pomerantz 1984: 153). Below, we find examples of all three of these methods.

Of the three methods for *pursuing a response*, the action of modifying a position has the most obvious implications for the success of a party's proposed outcome. In this sense, it may be undesirable to display overt recognition of how one party's desired outcome affects

the other party, as it may be taken to imply willingness to accept a modification of one's own candidate outcome. In institutional encounters, this action is discouraged because of professional expectations and statutory constraints. The senior planner introduces the topic of 'house types', which is one of the final points covered in both the letter and the planning meeting.

#8	P.:	what about	1135
		house types because that's another point we made in	1136
		the letter about the (.) the nature of the (.) best	1137
		design and materials bearing in mind the	1138
		conservation area nn (..) the situation have you	1139
		given thoughts on it at this stage.	1140

Firstly, the term *house types*, as a technical description, metapragmatically encodes professional membership. A historical orientation invokes the background context of '*the* letter' which metapragmatically *accounts* for why the topic is important, '*because* that's another point we made...' (1136). A *pre-sequence* description of topic accompanies the request for information. That is to say for the planners, the '*best* design and materials' (1138) for the houses would reflect the features of the 'conservation area' (1139). Two *question pair part* structures, 'what about' (1135) and 'have you given' (1139), function to turn the floor over to the developers. Metapragmatic awareness of the ongoing processes involved in planning and developing is indicated by the phrase *'at this stage'* (1140).

Below, the developing director invokes the *preferred* context of an affirmative response. Yet the expected elaboration of the context is delayed and finally proves unsatisfactory, resulting in a further request by the planner at line 1151.

#6	D.:	yes we have uhh (1.0) [.] (..) we've developed	1141
		that other side (.) uhh quite successfully (.) uh	1142
		(...) uh	1143
		[10.0 looking through maps]	1144
#8	P.:	kingsmere	1145
#6	D.:	(clears throat) thats right (.) kingsmere but uh	1146
		[5.0 looking through maps]	1147
#6	D.:	the styles (3.0) (.photographs..) (1.0) but (2.0)	1148
		that would be the style	1149
		(1.0)	1150
#8	P.:	right have you got a sort of range of (.) materials	1151
		that you use or that sort of something you (..)	1152
#6	D.:	the materials it * it's uh h uh	1153
#8	P.:	* look at it site by site	1154
#6	D.:	we look at it site by site really	1155
#8	P.:	oh	1156

The pauses and hesitations signify the intent by the developer to illustrate with material aids rather than create the context through the talk. The reference to *'that other* side' (1142) referring to Kingsmere, uses the distal *'that'* indicating a historic orientation because it is a site already developed by them immediately next to the site under negotiation. Given the 10 second gap, the planner projects the context by supplying the item 'kingsmere' (1145). Still looking for the examples, D uses the item *'but'* (1146/1148) to introduce the intention to use the same style as the Kingsmere estate (1149).

The one second pause (1150) perhaps indicates more information is expected, and indeed the planner requests specific information at line 1151, which functions to clarify and at the same time *pursue a response.* The pragmatic items *'or'* and *'sort of'* (1152) are face-saving for the developers. A type of echo strategy is employed by the developer which has a meta-function in the sense that the prior speaker's language is accepted by the present speaker who repeats the item: for example, D acknowledges Kingsmere with *'that's right Kingsmere'* (1146) and also echoes *'look at it site by site'* at line 1155. As these assertions are somewhat contradictory, the planner's *'oh'* (1156) implies that this is new or unexpected

information and implicates that more is required.

Below D orients to the sequential relevance of the item *'oh'* by continuing with a description of the situation introduced with the item *'and'*, which signals his metapragmatic awareness that more information is expected.

#6	D.:	and uh this is just a new range in our sites that	1157
		we've been developing for uhh if you like (.) market	1158
		sites they were only built on (.) on one site	1159
	?.	where's that*[..]	1160
#6	D.:	*and uh* the reason for lack of coordinates	1161
		(.) on those is uh (..)	1162
	DA ?.	[we just have'nt put sufficient]	1163
#8	P.:	right=	1164
#6	D.:	=you know we handle it every type but uh (4.0)	1165
		* uhh	1166
#8	P.:	* well I think *(.) what we are trying to get at	1167

These sequences do not provide much information (or it is difficult to retrieve) which may indicate its low consequential status. D's description includes the minimalizing *'just'* (1157) and the metapragmatic phrase *'if you like'* (1158) signaling the metalinguistically marked coinage, *'market sites'*. At line 1160, the speaker's *'where's that'* presumably implies that it might not be a comparable site. He provides an unfinished *account* at line 1161 and the conventional implicature associated with *'but'* (1165) fails to succeed due to the hesitations and the long pause prompting the planner to take the floor. Thus, still in pursuit of an satisfactory response, the planners' position is again clarified by reviewing the assumed common knowledge.

#8	P.:	* well I think *(.) what we are trying to get at	1167
		(.) in the letter (.) it's difficult to express	1168
		really (.) is that (.) we felt that (.) certainly	1169
		in relation to (1.0) the approach to the site and	1170
		around the existing buildings (..) that we were	1171
		looking for (.) a departure from the standard (.)	1172
		house type (.) we were looking for something with a	1173
		bit of special character to try to reflect (.) um	1174
		the existing buildings (.) now that's a very difficult	1175
		issue and I appreciate * y-	1176
	DE ?.	* [.]	1177
		[laughter]	1178
#8	P.:	uh I mean in due- in due course umm we would hope	1179
		these buildings are you know nicely refurbished	1180
	?.	yeah	1181
#8	P.:	[..appreciated *.]	1182

The turn begins in overlap with the *dispreferred* marker *'well'*, as P introduces a *description* of their position. In doing so, he hedges on manner with the metalinguistic insertion phrase, *'its difficult to express really'*. This acts as a metapragmatic acknowledgment of the problem P is having in evoking information from the developers about the future house styles. Also, the repeated historical context of 'the letter' (1168) represents a means by which he can explain the planners' desired outcome while at the same time distancing himself from it. So that, the phrase *'what* we are trying to get at (.) in the letter' (1167) presupposes an assumed candidate outcome. The use of past tense with 'we felt' and the intensifier *'certainly'* (1169) invoke historic orientation which begin the description of the planners' view of quality development. His metapragmatic recognition of the consequences of this desired outcome for the developers is implied in the phrase *'now that's a very difficult issue and I appreciate'* (1175).

The laughter at line 1178 appears to be triggered by the unrecovered turn unit made by D at 1177. It is assumed the senior planner did not join in the laughter given his continued talk at line 1179. Using the manner hedge *'uh I mean'* (1179) signals clarification and the

phrase *'in due course'* may be a metalinguistic reference to DE's unrecovered comment (that is, if the comment concerned the state of the existing buildings). In any case, the context of the retained buildings is invoked with the proximal *'these'* indicating the problematic situation. Still there is no response by the developer as the planner's talk becomes obscured at line 1182 indicating a close. Finally, the developer invokes a context which recognizes the consequentiality of the planner's question for themselves.

#6	D.:	*I I think- I think it's- I think it will be	1183
		very difficult to uh (.) to build something in	1184
		the style of uh (..) of that building itself	1185
		wouldn't you	1186

D indirectly expresses his perspective of the planners' desired outcome and thus accounts for the previous sequential context of *pursuing of response.* That is to say, in the prior sequences the developer restrains himself from noting how *'very difficult'* (1184), or indeed expensive, it would be to construct houses in the style of the retained buildings. In short, it is not until this point that a conflictual context is overtly made apparent, even though the method of *pursuing a response* indicates a problematic situation. The developer's avoidance of conflict shows certain face-address which is not abandoned in the structure of the above turn unit. Firstly, D *repairs* from *'its-'* to the more candidate *'it will'* and the repetitions allow him to take the floor while the pauses and hesitations mark the *dispreferred* context being invoked. The item *'itself'* has a metapragmatic function in that its presence is redundant but its effect is to emphasize the problem the developers face with regard to the building and its relation to house styles. The tag question *'wouldn't you'* (1186) is also face-saving in that it invites the planners to share or agree with the developers' predicament. Below, the planning architect responds:

#2	PA:	yes (..) certainly	1187
		(1.0)	1188
→ #2	PA:	I mean that sort of acknowledges it but it´s not	1189
		somethink which um (.) ah and that´s maybe a formal	1190
		word which (..) uh * i-it´*s	1191
#6	D.:	*yeah	1192
#2	PA:	too woolly	1193
		maybe * for-	1194
#8	P.:	* **well I think I think what we're looking**	1195
		for- well I mean (..) what designers often do is try	1196

The planning architect's *preferred* contribution, 'yes (..) certainly' (1187) is an explicit response to D's tag question acting to *acknowledge a prior* turn before sustaining the present one. The one second gap allows PA to continue with a *formulation*, *'I mean that sort of acknowledges it'* (1189), which refers to the action performed by D in the prior turn—that is, the developer finally 'acknowledges' (a metalinguistic frame) the problematic situation of not providing satisfactory information about 'house types' which caused P to *pursue a response.* Indeed, it is supposed that the metalinguistic comments which follow are in reference to the item 'acknowledges'. So that, the pragmatic item 'but' attempts to change the context, which is subsequently abandoned by a *repair* beginning after the pause at line 1190. At this point, the metalinguistic comments are invoked with *'that's maybe a formal word'* and the obscure minimalizing phrase *'too woolly maybe'*, which are face-preserving because of the consequential status the word 'acknowledge' holds. However, the awkwardness of this contribution explains why at this point, the senior planner takes the floor through *upgrade* (illustrated by bold font) and resumes to *formulate* the planners' desired outcome.

In the above episode, the sequential organization is significant to the unfolding recognition of consequentiality in negotiating the context of 'house types'. Firstly, the developing director's explicit recognition of consequentiality starting line 1183 is sequentially relevant to the prior

method invoked by P of *pursuing a response.* And secondly, the phrase *I mean that sort of acknowledges it* (1189) metapragmatically crystallizes the consequentiality of this issue with regard to the developers and the preceding sequential structure as well as the planners' professional membership.

Summary

In this chapter, the dimension of a speaker's metapragmatic awareness of a context and of its consequentiality has been a focus of analysis.

- Allowing the consequentiality of a candidate outcome to be implied sustains the face-address often present during conflictual situations, such as a negotiation setting. In particular, *accounts* and *pre-sequences* are metapragmatic structures which allow speakers' to invoke a candidate outcome without overtly stating professional motivations.
- The *dispreferred* markers which aid in constructing a candidate outcome have a metapragmatic function. That is, they are evidence of the face-preserving recognition of consequentiality for the other party with regard to a possible alternative outcome. Overt invocation of professional membership is common following an unresolved issue.
- Reconciling perspectives, indicating interdependence and invoking mutual concerns is another method of recognizing consequentiality and redressing the conflictual membership status of the parties. As such, metafunctions such as *repair* or the explicit recognition of an *account*, have been shown to be a vehicle by which speakers recognize and account for their actions as well as indicate the ways in which consequentiality is invoked and oriented to.
- At the same time, the overt acknowledgment of consequentiality may be seen as problematic for professional membership and the success of the ongoing negotiated issue—as seen in D's refusal to provide adequate information causing the planner to *pursue a response.*

Chapter 7

A pragmatics of sequentiality

The methodology of this thesis, represented by the *model of consequentiality*, suggests that contexts are encoded and may be inferred from the participants' sequential and pragmatic practices. This chapter assesses the *sequential pragmatics* displayed in the planning data and discusses the methodological implications of the model proposed. The concluding remarks provide a suggestive framework for exploring how the model might also explain an abstract *cultural* context: namely, an explanation for how Hofstede's (1980) notion of *power-distance* is invoked in a institutional setting.

7.1 The *model of consequentiality* revisited

The *model of consequentiality* aims to account for the pragmatic features as they occur within the sequential structure of the data. In particular, pragmatic categories are seen to be a member's *method* of invoking contexts and showing an orientation to their consequentiality. As a component of the analyst's metalanguage, two abstract categories are claimed to

represent the notion of context: the superordinate category of *membership* and the negotiated category of *social structure.*

Just as role-identity is an on-going and interactively constructed phenomenon, so is the invocation of other social structural contexts. That is to say, the sequential relevance of these contexts are negotiated in relation to a *candidate—historical* orientation cline. As such, interactants display *degrees* of consequentiality. For example, while contexts, such as 'the access', 'the trust' or those invoked in *accounts*, are seen as historical, their consequentiality with regard to *suggested outcomes* may be invoked with varying degrees of speaker commitment along a continuum between the poles of historical and candidate. The participants are also seen to actively make bids for the historical with regard their own party's proposed outcome. At the same time, the other party's desired outcome may be recognized with historic orientation—an action associated with politeness, in that the proposed outcome has a history within the talk and is recognized as a potentially historical feature for the other party.

A significant consequence of this model is the distinction between the language used by the informants and the metalanguage employed by the analyst in explicating the indexicality of the talk. The following passage illustrates the contrast between the 'language structure' of the data, the indices which are invoked by the participants and the *analyst metalanguage* used to account for these structures:

> A *planner's* reference to 'the letter' *encodes* a non-negotiable *historical* context of the social structure and *signals historic orientation* to planner candidate outcome by using a *distal* context. At the same time, the planner *indexes* professional membership and agenda because

the letter represents a list of issues or problems raised by the planners which are subsequently discussed in the meeting. On the other hand, the phrase 'at this stage' *encodes* a *candidate orientation* to outcome as represented by the *proximal* and reference to the ongoing process of planning and developing with the item 'stage'.

The passage above relates to the talk at lines 1135-1140 (6.4) in which the senior planner, P, introduces the context of house styles.

#8	P.:	what about	1135
		house types because that's another point we made in	1136
		the uh letter about the (.) the nature of the (.) best	1137
		design and materials bearing in mind the	1138
		conservation area (1.0) the situation have you	1139
		given any thoughts on it at this stage.	1140

The following table illustrates in more detail how the *model of consequentiality* enables the analyst to determine the indices invoked by the language structure of a single turn.

STRUCTURE	METHOD	INDEX
Turn unit	Introduces topic	Planner membership status
What about house types	Relevance intensifier	Agenda (Chair)
	Topic shift	
	Question pair part (Candidate)	Candidate outcome
	Verb-gapped question	Face
	Lexical choice 'house types'	Professional membership
because that's	*Account* marker (Historical)	Social structure
	Explicit metafunction	
	Dispreferred—account	Outcome
	Distal pronoun 'that's' (Historic)	Outcome
	Reason given	Face
another point	Topic shift 'another'	Agenda (Chair)
	'point' (Historic)	Candidate outcome
we made	Exclusive 'we'	Planner membership
	Historical: tense of 'made'	Outcome
in the uh letter	Presupposing 'the' (Historical)	Social structure
	Lexical choice of 'letter'	Agenda (Chair)
	Distal context (Historical)	Planner membership
	Hedge 'uh'	Face
about the (.) nature of the (.)	Candidate (pauses)	Social structure
	Candidate 'nature'	Outcome
	(Devl. *description* required)	
best design and materials	Lexical choice 'best'	Social structure
		Candidate outcome
		Professional membership
bearing in mind	Face minimalize	Devl. membership
		Planner authority
the conservation area	Presupposing 'the' (Historical)	Social structure
	'conservation' (Historical)	Planner perspective
(1.0) the situation	Presupposing 'the' (Historical)	Social structure
	Cleft structure	Candidate outcome
	Topicalized (Candidate)	
have you given any thoughts on it	*Question pair part* (Face)	Developer outcome
	Negative polarity item 'any'	Face
at this stage	Lexical choice 'stage'	Developing process
	Proximal 'this' (Candidate)	

Considering the larger structural organization of the turn, it is notably right-branching which may also illustrate face-address and provoke *projection* for the next speaker. From this single turn unit, the varying degrees of consequentiality oriented to by the speaker may be observed, although, the *sequential relevance* of a context is principally illustrated in the way the participants interactively construct the event with different orientations. These

orientations are typically associated in the planning data with the negotiation of opposing candidate outcomes. To this extent, the consequential status of a context is often invoked differently by each party.

The *model of consequentiality* also accounts for the speakers' awareness of the consequences of their talk by explaining the *meta-component* of talk-in-interaction. The metafunction of language is seen as an observable member's resource for showing an orientation to the contexts invoked. For example, *repair* sequences signal overt metalinguistic orientation, while the implicit need for an *account* can be explicitly acknowledged with 'because'. Items such as the relevance/manner intensifier 'I mean' and the discourse deictic 'so' respectively demonstrate metapragmatic awareness of *formulations* and *pre-sequence* structures. These observations point to relevant methodological implications for investigating in more detail the interaction of pragmatic and sequential methods. Below, the model's two abstract categories of contextual description, *membership* and *social structural* context, are considered in view of negotiated candidate outcomes within the planning meeting.

7.1.1 Membership

The context of membership represents a superordinate category in that the entire interaction as a social event depends upon the membership identities encoded by the participants. In the planning meeting, each interactant clearly invokes their membership status as either a planner or a developer, and at the same time orients to the professional role of the other members. The methods used to indicate membership correspond to different membership indices, which in this case relate to the institutional nature of the activity:

- Levels of membership invocation

  Who speaks or who refrains from speaking at which sequential juncture
  The specific action performed by the turn
  The structures used to encode a particular membership index.

- Membership indices

  Own team (Planner, Developer, Highway Authority)
  Other team (Planner, Developer, Hospital Trust, Highway Authority)
  Specific and Hierarchical membership (Chair, Director, Engineer, Architect)
  Common professional contexts (Evidenced by terms, e.g., 'house types')
  Professional consequences (For own or other team)

In distinguishing different levels of membership invocation, the analyst can determine the degrees of implicit and explicit encoding of membership indices. For example, overt assertions of professional goals are differentiated from the more indirect (though no less significant) encoding of membership via a speaker's sequential placement of a particular pragmatic feature.

The level of invocation regarding who speaks and at what point may be illustrated by the senior planner, P, who invokes his role by introducing new issues and summing up unresolved ones. This action defines his status as *chair* of the meeting in which topic and agenda shifts are accomplished in the following manner:

right one point we skipped over (.) which perhaps (360)
right okay (..) down to these umm obviously (465)
the (.) now the access to (...) the adjoining site (590)
can we jus uh (..) I was wondering whether we can just move on to (951)
what about house types because that's another point we made in the letter (1135)

The sequential location of these topic shifts provides an agenda-setting action encoding the role of the speaker as chair. At the level of language structure, the items 'right' (360/465) and 'okay' (465) act as forward-looking discourse markers signaling a topic shift, and the discourse deictic 'now' (590) functions to intensify the relevance of agenda, which is implicitly encoded with the item 'point' (360/1135). Phrases such as 'skipped over' (360), 'down to' (465) and 'move on' (951) are also clear agenda-setting devices. These examples illustrate how the different levels of membership invocation—who speaks (senior planner), the action performed (topic/agenda shift) and the language structure (agenda-setting markers)—identify the specific membership index of 'chair'. The construction of these turn units can be contrasted with the turn units below, which also function as topic shifts but whose structure encodes a different membership status within the hierarchal relationship between the participants:

could I add something else about that area (PA 267)
uh one other point we make is uh uh in this area (Pl 250)
I'm jus throwin an idea out (PA 505)

At line 267, the planning architect opens a topic shift with a *question pair part* and the choice of 'add' and 'something else' indicate his non-chair membership status. The phrasing of 'one other point' and the encoding of planner membership with 'we make' (250) actuates a topic shift but not an agenda shift. This is similar to PA's minimalizing 'jus throwin an idea out' (505) which hedges the relevance of the topic shift. In these turn units, PA and Pl's actions accomplish a topic shift rather than a move on the larger agenda and the structure of the talk clearly signals deference to the membership status of the senior planner, P, as chair.

Below, other membership indices and their levels of invocation with regard to the planning data are considered.

- **Own team/other team:** On a sequential level, the encoding of membership to one's own party is seen in the *accounts*, *descriptions* and *formulations* with which a planner or developer invoke their team's candidate outcome. With regard to language structure, the distinction between inclusive and exclusive 'we' contributes an obvious encoding of different membership affiliations.

  The significance of membership invocation at this level may be illustrated by an element in the data which would appear at first to relate equally to both teams, i.e. the invocation of the distal contexts 'the letter' and 'the brief'. While both these contexts are important to the planning and developing of the site, their authorship lies with the planners, and so these contexts represent that authority. Indeed, actual mention of 'the brief' in the data is only made by the planners and 'the letter' is mentioned eight times by the planning team (all by P) as opposed to twice by the developer team (both by DA). Moreover, the invocation of 'the letter' serves a different purpose for each party: the senior planner invokes the context as a historical source of authority with regard to planner candidate outcomes, while the developer's mention refers to the context of agenda and going through the points in the letter. So that the first developer mention is at the beginning of the meeting and the second is toward the end.

#7 DA: ...and discuss the points raised (.) in the letter you 17
sent to us, and see if we can (.) uh iron out any 18

#7 DA: no that's all it's just a case of going through the 1563
points that you have made in your letter 1564

Mention of the distal contexts of the 'letter' and the 'brief' overwhelmingly assert planner membership status. Such contexts may in turn be related to the feature of negative face address. That is to say, because mention of such a context may threaten the negative face of the developers, face-preserving methods generally accompany them. On the other hand, an example of the developers addressing the negative face of the planners is seen by such phrases as 'the local authority' (D:1084), 'every authority's talking' (DE:942)—these references also coincide with an unresolved situation, so that membership status is attended to in relation to outcomes which are still negotiable.

- **Specific and Hierarchical membership:** While the planning meeting may consist of two basic teams, each participant has a separate role-identity which is made relevant at places where the topic of discussion determines who interacts with whom. For instance, most initial invocations of candidate outcomes and requests are provided and discussed by the senior planner (P #8) and the developers' director (D #6), while engineering topics are predominately focused on by the developers' engineer (DE #5) and the planners' project engineer (PE #3). Besides reflecting the individual expertise of the participants, this action is also relevant to a manifest hierarchical relationship between them.

- **Common professional features:** The technical terminology in the planning data encodes the institutional nature of the interaction and signals a common membership

status. Terms such as 'house types' (1136), 'specs' (435), 'horizontal curvature' (926) and 'radius' (928) assume mutual professional understanding. The recognition of common goals in negotiating the planning application is also a means of displaying a professional membership shared by both parties.

- **Professional consequences:** As seen, the overt recognition of the consequences of a candidate outcome is often encoded with *dispreferred* markers. In line with this observation is the fact that the consequences for professional membership are often invoked indirectly or remain implicit. It was also seen that the explicit recognition of consequences is significantly related to its sequential placement towards the *end* of an unresolved issue—so that, the success of a party's professional aims and the subsequent investment of membership status is considered at stake. At the same time, encoding awareness of the other party's professional motivation shows attention to face with regard to suggesting an alternative candidate outcome.

Taking the context of *membership* as a superordinate context category within the *model of consequentiality*, the participants are seen to invoke the *social structure* of a planning meeting by virtue of their orientation as planners and developers. The next section considers in more detail the invocation and orientation to other social structural contexts as demonstrated by sequential and pragmatic members' methods.

7.1.2 Social structure

As with the category of membership, the context of social structure can be identified at different levels. Firstly, on a broad level, the interaction itself is consequential to the

social structure simply because it is a situated and accountable social activity (Garfinkel 1967). Secondly, the members' methods which construct the talk are regarded as contexts in themselves and thus elements which create the social structure (Schegloff 1987). Given that member's methods are basic contexts, then the invocation of social structural indices must be *inferred* from the actions of the participants. Finally, the implications of the talk with regard to 'real world' outcomes represent a feature of a continually evolving social structure:

- Levels of social structure

  Global: The interaction as a social event (Doing negotiation of a planning application)

  Local: The sequential pragmatics (Invocation of/orientation to the socio-structural context)

  Accomplished: The resolutions/outcomes

The essential motivation of this thesis has been to explore in detail the local level of the social event of a planning meeting so as to identify the interactants' creation of contexts and their subsequent implications for the social structure, i.e. the resultant outcomes or accomplishments of the talk.

Within the *model of consequentiality*, the negotiable character of these levels of context has been shown to relate to the participants' orientation along a *candidate—historical* scale. The following table consists of examples selected from the data which appear systematically to flag the speakers' respective orientation to the context:

Candidate Orientation		Historic(al) Orientation	
Proximal deixis	'this'	Distal deixis	'that'
Quality hedge	'perhaps'	Quality intensifier	'certainly'
Relevance hedge	'by the way'	Relevance/Manner intensifier	'I mean'
Tense	'we hope it will be...'	Tense	'we said in the letter'
Clausal implicature	'as long as'	Presupposition	
Question pair part		Descriptions	
Requests		Accounts	
Formulations which query		Formulations which state	

In particular, these items illustrate how consequentiality may be invoked by degrees through the use of both pragmatic and sequential methods. It is in this way that a context, such as a proposed candidate outcome, is invoked as procedurally consequential to the interaction and the subsequent social structure. The following first selects a salient feature of pragmatic and sequential structure and then considers an example of how these features work together to display a *sequential pragmatics* in the planning meeting:

- **Pragmatic structure**

  By examining the pragmatics in the data as sequentially invoked, the analysis reveals the ways in which apparently discrete pragmatic categories work together to provide a particular orientation to context. For example, a quality intensifier may attach to a presupposition signaling a claimed historical orientation such as 'certainly after we'd seen yourselves' (597), so that what is already assumed as given is intensified. As seen in 5.2.2 (pg. 101), this example is consequential to the *account* being provided by the developers' director. In particular, it is D's attention to the membership status of the planners in invoking what they recognize as a candidate outcome viewed from the developers' perspective. Also, scalar implicatures may be embedded within clausal implicatures, such as in the minimalizing 'if possible' (261), indicating a candidate orientation. Conventional implicatures, generally considered context-free, are seen to

give rise to conversational implicatures when the sequential context and surrounding pragmatic content are taken into account[1]. Also, certain deictic elements may coordinate with one another as in the sequential association of 'now' (590, 737) with proximals 'this/these' and 'then' (657, 692) with distals 'that/there'. Besides indicating participant orientation to context, this relation of pragmatic categories to one another entails a development of the traditional account of pragmatic phenomena and a move toward a fuller understanding of pragmatic meaning.

- **Sequential structure**

A fundamental means by which the planners and developers invoke their orientation to the social structure is through *account-giving*—an action which provides a reasoned argument for a proposed outcome. Even though the context of an *account* is an historical one, it has only potential consequential status as each party attempts to use *accounts* as evidence to further the cause of their own candidate outcome. Thus, it is the treatment of an *account* by other participants which determines its consequential status in the talk. For example, responses may include questioning the veracity, the validity or relevance of an *account*; providing a counter *account*; or conceding the point so that acceptance of an *account* can result in altering a position. In this sense, *accounts* are constructive methods (cf. Firth 1995b) and function to project the significance of a desired outcome. *Account-giving* is also evidence of how an alternative candidate outcome is invoked as a *dispreferred* contribution. In this sense,

[1]Mey (1993:103-5) indicates that conventional implicatures may have cultural-specific meanings, for example, the word 'accent' as in 'to speak with an accent' can take the particularized meaning of social inferiority. In a review article, Mao (1995:581) contends these conventional implicature are 'stabilized conversational implicatures'.

the invocation of a particular candidate outcome is seen as tantamount to a *rejection* of, and so a *dispreferred* response to, the other team's candidate outcome. *Accounts* encode reasons for *rejecting* the other party's proposed outcome, and this function may be metapragmatically oriented to an explicit way, as seen in 6.2.1 (pg. 136) with 'can we give our reasons on this one' (D. 960).

- **Sequential pragmatics**

An example of how a particular pragmatic item influences the invocation of an *account* is the conventional implicature associated with 'even' (see pg. 101). Because an implicature concerning a scale of probability may arise, the speaker may metapragmatically orient to the effect of that implicature with an *account.* For instance, the developer's assertion that the hospital trust were satisfied with 'a point even below this one' is *accounted* for with 'because there's a cottage down from there' (604-605). This action is significant because a pragmatic item provides the impetus for invoking a sequential feature—in this case, an *account.* Thus, this example demonstrates one aspect of a pragmatics of sequentiality in which pragmatic meaning explains the relevant member's method or, equally validly, in which a member's method determines the presence of a particular pragmatic meaning.

Furthermore, the features which construct an *account* demonstrate an array of pragmatic elements which indicate the speaker's orientation to the context being discussed. Often these pragmatic structures are face-preserving items which coordinate with the notion of *accounts* themselves as sequential contexts addressing the face concerns of the opposite party and in a way that in earlier analyses has been considered 'remedial' (cf. Heritage

1984:265;1988; Brown and Levinson 1987:38-42).

In summary, the observations made above are significant in suggesting the need for a general re-analysis of pragmatic meaning along the lines begun here. At the same time, by considering the interaction of sequential and pragmatics systems expands the micro-analysis of social structure. So that, the generalizations associated with the global level of interaction may be investigated in a principled way.

This section has presented a summarizing overview of how membership and socio-structural contexts are oriented to by the planners and developers by means of a sequential pragmatics. The following section reveals further findings relevant to the structure of the planning meeting and, in particular, the organization of negotiated candidate outcomes.

7.2 Implications for a pragmatics of sequentiality

In this section, some implications which result from applying the *model of consequentiality* are discussed. Following this review, comments are made on the theoretical consequences suggested by this means of investigating the interaction of sequential and pragmatic methods.

7.2.1 Sequential pragmatic organizational devices

In invoking and responding to candidate outcomes in the planning data, the participants attend to *face concerns* with regard to each negotiated issue. As such, the sequencing of a negotiated outcome may be seen as represented by *sequential pragmatic organizational devices.* The categories of 'invoking' and 'responding', which are treated as superordinate strategies, naturally overlap in interaction and are not meant to define the boundaries of the

items described, but here function simply as means of presentation:

- **Invoking a candidate outcome**

Pre-sequence structures in the form of a *description* or an *account* may introduce a candidate outcome or other face-threatening context, such as a *request.* In this sense, the *pre-sequence* organization may function as a form of 'argument' in which the content provides the 'premise' for invoking the forthcoming context, e.g., the specific candidate outcome. As a pragmatic component, the discourse deictics 'so' and 'therefore' are evidence of the speaker's metapragmatic awareness of *pre-sequence* structure. Moreover, this method provides opportunity for other-party *projection* of the face-threatening context. In the sense that recipients may infer the intention of a metapragmatically signaled *pre-sequence*, Heritage considers "the pre-sequence object as a further, very commonly used conversational device through which dispreferred, face-threatening actions and sequences can be systematically avoided in interaction" (1984:279).

Account-providing is commonly employed when a requested or expected action is not forthcoming; however, in negotiation settings, *accounts* are seen as a necessary method of constructing the context of alternative candidate outcomes. In the planning data, their face-saving feature is that they have a predominantly 'no-fault' character (Heritage 1988:136), so that outside contexts such as 'the hospital trust' or 'the brief' are employed to justify a desired candidate outcome. This observation is comparable to strategies identified by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987), such as invoking a general rule or avoiding personalized structures. Furthermore, the

pragmatic construction of an *account* or a *description* of a candidate outcome often includes face-directed minimizing hedges, even if the outcome remains unopposed (e.g., Pl's request, 6.2.2 pg. 138). This action signals the speaker's metapragmatic awareness of the face-threatening context and the potential for conflict involved in invoking an candidate outcome.

- **Responding to a candidate outcome**

TRP and the beginning of a turn unit have observable pragmatic constructions which organize the invocation of a candidate outcome in relation to a prior context. For example, the sequential method of *acknowledging a previous turn* (Sacks et al. 1974) may be accompanied by a pragmatic marker which switches to the context of the current turn:

- 'right **I mean I wonder** (.) **perhaps if** we could just go through...' (543);
- 'right (1.0) **but** they didn't...' (617)
- 'well that may be a fair point yes **I mean** (675);
- 'yeah (1.0) **but** it may be at the end of the day... (1056).

Relating to this action is the 'topically dual-faceted character' of the items 'right', 'yeah' and 'yes' in acknowledging a prior turn and working as a topic or agenda shift mechanism. Other turn relevant pragmatic features relate to the observed sequential placement of distal deictics at the start of a turn in reference to other-party candidate outcome. This is seen to signal a face-saving historic orientation before the shift to a candidate orientation with a proximal deictic. In this way, the situation is re-contextualized as problematic in relation to the other party's original proposal.

Another way in which a pragmatic feature may influence sequential organization is cogently illustrated by the use the item 'but' placed at the end of a turn unit. For example, within the context of criticizing a candidate outcome, a speaker may first provide a positive orientation, which is then implicitly negated by invoking the conventional implicature of contrast, e.g., Pl's 'I'm not quite sure what that access would serve then...to get a refuse truck or something like * that but [.]' (659). Here, the positive context regarding an access for a refuse truck is weakened by the presence of 'but', which in this case also seems to imply that the planner can see no other reasons for having an access at that location. This action is a face-preserving means of creating a TRP and may also allow for recipient *projection* of the face-threatening context represented by the contrast to a negative context. Bilmes (1985:330) provides a similar analysis of an 'interruption' triggered by the face-threat imposed by the presence of 'but', in which the speaker of the conventional implicature is heard by the recipient to contrast from a positive to a negative context.

Finally, the occurrence of extensive *overlap* in the data is seen to signal a problematic situation, so that observable TRPs are obscured by participants vying for the floor. This is particularly illustrated in the discussion of the access at lines 623–628 in chapter 5 (pg. 105) in which D, P and Pl simultaneously start turn units relating to their party's differences in the placement of the access. A similar action occurs between PA and D in the episode of talk relating to the boundary of the site and the developers' treatment of trees in that area at line 272-85 (6.2.2 pg. 141).

Account-providing in support of one's own candidate outcome indicates a justification for this alternative context and is thus a face-preserving way of showing opposition. In addition, the pragmatic features which construct the *account* may signal how the context is qualified or monitored as an on-going process. For example, talk which is *repaired* to allow the inclusion of a pragmatic item with face address, such as PA's 'trees w-which are with **actually** w-within the site' (272) and D.'s 'whiles it (.) while **I know** its not your problem' (1078) are face-preserving. In the first case, a candidate outcome is proposed with the *repair* providing the conventional implicature associated with 'actually'. In the second, the speaker recognizes the consequences of a candidate outcome in relation to the other party with the hedge 'I know'.

Formulations as rejections are often metapragmatically invoked with the relevance/manner intensifier 'I mean', as in, 'well I mean (.) what designers often do is try' (P 1196); 'I mean (.) that's presumably a group of houses there' (DA 655). These cases represent *self-formulations* in which a proposed outcome may be repeated or rephrased. However, *formulations of gist* may act to reject a context, as in the senior planner's reference to the 'access' issue, 'right (.) but they didn't (.) you didn't discuss any al-alternatives with them' (P 617, pg. 103), which is a face-saving way of rejecting the access points negotiated by the developers and the hospital trust. Moreover, this example demonstrates the *preference* for an articulated response concerning 'alternative' outcomes: as the *repair* structure makes clear, 'they didn't (.) you didn't discuss', neither developer nor trustee are seen to have sufficiently or adequately negotiated the issue.

As the observations above demonstrate, the interaction of particular sequential and pragmatic features constitutes a type of *preference* organization relating to how candidate outcomes are invoked and negotiated. In particular, the presence of face-preserving strategies signals an orientation to 1) a potential conflict when invoking a candidate outcome and 2) the conflict inherent in responding with different or counter candidate outcomes.

The sequential significance of *preference* and face address may also be associated with the degree of agreement within the ongoing invocation of alternative candidate outcomes. That is to say, in the planning data the consequentiality of an issue for the professional membership of the two parties is encoded more explicitly as the negotiation of an agreed outcome continues to be unresolved (e.g., the access issue discussed in 5.3; the unresolved topic of trees and houses discussed in 6.3). This action may be likened to Kotthoff's (1993) investigation of the *preference* organization of disagreement. She indicates there is a need to observe longer stretches of talk to indicate a change in *preference* structure, in that speakers are seen to mitigate their talk less and less as a discussion involving a dispute progresses. Similarly, as a planning topic remains unresolved, the planners and developers invoke in a more explicit way the consequences a particular outcome has for the social structure and for themselves with regard to professional aims and expectations.

7.2.2 Theoretical implications

As social structural context may be systematically analyzed at the level of language interaction, the concept of a *sequential pragmatics* has methodological implications for the interface of linguistic and sociological research. The traditional study of pragmatic meaning involves the linguistics of indexicality, the investigation of language as action and the modality of

probabilistic, and more recently deductive, inference. In this sense, pragmatics has sought to account for characteristic features of language meaning, such as the assumption of mutual orientation and notions of indirectness and appropriacy based on the recognition of language usage principles. As such, pragmatic phenomena have been conventionally classified in sets such as a 'deictic' or an 'implicature' set, categories which are seen to encode aspects of context by showing speaker and hearer orientation to the propositions expressed in talk. The methodology of this thesis has used the standard analysis but also shown that a modification of this traditional conception of pragmatics is required. That is to say, the methodology represents a move from a traditional description of indexicality with regard to form and meaning to a consideration of the functional use of pragmatic features in talk and the association of 'functional' pragmatic sets with one another and with sequential methods.

A study of *sequential pragmatics* advances both linguistic and sociological descriptions of language use in that it represents an extended analysis of pragmatic meaning and develops the conversation analytic view of indexicality. While the principled methodology provided by the CA approach enhances a pragmatic account of language use, the following examples of analyses from CA literature are selected to illustrate how a pragmatic account might also enrich the CA understanding:

a) "Lucy's open (Now!) marks a subtle topic transition from materials being reported" (Boden 1995:86)

   - *Now* is a discourse deictic item which functions as an implicit means of orienting to the sequential context of utterance and in this case provides indication or awareness of transition.

b) "The turn-initial *but* indicates, more specifically, that a disagreement is about to be produced" (Clayman 1992:171).

- The item 'but' represents a conventional implicature in which the inference of contrast may be projected by the recipient. It therefore often projects disagreement.

c) "...diagnoses or medical assessments prefaced by *In fact* or *Actually*... both receive a response which displays that the doctor's opinion is news for the recipient" (Heath 1992:249)

- The phrase 'in fact' and the item 'actually' both intensify the maxim of quality and both often give rise to a conventional implicature associated with a sentiment of surprise for the addressee and are therefore related sequentially to the context being invoked.

As the above examples indicate, describing how the items function pragmatically provides a theoretical analysis of their sequential role in monitoring or cueing interpretative meaning and provides comment on how the context is encoded as relevant to the interaction.

The need to investigate the sequential or interactive element of pragmatic usage is referred to by Bilmes (1993:407) as "an empirical pragmatics":

> The kind of pragmatics I have in mind, though, would have certain other features not generally found in linguistic pragmatics as it is currently practiced. It would consider interaction and use interactional resources. In particular, participant reaction would be used to discover implicature and to validate analysts' interpretations...It would take into account verbal and non-verbal contexts, as these are relevant to the talk being analyzed, thus providing an ethnographic dimension, and it would explicate the cultural resources that participants draw on in arriving at an understanding of what is said. A pragmatics of this sort could speak directly and convincingly to those of us who are primarily engaged in the analysis of actual settings and systems.
>
> (Bilmes 1993:407)

Here Bilmes points out the implications for investigating in more detail the cultural dimension of the pragmatic use of language. Within this perspective, the examination of data within a *sequential pragmatics* frame may yield insightful results regarding *preference* organization—a possibility illustrated by an example below.

In particular, Hofstede's (1980) notion of cultural differences in *power-distance* perception (reviewed in chapter 3, pg. 67) is selected to illustrate this implication of the thesis. To review, Hofstede claims that power within business organizations and the means by which it is managed and dealt with vary across cultures. Societies which seek to minimalize the hierarchical power relationship between workers, so that perceived authority positions are typically implied, exhibit a *low power-distance* value system. The data in this paper represent an unequal encounter in which the planners are vested with the authority to grant or refuse planning permission. As the power status of the planners is rarely encoded in overt ways, the participants are claimed to invoke the interaction in a way expected in a low power-distance culture. While Hofstede's data were elicited by questionnaires and material collected from management development courses, in this thesis, analytic notions such as a low power-distance index (PDI) should be demonstrated as members' phenomena invoked by situated interaction. As such, the analysis conducted in chapters 5 and 6 indicates that differential power positions are predictably encoded in either overt or implicit ways in relation to a participant's orientation toward the context of talk.

That is to say, this thesis has shown that the central means of achieving agreement in a low power-distance culture and the essential quality of *preference* organization in talk is that of *face-preservation.* To this extent, interactants holding differential power positions are hypothesized to preserve face to a greater degree in a low power-distance society than in a high one. In particular, it may be claimed that power relationships are encoded in implicit ways and that face address, invoked by both parties in unequal encounters, is *prima facie* evidence of a low power-distance value system. The feature of "affability" observed in other analyses of institutional data (Anderson et al. 1987) confirm this assumption. In this study,

these concepts are demonstrated by the pragmatic and sequential members' methods and in particular by the pragmatic politeness function of *preference* organization which constructs the negotiation. It is in this way that the talk between the planners and developers illustrates how the abstract index of a low PDI society is a naturally occurring phenomenon as evidenced by the interactants' execution of their everyday work activities. Thus, the participants' actions and decisions can be seen to problematize the extent to which the power difference actually exists. In this sense, the interdependent nature of negotiation is emphasized, in that both parties have similar interests in reconciling opposition.

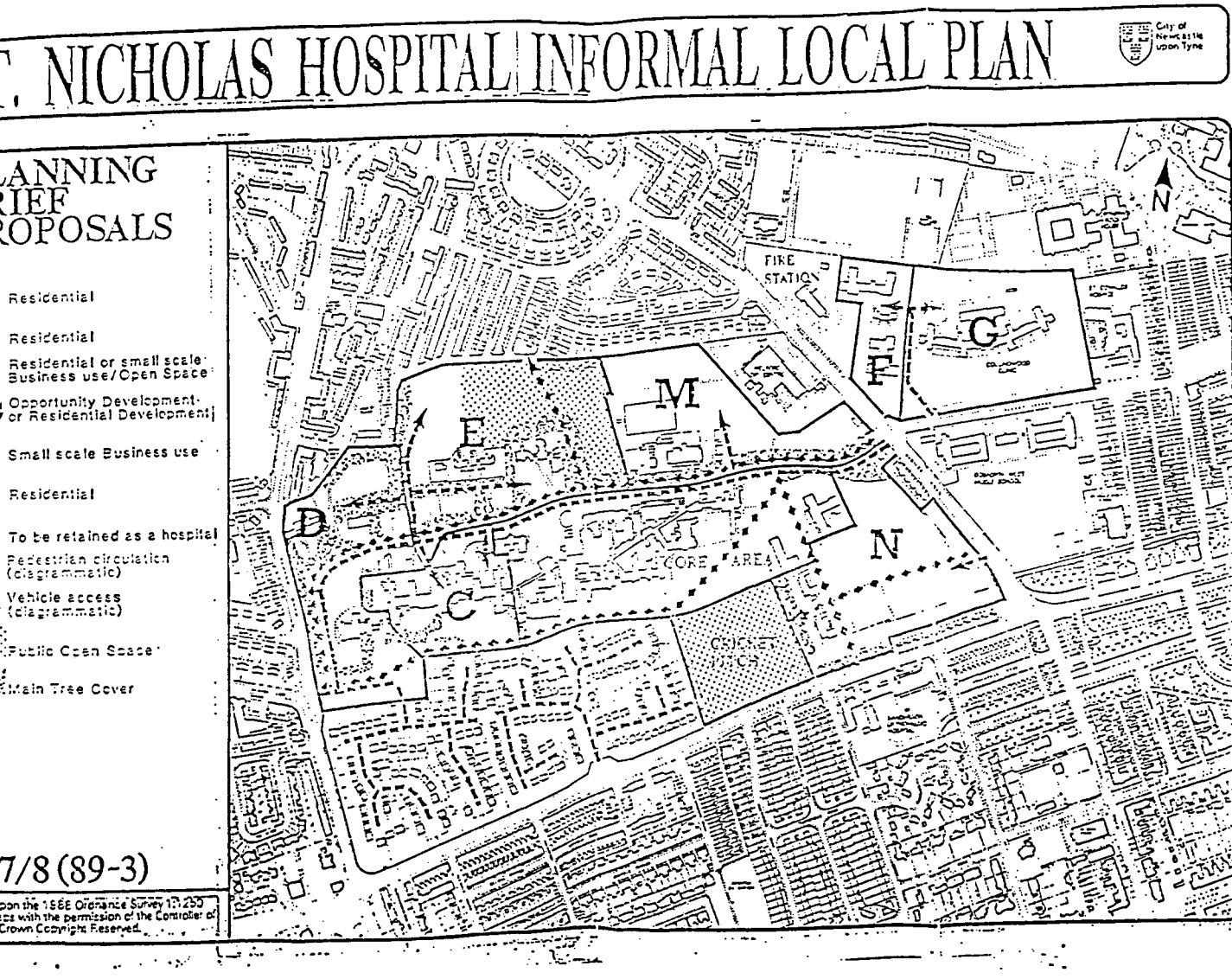
The use of politeness markers within a *preference* system is empirically extensive and may be theoretically accounted for within Brown and Levinson's politeness framework. This observation may contribute to the concept of *language as pragmatic*, rather than language as simply having a pragmatic function. In this sense, sequential structures and the pragmatic features of talk are seen as mutually determinant: for example, the *pre-sequence* organization of introducing a candidate outcome leads to a discourse deictic 'so' or 'therefore', pragmatic items which cannot be separated from the sequential feature they are a part of. In this view, a pragmatics of sequentiality constitutes more than a collection of usage principles or language functions (e.g., cues, metapragmatic items, etc.): it suggests that language itself is fundamentally pragmatic. Thus, it is suggested that the notion of a *sequential pragmatics* supports a function-motivated reordering or regrouping of pragmatic phenomena according to their function in talk.

To conclude, the study of the consequentiality of talk centers on the notion of *context* as a theoretical issue and as a basic concern in applying theory to data analysis. In particular, context must be shown to be *procedurally consequential* with respect to how members'

methods are locally-managed. As such, context is viewed from the perspective of the participants and their turn-by-turn construction of social activity. This approach emerged from the ethnomethodological recognition of the *common sense* practices of social actors with regard to the *reflexive* nature of language and context (Garfinkel 1967, Garfinkel and Sacks 1969). This thesis has indicated how the *metafunction* of language is a prevalent resource by which participants display their common sense understanding of talk and its consequentiality. Considering beyond the trivial observation that all language is in a sense both metalinguistic and indexical, the thesis has aimed to show that the awareness of consequentiality is signaled by the on-going metapragmatic monitoring of talk-in-interaction. Thus, it is in this way that the indexical and reflexive functions of language are demonstrated.

Appendix A

The Planning Brief



ST NICHOLAS HOSPITAL DEVELOPMENT BRIEF

PART II : SITE D

FORM AND CONTENT OF DEVELOPMENT AND LANDSCAPING : SITE D

D1. The Informal Local Plan identifies the site overall as being suitable for high and very high priced, low density housing. In practice, it is likely that the northern part of the site will be developed to a very low density due to the tree pattern - say up to 4 houses per acre. The southern part may be to a slightly higher density to balance this, and to create a sympathetic form of development in the vicinity of the hospital building on Site C. Both parts of the site, however, should enjoy a spacious character, befitting high priced housing.

D2. Landscaping will be the dominant design factor over site D, It is divided into a number of sub-areas, corresponding to the 19th century enclosed gardens, by lines and groups of mature trees. These are to be retained and reinforced by new planting. There are also four building groups, three of them substantial stone and slate structures, including the original Dodd's Farm, adjoining Kenton Road. The remaining block is an insubstantial modern structure. The conversion and re-use of the older buildings is to be the subject of feasibility studies.

D3. All good trees are to be retained. Tree felling will not be permitted simply as an expedient to allow a conventional layout: the layout must be tailored to retention of the trees which will be the dominant site feature, i.e. the roads and buildings will be in a setting of trees, not vice versa. Walls, hedges and shrubs are also to be incorporated wherever possible. It is expected that the result will be a development of very high quality, as outlined in Part I of the Brief.

D4. The developer is reminded of the need to enlarge rear gardens substantially where the boundary is lined with trees. This is important on site D, particularly where trees are south, east or west of the houses. (See Part I of the Brief, paragraph 3.10).

D5. The stone boundary wall is to be retained to conserve character, and give security, privacy and noise protection. The pedestrian gateway at the northern end adjoining Kenton Road may be closed if required in the interests of security.

D6. The north-west corner of the site is overlooked by 3-storey flats at West Court and Lambert Square, and by the British Legion Club. It is necessary to avoid placing private gardens of new houses where they may be overlooked, and also to respect the continuing need for reasonable space

and outlook for the existing flats.

D7. The form of development will probably be different in the northern and southern parts of site D. The northern part will dictate a more informal, scattered, layout suited to detached houses, to integrate with the tree pattern and Dodd's Farm. The southern part of site D has a closer relationship with the retained buildings on site C. As indicated in Part I of the Brief, paragraph 3.12(d), a more formal approach is likely to be appropriate here: possibly matching the symmetry on existing elevations. Open space adjoining the hospital, e.g. the sunken garden, could be enclosed by new groupings of buildings. This would allow the creation of townscape, improve integration of the development, and give a pleasant outlook for the occupiers of the new dwellings. Detached houses will be less appropriate for this purpose than more continuous building forms such as terraced flats or townhouses.

D8. Children's play facilities are to be provided by the developer in accordance with the Council's Play Guidelines as outlined in Part I, paragraphs 3.21 and 3.22.

Access

D9. This will be from the Kenton Road/Kenton Lane roundabout, shared with Kingsmere Estate west, site C, and site E. As site D will be developed before C and E, it is necessary to ensure that the alignment, design and specification of the road through site D are satisfactory for its long-term use and that it has the right connecting points for serving the other two sites. The City Council will endeavour to secure agreement with all parties on the overall road layout for the three western sites. This will also necessitate care in the design and layout of the houses in site D to relate them and their immediate surroundings reasonably well to the through road and its traffic, although this will not be heavy. This road will be classified as a "residential road : access collector" for purposes of the City Council's standards (see Appendix). Loops and culs-de-sac serving groups of dwellings will be classified as "access ways" or "shared surfaces". Where possible, existing estate driveways should be re-used (Part I, Paragraph 3.12 (a))

Relationship with adjoining sites

D10. The relationship with site C is considered largely in paragraph D7. Attention is also drawn to the need to allow adequate spacing between the buildings, both for normal light and privacy reasons, and also to maintain the integrity of the older building as a free-standing composition.

Site D: Summary

D11. The layout will be heavily influenced by the need to service sites C and E, the pattern of trees, and achieving a satisfactory townscape relationship with the retained buildings on site C to the east. An appropriate response to the opportunities and constraints of the site is likely to combine two different housing types. Firstly, the northern end of the site would lend itself to informal, scattered groupings of low density detached houses, in a tree-dominated setting. In the vicinity of the 1869 hospital buildings, more formal design and layout are appropriate. These would give opportunities for the creation of pleasantly scaled landscaped gardens or views over the parkland around the older buildings.

Appendix B

The Letter

City of Newcastle upon Tyne

DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT

Roy Ashton Dip.T.P; M.R.T.P.I.
Director of Development

Civic Centre
Newcastle upon Tyne
NE1 8PH
Fax (091) 232 9502
Telephone Tyneside (091) 232 8520

Your Ref:

Our Ref: PH/H/7/8

Extension: 6108 - Mr Hancock

4 October 1993

Mike Kent
McLean Homes

Fax 0642 601152

Dear Sir

PROPOSED RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT
ST NICHOLAS HOSPITAL SITES D & E

I refer to your sketch layout left at this office on 4 October 1993. I have looked at the proposals in relation to the development brief and site features and consulted with the Director of Engineering, Environment and Protection. I offer the following comments on the layout which you will appreciate do not have the benefit of any public consultation and cannot prejudice any future decision of the Development Control Sub-Committee. These expand on the points mentioned by Mr Hancock.

1. Access to Emblehope Drive should be at a point not less than 90 m from Kenton Road - centreline to centreline.

2. At plot 1 the road alignment affects a tree and a revised alignment to the north could avoid this.

3. The development brief (para. D.7) discourages detached houses around the sunken garden as you have proposed. If you nevertheless intend to retain this form of development here, it will be necessary to treat the rear garden boundaries very carefully, probably stone walling to match the existing north boundary of the garden.

4. The road through the site results in the loss of 3 valuable Beech trees. If the road could be realigned to the east of the trees this may be preferable. However, I feel the village green feature you propose with the retention of so many trees around it may compensate for the loss of Beech trees.

5. The access to the adjoining site c at plot 60 should be realigned to cross the east boundary at about plot 57. On this basis I do not believe there is a need for the other access between plots 50 and 51.

6. Plots 21-23 are significantly overlooked by 3 storey flats and the social club, some redesign of the layout is required to avoid this.

/Continued...

CHIEF PLANNING OFFICER J.K.Rand, B.A; M.C.D; M.R.T.P.I. | CITY ESTATE & PROPERTY SURVEYOR M.J.Foley, F.R.I.C.S. | CHIEF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OFFICER A.Clarke, B.A. M.C.D; M.R.T.P.I.

ALL CORRESPONDENCE SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO CHIEF PLANNING OFFICER AT THE ABOVE ADDRESS

7. Should you come to submit a planning application on this site I would expect to see this accompanied by an accurate tree survey and proposals for planting to replace any trees lost together with sufficient details of all service routes to assess how they avoid impact on the trees.

8. I am advised by the Director of Engineering, Environment and Protection that the road design should be based on a 20 mph speed limit with accompanying traffic calming measures, speed tables etc. He also advises that shared access should normally be limited to serving 12 houses and he feels the northernmost cul-de sac is excessively long in this respect.

9. With regard to house types and design, the site lies within a conservation area and next to retained hospital buildings. The development brief therefore requires purpose designed buildings and careful selection of external materials.

I hope you find these comments helpful and if you require any further information or discussion please contact Mr Hancock who will be pleased to assist you.

Yours faithfully

CHIEF PLANNING OFFICER

Appendix C

The Transcription

transcription conventions	
*	co-terminious overlap
(.)	micropause; tenths of seconds
(..)	two syllable duration
::	lengthened syllables
=	latched utterances with no gap
?	rising intonation contour
.	falling intonation
#	intonational finial marking TRP
[..]	uncertain passages of script
hh	audible out-breath; .hh an in-breath
-	glottal-stop self-editing marker

#8	P.:	umm right [clears throat] (..) we´ve got this room	1
		an hour an I don´t know how long its going to take	2
		us (.) we (.) we obviously we´ve have had some	3
		previous discussions (.) to the extent that we´ve	4
		seen your scheme and given you our comments on it	5
		(..) uuh (.) before you made the bid (.) now (.)	6
		I presume from what we were told (.) in the run up	7
		to that bidding process that the time scale your	8
		now into is a fairly tight one (.)	9
#6	D.:	thats right that´s the case	10
#8	P.:	so (.) w- what sort of are the next steps you´re	11
		looking for ?	12
#7	DA:	well, the thing I think (.) the main thing is this	13
		this is the scheme that was last deposited with	14
		you (..) and er (.) I think really is to work	15
		through this scheme for a second time if you like,	16
		and discuss the points raised (.) in the letter you	17
		sent to us, and see if we can (.) uh iron out any	18
		problems that seem to arise.	19
#8	P.:	(..) right, so this is (..) this hasn´t changed	20
		from when we * last	21
#7	DA:	* well I th-think actually we we	22
		haven´t altered it on the basis on if if we had any	23
		more other issues to discuss.	24
#8	P.:	right	25
#7	DA:	um the information that´s on it hasn´t changed at all	26
#8	P.:	okay	27
		(2.5)	28
#6	D.:	I think initially I mean obviously the road issue	29
		and everything else (.) uh I think it´s agreed (.)	30
		now that (.) it comes off square here (.) which is	31
		obviously uh	32
#5	DE:	yeah	33
		(2.0 looking for aerial photo/map)	34
	?.	yeah that´s it	35
		(2.0)	36
	?.	[.....]	37
#2	PA:	right that´s fine, this one (..) the position of	38
		the access (.) which (1.5) you cite there and just	39
		needs to be moved to to a point round about here	40
#1	Pl:	hmmm	41
#8	P.:	well should we come back to that when (.) when	42
		Graham *Jellus	43
#1	Pl:	*yeah=	44
#2	PA:	=yes, yeah once we have [all] the engineering	45
		plans=	46
#6	D.:	=well (.) c-can I raise a few points (.)	47
		*t-that	48
#8	P.:	*sure	49
#6	D.:	were raised at the main board meeting which	50
		(.) were mentioned to me and might not have been	51
		mentioned to you (..) down here uh (.) initially	52
		uh (1.5) you know we kept all these trees in (.)	53

		would there be any objections (.) if we were to	54
		enclose (..) those trees within rear gardens.	55
		(1.5)	56
#8	P.:	probably yeah (.) what we were looking for was (.)	57
		as open as possible an approach (.) through this	58
		area (.) so if you see (.) it in the context which	59
		for example this (3.0) approach here (.) in coming	60
		down (.) into the estate (..) now we're sayin all	61
		these buildings should be kept in the space in	62
		front of them left open so we're effectively	63
		looking for an open aspect as you approach the	64
		estate along this road (...) which would	65
		effectively (.) and I don't know how far [the road]	66
		could go but effectively we want to keep this as	67
		open as possible through here.	68
#5	DE:	[... effectively]	69
#2	PA:	=it's the particular individuals behind that uh-	70
#6	D.:	=yeah (.) so we (.) you know I-I didn't know	71
		whether [i'd be on the outside or in]	72
#2	PA:	yeah	73
#6	D.:	whether he just put the fence in there because	74
		(..)	75
#2	PA:	umhum	76
#6	D.:	you know that was (..)	77
#2	PA:	umh	78
#6	D.:	a convenient place to put it or whether or not	79
#2	PA:	yeah * [..]	80
#6	D.:	* and then you are looking-*	81
		(..)	82
#2	PA:	at-ata (.) uh (..) a couple uh points really (.)	83
		from- one of the problems is to- is to preserve	84
		t-trees like this (..) you do get uh obviously get	85
		pressures (..) far greater pressures from (..) uh	86
		people who've bought that property (.) even knowing	87
		there are ora- preservation orders on those trees	88
		(..) they they still do feel that (.) since the	89
		trees are in their garden (.) that we should be	90
		reasonable and let them uh prune them fairly	91
		extensively, wheras when they're when they're	92
		outside the garden (.) provided tha-that garden	93
		those gardens are of adequate size to allow uh	94
		sunlight on them=	95
#6	D.:	=thats right=	96
#2	PA:	=for r-reasonable light	97
		to get in um (...) th-the pressures don't uh arise	98
		(.) obviously um yeah (..) I-I think this is a a	99
		pretty important feature of the entrance to the	100
		estate depending upon whether you intend to build	101
		[in or out]	102
#6	D.:	no yeah th-thats fine (.) I jus-	103
#2	PA:	yeah	104
#6	D.:	in fact t-thats * why I think-	105
#2	PA:	* yeah yeah and *I think the other	106
		big thing is its the security the way you um sort	107

		of handle the back um boundary there *and	108
#6	D.:	*yes	109
#2	PA:	the way the landscape is maintained under those	110
		trees and thats- uh I think probably (...) in	111
		preserving [more of the grass people can park	112
		somewhere out behind here with the boundary there]=	113
#8	P.:	=so that ideally you're looking at (.) the boundary	114
		not necessarily there but some where to the north	115
		`cause (.)	116
#2	PA:	yeah I think [uh yeah] definitely roughly uh I	117
		would have said w-where it was was (1.0) roughly	118
		where it ought to be hhhh	119
#8	P.:	hmmm=	120
#6	D.:	=no thats fine=	121
#8	P.:	=outside the canopy?	122
#2	PA:	yes or or over this	123
#6	D.:	mmm	124
#2	PA:	yeah	125
		(...)	126
#7	DA:	j-jus to digress slightly John um (..) do y-you	127
		know wh-when I spoke to you	128
#2	PA:	yeah	129
#7	DA:	I sent you a copy of our surveys so hopefully	130
		[.take it up.] we're taking that a step further	131
		now and we're having a complete tree survey done	132
		and a conditions report and that is currently in	133
		hand so that should assist in that situation	134
		(plus lots of aizuchi: `yeah' by 2)	135
#2	PA:	yes certainly yes there may be trees which are	136
		either not uhh worthy of preservation or er (.)	137
		expendable for one reason or another or retractable	138
		or or probably rather low life expectancies uh and	139
		that we wouldn't fight (.) uh viciously uh to keep	140
		those.	141
#7	DA:	no I was thinking uh we were thinking you know=	142
#2	PA:	=yeah	143
#7	DA:	we had taken it a step further=	144
#2	PA:	=yeah	145
#7	DA:	and we were actually looking at the species	146
		*rather than	147
#2	PA:	*I appreciate that yeah	148
#7	DA:	just the tree positions.	149
#2	PA:	yep thank you (..) good	150
#1	Pl:	I mean umm one other thing to be reminded about	151
		the (.) the scheme in this area's th the design	152
		scheme of the road will be twenty miles an hour and	153
		that might mean- that er (..)	154
#6	D.:	right	155
#1	Pl:	would make that a tighter curve which'd free (..)	156
		these buildings to come a bit farther forward.	157
	DD/DA.	yeah *[..]-	158
#5	DE:	*yeah we expect for that	159
#7	DA:	by the way is there a new specification [within]	160
		ten metres radius *somewhere	161

#1	Pl:	*uh the engineers will be able to	162
		provide that for you (.) uh but its just that	163
		there's a designed speed of normally not more than	164
		thirty miles an hour (.) designed so that	165
		only thirty	166
#5	DE:	*[but it's a-]*	167
#1	Pl:	miles an hour is as much-	168
#5	DE:	*a very a broad specs in the Tyne and Wear area	169
		with the very big roads with big sweeping curves	170
		an=	171
#1	Pl:	=yes [laughs]=	172
#5	DE:	=well it's designed for low speed.	173
#1	Pl:	yes uh on the one hand we want traffic management	174
		but we're still pretty sold on uh standards (.) but	175
		uh Graham will be able to fill you in on that (...)	176
		probably	177
#7	DA:	uh it will be necessary of course to tighten up the	178
		bends to achieve the road junction=	179
#1	Pl:	=yes	180
#7	DA:	[.by.-*]	181
#1	Pl:	*yes* an of course the the important thing is	182
		that the roots of these trees *here	183
#8	P.:	*yes	184
#1	Pl:	which we were concerned about.	185
#8	P.:	we will be concerned about those (.) so obviously	186
		we want to keep the (.) I think the- any road	187
		construction and related services (..) outside the	188
		(.) the edge of the canopy	189
#7	DA:	so *when we-	190
#2	PA:	*there's also quite a steep change of level	191
		there as well.	192
#7	DA:	well in view of that what you know what is wrong	193
		with the form of [..dimensions] that we were	194
		proposing at that *[..]	195
	?.	*[.]	196
		[laughter]	197
#2	PA:	in the past it'd require a stargazer	198
		(2.0)	199
#8	P.:	we'll we'll have to come back to that *anyway	200
	?.	*yeah=	201
#7	DA:	=okay	202
#2	PA:	I think (.) fairly (..) that it's fine	203
	?.	yeah	204
#2	PA:	there is a sort of a general tree on the end that	205
		we'd sort of like to *keep	206
#8	P.:	*yeah	207
#2	PA:	I think you can point that out though=	208
#8	P.:	=that's right	209
		(.) there's a general point about these trees (.)	210
		and the timing cos in a sense we- it's difficult	211
		for us to make an assessment of the layout of the	212
		position of the houses until we have (.) a tree	213
		survey (.) to begin with, because we we're looking	214

		at it from the point of view uh that the trees are	215
		there and (.) should stay and the houses set around	216
		them (.) um now it isn't quite as simple as that at	217
		the end of the day but that's jus sort of a starting	218
		point (.) uh now I jus- wondered about [when you	219
		listed] the time scale how you expect to have a	220
		survey (.) *[...]-	221
#6	D.:	*th-this uh well this-	222
		(...)	223
#6	D.:	uh the plan that we're looking at now, is is an	224
		actual (...) it was actually surveyed on the site	225
#2	PA:	umhum	226
#6	D.:	and the (.) canopies that show up on here (.) are	227
		the actual (..) tree canopies (..) they're not=	228
#2	PA:	=mmm=	229
#6	D.:	=uh you know (.) it's not a matter of (..) th-that	230
		the lads have picked up the trunk of the trees	231
#2	PA:	yeah	232
#6	D.:	uh to give the position of-	233
#2	PA:	yeah right fine * [..] scale of the canopies	234
#6	D.:	*we we* we've actually worked to	235
		* the actual	236
#2	PA:	* yeah	237
#6	D.:	canopies	238
#2	PA:	umhum	239
#6	D.:	uhh so the tree positions are uh (.) exact	240
#8	P.:	yeah	241
#6	D.:	a-and what we don't have is the the condition of	242
		the trees obviously	243
#8	P.:	right	244
#7	DA:	the survey thats been done now has taken peripheral	245
		boundary trees into account as well as-	246
#2	PA:	yes	247
#7	DA:	which will allow [..]be concerned about that as well	248
		(...)	249
#1	Pl:	uh one other point we make is uh uh in this area	250
		here (.) obviously was (..) umm (...) in the brief	251
		it it suggests uhh this'll [present] a very formal	252
		arrangement here, it's it's a (.) long access hh	253
		where that that could reflect on the development	254
		there (.) and therefore you might want to have a	255
		more (.) uh sorta regular (..) uh alignment of the	256
		houses there (.) at the front of the building	257
#7	DA:	ummhum	258
#1	Pl:	and in particular try and avoid houses coming in	259
		front of the the the end of the building (..) the	260
		retained building (.) if possible (.) uhh but to	261
		try and sorta square them up to the building and	262
		when you get into this area here it's much more	263
		informal but at that point it's it's a much more	264
		formal arrangement with (.) the retained buildings	265
	?.	yes	266
#2	PA:	could-could I add something else about that area,	267

		o-one thing that isn't shown on this plan (.) and	268
		uh it's- th-there are immediately adjoining (..) um	269
		in the sunken garden along the boundary (.) there	270
		are (.) six I think (..) leafy oak trees w-which	271
		are with actually w-within the site=	272
#6	D.:	=they're	273
		* they're they're-	274
#2	PA:	* they haven't got perservation orders on them (.) I	275
		think	276
#6	D.:	they're they are * inside the boundary aren't they?	277
#2	PA:	* there there * actually there's	278
		also one two * three here	279
#6	D.:	* that's right	280
#2	PA:	two there and then another	281
		set back * there	282
#6	D.:	one * yes that's-	283
#2	PA:	they're actually outside the boundary * but	284
#6	D.:	* yes	285
#2	PA:	obviously anything that's done there (..) around	286
		the boundary should be planned=	287
#6	D.:	= yes well (.) I mean	288
		obviously (..) uh we are not- (.)	289
#2	PA:	yeah	290
#6	D.:	our operations don't extend (..)	291
#2	PA:	beyond the boundary=	292
#6	D.:	=beyond * the boundary.	293
#2	PA:	* I-I * I don't see it	294
		being a problem really=	295
#6	D.:	=no	296
#2	PA:	but it's just for getting- (.) perhaps when one's	297
		thinking about the way that uh was treated an' (.)	298
		as John would say that's [sorta] perhaps the way its	299
		treated formally (..) umm relates up to those (.)	300
		trees which exist.	301
		(1.0)	302
#8	P.:	uh it may be significant because (...) one point we	303
		make we made in the letter about the sunken gardens	304
		wasthat if it is (.) backed onto houses there	305
		should be some (.) umm more formal (.) tradition (.)	306
#6	D.:	uh that's right *[.]-	307
#8	P.:	*[on both sides] of the boundary*	308
		now if if you're building a a stone wall for	309
		example around there (..) it may be significant to	310
		where [.] there tree roots * [are	311
#6	D.:	* yes	312
#8	P.:	now I don't know whether the survey is likely to	313
		cover (..) * [this -	314
#6	D.:	* well I do-I don't think the survey	315
		would cover tree roots or anything else but	316
		obviously (..) er if we're building a wall there	317
		(.) you're building round the trees and (.) if	318
		there were (..) y' know i-if say for example the	319
		canopy was-was overhanging (..)	320
	?.	th-	321

#6 D.: this boundary * which- 322
#2 PA: * [make alot of money]= 323
#6 D.: =I´m fairly 324
certain it isn´t because * it would have been 325
#2 PA: * [.]- 326
?. [engineered] 327
#6 D.: on the survey (..) but if there are any trees (.) 328
any trees there there or the roots were affected 329
I´m certain it would be a matter of handling yer 330
foundations 331
#2 PA: yeah 332
#6 D.: and then putting in er lintels across or whatever 333
else 334
#2 PA: yeah 335
#6 D.: or over the roots * or- 336
#2 PA: * b-but I´m sure we could come to 337
an agreement on that * but 338
#6 D.: * that´s right 339
#2 PA: it´s but its obviously a pract- there might be a 340
bit of a practical difficulty there (.) * but not- 341
#6 D.: * yeah 342
that´s * right 343
#2 PA: * it just needs a bit of care and attention 344
I think really= 345
#6 D.: =that´s it yeah= 346
#2 PA: =awareness and so on 347
#7 DA: we we would hope that the * perhaps taking 348
#2 PA: * take care of all- 349
#7 DA: a sample of everything we have [.] 350
#2 PA: yeah= 351
#7 DA: =in in this area 352
#2 PA: yeah [..around the houses] 353
(1.0) 354
#8 P.: okay umm right Graham Jellus (...) has arrived. 355
*and- 356
#6 D.: *[.]* (...) Charlie Revinson (.) our engineer (..) 357
Peter Gurby our architect and I´m Barry Wayne 358
(1.0) 359
#8 P.: right one point we skipped over (.) which perhaps 360
go back to now is the question of (.) the access 361
and (.) the exact route of the access (..) and 362
following on from that the specifications for the 363
twenty mile an hour speed limit. 364
#3 PE: yes (.) well (..) I think we want to slap a 365
junction there (..) that kinda strip- (.) that 366
looks like it goes straight across from the outer 367
spur [that over to the right] and (..) what we´ve 368
been asking for is ninety metres from the center 369
line of that road (.) to the center line of the 370
access in here (.) which gives (..) I-I think it 371
doesn´t give quite as much as twenty metres center 372
to centre whi would be ideal but we´ll take 373
whatever it gets on the basis of that ninety 374
metre dimension, and doing that we have to come 375

		straight in there to avoid t-the tree roots.	376
#6	D.:	fine	377
#2	PA:	I think we would (.) normally consider the tree	378
		roots to be (.) roughly the same as the spread of	379
		the branches so * keeping	380
#3	PE:	* yes	381
#2	PA:	within that area=	382
	?.	=yeah	383
#3	PE:	yeah so I think we want that (..) access point	384
		changed	385
#2	PA:	yes	386
#5	DE:	then you're probably need to move	387
		[..major road*..]	388
	?.	*[..]	389
#5	DE:	*center line* to center line=	390
#3	PE:	=center	391
		line to center line	392
		(1.5)	393
#6	D.:	c-can we (.) I I know you mentioned the ninety	394
		metres	395
#3	PE:	mmm	396
#6	D.:	can we work it so we get th- the road as far across	397
		this way as (.) as ever * possible ?.	398
#3	PE:	* s-so * you mean come off	399
		at ninety metres and then (...) *come	400
#6	D.:	*well	401
#3	PE:	up a bit?	402
#6	D.:	well if you like (.) so that we-	403
#3	PE:	=yeah *yea	404
#6	D.:	*you know*	405
		the further we- we are away from those tree roots-=	406
#3	PE:	= yeah providing the horizontal radius isn't less	407
		than the minimum, yes (.) providing you're ninety	408
		metres center to center if you then want to curve	409
		that way-	410
#5	DE:	what is your minimum now I know you're talking	411
		about twenty mile an hour?	412
		(3.0)	413
#5	DE:	ten metres, is there anywhere else or is that a	414
		different one ?.	415
#3	PE:	although we said twenty mile an hour zone I think	416
		our our (..) minimum radii are given in here	417
#5	DE:	so [*..]-	418
#3	PE:	* it depends on the number of houses * being	419
		served whether its thirty metres or thirty-five	420
		metres	421
#5	DE:	for example a thirty mile an hour zone is [.]	422
		(2.0)	423
#3	PE:	we'll be wanting perhaps (.) the speed tables set	424
		up (.) we can do that on our own (.) uhh getting it	425
		designated to twenty mile an hour zone needs	426
		department of transport approval=	427
#5	DE:	=oh	428
#3	PE:	which is more long winded, so it may be the case	429

		that we (.) uhh speed tables with humps are	430
		installed (.)	431
	?.	[uh is-]	432
#3	PE:	=d-designating it a twenty mile an hour zone	433
		might follow months later.	434
	DD ?:	right (.) so we're still working to the old *specs	435
#3	PE:	*yes=	436
	DD ?:	=[right]=	437
#8	P.:	= I mean is there any prospect of that	438
		changing cause obviously in a scheme like this (.)	439
		it (.) uh may be critical at various points=	440
#6	D.:	=that's	441
		right	442
#8	P.:	wh- when hhh * [..the pressure of trying to get	443
		outside the trees..]*	444
#3	PE:	* you mean [....]*	445
	?:	*yeah right	446
	?:	*oh yeah	447
	?:	*yes	448
#3	PE:	in principle (.) i-it me-means a slight relaxation	449
		of the radii requirements	450
	?:	yeah=	451
	?:	=yeah	452
#5	DE:	*[..]	453
#3	PE:	*[..]sub subject to agreeing that we all feel that	454
		it needs [.]	455
		[intermittant yeahs]	456
#8	P.:	yeah right (.) so that [.]-	457
#3	PE:	for the same reason you * know yeah	458
#8	P.:	* yeah * yep right	459
#3	PE:	well what I'm saying is that it'll be twenty metre-	460
		its thirty metres across it's got to be thirty but	461
		if you do it twenty mile or twenty eight whichever	462
		is before the trees roots [then you'd end up here]	463
		(2.5)	464
#8	P.:	right, okay (..) down to these umm (.) obviously	465
		(..) yeah th-the sort of group of trees in the	466
		middle (..) what we uh (.) said in the letter was	467
		that (.) first of all it was (.) pretty to see that	468
		sorta open space leaving the (.) trees in the	469
		middle (.) s-so everyone would have a chance to	470
		look at a nice good focal point (.) what we were	471
		(..) concerned about though was this (.) you've	472
		gone through (.) taken the road through the beech	473
		trees (.) umm and so doing you avoid the (.) pine	474
		trees (.) but the initial view on site perhaps John	475
		will confirm that too is that the beech trees are	476
		much more important and add to the- quality of the	477
		site than the pine trees (..) hhh so (.) and this	478
		is what we said to all the developers at the time	479
		that in preference hh (..) well lets put it this	480
		way we we would rather those were kept and we were	481
		able to avoid it even if it is at the expense of	482
		those (.) pine trees (..) umm now th-that does make	483

		a a fundamental difference because that´s a key	484
		point to coming through the umm the estate in	485
		connecting the southern entry to the small inter-	486
		section (.) but we feel that should be done either	487
		to the west or east (.) I think uh [..=]	488
#6	D.:	=th-the only thing is (.) if we do that Paul (.)	489
		what we do is (.) lose this beautiful open space it	490
		means we´ve got to (.) relocate dwellings	491
		elsewhere so you take away that [f´rexample]	492
		green field	493
		(1.0)	494
#6	D.:	you know w-which we´ve achieved at present (..)	495
		y´know with the road coming through here I mean	496
		that is (..) just (.) basically [looking] through	497
		th-the houses wherever you want to	498
	?:	yeah	499
#6	D.:	as soon as (.) if the road comes round here and	500
		then goes through that way (.) then obviously (.)	501
		we need to be able to relocate plots and	502
		everything else.	503
#2	PA:	I d-don´t know from the engineering point of view	504
		or from your point of view as well but (.) I´m jus	505
		uh throwin (.) an idea out (.) um it did occur to	506
		me that it would be possible to- possibly s-stop	507
		that bit there (..) and pull this through here	508
		around these trees	509
	?:	umm	510
#2	PA:	possibly with some relocation of houses in this	511
		area, I know that there are problems of umm	512
		overlooking to some extent from the existing roads	513
		here (..) but I think there may be some room	514
		particularly from the tree point of view of- (..)	515
		there are quite a number of elms (..) along this	516
		area here which are dead or dying and I think	517
		possibly- (.) uh this is uh being very	518
		hypothetical I´m afraid I haven´t- I had meant to	519
		go out and survey these before this meeting but I	520
		know there are a number of of dead elms which may	521
		be [near] the junction pushed in sort of back (.)	522
		possibly (..) turning them um at right angles [.]	523
		so instead of having them uh well these are these	524
		obviously aren´t ones which it´s possible to move	525
		those back here, but to avoid overlooking (.) this	526
		way (..) uh	527
		(1.0)	528
#8	P.:	the main- it´s going to be difficult to react it	529
		seems *	530
#2	PA:	* yeah I´m sorry * [.]	531
#8	P.:	* to like at this stage to *	532
		[it´s just *..]-	533
#2	PA:	* I-I probably- probably shouldn´t have	534
		thrown this in bu-but it´s jus that-	535
#6	D.:	*no no *	536
#2	PA:	*I [..]*	537

#8	P.:	*I think anything- anything you say is going *	538
		to be fine-	539
#2	PA:	*[.] * I- I think for a lot of this area th-there	540
		may be a bit of room for pushing the er the tree	541
		edge canopy back.	542
#8	P.:	right I mean I wonder (.) perhaps if we could just	543
		go through through these points better=	544
#6	D.:	=yes	545
#8	P.:	we could explain our reasoning	546
#6	D.:	yeah=	547
#8	P.:	=so maybe [we can condense] and bring a lot	548
		more together because they all do have (.)	549
		* [..in a sense]	550
#6	D.:	* that's alright[..]	551
#8	P.:	yea uhmm so we'll subsequently run through them,	552
		so so thats w-what we were saying there we do (.)	553
		appreciate in terms of comparison with the other	554
		schemes that was a very attractive feature and (..)	555
		we were in um (1.0) some real difficulty in saying	556
		that that was what sh-should be changed	557
#6	D.:	mmm	558
#8	P.:	um (.) in many cases we'll sort of outweigh some of	559
		the loss of trees elsewhere on the site (.) but if	560
		that can be achieved as well as (.) retaining	561
		these trees that will be also an added er * bonus	562
#6	D.:	* uhuh	563
#8	P.:	er now jus sorta moving on to the other-	564
#7	DA:	ju-just one thing [we we're saying these trees and	565
		we're assuming these trees] but maybe there are far	566
		too many [.out of our control (.) plus thirty..]=	567
#8	P.:	=yeah	568
#7	DA:	* ..-	569
#8	P.:	well without going into any detail I I actually had	570
		a look at (.) those um (..) [there's a number of]	571
		beech trees really, but th-there may well be some	572
		that are less important than others, I mean thats	573
		thats where the tree survey needs needs to give us,=	574
	?.	=yeah that's right=	575
#8	P.:	=one of the documents for example	576
		did say that some of these beech trees were (.)	577
		diseased=	578
#7	DA:	=uhuh	579
#8	P.:	but (..) you know taken *seriously or not	580
	?:	*right	581
#8	P.:	but .hh it may be difficult to actually to uh	582
		finally decide on that approach * (.) until we get	583
		the survey [.where the beech trees are]	584
#7	DA:	* yeah I think your right [.]	585
		(1.0)	586
#8	P.:	ummm	587
#2	PA:	[I-I haven't seen it before]	588
		(2.0)	589
#8	P.:	the (.) now the access to (...) the adjoining site	590
		umm (.) sites C and (..) E (..) we are a little	591

unclear and this may now have been (.) resolved
with the (.) hospital trust as to where the access
should be (.) we we felt it should just come
straight through at this po*int
#6 D.: * we (..) before we
submitted the bid and certainly after we'd seen
yourselves (.) and before we submitted the bid (.)
we went- or I went to see the uh (.) the agents
asking on- acting on behalf of the hospital trust
(..) with these points of access (..)
#8 P.: yeah
#6 D.: and they eventually came back and said that they
were happy with a point there and a point even
below this one (..) because there's a cottage down
from there um Rose cottage or something 'll be down
* there as well-
#8 P.: * yeah that's right
#6 D.: which is (.) obviously (.) w-w-why it's not- [.]
particularly concerned about access to Rose cottage
(.) certainly that access (.) I mean can go
virtually anywhere=
#8 P.: =umm=
#6 D.: =whether or not it's got- www
(.) they uh were certainly happy with that point
and were happy with that point there.
#8 P.: right (1.0) but they didn't (.) you didn't discuss
any al-alternatives with them they jus said they
were they were you know satisfied with those- I
mean the reason I ask that is that (.) the brief
(..) saw access umm (..) I think jus coming through
at this point=
#6 D.: =okay *well what what we'd [..]-
#1 Pl: * [..coming from] th-the main
hospital drive
#8 P.: * [..] there was the assumption
on their part * [.]
#6 D.: * th-that it-it was* you know provide
access between points A and B uh and B and C (.) um
which is what we did
#8 P.: right
#6 D.: uuh (.) you know you could have in fact been
anywhere (.) b- (.) but you know I think point A
started around here somewhere
?: yeah
?: yeah
#6 D.: and then (..) point B is somewhere down here=
#1 Pl: =I think th-that the problem with that one is I
mean if you come this way you're into- there's a
road here and there's a circulating ring road and
if you come this way there's a very tight corner
here, I think it's the norm (.) to get any kind of
(.) sort of decent uh radius * ya-
#2 PA: * jus looking at it-
certainly the fact is there's not very much more

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          [room]=
#8   P.:        =yeah (.) uhh that that might be very tight
          t-to any maneuverings in this area at all=
#7   DA:                                          =could
          that not be anything more than a set of factors of
          this building now 'cos that that would be different
          [.for some future..*.]
#2   PA:                    * yep
#1   ?.                         uhum
#7   DA:  [.*]
#1   Pl:    * I I'm not I'm not quite sure what that access
          would serve then, what its purpose would be (.)
          because it might be taken jus t- (.) to get a
          refuse truck or something like * that but [.]-
#6   D.:                                 * wull (.) can we
          take that up with uhh (.) with the agents and
          discuss  (.) their future (1.0) * proposals
#8   P.:                                  * yeah
#6   D.:  and in fact what they what they hope to achieve.
#7   DA:  I think as long as there is- well you know I mean
          that's (.) a little group of houses there, it's
          much better than if we can build a house there
          [you start literally to the reverse of houses...]
          which is what would result in *[..]
#8   P.:                                * in creating a-a
          sort of a closed-
#7   DA:  yeah [..*.]
#2   PA:          * a stop (.) a stop on the end
          (1.5)
#8   P.:  well th-that may be a fair point yes I mean what
          the difficulty we had when we were looking at all
          these schemes is that (.) we laid down in the brief
          a fairly- (.) standard and clear way of developing
          * the sites
#6   D.:  * yes
#8   P.:              one after the other (.) and what the
          hospital trust then did was to kind of set up that
          process (.) um that we felt (.) was an arbitrary
          [one] (.) s-so we we really will have to rethink
          that (.) now obviously we can do that now (.) now
          we know its you * and
#6   D.:                  * yes
#8   P.:  none of the others umm (...) and it may be that
          yes, that closing that off and just having one way
          through might actually (.) fit in well with the
          * uh scheme.
#1   Pl:  * it might be * but then I'm not sure what purpose
          that'll serve because I'm not sure the trust had
          thought through what would actually happen once you
          get in there (.) * you know
#6   D.:                  * wull-
#1   Pl:  whether they could actually do anything- (.)
          sensible that (.) that you know *...
#6   D.:                                  * I- I-
```

#1 Pl: might be g-good ideas and all= 700
#6 D.: =yeah (.) I can't 701
answer for them * but 702
#1 Pl: * yeah 703
#6 D.: all I can say is that we we did actually go along 704
#2 PA: mmm 705
#6 D.: to see them (.) to put forward our proposals (.) 706
#2 PA: umhum= 707
#6 D.: = there's one point of access, there's the 708
other 709
#2 PA: mmm= 710
#1 Pl: =I'm not sure whether they've got the right sort 711
of technical advisors you know in terms of turning 712
radii and uh *[..]- 713
#6 D.: * well * what- 714
#2 PA: * to tell them anything * ha-ha - 715
#1 Pl: * th-that 716
looks fine * [..] 717
#6 D.: * well as I I say this this is [.]* 718
but-uh you * know 719
?: * yeah 720
#6 D.: I mean (.) obviously we had an obligation within 721
the (.) within the sale of land (.) to provide acc- 722
future access points (.) 723
#1 Pl: yeah * [.] 724
#6 D.: * and th-* then those points had to be agreed 725
* with 726
#1 Pl: * yeah 727
#6 D.: with the hospital * at that time 728
#1 Pl: * jus I jus have the feeling they 729
haven't thought through * the 730
#6 D.: * no 731
#1 Pl: implications for that 732
site= 733
#8 P.: =I think at some point we must to get together 734
with er the [.] our our engineers must er get get 735
together with the hospital trust to resolve these 736
future accesses now (.) whether we do that 737
separately (.) or you do it separately or whether 738
we do it all together (.) I I don't know which 739
would be best, in which way we should approach them 740
(.) but I think (..) for a start (.) we're legally 741
obliged to consult them on any schemes so we're 742
gonna have to involve them as * [part of a team] 743
#6 D.: * yeah 744
#8 P.: and our fear is that (.) their piecemeal approach 745
to releasing these chunks (.) leaves (..) us as a 746
planning authority um with some real headaches by 747
the time we get into the middle of the site, so 748
(1.0) I I do think we need to get together with 749
them and (1.0) jus going onto this question of time 750
scale and when (..) what have they said to you about 751
getting a (..) sort of planning approval and 752
#6 D.: well * th-the 753

#8 P.: * [.] buildings= 754
#6 D.: =I can confirm with the uh 755
(...) the land was contracted yesterday (.) *with 756
#8 P.: *umhum 757
#6 D.: with these (.) access points (.) agreed with the 758
(.) hospital (.) authority that we would provide an 759
access there (.) as is shown in that corner, now I 760
mean obviously this can be varied 761
#8 P.: mmm 762
#6 D.: with with with their agreement (..) butuh (.) you 763
know I can certainly discuss it with them 764
#8 P.: right (.) right= 765
#6 D.: =an I mean obviously you as you as a 766
planning authority if we were to submit this scheme 767
(.) we would go to them with (..) 768
#8 P.: yeah 769
#6 D.: or mention that there's an access there and access 770
uh 771
#8 P.: yeah= 772
#6 D.: =somewhere else wt 773
#8 P.: yeah 774
(1.0) 775
#8 P.: mind you we'd hope that our (.) concern about the 776
future development is (..) the same (.) as the 777
hospital trust's= 778
#6 D.: =yeah 779
#8 P.: obviously we we're thinking a little further ahead 780
than they are 781
#6 D.: yeah 782
#8 P.: because they're interested just to get rid of the 783
site= 784
#6 D.: =that's right but as I say I mean I- I can't 785
speak for the hospital trust 786
#8 P.: no 787
#6 D.: and all all we can do iiis uh (.) develop this (.) 788
and when we wanted to buy the land was- to agree 789
(.) access points for them you know (.) do they 790
meet with your approval ?. 791
#8 P.: uhuh 792
#6 D.: and yes they did. 793
#1 Pl: I mean if you look at that as a blank site that 794
might be perfectly okay but eh which maybe was was 795
perfectly satisfactory for them but (.) they've got 796
a different sort of view on that (.) from from us 797
#6 D.: *well- 798
#1 Pl: *you see that is a retained building which which 799
has-to has to work, and it's * [.] 800
#6 D.: * well that's right. 801
#8 P.: right now I think (..) I think we do need to talk 802
to (.) the the hospital trust and so- 803
#5 DE: when you were asking whether we are looking for 804
engineering approval by January ? 805
#6 D.: well that's right, * I mean we- 806
#5 DE: * we need that [.] plan 807

#6	D.:	yeah what* wh-	808
#8	P.:	* right	809
#6	D.:	wh-what we´re hoping to do (..) when we leave today	810
		is to er prepare a full planning application (..)	811
		within the next (..) certainly within the next	812
		week um and and submit it (.) and once we´ve	813
		submitted that we´ll start work (.) on the	814
		engineering details and everything else, because	815
		obviously what we want to do is make an early start	816
		on the site (.) and rather than wait to get a	817
		planning approval (.) before we start on all the	818
		engineering works (.) it´ll just be a continuing	819
		process (.) and then we´ll be s- (..) we´re hoping	820
		that uh everything runs smooth through planning	821
		(..) uuh you know (.) for engineering to to follow	822
		on.	823
#8	P.:	(...)I see hhh.=	824
#5	DE:	=it does bother me from what you were	825
		saying about uh this raised up road (..) on the	826
		designation of it could be placed in- if it does	827
		occur that is (.) and that is obviously tighter	828
		than than thirty five metres (..) uh you know it´s	829
		* got-	830
#3	PE:	* what´s that	831
#5	DE:	[..] here it´s about fifteen I would say looking at	832
		it, we´re just trying maybe just (.) fifteen to	833
		twenty metres	834
#3	PE:	well it depends what it is I mean there´s the- (.)	835
		the trees are there.	836
#5	DE:	yeah which would mean we would really have a tight	837
		squeeze gettin in past the trees	838
		(2.0)	839
#5	DE:	*uhh-	840
#3	PE:	*I mean I know what plot (..) is is it (.) how many	841
		more- how many houses have we got beyond that point?	842
#5	DE:	uh about twenty	843
	DE/PA:	**	844
#2	PA:	it´s between twenty-five and thirty	845
	?.	***	846
	?.	*it could be more than sixty	847
	?.	*between forty and sixty	848
	?.	within a twenty-five meter radius	849
		(1.0)	850
#5	DE:	and w-would you normally be taking our houses into	851
		account ?.	852
#2	PA:	well no because (..) * further on [more than sixty	853
		eventually]	854
#8	P.:	* [..because further on-]	855
#5	DE:	would we need is the designation of what that would	856
		be exactly ?.	857
		(1.0)	858
#5	DE:	can you give it ?.	859
#8	P.:	nuh (2.0) right there are some areas of uncertainty	860

		(.) I'm sure in the hospital trust's minds about	861
		what we're going to do with this (.) umm because	862
		they (..) keep throwing into the pot the idea that	863
		we'll decide all together but (.) what- (.) but (.)	864
		we we do sort of need is to pin down as much as	865
		possible (..) uh with their requirements of access	866
		through here (.) and make sure uh [the fact that..]	867
		now we need to do that fairly quickly because	868
		obviously thats a (.) thats a crucial thing from	869
		your point of view [for development in terms of...]	870
		so perhaps after this meeting I'll (.) get in touch	871
		with them (..) and we'll straighten some of this	872
		out=	873
#1	Pl:	=it was a requirement in the previous interview	874
		(.) so I've heard in the access to the remaining	875
		sites when * the site's	876
#6	D.:	* mmmm	877
#1	Pl:	developed,	878
#6	D.:	yeah	879
#1	Pl:	and umm (..) there's a danger of (.) of we're	880
		looking bits of a jigsaw and we don't know what the	881
		other bits are, [doesn't mean we can't do it] and	882
		er if we get it wrong then it can compromise all	883
		sorts of things [..*.within there].	884
#6	D.:	* well thats right	885
		(...)	886
#6	D.:	I mean considering there- I mean obviously (.) we	887
		would like to know which uh (..)-	888
#1	Pl:	yeah	889
#6	D.:	uh you know wh-when uh when we prepared the scheme	890
		we just gotta make certain assumptions,=	891
#1	Pl:	=uuh=	892
#6	D.:	=you	893
		know when he says- (.) you got- gotta provide	894
		access between points A and B (..)	895
#1	Pl:	umhum	896
#6	D.:	and B and C (.) then we say well anywhere along	897
		there must acceptable.	898
	?.	in theory	899
		(1.0)	900
#8	P.:	mmm * oh y-yeah	901
#1	Pl:	* yes,	902
#8	P.:	we're hopin hoping for that	903
#6	D.:	y-you know jus just going on one more further (.)	904
		about what Charlie was saying (.) was you know (.)	905
		th-the number of houses it served from here (.) if	906
		this road was eventually to go down to this point	907
		here=	908
	?.	=yes=	909
#6	D.:	=then again you're on a different (..) a	910
		different story aren't yer=	911
#5	DE:	=I think the major	912
		difference here is that whether we're on a thirty	913
		five metre radius so that *a fifteen	914

#6 D.: *th-thats right 915
#5 DE: would make a tremendous difference to it 916
#1 Pl: I think the problem with the trust is that they 917
don´t have the umm (.) the the- overall (.) view 918
of uh what that is going to shape out, and we´re 919
going to have to do this by default 920
#6 D.: yes 921
#1 Pl: and so we have to think for them as well as 922
ourselves. 923
#6 D.: hhhhhhh. 924
(2.0) 925
#3 PE: I think on the horizontal curvature I mean (..) if 926
y-you come to us with a specific suggestion that 927
you want a rada- a lesser radius than in there 928
#5 DE: I-I think we´ll * know in- 929
#3 PE: *I´ll consider it* but I can´t sort 930
of give blanket approval= 931
#5 DE: =no= 932
#3 PE: =at this stage and say 933
yes well you can ignore the the horizontal 934
* radial parts. 935
#5 DE: * I think the idea is now what we´re talking about 936
traffic lights and putting road signs in we aren´t 937
talking about tighter radiuses generally we´re 938
talking about the quality of the North of England 939
and then what goes on in those respects,= 940
#3 PE: =mm= 941
#5 DE: I mean every authority´s talking about fifteen to 942
tens as opposed to thirty fives to twenties heh 943
(..) 944
#5 DE: slow them down any means you can 945
#3 PE: yeah 946
(2.5) 947
#8 P.: right 948
#7 DA: uh so uh- 949
(...) 950
#8 P.: can we jus well uh (..) I was wondering whether we 951
can just move on to the one sor of (.) final [other 952
points] we had in the letter umm (..) which really 953
related to the layout (..) umm and then back to 954
some more general points (.) the the thing we 955
raised about this corner was this issue of 956
overlooking (..) 957
#6 D.: that´s * right 958
#8 P.: * uh the flats umm (.) 959
#6 D.: can we give our reasons on this one ?= 960
#8 P.: =yep 961
#6 D.: as as you as you´re coming into the site from here 962
as you look down there (.) I mean obviously its a 963
very- untidy corner it´s not a very big aspect, 964
#8 P.: right 965
#6 D.: and whiles we appreciate that we are going to have 966
a problem selling some properties (.) like plots 967
twenty-two twenty-three n twenty-four (..) which 968

		are backing on to there, at least they are going to	969
		close it off (..) from ground level n as you look	970
		across there (.) you're gonna see the trees you're	971
		gonna see the buildings behind (.) which (.)	972
		hopefully are going mask (..) alot of the [loss]	973
		behind there (.) and I think that is going to be a	974
		far more (..) pleasing environment (.) eventually	975
		rather than (..) trying to get the most (.) you	976
		know just spin them round we can get them side	977
		on (.) we're gonna get that view straight through	978
		(.) into the club and everything else which isn't	979
		very pretty	980
#1	Pl:	how how serious a problem do you see that being (.)	981
		when you come to actually sell those houses ?	982
#6	D.:	uhhh (1.5) I can see them sticking	983
#1	Pl:	* well [..-	984
#6	D.:	* well well * we can see we can see it being a a	985
		bit a bit of a problem hopefully the price (.) that	986
		we sell those ones for (.) will reflect (.) what	987
		they're backing on to	988
#2	PA:	yeah *..-	989
#6	D.:	*but* but again this wall this wall round here	990
		isn't isn't in very good uh condition (..) and what	991
		we're hoping is that we will be able to uh to	992
		rebuild it in parts, you know tidy it up and make	993
		it more attractive.	994
#7	DA:	but as the development reaches that point there's	995
		still an awful lot of houses still to be sold in	996
		there	997
#8	P.:	yeah=	998
#7	DA:	=so it's very important for us to create this	999
		area here up the drive *	1000
#1	Pl:	[*...can't make people them	1001
		buy it	1002
#6	D.:	*I-I th-	1003
#2	PA:	[*.. tree's there by the way	1004
#6	D.:	n I think people will want to live round that green	1005
#2	PA:	mmm	1006
#1	Pl:	yeah	1007
#6	D.:	as it stands there at present=	1008
#2	PA:	=yeah=	1009
#6	D.:	n I think that that will (..) you know that (.)	1010
		that's a little bit of a carrot (.) if you like,	1011
#2	PA:	yeah	1012
#6	D.:	but uh as I say y-you know (.) it's it's gonna (.)	1013
		put quite a few off because what's behind but I	1014
		think it's important to to screen off (..)	1015
		all that stuff at the back	1016
#8	P.:	well may maybe it may sort of require some- (.)	1017
		redesigning because what you've got there is to the	1018
		north very short north-facing gardens and to which	1019
		you will probably want to put some fairly tall	1020
		screening in order to make them work so that it	1021
		maybe..*..-	1022

#6 D.: * well well I know uh- 1023
#7 DA: *[....* why else would...] 1024
#2 PA: *i-i-*incidentally 1025
while you're thinking about that umm (1.0) not 1026
trying to introduce a red herring but one it's of 1027
the improvements (.) I think would- I'd like to get 1028
across into the open (...) there it's quite a 1029
nice tree, I think it's just in front of the uh the 1030
[.] 1031
#1 Pl: [um does the] corner of this come out here 1032
#2 PA: uh it was a wild one on its own actually 1033
[looking for location of tree on map] 1034
#2 PA: yeah that little little speakle right in the middle 1035
there 1036
?. *I-I think it's an oak (.) probably 1037
?. *probably (.) 1038
?. *lets have a look there (...) 1039
?. it's a reasonable size tree 1040
#8 P.: right- 1041
#2 PA: =if if it's possible to save that I think it's 1042
got a character which * might be got around 1043
#8 P.: * right I know * I know the 1044
the tree you mean (.) and that takes us back to 1045
this issue of the tree survey (.) * that .hh 1046
#2 PA: * yeah 1047
#8 P.: um there are bound to be some trees that are- some 1048
of the elms and so on um will need to- will need 1049
replanting (.) and we're gonna have to look at (.) 1050
the scheme in total (.) you know this is a minor 1051
sort of thing, 1052
#2 ?: yeah= 1053
#8 P.: =umm= 1054
#2 PA: =[they're in around here I think] 1055
#8 P.: yeah (1.0) but it may be at the end of the day that 1056
we still (..) will come back to you and say that 1057
(.) those houses must come out because the trees 1058
are more important than the houses uh (.) I don't 1059
know what sorta position your're in (.) in terms of 1060
numbers of houses and the possibility of [any 1061
numbers] at this stage. 1062
#6 D.: well (.) um (.) as long as I end up with uh (..) I 1063
say I, as long as we end up with 71 plots (.) then 1064
we're quite happy (...) you know if (.) if you say 1065
that that tree there (.) has to stay and we lose 1066
that house in order to you know- (.) you know if 1067
you said now (.) 1068
#2 PA: mmm 1069
#6 D.: well uh (.) well (.) put it in there or if you say- 1070
#2 PA: *yeah..* 1071
#6 D.: *take it* out there and put it in over there (..) 1072
*then 1073
#2 PA: *yeah 1074
#6 D.: then then we'd be happy. 1075
#8 P.: right 1076

#6 D.: because eh (...) we have tried to- (.) whiles it- 1077
while I know it's not your problem (.) uh we have 1078
tried to (1.0) develop this site (.) eh- he- (..) 1079
y-you know to the maximum for us to (.) to be the 1080
successful bidder 1081
#8 P.: right 1082
#6 D.: it would be also (.) in in line that we think that 1083
it will be approved by (..) the local authority 1084
(..) you know so w-we've looked at sensitively 1085
#8 P.: mmm 1086
#6 D.: you know to- (.) I think we've done our very best. 1087
#2 PA: uh well- 1088
#6 D.: =to work around the trees I I see what 1089
your're saying that there are the trees= 1090
#2 PA: =yeah * yeah 1091
#6 D.: * [.]uh you know we're * obviously- 1092
#2 PA: * if you're * 1093
redesigning something then I think it's the sort of 1094
thing- 1095
#6 D.: *yes 1096
#2 PA: * [you could hang it around] (.) uh we 1097
#6 D.: thats right= 1098
#2 PA: =we can give or take a bit, 1099
#6 D.: yes= 1100
#2 PA: =perhaps with the other trees but that's one I 1101
(.) I think (.) *[.]* 1102
#6 D.: *you know (.) w-what we dont want 1103
to do is* come in here and say that's what we've 1104
done, that's what we've put it (.) now approve it 1105
all in the scheme 1106
#2 PA: mmm 1107
#6 D.: uuh you know we're not doing that, what we want to 1108
do is to (...) to (..) to compromise if you like. 1109
#2 PA: yeah 1110
#8 P.: well I'm (.) I'm sure there's (..) still things to 1111
get around once we this tree survey and so on 1112
al-although I must say it seems uh you know 1113
[..] fifty units at one stage and then we're not at 1114
all disappointed but we gotta see if somethings 1115
wrong but (..) if if we get a tree survey we can we 1116
can look at these individual cases= 1117
#6 D.: =that's right 1118
#8 P.: I think (.) perhaps internally we need to give some 1119
thought to the (.) importance of that sort- of that 1120
approach 1121
#6 D.: yes= 1122
#8 P.: =umm which we (.) we touched on with the other 1123
schemes originally but obviously there some things 1124
new here (.) * in the scheme 1125
#6 D.: * that's right 1126
#8 P.: and wh-what appproach 1127
we're taking has'nt been pursued (..) um so there 1128
will be (..) some further thought to that (.) umm 1129
but I think (...) i-instead of messing up the trees 1130

		that perhaps we'll be able to find some tighter	1131
		radii [..] there and some of the other points] (..)	1132
		and try to make sure there is [as little .. as	1133
		possible obtained] um (..) the other things to be	1134
		touched on are those rows of houses (.) what about	1135
		house types because that's another point we made in	1136
		the uh letter about the (.) the nature of the (.) best	1137
		design and materials bearing in mind the	1138
		conservation area (1.0) the situation have you	1139
		given thoughts on it at this stage.	1140
#6	D.:	yes we have uhh (1.0) [outside sorry] (..) we've	1141
		developed that other side (.) uhh quite successfully	1142
		(.) uh (...) uh	1143
		(10.0 looking through maps)	1144
#8	P.:	kingsmere	1145
#6	D.:	(clears throat) thats right (.) kingsmere but uh	1146
		(5.0 looking through maps)	1147
#6	D.:	the styles (3.0) [.photographs..] (1.0) but (2.0)	1148
		that would be the style	1149
		(1.0)	1150
#8	P.:	right have you got a sort of range of (.) materials	1151
		that you use or that sort of something you (..)	1152
#6	D.:	the materials it * it's uh h uh*	1153
#8	P.:	* [.]look at it site by ite	1154
#6	D.:	we look at it site by site really	1155
#8	P.:	oh	1156
#6	D.:	and uh this is just a new range in our sites that	1157
		we've been developing for uh if you like (.) market	1158
		sites they were only built on (.) on one site	1159
	?.	where's that*[..]	1160
#6	D.:	*and uh* the reason for lack of coordinates	1161
		(.) on those is uh (..)	1162
	DA ?.	[we just haven't put sufficient]	1163
#8	P.:	right=	1164
#6	D.:	=you know we handle it every type but uh (4.0)	1165
		* uhh	1166
#8	P.:	* well I think *(.) what we are trying to get at	1167
		(.) in the letter (.) it's difficult to express	1168
		really (.) is that (.) we felt that (.) certainly	1169
		in relation to (1.0) the approach to the site and	1170
		around the existing buildings (..) that we were	1171
		looking for (.) a departure from the standard (.)	1172
		house type (.) we were looking for something with a	1173
		bit of special character to try to reflect (.) um the	1174
		existing buidings (.) now that's a very difficult	1175
		issue and I appreciate * y-	1176
	DE ?.	* [.]	1177
		[laughter]	1178
#8	P.:	uh I mean in due- in due course umm we would hope	1179
		these buildings are you know nicely refurbished	1180
	?.	yeah	1181
#8	P.:	[..appreciated*.]	1182
#6	D.:	*I I think- I think it's- I think	1183
		it will be very difficult to uh (.) to build	1184

		something in the style of uh (1.0) of that building	1185
		itself wouldn't you	1186
#2	PA:	yes (..) certainly	1187
		(1.0)	1188
#2	PA:	I mean that sort of acknowledges it but it's not	1189
		somethink which um (.) ah and thats maybe a formal	1190
		word which (..) uh * i-it'*s	1191
#6	D.:	*yeah	1192
#2	PA:	too woolly	1193
		maybe * for-	1194
#8	P.:	* well I think I think what we're looking	1195
		for well I mean (..) what designers often do is try	1196
		to look at the existing building and try and (.) you	1197
		know get * point (.) some features..	1198
#7	DA:	* pick out pick out (.) pick out a feature	1199
#8	P.:	with those styles (.) columns (.) lintels(.)	1200
		windows (.)form	1201
#6	D.:	umhum=	1202
#8	P.:	=whatever and just try and (.)	1203
#6	D.:	yes ..-	1204
#8	P.:	tie that in even if it's only in a (.) very decorative	1205
		way=	1206
#6	D.:	=yes	1207
#8	P.:	not any f-fundamental change in the actual house	1208
		(.) but th-that's the kind of thing we're looking	1209
		for	1210
#6	D.:	mmm	1211
#8	P.:	[..] but certainly in relation to the houses which	1212
		are going to be seen always very close this (.)	1213
		retained building (.) now that's going to be pretty	1214
		important=	1215
#6	D.:	=yeah	1216
		(...)	1217
#8	P.:	where abouts are these houses	1218
#6	D.:	we we could take you through to to see these (.)	1219
		w-we're building them at uh I---B--- at uh (1.0)	1220
		just outside uh (...) Stockton.	1221
#8	P.:	mmm	1222
#6	D.:	if you like we can come and pick you up and uh take	1223
		you down and see them.	1224
#8	P.:	(..) well I mean I don't really mind, wh-what sort	1225
		of site is it I mean is it sorta (.) a site like	1226
		this or is it a greenfield site.	1227
#6	D.:	it's (.) it's a greenfield site really (.) uhh (..)	1228
		not many redeeming features about it because	1229
		I---B--- is uh uh w-	1230
#7	?.	it's alot of arable land isn't it	1231
#6	D.:	it's got this arable way here (.) i-it's been	1232
		farmed for (.) for many years so you don't get alot	1233
		trees it's not (.)	1234
#2	PA:	mmm	1235
#6	D.:	it's not uh (1.0) particularly like this because	1236
		it's [..mainly] designed for (..) more expensive	1237
		sites (..) and whilst we build it (.) alongside	1238

(..) at I---B--- we'll probably build houses, you know this is a range that's developed specifically for- (1.5)

#8 P.: yeah=

#6 D.: =y-you know it's difficult to say let's just design houses for this one site * because

#8 P.: * mmm

#6 D.: you know you've got basically a floor plan and everything else here (.) and can only put so much into it (..) but uhh (..) if you try to design jus- (.) like one offs and everyone's different then everything is a compromise nn (.)

#8 P.: no no I don't think it's-(.) it's more the (..) scene of the building than it's (.) content I think we're (.) concerned about I mean y-y (.) you're clearly going for (.) [.houses] on separate plots and you're never going to make that look anything other than (.) *..

#6 D.: * that's right * [they're separate plots]=

#8 P.: =yeah umm (.) but at the same time these buildings in in here and over there are going to be seen directly next to um a very grand, formal, stone building (.) and all sorts of interesting features and and character (.) and (.) I'm not saying these are featureless and charaterless but wh-what I'm looking for and and perhaps you understand I must- name- just give you some example [of this] is to (.) to look at this and maybe try n add some features to a house like this (.) which uhh tie it in (.) * to

#6 D.: * yes

#8 P.: the rest of the building but as I say it's something to do with the materials (.) features (.) nn (.) brickwork uhh panes (.) window style and that sort of thing [details on..roof] or whatever (.) I mean that- (.) we we perhaps need to be more specific than that I just make that point because you know * i-it's

#6 D.: * yes

#8 P.: it's in the letter and it's uh (..) one of the things we were (.) particularly concerned about (...) umm (..) and the other thing just to sorta finish off those points umm in the letter (.) is this issue of the (...) umm tree survey we talked about (..) and service groups provided with a fixed date for the tree survey (.) and we'll sort of be working with what the (..) tree survey on a layout (..) what we often find and this is really- what we often find is that (..) the- (.) we never get to see where the drainage is or the umm sewers and the cabling and all kind of sort and we saw *.-

#5 DE: *..*

#6 D.: *..* c-certainly I mean Charlie will design this

		and I know for a fact that all the sewers will be	1293
		within the roads (.) in the highway- and the	1294
		services will be within *..	1295
#5	DE:	*[.] comin down the drives	1296
		for the houses (.) so	1297
#8	P.:	if it's as simple as that that (.) * that's great	1298
#2	PA:	yeah=	1299
#8	P.:	*uhh-	1300
#6	D.:	*but I but I mean it's just- (..)	1301
#8	P.:	right so there's no- (..) there were some concerns	1302
		at some stage about (.) something about (..)	1303
		they're going to have to take the service	1304
		* section-	1305
#5	DE:	* nobody really goes through that then at the very	1306
		top there (.) we have to go through Wallstreet	1307
		* then there'll be	1308
#2	PA:	* right then through there	1309
#5	DE:	no other means of access through there (...)	1310
		[..] is it possible to make the cross to it here	1311
		(..)	1312
#8	P.:	mmm	1313
#5	DE:	and we'll probably be coming down [..] where are	1314
		the [.]?	1315
	?.	[..]	1316
#5	DE:	=probably coming down the one main road down	1317
		here (.) down uh	1318
		(..)	1319
#3	PE:	* right	1320
	?.	**	1321
#5	DE:	* it's fairly straight forward the drains in actual	1322
		fact it it it's only the two places where we can	1323
		take throuh it heh you can't go here through the	1324
		woods heh heh	1325
#8	P.:	right, well that's fine I mean as long as that's	1326
		the case it just seemed you know the fear was	1327
		* we'd would'nt be able to see..-	1328
#5	DE:	* no no on on on (..) no* don't want that	1329
		there [together..]	1330
#8	P.:	right	1331
#6	D.:	and the only other services w-would be probably	1332
		through here where this footpath [ends] and	1333
		where you have street lighting=	1334
#2	PA:	=yes I think * thats going to be one*	1335
#6	D.:	* [and the street lights-	1336
#2	PA:	of the biggest problems it's not a big thing but=	1337
#6	D.:	=yeah=	1338
#2	PA:	=people tend not to (.) make much of it (..)	1339
		but uh a two foot deep (.) trench can go through	1340
		all the main roots of a beech tree=	1341
#6	D.:	=yeah	1342
#2	PA:	[if you're not to careful but on the other hand-]	1343
	?.	[well that's what we thought if * you can avoid it	1344
#6	D.:	* w-w-we'll go	1345
		through there yyuu	1346
#2	PA:	*yeah right	1347

#6 D.: that's quite normal[.*...] 1348
#2 PA: *yeah yeah that problem would 1349
be resolved..probably* 1350
(2.0) 1351
#8 P.: right (1.0) we've exhausted the points (..) in 1352
the letter, are there any other (..) points on 1353
your minds 1354
#3 PE: oh (..) 1355
#8 P.: yeah 1356
#3 PE: you you mentioned about the traffic calming measures 1357
(.) and so on (...) I can't tell you exactly what 1358
we want out of it so [I'm can try to contact a 1359
colleague] we'll probably want some speed tables at 1360
a number of junctions but it wouldn't be at all 1361
probably approximately half (..) uh so I can let you 1362
know about that and maybe it's a suburban or a a 1363
rumble strip or a (..) but that will all be within 1364
future adopted highway boundaries but 1365
* we will let know 1366
#5 DE: *yeah 1367
#3 PE: *what they are- 1368
#5 DE: *[..if we we don't know at the early stage* 1369
of uh additional street lighting and any light 1370
here an an *..] 1371
#3 PE: * well once * we know what the road 1372
layout is we can we can (.) tell you= 1373
#5 DE: =yeah 1374
#3 PE: almost immediately after you know [*.. 1375
#5 DE: yeah * yeah 1376
#3 PE: * umm as soon- as a refuge vehicle can turn 1377
around here (.) 1378
#6 D.: yeah 1379
#3 PE: what's the length of that (..) I mean th-the thing 1380
[only .. bit of] that is the furniture removal 1381
van (.) is it gonna have to back all the way down 1382
there 1383
#2 PA: yeah * [other aizuchi] [..* nice and easy. 1384
#3 PE: but the maximum length shown there is seventy-five 1385
metres strictly speaking so [..] because I've seen 1386
that a furniture van cannot turn around in there. 1387
(1.5) 1388
#3 PE: so (4.0) strictly it should be able to turn around 1389
in the back there, I know that is rather fixed (.) 1390
I don't know whether you want sorta to take it away 1391
and have a look at it (..) but we'll see *.. 1392
?. * [it'd be 1393
better to line..] 1394
#6 D.: the thing is that (..) really when you look at 1395
this (.) cul-de-sac 1396
(.) 1397
#3 PE: ummm 1398
#6 D.: the ideal place to start it is at this point here 1399
#3 PE: yeah I know * I know- 1400
#6 D.: * with with [the road] and everthing 1401

		else but y-you know (.) I mean we can try and push	1402
		that down to there but (..) then it's (...)	1403
		* you know	1404
#3	PE:	* yeah	1405
#6	D.:	move that by fifteen metres and (..)	1406
		architecturally it it * spoils it all	1407
#1	Pl:	* yeah (...) it would'nt	1408
		change anything either	1409
#6	D.:	pardon	1410
#1	Pl:	it wouldn't change anything=	1411
#3	PE:	=it wouldn't change (.)	1412
		it's still the same *distance=	1413
	P.A ?.	=it's the same backing	1414
		* [reversing..	1415
#6	D.:	* well that's right *it does yeah	1416
	?.	***	1417
#7	DA:	[...more houses here in which case it may be that	1418
		we now need to return to..*..]	1419
#8	P.:	*yes that's right *	1420
		that's the predicament [..] I don't know how many	1421
		are *there	1422
#3	PE:	*there's more than twelve	1423
	?.	th-that's (.) thats a shared surface or what	1424
	?.	one two three four	1425
		(...)	1426
	?.	there's more than four	1427
#5	DE:	isn't it rather difficult to predict [..*-	1428
#3	PE:	*yeah* (.)	1429
		thats right	1430
#5	DE:	okay	1431
		(3.0)	1432
	DA ?.	[..we can extend ..*..]	1433
#3	PE:	* it's desirably not more than	1434
		twelve but we did say certainly not more a twenty	1435
		shared surfaces so stretching it you can get up to	1436
		twenty	1437
	?.	mmmmwe	1438
#3	PE:	n in a sense I suppose if you really want to do	1439
		that this is the case and due to the constraints of	1440
		the site (.)	1441
#8	P.:	yeah	1442
#3	PE:	and where the access to the rest of the hospital	1443
		site [will take you]	1444
#8	P.:	mmm (.) now if- if there if is- (.) it's (.) it is	1445
		tight across here (.) you got-	1446
	?.	yeah	1447
#8	P.:	and you got small gardens here (.)	1448
		*[smaller garden over..	1449
#2	PA:	* there maybe something to be gained here I'm sure	1450
		(.) uh straight through there are six (.) elms	1451
		[along this] (.) I'm not quite sure about [the	1452
		ages*..	1453
#8	P.:	[*..alright]	1454
#2	PA:	yep	1455

#6	D.:	actually what (..) just picking up wh-what Paul	1456
		said there where some of those houses are tied to	1457
		that backgrounding fence (..) and this is something	1458
		we will have to consider (.) we thought it would be	1459
		reasonable just to put up a four foot high fence	1460
		(.) down here because that obviously is going to be	1461
		the one [likely to..=]	1462
#8	P.:	=mmmm..]=	1463
#6	D.:	=but it would be nice	1464
		(.) for those people to be able to see out	1465
		(...)	1466
#6	D.:	look across the park and everything else rather	1467
		than have a fence	1468
#1	Pl:	I suppose that that's possible [..security..----	1469
		[END OF SIDE ONE]	1470
		*******	1471
#6	D.:	six feet I- (..) I don't think makes a great deal	1472
		of difference	1473
		(1.5)	1474
#8	P.:	wh what what's the position about this footpath	1475
		through to [.*.	1476
#6	D.:	well we we made an allowance for it (.) uh (1.0) if	1477
		it's unwanted (..)	1478
#8	P.:	mmm	1479
#6	D.:	then (.) we wont do w- (.) the reason why we shown	1480
		it in as well is that there's this strange thing	1481
		that we want (.) some surface water taken through	1482
		there through the pond (.) now one thing that	1483
		concerns- us on that point is (.) is if we take it	1484
		from the roads (.) it is going to be adopted	1485
#5	DE:	[..]	1486
#6	D.:	and if it's not going to be adopted then we are	1487
		going to have to do- (.) to do it from house- (.)	1488
		as Charlie says house drain (.) jus you know roof	1489
		water	1490
#8	P.:	yeah	1491
#6	D.:	and it's going to be a private drain that feeds	1492
		into (..) into a pond drain	1493
#8	P.:	mmm I was given advise leaflets uh [..officer] gave	1494
		me uh a leaflet uh some kind of document which	1495
		explained how this can be done and has been done	1496
		elsewhere (.) so I'll I'll dig that out and we'll	1497
		(.)	1498
#6	D.:	uhuh	1499
#8	P.:	we'll let you see that (.) cause it- I mean it's	1500
		been viewed with skepticism by some developers that	1501
		uh it doesn't work anyway because the water has	1502
		gone through the system [.] does no good [..] so	1503
		I-I'll try nget that document and we'll send it to	1504
		you [*.....]	1505
#5	DE:	[*.]	1506
#6	D.:	but that that was the other reason as well for the	1507
		footpath	1508
#8	P.:	right	1509

#6	D.:	because obviously the footpath (..) if it was an	1510
		adopted sewer (.)	1511
	?.	[..]	1512
#6	D.:	i-it you know soon would be under it	1513
#8	P.:	right (.) okay (.) right	1514
		(2.0)	1515
#1	Pl:	would would I mean [..perhaps on the site]=	1516
#8	P.:	=well that's where (.) that's virtually where the	1517
		footpath come to now I think isn't	1518
#6	D.:	yeah but there there's a footpath that wanders	1519
		through there (..) but it's a matter of whether it	1520
		joins up (.) I mean (..) we've made provision for a	1521
		footpath (.) if it's not needed (..) then (..) it	1522
		can be excluded but it's- you know=	1523
#8	P.:	=mmm	1524
#6	D.:	we don't know whats happening on the other side	1525
		* here	1526
#1	Pl:	* I believe* it's optional whether you your	1527
		your- (.)	1528
#6	D.:	yeah	1529
#1	Pl:	your buyers wanted to have a convenient way	1530
		through there (.) but there's (.) there's less (.)	1531
		security	1532
#6	D.:	well that's right	1533
#1	Pl:	[that that is something] to trade off	1534
#6	D.:	yeah	1535
#1	Pl:	and we sort of said (.) well (..) it's up to you	1536
		really	1537
#8	P.:	yeah * because I mean-	1538
#1	Pl:	*[..]	1539
#8	P.:	people (.) from here (.) who want to get into here	1540
		can just go-=	1541
#1	Pl:	=yeah	1542
#8	P.:	*around this way	1543
	?.	*yes	1544
#6	D.:	*that's right (.) well we seem to agree I mean	1545
		it's- (..)	1546
#8	P.:	we'll leave that up to you to decide	1547
#6	D.:	yeah	1548
#5	DE:	[.. ?.]	1549
#8	P.:	[drains]	1550
#5	DE:	it drains into there,	1551
#8	P.:	yeah	1552
#5	DE:	cause at the end of the day whatever we put in the	1553
		ground we want it adopted	1554
#8	P.:	yeah (.) * oh yeah	1555
#5	DE:	* apart from a h-house	1556
#8	P.:	yeah (.) * yeah	1557
#5	DE:	*okay	1558
		(3.0)	1559
#8	P.:	right (.) we can wind up (..) five minutes (.)	1560
		hopefully we can manage to get this done- w-were	1561
		there any other points which you (..)	1562
#7	DA:	no that's all it's just a case of going through the	1563

points that you have made in your letter
#6 D.: so (.) just to recap quickly (.) if we look at (1.5) taking a road through there (1.0 uh you know try to to close this off
#8 P.: umhum
#6 D.: (.) uhh (..) try to save that tree
#8 P.: umhum
#6 D.: (..) and just sorta all the points that (..) that you've raised (.) cause * basically-
#2 PA: * uhuh
#1 Pl: * was * was there some (..) wh-what were the trees like in there
*[cause..possible-]
#2 PA: *there there* I think there are a number of elms in there that are either (.) dead or dying (.) I think there's possible room to push back in there (.) * there are
#1 Pl: *..]-
#2 PA: there are one or two pockets (.) of trees which can possibly be [cut given the context..=
#6 D.: =yes=
#2 PA: =there's some reasonable trees *also
#6 D.: *yes* and also look at increasing (.) the distance down in here if we can.
#8 P.: yes you can make it by putting a road in through here
#6 D.: yes
#8 P.: but that that might that might ruin that (.)
#6 D.: mmm
#8 P.: junction (.)hhh right for our part we meet again to talk to the hospital trust about the access (.) um as soon as possible (.) in order to see (.) you know what their plans are for this (.)
#6 D.: yes
#8 P.: and how they uh react to this
#6 D.: I'll speak to them as well
#8 P.: right
#6 D.: well (.) via their agents
#8 P.: yeah (.) well I mean maybe that (.) as far as [I can tell our has meeting the best way of approaching it
#6 D.: yeah
#8 P.: if we settling it we'll be in touch with them umm I'll have a look at (..) uh advice (.) specific advice we can give on the house types [rather than..]
#6 D.: yeah
#8 P.: you take away the general policy
#6 D.: yes
#8 P.: and I'll have a look at this drainage sheet [..] umm just so that we (.) know where we are in terms of timing (.) you mentioned a (.) sorta of deadline * in terms of ..

#6 D.: * oh uh 1618
#8 P.: wh-whats sort of planning committee meeting are 1619
you looking at 1620
#6 D.: uhh (.) [..] I mean I don't know what the specific 1621
dates are but as I say we're looking forward (.) to 1622
um probably be making an application (.) within a 1623
week (..) uhh assuming of course (.) we have all of 1624
the points are resolved 1625
#8 P.: right 1626
#6 D.: uhh*hh 1627
#8 P.: *the committees* the committees in December (..) 1628
are the third and the twenty-fourth (..) now- 1629
#6 D.: so if we are there for the twenty-fourth ?. 1630
#8 P.: yeah (..) that's right (.) it's got a sorta festive 1631
ring about it the twenty fourth * of December 1632
#6 D.: * it does it does 1633
everybody gonna be in good spirits ***** 1634
[laughter**] 1635
?. [** that's definitely about right] 1636
#8 P.: well (.) that's (.) that's that's a point yes (.) 1637
there there are a number of (.) consultation issues 1638
which may make the twenty-fourth of December 1639
unrealistic a-and therefore the first of Janurary 1640
more realistic .hh to start (..) we have a mean 1641
twenty-eight days to (.) circulate all the 1642
residents and so theres quite a few round about so 1643
(.) that-that makes it tight (.) it is a 1644
conservation area so it must go (.) to the 1645
conservation committee (.) um in a scheme of this 1646
nature with- with the amount of consultation (.) 1647
involved (.) difficult to (.) uh say definitely (.) 1648
yes we'll go to the twenty-fourth and it'll be a 1649
clear cut recommendation (..) because I suspect (.) 1650
if there is any (..) residual (.) controversy as 1651
far as the residents are concerned on conservation 1652
(.) the members [will put them up ..to be taken to 1653
committee] on the twenty-fourth because I expect 1654
that to be a aa very light committee (.) [probably 1655
on house hold...] but that's about it (.) um so all 1656
all that's there in theory (.) I suspect (.) [but 1657
realistically/however realistic] its (.) two or 1658
three weeks into Janurary before uh * I 1659
DD ?. * right 1660
#8 P.: would guarantee anything [.] and that's assuming= 1661
#6 D.: =well what I mean- (.) a-all we can do is is work 1662
(..) this as quickly as we can get get the 1663
information to yourselves (..) and ask you to (.) 1664
process it as quickly as you can 1665
#8 P.: mmm 1666
#6 D.: uhh you know- * uh 1667
#8 P.: * well I don't want to sound to 1668
pessimistic about that, because (.) umm it (..) hh 1669
the sorta numbers and the types of housing may well 1670
mean that (.) the persons round about don't raise 1671

		any particular objections (.) but w- we simply	1672
		don´t know that and there were on these little	1673
		housing schemes from the independent [dry boroughs]	1674
		a great deal of opposition so *[.]	1675
#6	D.:	*..heheh]	1676
#8	P.:	it´s not that it´s more it´s more housing (.) it´s	1677
		the type of housing or whatever (.)	1678
#6	D.:	right	1679
#8	P.:	[..] with the numbers and the extra traffic and so	1680
		on (.) we we just don´t know how it´s going come	1681
		out uh (..)	1682
#6	D.:	I´m really surprised at this (.) because probably	1683
		the people who ob- who objected would be the people	1684
		who bought our houses	1685
#8	P.:	yes	1686
		[laughter]	1687
#6	D.:	knowing full well (.) that the rest of the site was	1688
		(.)	1689
#8	P.:	yes	1690
#6	D.:	for eventual development	1691
	?.	***	1692
#3	PE:	[..]	1693
#6	D.:	well it´s human nature isn´t it (.) well I´m quite	1694
		happy where I am I don´t want anybody else to	1695
		* moving in	1696
#1	Pl:	* well I mean certainly it would be a valid	1697
		objection saying that there should be no houses	1698
		heh heh=	1699
#6	D.:	=well=	1700
#1	Pl:	=heh heh they can do that=	1701
#6	D.:	=no but	1702
#1	Pl:	they can say that *they can object	1703
#6	D.:	*but they do don´t* they well	1704
		well I walk my dog through there	1705
#1	Pl:	yes but we couldn´t I mean we wouldn´t uh seriously	1706
		take that into account umm g-generally people are	1707
		concerned about what is immediately happening next	1708
		door to their house=	1709
#6	D.:	=that´s right	1710
#1	Pl:	and there´s not that many people which will be	1711
		greatly affected, * because	1712
#6	D.:	* yeah	1713
#1	Pl:	you might find some	1714
		people concerned about loss of trees and so on	1715
		but *-	1716
#2	PA:	*you´ll get two or three people probably (.)	1717
#6	D.:	* well I think-	1718
#2	PA:	*[on most days ...]	1719
#6	D.:	I think loss of trees aa (.) I do believe (..) in	1720
		heart of hearts that we´ve done (..) the best that	1721
		we could (..) on on this current layout and and I	1722
		know that we can´t have room for (.) all these	1723
		hou- uh you know since the fall [..] and everything	1724
		else in the layout (...) I think we´ve done	1725

		reasonably well	1726
#2	PA:	yeah	1727
#6	D.:	because * I mean regardless of what happens-	1728
#2	PA:	* I I think at this stage* it´s well .	1729
		(..)	1730
#6	D.:	you know regardless of what happens I mean you	1731
		develop the site you must cut down some of the	1732
		trees	1733
#2	PA:	sure	1734
#6	D.:	cos you got to get your roads through	1735
#2	PA:	yeah	1736
#1	Pl:	I think any change will get some objection	1737
#6	D.:	ohh that´s right because it´s there [there´s always	1738
		clined to be]	1739
	?.	mmm	1740
		(1.0)	1741
		[heh heh]	1742
#6	D.:	you know you know my name´s on the trunk	1743
		[heheheheh]	1744
		(..)	1745
#2	PA:	there´s quite a number of chestnuts around there	1746
		actually (.) but I could be wrong but I think their	1747
		sterile ones which means there only conker ones	1748
#6	D.:	which is probably a good thing=	1749
#2	PA:	=which is probably a	1750
		good thing yes	1751
		heheh	1752
		heheheh	1753
#2	PA:	it can it can be a source of uh (.) of problems	1754
		with kids throwing stones or bits of wood round	1755
		[.]	1756
#8	P.:	kids know that much	1757
#2	PA:	well I hope they discover pretty quickly aa- I may	1758
		be wrong but at this time of year you expect to see	1759
		alot of them lying on the ground and I couldn´t	1760
		see any at all.	1761
#8	P.:	okay	1762
		[everyone getting up to go]	1763

Appendix D

Site D: Prince's Meadow

Facing north toward 'Dodd's Farm' (February 1994)

Access road parallel to Kenton Road (July 1994)

Hospital building and surrounding land (February 1994)

McLean's four bedroom detached homes (July 1994)

St Nicholas Hospital (February 1994)

Prince's Meadow (July 1994)

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