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**DISCOURSE DYNAMICS OF DISCRIMINATORY
PRACTICES
IN A JOB TRAINING SITUATION**

by

ROSALIE SCHWARTZ

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Linguistics in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy,
The City University of New York

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Abstract**DISCOURSE DYNAMICS OF DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES
IN A JOB TRAINING SITUATION**

by

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I demonstrate the process-oriented and dialogical nature of discourse in a factory, where four men and one woman underwent on-the-job training as material handlers. I argue that the training for the woman differs from that of the men, involving practices to exclude her. In contrast to research which focuses on stable, conventional discourse patterns and genres, my analysis displays subtle and ambiguous messages.

Talk as process is the flow of possible linguistic options, where social agents take agreeing, opposing or equivocal positions regarding the woman trying for a non-traditional job. Gender, more than race and class, is the salient sociolinguistic category. Conflict occurs at the institutional level of union/management to start her on easy versus hard tasks. It is seemingly resolved by agreement to treat her like a man. The discourse,

revolving around that theme, consists of hierarchic levels: ideology generates the register and discriminatory texts, and below that, dialogical processes.

Two kinds of talk are distinguished: a training register and “texts of discrimination.” My model highlights general social processes such as legitimization, classification, and justification, which pertain to how the woman is treated. Traditional dialogical exchanges of form/transform, agree/disagree, order/execute, and question/answer demonstrate how exclusionary talk at different points in time are connected.

The training is characterized as spoken register with common features. Comparison of same-gender with the cross-gender pair reveals significant variations in style and power/solidarity features. There are instances where training texts and “texts of discrimination” merge. Metaphor, expressions of mockery, and genderized versions of the job are analyzed, along with intertextual use of a teaching register and sexist discourse. Findings include the existence of a logonomic system that directs agents to “read” messages as legitimate or discriminatory depending on positions regarding the woman. Two voices, “fairness” and “discrimination,” are described, and a sociocultural dilemma of gender roles captured.

I use a social semiotic perspective, including approaches of Robert Hodge, Gunther Kress, M.A.K Halliday, Ruqaiya Hasan, and Mikhail Bakhtin. The data I analyze are unique in providing concrete linguistic evidence of discriminatory practices and are the basis of a methodology I have developed to display them.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 DISSERTATION FOCUS

The aim in this dissertation is to demonstrate the process-oriented and dialogical nature of discourse in a factory setting during a six-month period of on-the-job training. Four men and one woman underwent this training to become material handlers in the stockroom of an electronic parts factory. The job was traditionally held by males. Using audiotaped segments of and about the training,. I argue that the situation for the woman was different from that of the men, involving practices and processes to exclude and discriminate against her. A comparison of the training talk shows significant changes in register style as well as in training pedagogy that brings to the foreground ways in which solidarity and power/control are manifested, and the relationship between knowledge and institutional practices.

1.2 CHAPTER SYNOPSIS

This chapter introduces fundamental theoretical tools, definitions of term, and sociolinguistic concepts for analyzing data in its situational context. I distinguish two major discourse categories , process and product, and point out that my analytical focus is on depicting emerging social practices and the dynamic flow of communicative events, using semiotic forms toward that end. I compare the theoretical perspective I am using—social semiotic and dialogical analysis—with two other major approaches in discourse

analysis, speech act theory and conversational analysis, along with the pragmatic cooperative theory of Grice. The next section presents a set of research questions that define the sociolinguistic categories and social processes I am concerned with—gender, ideology, register, the processes of legitimation, justification, classification and others. I discuss the relevance of social semiotic theory to my empirical analysis. I present a model of the discourse in this training situation showing the kinds and levels of discourse and their relationships, and compare it to another model. I conclude with an overview of the dissertation, chapter by chapter.

1.3 DISCOURSE AS PROCESS AND PRODUCT

The distinction between process and product in well-popularized approaches to language analysis has not received due consideration. Saussure was ambivalent and contradictory about omitting historic, or **diachronic**¹, change from the scope of theoretical linguistics (Hodge & Kress 1988:20-21), viewing “history, process, flux as the normal condition of language (p.31).” Focus on **synchronic** (contemporaneous) structures and **syntagms** of language separates communicative exchange and text from its social and historical conditions of production, resulting in a purview that social patterns, routines, and conventions are fixed, static, or timeless. A social semiotic perspective rejects such a division, exploring models that include both process and form as unified phenomena, and interpreting language as dynamic and open-ended (Hodge & Kress 1988, Kress 1989, Martin 1985, Poynton 1989, Vološinov 1973). Bakhtin (1981) contrasts this type of living language with one that is reified and fixed; what he calls “authoritarian” language.

Distinguishing *process* and structural *product* and setting forth their relationship has been a fundamental problem. In fact, Martin (1985) argues that they are the two aspects of human semiosis which enter into any analysis of text. Because of the bias to designate linguistic formations as structures — i.e., components in a “fixed” or “stable” relationship of part to whole, the processes involved are largely overlooked. Process is often hidden, fused with structure, not conscious, or has no name. Focus on dynamic systems and actual processes as well as structural formulations and relationships enables us to understand how social meanings are made and employed, and offers a way to explain why a practice succeeds or fails. Kress (1989:1) also draws attention to the obstacles in the English language “with its preference for nominal, object-like forms rather than for the process-oriented forms of verbs” which make it difficult to speak of the unity of linguistic processes and sociocultural practices.

Cultural genres may be viewed as social processes where there is progression from one component to another. For example, engaging in conventional activities such as buying and selling is conceptualized as a flow of options in a structurally sequenced social process.² Such a structural depiction is simultaneously a text and a process. Goodwin (1990) demonstrates the phenomenon in her analysis of black children disputing and engaging in the complex speech genre of directives. The way children tie a speaker or addressee with the physical surroundings or another speaker’s words is characterized as both structure and process. An example of this is “Get off my steps”, where the possessive ties the speaker, not the recipient, “to a feature in the scene that is relevant to the action specified in the directive. A larger social framework of rights over property is

embedded within the talk of the moment.” Goodwin points out that “any procedure for formulating space and linking participants to it in a specific way involves selection from a larger set of alternatives....The space surrounding their activities is not something static to which participants have continuous unchanging access. It is instead a dynamic field of action...” (pp.88-89). Martin (1985) formulates a tentative dynamic system model of the moves and options in information exchange based on asking a question, and discusses how a repair turns attention to the process that is breaking down.

Vološinov (1973) and Bakhtin (1984,1986) focus on the dynamic and transformational nature of reported and dialogic speech. Hodge & Kress (1988) and Kress (1989) have shown how “naturalization” occurs as a hidden agenda in textbooks, where events are often depicted as just happening, in a syntax of passive sentences with causal agents left out. The syntax and lexicon are an inextricable part of this process. Poynton (1989:18) in discussing the ideology of gender, states that it makes sense to speak of ideology as the process of ideologizing — creating “meanings characterized by certain patterns of control.” While language is not reduced to ideology, ideology is viewed as the most abstract and usually most hidden level of meaning, accounting for a significant proportion of language use, if not all (Coward & Ellis 1977; Frow 1986; Kress 1989; Macdonell 1986; Poynton 1989; Thibault 1991; Vološinov 1973).

“A flow of options” is an important concept in discussing open-ended types of social practices, which would pertain to the language of discrimination. How a message is expressed is analyzed against a background of potential resources on the planes of horizontal syntactic combination (syntagmatic) and vertical substitutional selection

(paradigmatic) (Halliday 1985; Jacobson 1960). .In the woman's training situation (see Chapter 3), I argue that a conversation between her trainer and the stockroom supervisor constitutes a social process which I call legitimization, that of transforming a statement that would be considered prejudicial into one seemingly fair. The conversation is analyzed structurally as a transformation, yet at the same time it is a dynamic process—here, structure and process are fused. Another type of process demonstrated in my data lies in a trainer's selection of personal pronouns while training. For example, a pattern that maximizes the use of "we" in contrast to "you" in a declarative clause, or omits the pronoun in an imperative are indicators of the degree and kind of power or solidarity that is expressed toward the trainee.

I view process as a dialogical and semiotic dynamic where discriminatory talk-practices are covered over by language that is conventionally registered (recognized) as training, normative conversation, and ideologically "naturalized" discourse. For example, from the training data, social process acts, such as verifying that the woman is physically moving heavy items occur frequently, while trainers's talk to male trainees, (even one who is noticeably weak), does not include any such thematic questioning or challenge , and predictably so. The verification process directed toward and effecting the female is treated as perfectly natural and fair in the situation. The presence of ambiguous functional utterances also supports and contributes to a "masking" function (see Chapter 7).

1.4 CONCEPTUALIZING DATA AS SOCIOLINGUISTIC ENTITIES: REGISTER, GENRE, DISCOURSE AND TEXT

Of paramount importance in analyzing what is taking place socially, are key language entities: register, genre, discourse and text. These are implicated in conveying and embodying the sociocultural meanings, patterns, and activities that people engage in.

The terms *genre* and *register*, however, have been used interchangeably by different writers.³ Bakhtin (1986) and Hodge & Kress (1988) designate greetings, committee meetings, interviews, and table conversation as speech genres, while Halliday & Hasan (1976, 1978, 1989) Cazden (1988), Heath & Longman (1992) refer to interviews, teacher-talk, and spontaneous conversation as registers. Genres common to our culture include narrative (Labov & Waletzky 1966), didactic and persuasive discourse (Halliday & Hasan 1989), making an appointment, classroom show and tell (Christie 1989), teaching a lesson (Lemke 1985), and telling a joke (Sacks 1974). There has been extensive analysis of the schematic structure of service encounters, designating elements in the genre as obligatory or optional (Halliday & Hasan 1989, Ventola 1988) and the sequential organization of conversation (cf. Levinson 1980:284-370 for an introductory discussion). Genre is viewed as a goal-oriented culturally legitimized and stably structured event that is realized through typical register or directly through language.

1.4.1 REGISTER, GENRE, and DISCOURSE

1.4.1.1 REGISTER AND GENRE

Much of the data I am working with can be characterized as a recognizable type of talk that accompanies work activities with the purported purpose of training a newcomer to perform these tasks. It is conceivable to portray the training talk as a genre that generates and is associated with a typical register (see Figure 1.1). However, I characterize it as a register with features common to all trainers. Because job training talk and action is not conventionally stable or systematized, I choose a paradigm for register rather than genre. A comprehensive model of register as a configuration of features that Halliday (1978, Halliday & Hasan 1989) developed is applicable to my data in that it enables an analysis of situational features with lexicogrammatical ones. It offers a way to display power and solidarity indices, and show **transitivity processes** or predominant representations of what is going on.

As Halliday & Hasan (1989) show, genres have both obligatory and optional elements. This aspect of generic structure would determine or effect the register output. Thus, in the on-the-job training register, as observed in all five training pairs, certain aspects of the training were common to all, such as the actual carrying out of factory production tasks, while others were optional, expressed in variations of style.⁴ For example, trainers decided what the trainee should know and determined the order of steps in the task. The sequence of tasks already has its own particular history of pedagogical change with social implications for management and trainees which my dissertation addresses (see Section 6.2; Scribner & Sachs 1989:24–46).

In the stockroom, all newcomers undergo on-the-job training, usually by experienced workers, so that this kind of talk is familiar to the people in this setting. It is communicative talk characterized as “learning through doing” (Scribner & Sachs:1989:80), so that meanings and forms are already associated with this register. A trainer may speak about a particular task going on while or before performing it. For example, one trainer putting electronic parts on an ratio scale says, “So we got 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, 1030 pieces in there”; another says , “Now we got another pull here,” and while doing paperwork, “Okay, we'll just sign it over here.”

Register is a means of displaying the inextricable connections between knowledge, language, and society. It has been described as a recognizable and patterned configuration of features intermediate between the utterance and speech act and the language system, especially relevant in discussing social interactions and meanings. In fact, register is the connecting of language with a social situation as an inseparable unity; the status, role, and interpersonal relationships of the speakers are thus highlighted.

Atkinson & Biber (1994) present a comprehensive overview of empirical studies of register, and Biber (1994) describes different analytical frameworks for register studies, pointing out that “most researchers agree in using *register* to refer to situationally defined varieties,” although all registers are not equally well-defined (pp.36,51).The author presents a useful table of situational parameters that cover a range of categories in which to describe a register, such as the social and personal role relations between speakers, extent and type of shared knowledge, the place of communication, whether the talk is audiotaped, face-to-face, by phone, and such features as the speaker’s evaluations,

attitudes, beliefs, as well as purposes, intents, and goals (pp.40-41). Researchers in various academic disciplines have been looking more closely at how and what people say in a variety of situations. The designation of language register, as Coulthard states, “raises the question of how different registers can be recognized and isolated” (1977:36).

Such registers have been investigated as conventionalized ways of talking in a configuration of co-occurring features at many levels: pronunciation, syntax, speech acts, and discourse.

Theories of register have emphasized the importance of situational context in determining the meanings and language forms used (Halliday 1978, Halliday & Hasan 1989). Knowing the situation allows us to predict a great deal about the language that will occur, just as recognizing a register can identify a situation. Indeed, using a certain register is even capable of redefining or creating a situation, and also generating new meanings. Halliday is explicit that analysis of register and discourse be based on a functional grammar that relates the language to the nonlinguistic universe of the *register*, as well as *genre*, permits entry into the realm of social meanings that concern power/solidarity relations, and that chronicle social change.⁵

Social semioticians situate register and genre as full semiotic systems in their own right (Halliday 1978, Halliday & Hasan 1989, Hodge & Kress 1988, Martin 1985, Poynton 1989). Martin (1985) has introduced a model that posits register and genre as further connotative semiotic systems that profoundly influence the semantics of the lexicogrammar. Some researchers of classroom talk have found that teacher and student registers are “radically asymmetrical” (Cazden 1988:161), and that a pervasive function

of teacher talk is to monitor and control the classroom communication system (Cazden 1988, Coulthard 1977, Stubbs 1977). Others have recognized that bringing into the classroom another kind of register (coaching) shifts the focus from teacher controlled classrooms of "individual learners to small groups being coached to construct knowledge jointly through collaborative and complex problem-solving...." But, problems adapting and stabilizing new registers have also been observed due to the change in roles and the language this generates (Heath & Langman 1994).

I am analyzing the job-training talk as a register of talk rather than a genre because of the looseness of its structure and the wide range of variation. This may also account for why the classroom lesson has not been analyzed as genre, but at the level of register (Cazden 1988; Lemke 1989). Also, I would speculate, because classroom "show and tell" is more tightly sequenced and controlled, Christie (1989) views it as a genre, and show how the teacher enables students to succeed or fail in gaining generic competence. Hodge and Kress (1988:7) highlight the committee meeting as example of a social occasion where various forms in speech and writing code the set of practices, relations of participants, their expectations and purposes. These forms themselves become recognized as genres, the minutes, for example. Any changes in the nature of the committee meeting (a social occurrence) would thereby warrant generic changes.

In characterizing the training talk as a register, I show the common features used by all the trainers and trainees, and also the variations of style that appear in each trainer's discourse. I also present an analysis of register differences between the training

talk and other dialogues about the woman's training, which I designate as "Texts of Discrimination."

1.4.1.2 IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSE

The notion of institutional or ideological discourse is an instrumental part of social semiotic analysis (Hodge & Kress 1988, Kress 1989). It is the recognition that there are systematically-organized ways of talking which give expression to the meanings and values of an institution, and that "organize and give structure to the manner in which a topic, object or process is to be talked about" (Kress 1989:6-7). Among examples of institutional discourses, Kress specifies religious discourse, nationalistic discourse (what it is to be a 'good American') and scientific discourse. The discourse of sexism is a way to use language to convey what men and women may be, how they are to think of themselves, how to interrelate with the other gender, what roles to assume in families, what work is suitable, and so forth. "A discourse colonizes the social world imperialistically, from the point of view of one institution", but exists "within a larger system of sometimes opposing, contradictory, contending, or merely different discourses"(p.7). I claim and demonstrate that the actual training talk and dialogues about the training contain instances of sexist discourse, at times indirect and subtle, conscious and unconscious.

1.4.2 TEXT

Text is considered a basic unit of meaning in language — a unit of situational-semantic organization (Fillmore 1984, Halliday & Hasan 1976, 1989), extending beyond

the range of structural relations to include semantic resources for linking an utterance with what has gone before. Halliday & Hasan's theory of cohesion (1976) is useful for this purpose. The utterances of a communicative text also exist in dialogical relation to each other, such as in agreement, conflict, appropriation and transformation. These relationships permeate all human speech, and are possible toward a whole utterance, or any significant part of an utterance, perceived as a sign of someone else's semantic position (Bakhtin 1984:184; Thiebault 1991; Todorov 1984). They are metalinguistic in nature, but necessary to arrive at the assignment of meaning. Kress (1989:31) explains, "Texts are given form and meaning by (institutional) discourse and genre...(they) are the products of individual speakers who, as social agents, are themselves formed in discourses through texts.... Each individual exists in a particular set of discursive forms deriving from the social institutions in which she or he finds herself or himself. The resolution of...tensions, contradictions, and incompatibilities, provides a constant source of dialogue, and hence of text..." As I discussed, social semioticians have shown how text implicates social process and change, which goes beyond synchronic structural relationships and cohesive ties (cf. text linguistics – de Beaugrande 1980; de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981; Dressler 1975).

Particular sequences from the corpus are designated as texts. Each of five training dyads has produced specific, concrete spoken texts that can be compared for similarities and differences. I shall demonstrate that features of solidarity in the males' training talk have become features of power and challenge in the woman's training. That is, the training register has "genderized" variations. These texts will also be viewed as

exemplars of job training undergoing an historical process of deterioration.⁶ In arguing that the training situation for the woman is significantly different than it is for the men, and therefore requires that language is encoded differently, I identify what I call a “Text of Discrimination”, a set of dialogues that display strategies to exclude the female trainee.

1.5 INTERTEXTUALITY.

“To mean” is to participate in a social event in a community; no utterance or text means in isolation — all meaning is intertextual (Coward & Ellis 1977:52-55; Lemke 1988). Such a view contends that there is no autonomous semantic plane of meanings. Text linguists also recognize intertextuality, the interaction of a single text with other texts, as one of the primary principles in textual analysis (de Beaugrande 1980; de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981). A text often contains messages by more than one producer, as well as a diversity of structures. As Kress’ (1989:32) analytic work shows, “No text is ever the text of a single speaker or writer. All texts show the traces of differing discourses, contending and struggling for dominance. Texts are therefore the sites of struggle...(and) of linguistic and cultural change.” But, the demonstration that meanings in a discourse or text come about through the repetition, transformation, or appropriation of other discourses, has been largely limited to analyses of literature (Bakhtin 1981, 1984, 1986; Frow 1986; Thibault 1991) and other written text (Hodge & Kress 1988; Kress 1989; Lemke 1985, 1988). Studying the intertextual aspects of spoken discourse and how speakers produce texts using other texts, registers, genres, and

institutional discourses (Hodge & Kress 1988; Kress 1989; Dore 1989) is still largely uncharted.

The woman's trainer, in talking about the work tasks they are doing, produces a training register in a certain way. But the modality, for example, is different; he employs commands, while the males receive a few mitigated requests, with more explanations and information about the job and how the broader factory system operated. Thus, the training register for the males is being utilized by the woman's trainer but also transformed, as I discuss in chapter 6. I will show how the "Text of Discrimination" (TOD) interacts dynamically with the training text. Intertextuality enables me to identify the use of features from a teaching register to point out important distinctions between the males' and the female's training. Intertextuality has been analyzed on a global scale, using categories of institutional discourse such as sexism, patriotism, religious morality and science, and also genre. I am using register, institutional discourse, text, and intertextual relations on a local scale (situationally specific), which to my knowledge has not been done.

1.6 LOCATING IDEOLOGY IN THE DIALOGUES: A MODEL OF THE DISCOURSE

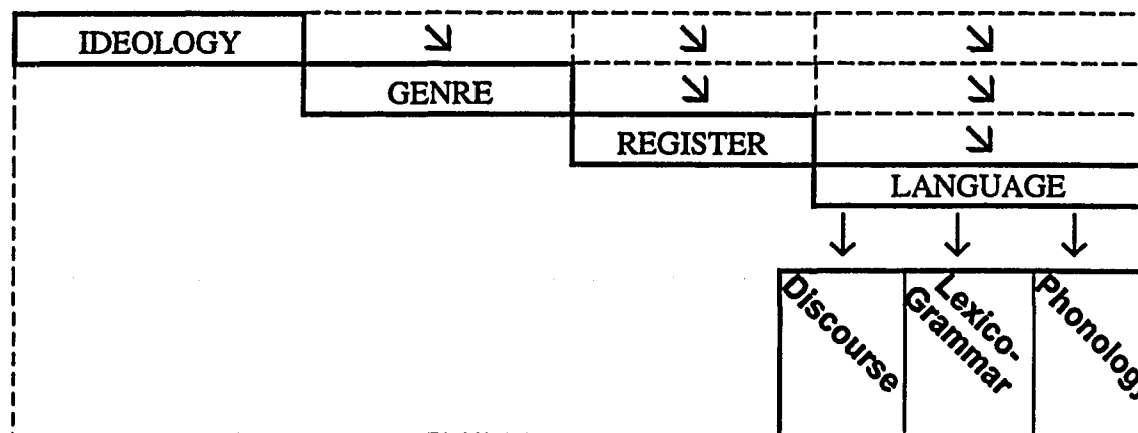
I also identify ideology in the woman's training situation. that occurs in conversation, and which I argue, actually underlies and accounts for the recorded talk. Ideology represents an important level which is not included in certain models of discourse (Levinson1983, Schiffirin 1989), but which is part of the semiotic planes of meaning that Poynton presents (1989:9) (see Figure 1.1). Her model also includes genre

and register as hierarchical levels that organize the discourse, lexicogrammar and phonology.⁷ Poynton's model offers discourse concepts and categories for a model of discourse that I developed concerning the training situation (see Figure 1.2). My model has *ideology* as the highest level, but differs from Poynton's in that *genre* and *register* are situated at the same level.

1.6.1 POYNTON'S MODEL OF DISCOURSE

Poynton's model below (Figure 1.1), the level of language is composed of three strata: Discourse — dealing with the construction of texts, Lexicogrammar — dealing with the construction of clauses, and Phonology — having to do with the sounding. The choices a speaker makes, however, need to be interpreted on higher levels, which are viewed as constraining the levels before it; that is, the higher levels “borrow” linguistic forms in order to realize their meanings. “Thus the meaning of whatever we say will include register, genre, and ideology meanings” (p.7). The register has to do with the institutional context meanings, the genre with goal or purpose of talk, and ideology with what beliefs or values are implicated. From a social semiotic perspective, Poynton argues that the level of ideology is necessary in order to fully account for the meaning of most discourses.

Figure 1.1 LANGUAGE AND ITS CONNOTATIVE SEMIOTICS



1.6.2 DISCOURSE MODEL OF WOMAN'S TRAINING SITUATION

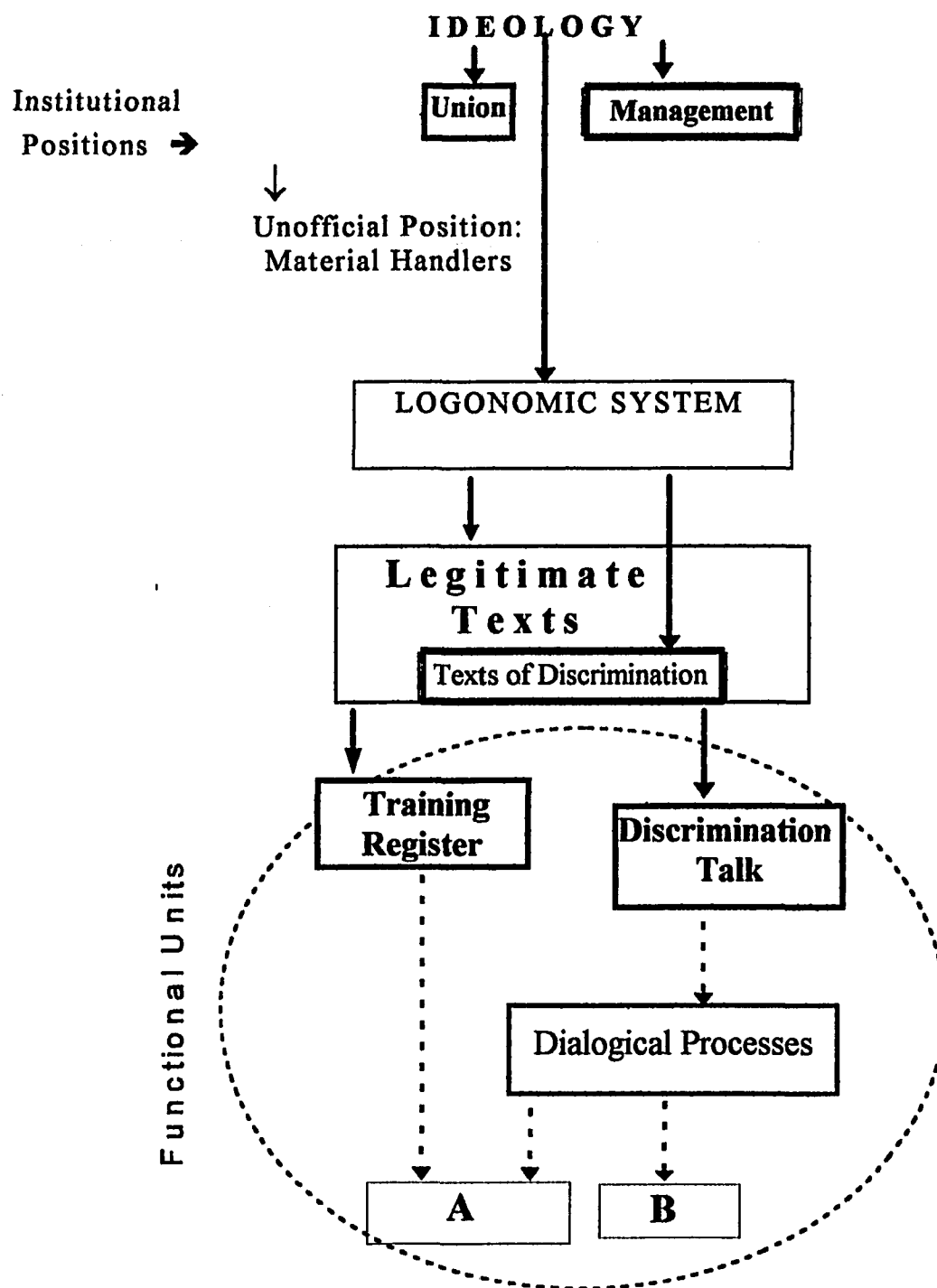
The term *ideology*, based on Hodge & Kress' conceptualization (1988:3), refers to a functionally related set of contradictory versions of the world which structure the versions of reality on which social action is based for a social classes or group. My model below (Figure 1.2), like Poynton's, depicts the level of ideology as effecting linguistic choices in the levels below. The training register also organizes and accounts for much of the situated talk. However, I introduce a semiotic discourse category of *logonomic code* which Hodge & Kress (1988) define as a set of messages on another level that provide specific information as to how to read a message. My analytic study reveals two ways of conveying and understanding messages—(1) as legitimate training talk of and about the training, and (2) as an "insider" code of messages that functions to exclude the female trainee. I argue that the legitimate and fair-sounding words expressed as egalitarian ideology, training register and peer conversation mask the discriminatory ones. My model also displays two sets of dialogical processes. One is generated from the

union/manage-ment conflict and resolution and has to do with social speech practices such as justifying, classifying, and verifying. The other involves traditional processes such as agreeing, opposing , questioning and answering, and transforming (Bakhtin 1981, 1984; Todorov 1984). In Figure 8.1, I present a full model of the discourse which includes the institutional opposition and its resolution. I show how the woman's trainer incorporates into his training register features from a classroom teacher's register and a discourse of sexism.⁸

The term *discourse* has a multiplicity of meanings. Poynton and other linguists use the term to designate connected spoken or written text, as indicated in Figure 1.1. As I mentioned above, social semioticians use the term for broad cultural institutional texts, such as discourses of medicine which reflect dominant cultural practices and others which challenge or oppose these practices and present different ones (e.g., American Medical Association versus wholistic medicine).

Figure 1.2

MODEL OF DISCOURSE: WOMEN'S TRAINING SITUATION



1.7 INSTRUMENTS OF ANALYSIS

A SOCIAL SEMIOTIC THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE offers the broad and diverse instruments for identifying spoken text,, institutional positions, institutional discourse, and register; for connecting discourse with social context; and establishing intra- and intertextual connections and semantic relationships on which to base an interpretive “reading” of the social acts and processes going on. This perspective consists of Bakhtin’s (1981, 1984, 1986) polyphonic approach to meaning, Halliday’s (1978, 1985; Halliday & Hasan 1976) sociolinguistic functional/systemic theory, and Vološinov (1973) and Hodge & Kress’s (1988) theories of the social sign. That these approaches can be considered parts of one broad perspective is evidenced by Lemke’s (1985, 1988) analysis of intertextuality in written texts about homosexuality and Thibault’s (1991) intertextual analysis of two novels by Nabokov utilizing functional/systemic theory, social semiotic theory, and Bakhtin’s theory of **dialogism** and social heteroglossia (the social diversity of speaking practices within any community).

Selecting from a range of analytic resources, I will utilize:

[A] the theory of COHESION as described in Halliday & Hasan (1976): suppositional devices that tie utterances together: by reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion. Besides cohesion, the authors, recognize two other components of texture:

(1) How the sentence is structured internally in its role as realization of text.

(a) Thematic structure has to do with how the sentence organized as a message; thematic variation has to do with meaning, and the way the sentence is related thematically to other sentences in the text.

(b) Information structure: what is given and what is new, signaled by tonic prominence.

(2) The structure of discourse entities, such as genre.

[B] The theory and methods of DIALOGICAL ANALYSIS as developed by Bakhtin (1981, 1984) - to establish certain kinds of relations among speakers in dialogue anticipating and responding to each other's discourse or to their own, by affirming, contradicting, questioning, and so forth.⁹

[C] The resources of SOCIAL SEMIOTICS developed by Halliday (1978) and Hodge & Kress (1988). I will utilize **transformational** analysis and **modal** analysis (the degrees of truth and certainty in speech as expressed through verbs, adverbs, and mood).

Halliday's theory of functional grammar (1985) offers a grammatical base for arriving at societal meanings and actions. Kress and Hodge (1979:35) call attention to the prevalence of two major operations of language in the construction and interpretation of everyday communicative messages: classification and transformation. Hodge and Kress (1988) focus on the transformational process, and discuss classification in terms of its degree of stability in the "real" world, and a speaker's attitude as expressed through the use of modality. For example, the categories of *male* and *female* appear solid, so that modals of certainty would have a high frequency when these categories appear in speech.

However, the status of these categories and their applications have been questioned, so that classification itself is a contest site. In my analysis, a classification of material handler work as a job that is not for women is overtly expressed.

1.8 APPROACHES TO ANALYZING DISCOURSE

Potter & Wetherell (1987) cite the three major approaches to analyzing discourse as social texts: speech act theory, ethnomethodology/conversational analysis, and semiology. The authors offer a concise summary and evaluation of these three approaches. However, they base their discussion of semiotics on the formalist theory of Saussure which defines the sign as arbitrary in nature and positioned in a system of signs (syntagmatic chains and paradigmatic choices), and Barthes (1964) theory of second-level significations (connotation) that reveal culturally constructed conventions. Levinson (1983) and Coulthard (1977) provide an informative survey of speech act theory and conversational analysis. Levinson also discusses the categories of the term *semiotics* that Morris (1938:1) introduced: syntax (formal relation of signs to one another), semantics (study of the relations of signs to the objects to which the signs are applicable, and pragmatics (the study of the relation of signs to interpreters). Social semioticians show that the sign is not arbitrary, that utterances and choices are intimately bound up with social factors, and that language users are doing more than replicating or complying with conventional meanings and speech forms. These theorists also introduce the methodological apparatus that goes beyond traditional pragmatics in disclosing how speakers mean more than they say, and what these meanings might be. My choosing a social semiotic analytical perspective invites comparison with the other two perspectives.

Because of the vastness of theory and research, I will attempt to present commentary relevant to my study as to what the approaches can and cannot do.

1.8.1 SPEECH ACT THEORY

Speech act theory is important in extending the domain of speaking into the domain of action, and in demonstrating ways that contextual speech is rule-governed by underlying cultural conventions and constraints which link utterances and social activities. Speech act theory posits underlying cultural phenomena to account for speaker/hearer coherence. The performative speech act derives its illocutionary force from institutional backing or constitutive rules (felicity conditions) which reflect institutions and capture intentions, or the property that the saying is the doing (i.e. promise, bet, apologize) (Austin 1962; Levinson 1983:226-283; Searle 1969). Whether illocutionary force is part of an utterance's meaning as Austin/Searle contend or whether it is inferred remains an issue. Many researchers have paid attention to the kinds of speech acts that occur in conversation. For example, Goodwin (1990), in analyzing how the local organization of children living in Southwest Philadelphia is constituted by their talk, discusses the prevalent use of directives — utterances designed to get someone else to do something, and their functions in both boys' and girls' talk related to task activities. However, it does not provide a principled basis for looking at implicitness and indirection in speech performance, or in characterizing hierarchic structures in such acts as challenges and arguments (Foucault 1972; Schiffrin 1989). What is more, there is no apparatus to analyze the extensive range of meanings between participants in spoken communication, as well as further connotative meaning systems, and intertextual

relations. Without other methods of analysis, speech acts are open to a high degree of indeterminacy (Dore & McDermott 1982). As Levinson (1983:278-279) foresaw, speech act theory has become superseded by a more complex multi-faceted pragmatics of functions and their structures that utterances and speakers perform, *conversational analysis*, with its emphasis on empirical data. However, looking at spoken utterances as exchanges of particular speech acts is an important theoretical notion in the training situation dialogues, and is invariably related to an understanding of the function that an utterance or text is performing.

1.8.2 CONVERSATIONAL ANALYSIS

Conversational analysis as developed by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (see bibliography in Levinson 1983) offers an extensive set of concepts and conversational features, and an approach to describe what speakers are doing in various types of social activities. The analyses are based on empirical study of hundreds of complete sequential conversations, and capture the conventions and patterns of everyday situations, and their repeatable and reproducible components. The methodology has introduced important concepts and system descriptions into the analysis of language as it is used, such as turn-taking (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson 1974), components of sequential organization (i.e. openings and closings) (Schegloff 1968); Schegloff & Sacks 1973), and mechanisms of relevancy and expectation, such as the adjacency pair, and pre-sequences. The researchers state that such talk constitutes and is constrained by the social activity that is taking place, that social participants recognize these activities, and that these phenomena are the objects of study.

Zimmerman & West (1975) have used the turn-taking system in their study of same gender and mixed-gender conversation, finding that men interrupt woman significantly more and delay their responses more than when talking with men. The adjacency pair has been easier to describe than to specify the underlying expectations upon which the regularities are based. Prototypical examples such as question/answer, greeting/greeting, offer/acceptance, are limited in extent, and other more complex sequential organizations operating in conversation are not addressed. Levinson (1983) expresses the popular position that strict adjacency requires the notion of conditional relevance where there is expectation that the relevant seconds are forthcoming but not necessarily adjacent. Another limitation involves the idea that only answers count as seconds to questions. But there is data that shows insertion sequences which provide alternate kinds of responses such as promises and explanations. Critics point to the notion of preferred adjacency seconds offering more constraints for selection than dispreferred seconds and that features of dispreferredness need more description.. Using the adjacency pair as an analytic device brings with it various other complications, such as why some pairs are “tighter” than others. There are linguists who claim that the adjacency pair is not adequate to account for a complete text and the bulk of conversation, which have other kinds of structurally related sequences. And often the boundaries between adjacency pair and ‘other’ is not clear.

A study of meetings (Cuff & Sharrock 1985) illustrates major ideas analysts use in studying how social occasions constitute themselves — “how the activities making up a meeting contribute to its occurrence as a witnessable, recognizable, and orderly

occasion" (p.151)¹⁰ The researchers are interested in characterizing utterances in terms of their role within a meeting, so that, when somebody asked "What's everybody interested in bringing up today?", the researchers, noting the multiplicity of ways this and similar utterances could be described, characterized them as collectively composing the meeting-relevant activity of finding some business for the gathering to do." They also look at the way one activity can shape and determine other activities, at the episodic organization of the meetings — the way the continuous stream of activity is divided (pre-sequences and sequences), and at turn-taking participation.

The Ethnomethodology/conversational analysis perspective's predictive powers seem to operate successfully where recognizable literal intent, interlocutor rationality, and truthfulness are integral aspects of the contextualized speech. The idea of conditional relevance expressed through the adjacency pair is a strong predictor of what can occur in the second slot, so that any absence or deviation is a noticeable event. Also, turn-taking rules demonstrate their strong predictability of each turn-constructive unit's end.

Recent investigations have focused on the structure and sequential organization of arguments and conflicts (Grimshaw 1990), and have utilized such mechanisms as "membership category device", to study prejudicial content in talk (Drew 1978; Watson 1978). In my view, an important distinction between social semiotics and conversational analysis is, the differing conceptualizations of social activities. Social semioticians conceive of commercial exchanges, meetings, interviews, conversations, and so forth, as wholistic entities in their own right—genres, "which code particular relationships among

sets of social participants” (Hodge & Kress 1988:7). Countless power/solidarity processes of control, struggle, and resistance are also constituted on these occasions. Conversational analysts, without additional analytic instruments, are not well equipped to interpret the diverse and multiple meanings and structures of these processes, identify the underlying and often hidden ideology generating the text and link them to broader social processes.

1.8.3 SOCIAL SEMIOTIC ANALYSIS

Social semioticians have a large and complex repertoire of conceptual tools which can be put to use in revealing the less obvious social practices and ideologies that occur in communicative exchange, as well as the types of dialogical interactions that speakers engage in. Further description of semiotic analyses is provided throughout this dissertation. However, an informal interview between a male and female offers an abbreviated sample of this kind of analysis (Hodge & Kress 1988:121-128). The analysis is based on the modal configurations of language —: modality being “the status, authority and reliability of a message, its ontological status, or its value as truth or fact.” In fact, a large proportion of the syntax can be seen as performing modal functions —mood, tense, deixis, hesitation phenomena, and so forth. Hodge & Kress take into consideration the status, gender, age, and class of participants to understand the lexicogrammatical forms used. The male interviewer’s question “What would you say language is?” right away asserts a modality of low affinity (hypothetical *would*), and high social power (command). The woman’s use of modals like *would*, *well*, and tag questions are analyzed as signs of low affinity and lack of solidarity with the interviewer. These modal

structures and processes are less visible than the sequential features of co-constructing the interview. In my understanding, conversational analysts would interpret this interview in terms of its opening (before the first question), the question/answer adjacency pairs, turn-taking, and its closing; that is, as an instance of an interview occasion composed of phenomenological episodes. Power, most likely, would be understood in the initiating episodic and questioner role of the interviewer, and in evaluations of the woman's answer.

Thus, while conversational analysis has provided one kind of understanding for what might be considered social genres or whole activity formats (conversations, meetings, etc.) and the awareness of one level that co-participants orient to. "...the analysis of exchange (systems) becomes truly interesting and important when the semiotic organization of social interaction on the planes of genre and register are also taken into consideration in the analysis" (Ventola 1988:71), and, I repeat, the final plane of ideology. Thus, a social semiotic perspective uses the resources of a functional grammar, and a register-situation design to investigate the relation of register to genre, interpret further connotative and underlying or hidden meanings, and show processes of social change and their significance. Potter & Weatherall (1987) have discussed the utility of both conversational analysis and semiology within the discipline of social psychology.

1.8.4 GRICE'S THEORY OF IMPLICATURE

Levinson (1983) points out that conversational implicature is one of the most important ideas in pragmatics, having the source of its principles outside the organization of language in the co-operative interaction between speakers. It is thus possible to mean more

than what is actually said. This theory demonstrates that a semantic theory alone can only provide a small part of an account of how we communicate through language. Implicatures are meanings that are conveyed rather than literally said, and are based on certain logical principles that show how metaphors and modals work, and how logical operations with words such as *and*, *or*, *if...then*, *not*, along with quantifiers mean more than their semantic sense.

Implicatures are an intended, or rational kind of inferencing based on the principle that people are basically cooperative in communicative exchanges. This principle expressed in four maxims states: make your contribution according to what is required, at the stage at which it occurs, with the accepted purpose or direction. Thus, what is said should be true/sincere, based on adequate evidence, as informative as is required, relevant, and clearly, succinctly, expressed, and in the proper order. Grice states that these are rational assumptions that people orient to and observe, and when these principles are not followed, it is a signal to look for other meanings that are conveyed by disregarding the maxims.

Standard implicatures are based on observing and exploiting or flouting the maxims. The implicatures have the properties of being cancelable, attached to meaning, not form (except for maxim of Manner), non-conventional, and indeterminable, but these properties are problematic.¹¹ Understanding the meaning of metaphors are often based on the flouting of the maxim of Quality.

This theory is important because it argues against communication being based on rules in that "what can be communicated always exceeds the communicative power

provided by the conventions of the language and its use” (Levinson 1983:112). However, while maneuvers of maxims can signal that there is another or other meanings intended, deriving these meanings is another matter; the theory is not comprehensive enough to analyze situated talk and provide a basis for a model of the discourse.

1.8.5 APPLYING THE DISCOURSE APPROACHES

With my objectives and research questions in mind (see Section 1.9 below) , I have selected social semiotic as the theoretical and methodological approach that is the most appropriate for my research goals. In the various sections of 1.8, I pointed out how the other approaches do not provide sufficient analytical instruments, such as a hierarchical and organizational schema of linguistic and discourse planes (see Figure 1.2). I do show, however, how the other approaches can be used to substantiate and complement my analyses and interpretations. For instance, although the conversations in the Texts of Discrimination do not contain many of the constituents that have been identified in conversational analysis such as routine openings and closings, the notion of adjacency pair substantiates the marked noticeability of a trainer not answering a trainee’s questions (although the meaning(s) of such an omission is still open to interpretation). Furthermore, while, speech act theory captures the illocutionary force of those utterances that are highly conventionalized, it leaves problematic less obvious acts such as the function of certain assertions, or declarative and tag questions. To cite an example, what does the woman’s trainer mean, with reference to lifting 50-pound bins, saying “That’s easy, isn’t it?” Grician analysis introduces the idea that the trainer is not being truthful here in that he has previously asked a male worker to help the woman lift bins off the

elevator, thus realizing that it is hard for her. Speculation as to utterance meanings and functions is based on analyzing the training context and the positions that factory personnel take regarding the woman doing this kind of job, and distinguishing emergent processes and categories in the talk and dialogic relationships. Ethnomethodology/conversational analysis's predictive powers operate successfully where recognizable literal intent, interlocutor rationality, and truthfulness are integral aspects of the contextualized speech. Also, the extensiveness of the data and limits of time and space basically prevent attempts at enhancing my analyses with the other perspectives.

1.9 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES AND QUESTIONS

The following analytical objectives and research questions are addressed. The first set are broadly depicted; the second set aims at specific features..

- (1) Characterize the training talk as a common register (TT).
- (2) Describe two different register styles (features which are not common to all trainers) which contrastively correlate with training the males and the female.
- (3) Identify and describe "Text(s) of Discrimination" (TOD) as a specific genre.
- (4) Draw some preliminary distinctions between the common training register and the "Texts of Discrimination."
- (5) Show the relationship of the female's trainer's register style to the common training register and the "Texts of Discrimination."

The second set of questions concerns how discrimination and exclusionary practices were accomplished?

(6) What functional process-actions emerge in the “Texts of Discrimination” and the training register dialogues?

(7) What kinds of exchanges are found in the dialogues?

(8) What is the significance of each kind?

(9) What are the levels of discourse present in the data?

A third set of questions pivot around the properties of the data—samplings of training talk, conversations about the training, and researchers’ commentary. A central assumption is that the separate utterances in a register, genre, discourse or textual product have no meaning by themselves (Fillmore 1984, Douglas 1975), that meanings in spoken discourse are dialogical in nature, and integrally bound to situational context, and the hierarchical social structure.

(10) What makes “Texts of Discrimination” (TOD) a coherently unified text?

(11) How can social meanings and actions be discerned from excerpts or samplings of talk?

(12) How can the analytical instruments be utilized to identify and characterize relationships between spoken utterances that are both contiguous and dispersed?

(13) How is “context” conceptualized and brought into the analysis of identifying and interpreting the spoken discourse?

1.10 OVERVIEW OF DISSERTATION CHAPTERS

In this introductory chapter, I have presented the training situation and social agents represented in the data, highlighted the research questions and objectives

concerning the context, and described applicable theoretical instruments and a range of concepts and wholistic language entities. I gave reasons for selecting social semiotics as the most appropriate perspective, comparing it with other approaches to discourse analysis. I talked about the planes that communicative exchange contains, and how higher planes account for the selection of the levels below it, so that lexical and syntactic items are influenced or even determined by the point of view, institutional position or ideology of speakers.

In Chapter 2, I discuss the implications of sex segregation of jobs in this factory, and place this in the broader context of woman in non-traditional work situations.

I present ethnographic information about the factory and the stockroom job, and about the management personnel, workers, and union representatives who have roles in the woman's training. I review studies and accounts of the language of gender and race discrimination in and about the workplace. I also discuss the relevance of ideology, the institutional discourses of sexism and feminism, and register/genre to my analysis. I finally characterize the training situation as one where conflict of positions by union and management representatives regarding the woman's training have been verbally, but not truly, resolved in a statement of egalitarian ideology.

In the next three chapters, (3, 4 and 5) I identify a Text of Discrimination that displays strategies and a sequence of events leading to the woman quitting the training. In Chapter 3, I discuss the transformation of a prejudicial statement into a legitimate one. I call this a social process of "Legitimizing", using it as an entry point into the Text of Discrimination. I show how the reaccenting of another's words produces a different

meaning. A review of literature on transformation is included. The two positions of the union and management is also articulated.. Chapter 4 presents a dialogical analysis of the social processes at play in this situation: justification, exemplification, verification, classification, disclosure, and warning. Bakhtin's dialogical theory and Halliday & Hasan's theory of cohesion as an utterance and text-linking tool is employed and described. I demonstrate how temporally dispersed texts are coherently connected. In Chapter 5, I discuss a dialogue between the woman and a male worker which contains an opposing position to the egalitarian position of the union: women don't do male-typed jobs. I show how they play up different versions of the job, an easier and harder one. I argue that the ideological conflict is made manifest in the language, and accounts for all the talk presented in the Text of Discrimination and the Training Texts.

In Chapter 6, the actual talk of training based on Halliday's model of language in a social situation is described. I analyze the training talk of the five pairs performing two work tasks. I show the commonality of register features and the style variations between the talk that the trainers of males used in comparison to the cross-gender pair. Focus is on power/ solidarity relations, and knowledge.

In Chapter 7, analysis is on ambivalence expressed in the dialogues. I identify a gender code in operation that exemplifies this sociocultural conflict: that of helping Bess carry out the heavy physical works and treating her like a male worker. I show that the cross-gender trainer and trainee are caught in a cultural bind. The trainer's ambivalence is projected through his two voices: discrimination and fairness, and his inconsistencies in register style. The woman's bind is between her verbal agreement of

the job as one for men and her inconsistencies in carrying out the hard physical tasks. I argue that she is also concerned with being viewed as unfeminine, and that the stability of gender roles and categories are manifested in verbal and nonverbal exchanges.

In the 8th and final chapter, I present a model of the intertextual and dialogic relationships showing levels and directions of discourse control, types of discourse, and dialogic relationships. I also present the Text of Discrimination as a sequence of events leading to the outcome of Bess quitting. I briefly discuss two important historical processes that the data displays involving the deterioration in training language over the six-month period, and the connection of this situated discourse to a stockroom event two years later when women were brought into the stockroom to work. I summarize the Text of Discrimination as constructed by multiple social agents, expressing voices of discrimination interspersed with and masked by voices of fairness, and displaying control of a course of events. I conclude by discussing how the particular analysis of text that I have developed makes a contribution to studies of discrimination in the workplace and research on situated discourse in general.

* * *

CHAPTER 1 ENDNOTES

- ¹ Words in bold are defined in a glossary at end of document.
- ² This is demonstrated in Ventola's dynamic schematic structure for service encounters. Martin says this represents a preliminary schema and only for the first moves. But it is, nevertheless, an entry into the complex problem of process.(Martin 1988:256-257).
- ³ Frow (1986) directs us to see *genre* under *register* in the index.
- ⁴ Halliday (1978) provides a useful framework for discussing the range of register variation: closed — where meanings are fixed, finite, and few as in card games and pilot-air control communication; intermediate — which includes buying and selling and classroom language; and open — with a greater multiplicity of meanings as in informal narrative and spontaneous conversation.
- ⁵ Lemke (1985) expands upon the usefulness of register: (1) it provides a way to compare discourses/texts and separate them out, by looking for common linguistic features and differences; (2) it enables an analysis of the kinds of meanings and constraints within a community against a background of potential meanings, and highlights the significance of having access to different registers; (3) it offers a typology of situational contexts, human activities-with-language, that helps to account for the stability of the social system of a community; (4) its predictability features enable us to tell newcomers how to produce situation-specific use of language.
- ⁶ Scribner & Sachs (1989:3) describe the factory as having a high rate of turnover leading to a decreasingly experienced work crew to train new workers, and a shifting "pool of shared knowledge." They state that over the six month period that they conducted the stockroom training research, they found that the training had "deteriorated."
- ⁷ Poyton expands upon Martin's model (1985) with the level of ideology.
- ⁸ The term discourse has a multiplicity of meanings. Poynton and other discourse analysts use the term to designate connected spoken or written text, as indicated in Figure 1.1, social semioticians use the term for broad cultural institutional texts, such as discourses of medicine which reflect dominant cultural practices and others which challenge or oppose these practices and present different ones (e.g. American Medical Association versus wholistic medicine).
- ⁹ Bakhtin (1984) has originated a general taxonomy of dialogized discourse based on speech as single-voiced (directed only at a referential object), or double-voiced (also directed and oriented toward someone else's words). Bakhtin and Pêcheux (1975) call

attention to the way the same word or words shift in meaning depending on the speaker's position and the situation.

¹⁰ The authors working with data of a meeting with resident youngsters and staff members (possibly at a rehabilitation center), show how an utterance or activity contributes to shaping the course of the sequence in which it is located. Thus, a certain utterance indicates the agenda is now completed, simultaneously announcing the first item of business.

¹¹ See Levinson(1983:97-166) for a thought-provoking discussion of the problems.

CHAPTER 2

GENDER AND JOBS IN THE FACTORY: TALKING IN THE CONTEXT OF SITUATION AND CULTURE

2.1 GENDER SEGREGATION OF FACTORY JOBS

In August 1987, Bess, aged 25, from Jamaica, West Indies, was accepted for training as a material handler in the electronic parts stockroom of a New York State factory that manufactured radio components. Factory jobs here were basically segregated along gender lines; women did assembling and inspection of parts, men were material handlers. Both men and women did machining, with the women having lower paid positions. In addition, there was one woman working as a material handler in the shipping department.¹ Bess had been working as an assembler in the packing department of this factory. The stockroom job represented more income, new skills, overtime, and opportunities for higher grades. Bess was told by Tracy, the union chairperson, that it would be rough going as a woman, and that she just had to hang in there.² Bess trained for four full days before withdrawing her job application, and returned to her former work. The data I am analyzing are unique in providing concrete linguistic evidence of practices to exclude her and are the basis of a methodology I have developed to display them. Actual situated talk of any extent that shows such practices in the processes of their enactment has not, to my knowledge, shown up in research, and in light of constraining legal or moral factors would be extremely difficult to collect.

2.2 GENDER DISCRIMINATION IN THE WORKPLACE

The pattern of sex segregation of jobs in the electronics factory and the exclusion of women from higher status and paying male jobs is extensively replicated throughout the social world of labor. Although Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and state and local laws prohibit discrimination in job hiring,³ Evidence of discrimination against women in initial job assignment, in pretraining and on-the-job training programs, and in the wage structure is strongly documented (Barrett 1980; Connell 1988; Crompton & Sanderson 1990; Fuchs Epstein 1988; Grune 1980; Kahn-Hut et al. 1982; Kessler-Harris 1990; Reskin 1984; Reskin & Hartmann 1986; Stromberg & Harkess 1978; Women Firefighters's Lawsuit 1982; Walshok 1981). Social analysts have established close ties between the structure of labor market segregation and discrimination (Blau 1984; Fuchs Epstein 1988). Perman & Stevens state (1989:393):

Occupational segregation has been the dominant explanation for gender inequalities in job rewards, especially gender differences in earnings. This model argues that women earn less than men because women are concentrated in a limited number of occupations that command lower wages than do the occupations generally held by men...According to this view, differences in earnings are not due to direct discrimination but instead are the result of indirect forces that sort men and women into different jobs.

The "indirect forces" have been substantial resistance and hostility to women entering jobs where men predominate. Ranking-member males are economically oriented to the maintenance of the status quo (Wood 1994:283) and have a stake in an ideology of male supremacy (Swerdlow 1989:386). Women face a series of barriers that include male workers refusing to teach crucial skills or other knowledge necessary to job success, and

employing acts of sexual harassment (Baker 1978; Fuchs Epstein 1988; O'Farrell 1982; Swerdlow 1989). "...blue-collar men are especially hostile and actively resistant to "new women," and...their resentment constitutes an important problem, if not the most important problem, in female retention in nontraditional blue-collar jobs" (Swerdlow 1989:374). Needleman and Nelson (1988) point out that women's efforts to break into nontraditional jobs are discouraged and blocked by emphasizing physical strength over other skills equally necessary, and by inadequate or extremely strenuous training. The lawsuit brought by female firefighters in 1982 asserted that the physical examinations for applicants discriminated against women because of their strenuously excessive nature in relation to the actual tasks of the job. The judicial ruling for revision of the examination for women resulted in the eventual hiring of 41 females.⁴

Examples of support from males in nontraditional work areas are also cited (Walshok 1981; Weatherby 1977); although, as Walshok emphasizes in her research on skilled blue collar women, even those with positive on-the-job experiences encountered stress and hassles in the form of male questioning of competence and physical strength, joking, or cool treatment (1981:211).⁵

In a 1973–1980 statistically based study of 103 women who entered two steel plants as a result of government intervention, Deux & Ullman (1983) found that men had mixed reactions to women in this nontraditional setting. Interviews with over 200 supervisors and male workers revealed a widely held assumption that women do not have the physical strength to adequately perform jobs requiring considerable physical strength. Most supervisors said that men were better at the labor and operating jobs (i.e., coke ov-

ens, blast furnaces), while half said women did better at the clerical work. Male co-worker attitudes varied: one third said women had work problems in dealing with physical factors. Nearly half believed that supervisors gave differentiated work assignments at times (men got the hard labor jobs), based not on individual criteria but on sex, something male workers resented. However, both men and women disliked jobs that were dirty and required heavy physical work.

In questioning the women, no dominant modal responses were found. Women tended to be more positive; the jobs were seen as a challenge. They were aware that some women cannot lift heavy things like a man. Some referred to other problems with supervisors and hostile male workers, including incidents of sexual harassment. The authors also noted that “Most men don’t want to train women to move up”, that women were denied supervisory positions, and frequently were given janitorial work, though their formal position was one of laborer (p.137). They state in their summary, “(although) men and women differ in physical capabilities, the importance of this differential must be interpreted in the context of the job demands. Study evidence suggests that lack of women in the steel industry has historical origins, rather than being due to inability of women to perform adequately...” (p.165).

2.2.1 THE LANGUAGE OF GENDER DISCRIMINATION

Women have faced both institutional and informal barriers in gaining and maintaining employment in nontraditional work situations (Fuchs Epstein 1988). This raises the question of how it is accomplished and challenged linguistically. The language of gender discrimination as practice is presented primarily in the form of reported speech

in court testimony, public hearings,⁶ personal accounts (Swerdlow 1989; Walshok 1981; Wetherby 1977), and also in a much sparser sampling of quoted language, basically in the form of field notes.⁷ There is little or no data of situated and actually occurring dialogue.

Many accounts of discriminatory practices are in the form of generalizations. Gumperz (1982a:157), discussing factors of race and ethnicity in communication, states "When participants report on actual verbal encounters, they tend to do so by mentioning some item of content, or by referring to what people were getting at or what they were trying to do. Event names, such as 'playing the game' in everyday talk are most often used metaphorically to refer retrospectively to what was accomplished. The 'what' of the messages are conveyed rather than the 'how'."

When we read that "Male coworkers may not share vital information women need to do the work, as they would with new men on the job,"⁸ we have little idea how this is accomplished linguistically. The generalization gives us no basis for comparing the actual language that is used with women to that used with men, or understanding how speakers can withhold knowledge in a multiplicity of ways, besides keeping silent.

Accounts of verbal interactions provide examples and instances, again in the form of the 'upshot' of dialogue. A woman working as a gas service repairperson, determined to learn to use the jackhammer, was not being properly trained, and was perceived as unable to handle one. She reports about a particular incident (Walshok 1981:224):

...we'll put you on a service crew breaking pavement for three or four hours at a stretch." He (the supervisor) said it with a lot of malice. I discovered that the man they put me out with, they use as kind of a hatchet man. He has ambition. He'll do their bidding. I went out the first day and I broke the pavement. I thought, gee whiz, I'm doing

great, this is better than ever. And he said at the end of the day, "Well, I'm going to have to tell them that you're no good." I said, "Well, I broke the pavement." And he said, "Well, the pieces were too small." I said, "You didn't tell me what size pieces you wanted, you just said, go break the pavement." And he says, "Yeah, you broke the pavement," and I said, "Well, that's the point, isn't it?"

This woman was eventually transferred into lighter work. Her account indicates that she was set up to fail in that the experienced worker omitted a necessary message about size, and also, in the way she evaluated the males. This raises important questions about how the experienced man and the woman actually talked in that situation. Did he use other language that points to practices to exclude her from this heavy work? Did he use language in ways to control, stereotype, denigrate? Did he use any markers of solidarity? How did she speak with him? Did she ask questions? Did she complain, or introduce any topics to establish camaraderie? Having access to the specific language in this situation would enrich our understanding of how sociocultural practices of discrimination and their challenges are carried out linguistically and in a systematic way.

Reported speech usually undergoes certain kinds of transformations that may significantly deviate from the original or result in a loss of social meanings. A speaker using another's words may comment on or retort to them at the same time.⁹ Members of a panel on sexual harassment at Long Island University said that proper documentation is the key to taking harassment claims to authorities for effective action. Recording lewd comments and conversations at the job site and elsewhere was emphasized. Without detailing incidents, one attorney warned, "...you might later minimize or trivialize the experience."¹⁰ According to Foucault (1972), it is only through the kinds of relations between

actually occurring specific statements and with situation that meanings emerge, and regularities can be analyzed.

2.2.2 STUDIES OF LANGUAGE AND GENDER

Studies that focus on issues of sex bias in and via language, as well as male/female interactions in terms of power and dominance have been more prolific. Discussions and findings demonstrate the extensive range and controversial nature of these studies. Attention has been paid to how sexism is an “inherent” part of language, as expressed in prescriptive grammatical rules, such as the generic “he” and masculine nouns representing both genders, (Henley 1986; MacKay 1980; Penelope 1990) in asymmetrical terms of address (Poynton 1989; Wolfson & Manes 1980) and lexical disparities (i.e., more pejorative words and evaluative dictionary definitions for women (Penelope 1990; Poynton 1989)). The bias toward women has also been recognized in many linguistic and sociolinguistic studies which posit male language structures and markers as “the norm” (or +) and female as “deviant” (or -) (Cameron 1985).

Findings in studies of cross-gender interaction have pointed out male dominance and control of topics (Fishman 1983), turn-taking through interruptions (Zimmerman & West 1975), and strategies that disclose the unequal distribution of work in conversation — women do what is necessary for interaction to occur smoothly, but men “establish and enforce their rights to define what the interaction, and reality, will be about” (Fishman 1978:100)¹¹ Other research focuses on gender talk for instances of miscommunication due to differences in speech styles (Tannen 1982b). Henley & Kramerae (1991) offer a summary and evaluation of such gender difference findings and discuss

three kinds of explanatory theories that account for them: (1) women's deficient language (2) men and women as two cultures, and (3) social power theories which maintain that men's conversation reflects their social and political dominance. The authors posit the need for a model of communication "within the context of gender hierarchy as well as gender segregation and socialization, and also women's exclusion from the linguistic structuring of experience" (p.41). I suggest that the data concerning the training situation and the theoretical methods I demonstrate may further define such a model. What is historically important, however, is that gender has become a salient category, and "may be more fundamental as an influence on sociolinguistic variation than has been recognized so far" (Fasold 1990:11).

2.2.3 THE LANGUAGE OF RACIAL AND ETHNIC DISCRIMINATION

Reference to prejudice and/or discrimination in verbal communication based on race and ethnicity are useful in understanding the problems involved in social analyses of the language. Researchers point out the often subtle, indirect, and conflicting interpretational nature of such talk (van Dijk 1987; Roberts et al 1992). Based on 180 random interviews of whites in Amsterdam and San Diego, van Dijk (1987) identified seven topics in prejudiced talk which included work and (un)employment. Many interviewees said that immigrants were taking away their jobs. Drew (1978) suggests that a police officer's proposed defective actions regarding a crowd of Protestants who burned Catholic homes in Northern Ireland was due to 'religious bias'. Watson (1978), using an ethnomethodological approach (Garfinkel 1967),¹² discusses "racism" as a possible hearing in a certain portion of a white speaker's account to a suicide prevention counselor. Discrimination is

also analyzed as a hidden process (Jupp et al. 1982), involving negative assumptions and stereotyping of South Asian workers by British managers, based on unexamined cultural differences in communication and on unequal status. Roberts et al. (1992) show the controversial nature of characterizing talk as exemplifying discrimination in an interview between a British job placement counselor and an Asian immigrant. About half of the people asked to evaluate the exchange saw it as discriminatory and the other half did not.

Racist talk has also been analyzed from an understanding of how ideological themes are presented in ongoing interaction and interviews of white members of a food Co-op in Philadelphia. Labov (1990) locates ideology as themes and values of what the Co-op stands for constructed from a study of people's talk and actions over several years.

These themes then appear in what subjects say about incidents involving interracial conflict. Acts and threats of physical/legal force and exclusion against blacks are viewed by the researcher as actions that contradicted (1) the way whites talked about principles of Co-op harmony and openness to the community, and (2) an egalitarian ideology respecting black/white integration.

Discrimination and prejudice in talk, therefore, has been analyzed as underlying interpretations of speech acts such as accusation-denial (Drew 1978) and blame (Watson 1978), as overt thematic macro-propositions (van Dijk 1987), as conflict connected with ideological themes (Labov 1990), and as a hidden process in cultural miscommunication (Jupp et al. 1982). These studies use tools and methods from conversational analysis and ethnomethodology (Drew 1978; Watson 1978; Labov 1990), abstraction from particular examples to general themes, common in discourse analysis (van Dijk 1987; Labov 1990),

and highlight the importance of ethnographic and contextual information (Jupp et al. 1982, Roberts et al. 1992). Moreover, these studies indicate that discrimination in discourse contains many subtle or covert social and cognitive processes as well as overt and observable features (van Dijk 1987:3,103).¹³

2.3 THE ROLE OF REGISTER, GENRE, AND DISCOURSE IN GENDER RESEARCH

There has been much less focus on gender differential access and mastery of the higher level semiotic entities of register, genre, and institutional/ideological discourses. Understanding language differences based on gender lies in more than exposing and objecting to sex biased words and interactional patterns that demonstrate male dominance, but has to do with expression of and access to meanings and to particular genres, along with the way sexist ideologies are hidden in language, or made to appear “natural” (Hodge & Kress 1988; Kress 1989; Poynton 1989). Cameron (1985:145) calls attention to the control of language use by social institutions. Feminist analysts of language point out that women face barriers in mastering high-prestige genres such as lecture, sermon, interview, and debate, as well as political, literary, ritual, and public speaking registers (Cameron 1985; Poynton 1989). Investigating the effects of this kind of language disadvantage “shows how a denial of language can constitute a denial of knowledge and of certain kinds of consciousness” (Cameron 1985:146), as well as power. This inequality in using high-prestige registers and genres is viewed as one basis for female stereotypes that depict women as marginal, trivial and inferior.

2.4 INSTITUTIONAL/IDEOLOGICAL DISCOURSES OF GENDER

As I discussed in 1.4.1, research analysts using a social semiotic perspective have identified certain kinds of discourses connected to institutions, for example, religious, nationalistic, and conservationist discourses (Hodge & Kress 1988; Kress 1989; Lemke 1988). Kress (1989:7–10) defines these discourses as:

systematically-organized sets of statements which give expression to the meanings and values of an institution. A discourse...organizes and gives structure to the manner in which a particular topic, object, process is to be talked about.... Discourses...attempt to account not only for an area of immediate concern to an institution, but...increasingly wider areas of concern....Discourses do not exist in isolation but within a larger system of sometimes opposing, contradictory, contending, or merely different discourses...(they) attempt to reconcile contradictions, mismatches, disjunctions and discontinuities within that domain by making that which is social seem natural...and obvious.

Analyses of sexist discourse has been largely confined to written text.¹⁴ Such a discourse “specifies what men and women may be, how they are to think of themselves, how they are to think of and to relate to the other sex...It reaches into all major areas of social life, specifying what work is suitable, possible even, for men and for women...” (Kress 1989:7). These ideological/institutional discourses also occur in spoken interactions, as yet, a basically uncharted field. In my workplace data, I identify sexist ideology in a conversation Bess has with a man who works in a department closely related to the stockroom.¹⁵ Feminist theorists view sexism as an ideology of gender that inferiorizes and constrains women with respect to men (Mitchell 1971; Poynton 1989:17–20). It is not difficult to understand the close connection of sexist discourse to stereotypes and practices that sharply demarcate femininity and masculinity. Social semioticians and theorists of discourse maintain that ideology determines the configuration of discourses, and is intricately connected into the construction of texts (Hodge & Kress 1988; Kress

1989; Macdonell 1986). "Wherever a sign is present, ideology is present, too" (Vološinov 1986:10).

2.5 COMMUNICATING POWER

Feminist research on language and gender has played an important role in focusing attention on ways that power/control is exercised in verbal exchange. Maintenance of and challenges to power, however, are waged not only on the battlefield of gender, but are an integral part of all interaction, including reciprocal conversation (Lakoff 1990). Instead of positing a weaker "women's" language,¹⁶ "powerless" ways of talking are attributed to individuals and groups in subordinate positions (Crosby & Nyquist 1977, Kollock, Blumstein, & Schwartz 1985 cited in Fuchs Epstein 1988:223-224; O'Barr & Atkins 1980).

Studies of findings that emphasize asymmetrical gender power relationships have been challenged in that such research does not address the effects on language use of other factors such as race, ethnicity, class, age, social setting, or power/dominance along other dimensions than gender. Other criticism relates to sexist bias in prescriptive grammar, lexicon, and use of syntactic patterns (what Penelope 1990 refers to as a "patriarchal universe of discourse"¹⁷ and Spender 1980 calls "man made language"). There is no linguistic determinism; "...words are used and understood differently by different speakers at different times and in different situations" with the context explaining the variations (Cameron 1990:1-40). There is also the position that men and women innately acquire the same language and have the same linguistic resources (Valian 1980). Connell-Ginet

(1985) concludes, however, that feminist research challenges linguistic egalitarianism, as well as autonomous semantics.

Nevertheless, definitions of power and where it is located are fundamental questions in analyzing social meanings. Hodge & Kress (1988:40) view communication in terms of two fundamental dimensions of any form of social organization: solidarity (cohesion and dis cohesion, alliances and antagonisms, bonds and barriers) and power (order, control, hierarchy). They discuss how signifiers of power and solidarity are often transparent in the use of terms of address. Power/solidarity implicates distance, size, and plurality as metaphor.

Language provides the most finely articulated means for a nuanced registration of differences in power in social hierarchical structures, both as a static system and in process...there are few linguistic forms which are not pressed into the service of the expression of power, by a process of syntactic/textual metaphor (Kress 1989:52).

2.6 TALKING IN THE CONTEXT OF SITUATION

Communicators take account of the specific social situation in forming and responding to spoken discourse (Gregory 1985; Halliday 1978; Halliday & Hasan 1989; Hodge & Kress 1988; Hymes 1972; Malinowski 1923, 1965); consequently, linguistic forms and social situation function must be conceptualized as unified. Goffman (1972) has called the social situation "the neglected situation." Halliday (1978, Halliday & Hasan 1989) has been the most systematic in relating relevant features of the situation to functions of the language, and in characterizing general language-in-situation types, such as "players instructing novice in a game," or "teacher guiding pupils' discussion of a poem."¹⁸

A major aspect of Halliday's work shows that the language we speak varies according to the situation;¹⁹ thus positing the question for linguists of what situational factors determine what linguistic features to constitute a register. As Hymes (1972:50) points out, knowing the boundaries between one class of situations requiring one variety of language and another class requiring another variety "must be empirically determined by the investigator, and constitutes one of the major tasks of descriptive sociolinguistics."

Differing, contradictory, and opposing findings in studies of male/female interactions, and of the treatment of women in non-traditional job situations support the theoretical contention that situational factors are necessary in determining the kinds of messages communicated. Analysis of language in institutional settings also has to take into consideration the existence and state of legislation, the ranking positions of the people involved, race/ethnicity and other situation specific determinants, the physical environment if relevant, and practices of the broader institution.

However, the data I am utilizing raise questions concerning situation boundaries, the cooptation and shifting of register for hidden agendas and covert purpose, and the identification and description of these textual configurations. Consequently, the more one knows about the specific concrete situation in addition to its normative features the more one can access this less visible text. Halliday (1978) and Thiebault (1991:123) argue for the text-context relation as a "two-way dialectic in which texts enact, create, and produce their contexts of situation as much as they are determined by them."

2.7 CONTEXT OF CULTURE IN CONFLICT

Halliday & Hasan (1989:99) characterize culture as the highest abstraction, describable, “an integrated body of the total set of meanings available to a community, its semiotic potential,” which at the level of language is its semantic potential.²⁰ Thus the institutional and ideological background give value to text and constrain its interpretation.

In studying inter-ethnic discrimination in the workplace, Roberts et. al. (1992) argue for the need to view language within a wider scope of social context: power relations, institutions of work, and experiences of racism and disadvantage - that is, to take account of the socio-political context.²¹ Halliday (Halliday & Hasan 1989:46-47) emphasizes that the immediate context of situation has to be interpreted against a broader background - “the context of culture” (Malinowski 1923). Classroom teacher talk or passages of a textbook derive their meaning from the school as an institution of culture, with all its relevant structures, functions, and participants. While there is no separate linguistic model of context of culture, it is helpful to build in some indication of the cultural background, and the assumptions that have to be made if the text is to be interpreted or produced in the way the teacher (or the system) intends. For this, I use Hodge & Kress’ (1988) conceptualization of context as a set of other texts interacting with the spoken ones.

Grimshaw and other analysts (1990) call attention to the pervasiveness of conflict in every dimension of human life, and the need to understand conflict in talk as a social process, along with its systematic features. As research on gender and language issues and discrimination in the workplace indicate, not to mention controversies over legislation and other political issues, our culture is just as characterized by oppositional

positions and struggles as it is by conventional, stable, normative, and basically homogeneous entities. Social semioticians and other discourse analysts assume that hierarchical society is constituted by struggles over and manipulations of meanings and power (Hodge & Kress 1988; Kress 1989; Macdonell 1986). Constructions of gender are the site of struggles and renegotiations of meaning; thus, there cannot be a single women's or men's language, image or style (Hodge & Kress 1988:106–7). Because of the strong influence of feminism, many discourses exist antagonistically (Macdonell 1986; Pecheux 1975) or consist of an intertextual weaving of statements of sexism and feminist critiques, and the resultant contradictions and resolutions this engenders.²²

As studies of women in nontraditional jobs and oppositional findings in language and gender research have demonstrated, there is unevenness. While, the extensiveness of exclusionary and sexist practices can be documented, we must reject the existence of “...a coherent and unified social totality in which the actions and purposes of agents are preservative of this order” (Thibault 1991:4). Instead, spoken and written text must be connected to the wider sociopolitical field in which they are situated — a culture characterized by conflict and by opposing positions and ideologies.

2.8 THE ELECTRONICS FACTORY

Kemps produces small radio-frequency connectors used in items such as televisions, computers and submarines. It has three stockrooms: the component stockroom, dispatch, and shipping. In addition, the plant has two machine shops that manufacture most of the components, plating departments, model and assembly shops, and two engineering departments. There are about 500 people employed, most of whom work on the

shop floor. Kemps had recently implemented a new inventory and production control computer system to keep an edge on the competition in the electronics industry. This system was in operation when researchers Sylvia Scribner and Patricia Sachs observed, interviewed and collected the stockroom job-training data over a ten-month period. The researchers stated that employees were undergoing a lot of stress partly due to a wage freeze, and that worker turnover in the stockroom was high.

2.8.1 THE COMPONENT STOCKROOM MATERIAL HANDLER JOB

The stockroom contains an alphabetical system of shelves where about 20,000 component parts are stored, received in and moved to other parts of the factory. There are also tables for counting parts for production, an area to count incoming parts, and large floor and tabletop scales (see Figure 2.1, Appendix E). Material handlers locate parts on a computer inventory system, count pieces using scales, and record information on forms.

In addition to the intellectual and mathematical demands, the work requires handling, maintaining and transferring material from one place to another. The official job description highlights the physical labor aspects and ignores the mental, thereby treating the position as unskilled labor. The material handler job consists of two major work activities: receiving and pulling. receiving involves counting the parts coming into stock from the machine shop and putting them on the shelves. Pulling involves taking parts off the shelves and getting them ready for production elsewhere in the factory.

2.8.2 ON-THE-JOB-TRAINING

Stockroom trainers were not supervisors or trained to train, but material handlers with varying degrees of experience. They “officially” initiated the learning process with a structured interval of “teaching” (Scribner & Sachs 1989:25), bringing newcomers into the flow of work tasks. Stockroom personnel were multi-racial and -ethnic in composition. Scribner & Sachs characterize training assumptions and procedures as oral cultural knowledge. The job itself entailed a probationary period of sixty days. The case study of Bess focuses on her four days of training, and compares it to the way the males were trained.

Over the duration of research on the training, a significant change in pedagogy occurred, so that the first two trainees were started on the less physical tasks of pulling, and the next two men and the woman were started on receiving. However, Bess was given a physically demanding workload when she began to train. The first trainer called it “discrimination” to start her going to the machine shop, and attempted, unsuccessfully, to get an union representative to intervene.

2.9 THE DATA

The focus for identifying and analyzing language of exclusionary practices emerged while I was doing laboratory work with the training data,²³ and eventually became the subject for my dissertation. The corpus consists of approximately 30 hours of audiotaped training talk and talk that occurred outside of the training dyad, the two researchers’ eyewitness commentary about the training, and interviews of trainees and other personnel relating to on-the-job training and the broader factory work processes. There were five training pairs: four male dyads and the male–female dyad. The texts of discrimination are selected from the four days of Bess’ training and are found in Appendix B. The data selected for analyzing the

training talk is in Appendix C. The latter consists of two different tasks that all of the trainees were shown on their first day of training. Relevant ethnographic and technical material, such as worker resumes, job descriptions, and forms used in doing tasks, also feed into the analysis.

* * *

CHAPTER 2 ENDNOTES

¹ This woman was called "The Amazon," as reported by researcher Pat Sachs in a conversation. Bess thought she would be doing the same kind of tasks as Maria.

² Pat Sachs' comments in conversation with her.

³ Refusing to hire or promote a woman because women in general may be less capable of doing a particular job (e.g., lifting heavy weights) is considered illegal under the 1964 Civil Rights Act (Yates 1987:140).

⁴ The case, *Berkman v. City of New York* 1982, was carried in The New York Times (c.f., March 8, 1982, II 1:4, September 26, VI p.100), and discussed in a historical perspective in Chertos & Phillips (1989:290-315). The authors call attention to firefighting being considered a "masculine" occupation, which involves solidarity and team work, and to sex discriminatory treatment women received that included sexual harassment, lack of help in competitive tasks, and social isolation. The fact that women were given a less physically demanding test than men was particularly emphasized, and used in legal challenges. The physical exam was again revised in 1983, involving more strenuous activities and given to all firefighters. Women, not feeling welcome training with men, had the option to train separately. This training was successful in that 92% of the women who completed it passed.

⁵ Walshok designates these reactions to women as "normal." Negative work environments went beyond this to involve actual acts of hostility or sabotage, withholding of opportunities for information and training, persistent sexual innuendos, and open harassment.

⁶ New York City Commission on Human Rights and New York City Office of Labor Services, Public Hearing on the Construction Industry in New York City, March 12, 1990 and April 24, 1990, New York, NY: National Reporting Inc.

⁷ See, for example, Swerdlow (1989). In a four year study of nontraditional occupation rapid transit operatives, she provides examples of verbal hostility and harassment by male co-workers. She views practices like sexualization of the workplace and work relationships as men's way of accepting women, while preserving their ideology of male supremacy.

⁸ (Baker 1975:366).

⁹ See Vološinov (1973) for a stimulating discussion of reported speech in its various forms.

¹⁰ Clark, Michael; Before reporting a sexual harasser, tape words first: LIU forum. Article in The Park Slope Newspaper, Dec. 27, 1991-Jan. 2, 1992, Vol.14, No.51, p.1, A8.

¹¹ Fishman (1975) studied recorded talk between three heterosexual couples, white and professionally oriented, finding that the women asked more questions, used markers of support to keep topics and conversation going, and made less frequent and shorter statements than the men. The researcher asserts that these concrete strategies have been observed to be characteristic of male/female interactions in general.

¹² Watson uses the collective membership category of "black" and "white" to invoke the category "race" using a rule that this is common and consistent. He also discusses how additional categories such as "established resident/newcomer", and how predicates like "in-group loyalty" can be applied to both.

¹³ See van Dijk for a comprehensive discussion of prejudice and racism in discourse, in which cognitive factors are analyzed in a wider framework of social interaction. The author states that a major task for future researchers is to obtain and analyze spontaneous conversations about ethnic minorities in their "real" social context (p.396)

¹⁴ See Kress (1989:7-10) and Hodge & Kress (1988:64-67) for an informative analysis of a magazine article about different types of women found in an office, demonstrating how gender is constructed. The authors point out that verbal language in this instance plays a secondary role to the underlying behavioral text it invokes.

¹⁵ See Chapter 1, 5 and 8 for discussion of ideology in discourse and gender.

¹⁶ Lakoff (1975) initiated discussion of particular ways women speak that mark uncertainty, triviality, indirectness, and lack of clarity and expressive force. The identification of two different linguistic gender styles has been strongly contested (c.f., Fuchs Epstein 1988:220-224 for a discussion on the issues and research involved).

¹⁷ Penelope (1990) uses this term to designate those aspects of the syntax, phonology, morphology, lexicon, and semantic usages that constitute devices which empower men over women, providing the linguistic means for males to determine cultural 'reality'. The author points out that the historical development of the language is also intertwined with elitism and racism (p.xv).

¹⁸ Gumperz (1982b:166) designates these language-in-situation types "speech activities," defined as a set of social relationships enacted about a set of schemata in relation to some communicative goal. Speech activities can be characterized through descriptive phrases such as "discussing politics," "chatting about the weather," "telling a story to someone," and "lecturing about linguistics." Such descriptions imply certain expectations about thematic progression, turn taking rules, form, and outcome of the interaction, as well as constraints on content.

¹⁹ I elaborate on Halliday's model of language-in-situation in Chapter 6. See Halliday (Halliday & Hasan 1989:5-10) for an interesting discussion of how his correlational model of language-in-situation developed from certain theoretical concepts of Malinowski, Firth, and Hymes.

²⁰ The semiotic includes the three general modes of meaning: you can mean by doing, by being, or by saying (Halliday & Hasan 1989:99).

²¹ See Gumperz and others working on studies of cross-cultural mis-communication for methods and discussion of how the broader social context is an integral part of the interpretive process (Gumperz 1982a, 1982b).

²² This is demonstrated in the semiotic analysis of a text about two office types, "Ms Winner" and "Miss Seductress" (Hodge & Kress 1988:64-68; Kress 1989:33-37). The authors argue that even though there is awareness of feminism, the texts have the function of constraining female behavior.

²³ Data for my study have been made available to me through the Laboratory for Cognitive Studies of Work at CUNY Graduate Center in NYC. They were collected by Drs. Sylvia Scribner and Patricia Sachs over a 3-year period as part of a larger investigation on the effects of technological change on knowledge acquisition in the workplace. This research was funded by OERI to Sylvia Scribner, PI. The analysis I propose is my own.

Chapter 3

THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS IN DIALOGUE: TEXT OF DISCRIMINATION — Part 1.

3.1 A TEXT OF DISCRIMINATION

In this and the next two chapters, I identify the “Texts of Discrimination.” The theory and methodology I use demonstrate how the sociolinguistic category of gender becomes salient in the dialogic interaction, more than class or race, also how intent, focus, form, and ambiguity are handled. The TOD displays multiple features that function as exclusionary mechanisms. The dialogue between the stockroom supervisor and Bess’ trainer, analyzed in this chapter, raises two opposing positions that constitute the conflict engendered in this situation. Other segments of talk presented in Chapters 4 and 5 indicate more about how the conflict is played out. A gender classification of the job is clearly articulated and analyzed in Chapter 5. I argue that the supposedly resolved conflict drives the situated talk.

Just as the term “conflict” raises questions of definition and scope, so does “discrimination.” There are competing theories, and problems of categorization that cannot be addressed here.¹ I view “discrimination” as a cluster of social practices and meanings that detrimentally exclude a member from certain types of employment, housing, and political rights, usually based upon faulty and inflexible generalizations of that group defined as “prejudice” (Allport 1958, Levin & Levin 1982). However, while attention has focused on blatant and obvious prejudicial statements and behavior, and institutional practices, my analysis also centers on subtle and less obvious, even unconscious, discourse practices, and on language that appears “natural” and ordinary.

How occupational segregation is instituted and maintained is integral to the exclusionary practices that women face. These embrace a combination of factors that act congruently to maintain a system that favors men's positions. It can be argued that the forces behind discrimination are usually complemented and justified by forces in other sectors: imbalances between major institutions of society, stereotypes, unshared status, and features of male social and moral solidarity (Fuchs Epstein 1988).

3.2 TRANSFORMATION AND TEXT

Because a theory of transformations is not incorporated into speech act theory, conversational analysis, and other discourse approaches, it is important to understand what it is and how it is utilized.

3.2.1 A SOCIAL SEMIOTIC THEORY OF TRANSFORMATION

Social semioticians argue for a diachronic theory of transformations; emphasizing causal and historical explanation, the irrational, and social uses of language (Hodge & Kress 1988:30–36). Transformational theory in linguistics has been largely associated with Chomsky (1965). He focused strictly on synchronic structures of syntax, where each surface structure of a sentence has a transformational history of rules that lead to its “underlying” or “deep” structure. This model was the basis for an earlier social view of transformations (Kress & Hodge 1979), superseded by the idea that the basis of a transformation comes first in chronological time.² Social semioticians identify two major operations that are performed through language use: classification and transformation (Hodge & Kress 1988, Kress, 1989, Kress & Hodge 1979). Transformational acts and

processes are involved with the social phenomenon of change, linking texts and agents.

Thus time, history, progression and movement are an integral part of the meanings that communicators make. Theorists have developed principles which include:

- (1) transformation is related to formal structure in that every syntagm (words that combine to form messages or utterances) is a moment in a process of transformations, leading backwards to earlier syntagms and forward to later uses; this process is a key to the interpretation of that syntagm.³
- (2) "Every transformation is a concrete event, with agents, and reasons, deriving from material and social life.
- (3) Transformations can have force and effectiveness even if their full scope is not available to consciousness. So transformational analysis can reveal structures of meaning whose action is unconscious yet decisive in a given context of interpretation" (Hodge & Kress 1988:35). The typical function of transformations is suppression, distortion, and mystification (Kress & Hodge 1979:35).

3.2.2 TRANSFORMATIONAL ANALYSIS AS A SOCIAL SEMIOTIC RESOURCE

Transformation is the process that hearers go through to recover the earlier forms which were the starting point of an utterance. This recovery is often a speculative process, and can be quite complex. In the transformational process, to understand a particular message it is necessary to look back for or infer a previous message formulation that is the basis of the change, as well as look forward to later uses. Thus, an utterance expressing negation would be based on a previous formulation, as would those showing deletion, passivization, nominalization, and so on. Transformational analysis minimally involves an initial and final structure, and a process, force, and agent producing the change. In this framework, speakers are viewed as social agents who create, engage in, avoid or challenge social meanings, acts and processes.

3.2.3 EXAMINING TRANSFORMATION WITHIN DISCOURSE

Hodge and Kress (1988:168-173) show the often complex structuralization involved in transformational analysis. As an example, they analyze dramatic dialogue of Aboriginal characters at home: Dolly, the mother; Meena, her 14-year-old daughter; and Shane, her 12-year-old son.⁴ Here is some of the dialogue, and a partial analysis based on the text:

- (1) Shane: What's the capital of London? Meena! What's the capital of London?
 Meena: Aw Mum, he's gotta be joking.
 Dolly: Why?
 Meena: Didn't you hear what he said? How dumb can you get?

The opening moves of the dialogue (Shane's and Meena's first lines) are represented in Figure 3.1, Appendix E. In this exchange, the transformational process is more complex and extensive than the basic transformation of "I" and "you" as speakers take turns. The domain concerns schoolwork and knowledge. Shane first transforms himself into a teacher, a position of power, and then Meena into his position of "ignorant responder." But he also transforms a question into a command for Meena to give the answer, thus transforming Meena into a teacher who knows the answer, or Shane supposes she does. The subject-matter of the question is part of this complex social process, through its status as school (and hence non-Aboriginal) knowledge about non-Aboriginal culture. Given the status of Aboriginals like Shane and Meena in white Australian society, the nature of the question has a further transformation of both of them into honorary Whites, who are being acculturated into English culture. Meena's reply, however, is not what Shane predicted or tried to construct. She transforms herself to speaker, as requested, but addresses her mother, thus transforming Shane into an object of

discourse, not a participant, a “he” in her text, not a “you.” She also negates the topic of the conversation, replacing school knowledge with a metacomment on the status of the previous utterance. Her utterance is a statement, not a question, establishing a relation of equality and solidarity with her mother, which excludes her brother. Membership of this solidarity group requires a specific body of knowledge, white school knowledge, which may not be shared by Dolly (and isn’t, as it turns out). What matters is the social categorization of the topic in the ongoing process of the conversation.’ The fundamental terms of this categorization are power and solidarity. The ambiguous function of knowledge comes from the fact that it can define both. Shared knowledge (and the process of sharing it) confirms solidarity. Control of knowledge, on the other hand, signifies and underpins relations of power.

The next utterance, by Dolly, involves a further semiotic transformation. Instead of matching Meena’s statement with a congruent one, she asks a single question: “Why?” This transforms her from an ally to a questioner who is not incorporated into the community constituted by White school knowledge, who occupies a place much closer to Shane than to Meena. Hodge & Kress demonstrate how the transformations that Meena employs to make her mother into an ally are fully understood in the context of the social structures of the Aboriginal family (with the mother able to control her children who slowly and reluctantly still obey her), the structure of Australian society, and the place of Aborigines in it. These structures and relationships, however, are not static. The dialogue shows, in miniature, a social struggle being acted out. Meena is trying out the role of White Aborigine, repudiating Shane for his ignorance of White culture. She is

trying to retain solidarity with her Aboriginal mother by pretending that the mother also has undergone the same transformation. “Shane, in contrast, is defined as a failure because of his lack of knowledge of White culture, and discouraged, he picks up not a spear or a boomerang, but a White comic” (p.172). ⁶

3.2.4 OTHER WAYS TRANSFORMATIONAL ANALYSIS HAS BEEN UTILIZED

Transformational analysis has enabled social semioticians to expose “the hidden curricula” in educational textbooks. For example, by omitting causal agents and reasons in the syntactic formation of information, textbooks bring forward the ideology that “things just happen” (Kress 1989). Not only are utterances changed, but, following the work of Michel Foucault (1972), so are larger institutional discourses such as those of morality, sexism, religion, and patriotism. Similarly, earlier meanings, features, and relationships in registers and genres can be viewed as the base for transformational processes which result in different and new meanings and social relationships.

Trew (1979) presents a somewhat different utilization of transformation, which also has bearing on my analysis. The author focuses on two London newspaper texts concerning a 1975 incident; 11 Africans were shot by Rhodesian police after an African political council meeting. He demonstrates how the language was transformed over a time in conformity to an ideological stance that blamed the “rioting” Africans and the factionalism of African politics for the killings. Different transformation processes, such as passivization, deletion, and nominalization, resulted in the encoding of different meanings in different and later versions of the incident. For example, one newspaper

presented the headline in passive form: RIOTING BLACKS SHOT DEAD BY POLICE AS ANC LEADERS MEET; and the other in active form: POLICE SHOOT 11 DEAD IN SALISBURY RIOT. The implication of using the passive is shown in the next day's account where the agent is deleted, and the context of a riot, which legitimizes police intervention, is foregrounded. Trew illustrates how words such as "shot dead" are transformed to other words such as "killed" and then to "loss of lives." The active headline also underwent transformation to "FACADE OF AFRICA'S UNITY COLLAPSES IN THE RHODESIA RIOT," that is further analyzed, along with the accounts themselves. Other news events are presented which exhibit similar transformation activity that affirms the systematic of these ideological processes.

Reported speech is a good example of how someone's previous words can be transformed to serve different meanings. Vološinov (1973) employs Dostoevsky's account of "six tipsy artisans" using the same obscene word with different expressive intonations to demonstrate how social value judgments are incorporated in real-life speech.⁷ In this example, the particular intonation of the first enunciator results in a particular meaning: "...disdainful denial of some point that had been in general contention just prior," to which the second enunciator responds by doubting the truth of that denial. Each of the others continues to dispute and respond by changing the meaning (pp.103–104), in what Vološinov terms a "reevaluation." Any utterance whatsoever, states Vološinov, is above all an "evaluative orientation" that "will be the determinative factor in the choice and deployment of the basic elements that bear the meaning of the utterance" (p.105).

3.2.5 A STRUCTURAL APPROACH: FORMAT TYING AS A SYSTEMATIC TRANSFORMATION OF UTTERANCES

Goodwin (1990:177–188), analyzing argumentative structures in children's disputes, calls attention to different kinds of transformations that occur in sequential turns between speakers. She bases her analysis on tying techniques⁸ that resemble parallelism, or repetition with systematic variation. "Format tying poses the task of using the immediately prior talk to build an appropriate return....," often characteristic of "ritual insult" (p.185).

Goodwin points out that format tying can occur in many different ways. Two examples from her text demonstrate this.

(1) [Billy, who has been teasing Martha about her hair, has just laughed.]

Martha: I don't know what you laughin' at.

Billy: I know what I'm laughin' at. Your head.

Goodwin notes that the skeleton of Martha's sentence is retained, but her "you laughin" is changed to Billy's "I'm laughin" along with his deletion of her negation. "To focus analysis of Billy's transformational sentence on its information content, the presupposition it entails, or the speech act it embodies would be quite misleading." Billy words constitute an adequate reply "by virtue of the way in which it reuses the materials provided by Martha's words to shape a counter to it....Martha's own words are used against her."⁹ Goodwin's comment about the focus of analysis raises a question about the relationship of different analyses of discourse, such as transformational, speech act, conversational, and Grician analysis. It has been suggested that these approaches are complementary, and are the result of making intuitive processes involved in communication conscious and articulate. In reconsidering the example according to

Grician theory, both Martha and Billy know what Billy is laughing at, so Martha's assertion violates the maxim of quality. She is saying something that she knows is not true. This directs Billy to search for another meaning. His response also violates the maxim of quality in that it he is saying what is already known, therefore he too has another implicit meaning. Martha's is glossed as "my hair is nothing to laugh at" and Billy's "your hair is something to laugh at." Utilizing speech act theory, Searle states that if speakers are violating felicity conditions in that Martha is asserting what she knows Billy will know is not true, then her assertion points to an indirect speech act. And if Billy asserts what they both know to be true, then he also is positing an indirect speech act, in this case, the same gloss as above.

In the following example "Chopper transforms Tony's command into a challenge. This is achieved by reusing the structure of the prior utterance and adding the words 'Make me'....Tony's sentence is now embedded within a new sentence of Chopper's."

(2) Tony: Why don't you get out my yard.

Chopper: Why don't you make me get out the yard. (p.180)

Examples of how meaning is transformed by exact repetition of a word or phrase, by playing with phonological structure, and by intonational and syntactic changing of a playful to a serious mode of discourse is also analyzed. Goodwin demonstrates how a specific way of format tying may be abstracted and used with an entirely different utterance (p.184).

3.3 ENTERING THE TEXT OF DISCRIMINATION

A semiotic transformation of an utterance that is prejudicial, and even discriminatory, into one that would be considered fair or legitimate serves as an entry point into the “Texts of Discrimination” because of its retrievability and multiple functionality. I argue that as fused process and act, it performs several functions. It is a strategy and an instruction, as well as an act of legitimation. It also indicates that Bess’ training is being changed from the way the men were trained.

3.3.1 TRANSFORMATION AS A PROCESS OF LEGITIMIZING

Bert, the stockroom supervisor, who is of Italian descent, selected Dave, a 19 year old black male with family roots in the South, to train Bess. Dave was not a high school graduate like Bess. He had been working in the stockroom as material handler for about a month and a half, and was trained by Tony, the fourth trainee in this study. He is sociable, a conscientious worker, and proud of choosing the more physically strenuous jobs. The transformation is displayed in TOD 1 between Bert and Dave at the supervisor’s desk (see Appendix B). Bess is out of earshot in the receiving area on the other side of the stockroom (see Appendix E, Figure 3.2). This exchange took place an hour and a half after Bess started her training. Although there is a hiatus between the two parts of dialogue, I treat the transformational act as occurring over one interrupted conversation. Transcript notations are described in Appendix A.

A transformation of social meaning is the significant and major activity occurring, which is how Bess is treated. The transformational structures are interwoven with other talk about spreading the rumor, kidding around, and clarifying the facts. Just

previous to this conversation, Bert places the blame on other workers for a misplaced form that Dave needs, and elicits Dave's sympathy.¹⁰

As shown in Figure 3.3, the transformation in its skeletal format has an initial base proposition which undergoes repetition, negation, and finally transformational closure. This involves reaccenting the words of the union chairperson.

Figure 3.3 THE SEMIOTIC TRANSFORMATION

(double arrow $\Rightarrow$ means "has been transformed into")

(TOD 1)

- a. base: X will make it rough for Y so Y will quit (4)
- b. Repetition (27–28,30)
- c. $\Rightarrow$ Negation [to union representative, not Dave] (34)
- d. $\Rightarrow$ Deletion [of clausal effect "so Y will quit"] (speculative)
- e. $\Rightarrow$ X will treat Y like everybody (speculative)
- f. $\Rightarrow$ Y will be treated like everybody by X (speculative)
- g. $\Rightarrow$ Y will be treated like everybody(else)[Tracy] (40)
- h. final: Repetition [Bert] (40–41,43)
- i. Repetition [Dave] (42)

In this conversation, one version of reality is seemingly transformed into a different version. In non-traditional job settings, the way women workers are treated is a key issue (see Section 2.2). The disquieting statement "...make it rough" (a) is substituted by "treated like everybody else" (h). Speculative forms, which are not present in the talk, are part of the process that receivers of messages go through in understanding their meanings. This is a reverse process going from the final stage back to the initial stage. But, in this particular process, the transformation goes forward as well, since it is regarded as a conversational goal. Transformations of deletion of clausal effect "so Y will quit" (d), passivization (f), and deletion of causal agent (g) are involved. Each

particular transformation is meaningful, so that the task of analysis is to present the most plausible explanation of the process and each stage of it.

3.3.2 INTERPRETING THE TRANSFORMATIONS

In TOD 1, “make it very hard for this girl that she would quit” (lines 28,30) is transformed into “do that” by a process of substitution, and then into a modal negation, “nobody in this department is going to do that” (line 34).¹¹ Significantly, negation is addressed to the shop steward, Jeff. Bert does not deny the truth of the prejudicial statement to Dave, which lends support to Bert actually saying these words.

Another meaningful transformation involves passivization: X will make it rough for Y so Y will quit $\Rightarrow$ y will be treated like everybody else. Social semioticians stress the importance of looking for the cause or causer of some action or state, as well as the effect and the person effected. Here, in the final transform, the causal agent in the prejudicial statement, Bert, as “T” (line 27) and included in “we” (line 4) is deleted. While the passive is an ordinary and common construction, it’s significance cannot be overlooked. “She” (Bess) is now thematized, with focus on how she will be treated, and no reference to causal agents is made. If we consider other potential structures that Tracy could have said, for example, “all I ask is that” you treat her like everybody or treat her like everybody–, it would foreground the agentive person in this vague process of “treat.”

Such a hypothetical transformation would most likely affect Bert’s rejoinder, in that he has to take into consideration his pronominal role. I will discuss the reaccenting or transformation of Tracy’s words “all I ask is that she be treated just like everybody” (Section 3.5:40.

3.3.3 RECHARACTERIZING THE BASE UTTERANCE

Another predominant activity in TOD 1 involving the base proposition is a classification process, which Hodge & Kress (1988) call “recharacterization.” Figure 3.4 illustrates this.

Figure 3.4 CLASSIFICATIONS OF THE BASE PROPOSITION

(a) introduced as “rumor”	(line 1)
(b) “rumor” repeated	(line 3)
(c) “rumor” repeated	(line 4)
(d) called “stupid”	(line 7)
(e) “rumor” repeated	(line 7)
(f) called a joke (“kid around”)	(line 7)
(g) called “them apples”	(line 9)
(h) called “bullshit”	(line 15)
(i) “rumor” repeated	(line 27)
(j) called a lie (by Dave)	(line 31)
(k) called an exaggeration (by Dave)	(line 33)

The prejudicial statement is causing Bert a lot of trouble, though it is first classified as “rumor” (a), thereby conveying uncertain status as to its truth and origin. After the third mention of “rumor” (b,c), Bert focuses attention on “Who in the hell would spread that stupid rumor down here?” (d), giving his evaluative attribute of “stupid” to the rumor. Since words require human agency, the displaced adjective “stupid” makes sense only if applied to the spreader(s) of the rumor. Bert’s anger is also expressed in epithets—“in the hell,” “that bullshit” (lines 6,15), and in an explicit clause “I’m very angry about it” (line 17).

Bert then reverts to minimizing the weight and seriousness of the base rumor words. In saying “All we did was kid around” (f), Bert supports a supposition that the words attributed to him were actually said.¹² “We” reinforces the perception that others are

involved in this kind of talk. This pronoun is used in Bert's first disclosure of the contents of the rumor: "...we're going to make it rough..." (line 4). A coloration of innocence is also conveyed by the words "kid around" and wholesomeness by referring to all the talk about or including the rumor as "them apples."¹³

Fifteen minutes later, the topical theme is reintroduced, this time recharacterized as "that bullshit" (h). The referent is unclear, as in "them apples." Dave's response, however, indicates his continuing concern about Tom, who is a material handler in the stockroom, and his connection to the rumor (5,18). Dave works on clearing that up (20,22). In this dialogue (TOD 1) transformations and recharacterizations are occurring in a dense verbal world that presents mystifications of speaker identity, involvement, and words (mainly exemplified in verbal process clauses and instances of reported speech).¹⁴

Dave supplies two recharacterizations, "lying" and "exag--"(gerating) (j,k):.

Dave: He might have been lying though. You know what I'm saying?

Bert: Huh?

Dave: He might have been exagg-- you know what I'm saying?

Bert: I said to him, Jeff, nobody in this department is going to do that.

In so doing he validates the words of the rumor, and also recognizes the reclassification process that Bert has been engaging in. His contributions (j,k) demonstrate solidarity with Bert in denouncing the unknown spreader of the rumor. Bert is puzzled by Dave's classification (32); he has his own transformational agenda, of negating the rumored words to Jeff, and finally offering a legitimating formulation (see Figure. 3.3, sec. 3.3.1).

3.4 THE MAKING OF A COLLABORATOR

In Halliday's (1985) metafunctional hypothesis, communicators simultaneously engage in representing messages of information and experiences (ideational); interact with other speakers in interpersonal relationships (e.g., giving and demanding goods and services) (interpersonal); and use linguistic resources for connecting utterances/clauses into larger speech entities (textual). Thus, while transformation and classifying activities are occurring, along with moral-related concerns, Bert and Dave are also interacting on the interpersonal plane.

Social roles and negotiations involving power and solidarity are always in question in communicative exchange. Modality plays a major role in maintaining, negotiating and challenging power/solidarity (cf., Section 1.8.3 for a discussion of modal analysis). The dialogue contains a large number of interrogatives (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1 INTERROGATIVES IN TOD 1

	BERT	DAVE
1.	Did you hear about the rumor? (1)	What? (2)
2.	Now who in the hell would spread that stupid rumor down here? (4)	Did Tom ()? (5)
3.	How do you like them apples? (9)	
4.	Am I right or wrong? (13)	
5.	How do you like that bullshit? (15)	what'd they say? (16)
6.		What'd they say? (18)
7.		Tom said it? (18)
8.		he was going to stick up for you? (20)
9.	you see? (23)	You know what I'm saying? (31)
10.	Huh? (32)	you know what I'm saying? (33)
11.	You follow me? (34)	

When we examine the functions these questions have, Bert's are viewed as devices to make Dave a co-confidant and sympathizer. Kress & Hodge (1979) analyze questions as to their ambiguity about the distribution of power between the speakers. The question is, therefore, a highly convenient form for mystifying power relationships. Bert is partially suppressing his institutional authority by inviting Dave in: "Did you hear about the rumor?" (Figure. 3.5, line 1) and keeping him involved with other questions (lines 2,3). Dave is being asked to affirm that Bert is right in this situation, "Am I right or wrong?" (4). Bert's questions are not designed to elicit information, but to assure himself of Dave's loyalty and get Dave to verbally go on record with his support. They are constructed with a desired response in mind. Both of the questions "How do you like them apples?" and "How do you like that bullshit?" (3,5) predict negative rejoinders (I like them apples and I like that bullshit is not expected).

Interestingly, Dave does not answer the first of these questions. Its metaphorical content may present a range of problems (including referents) too difficult to respond to.¹⁵ Dave, instead, switches the theme to a work-related problem with "There you go." (10,12,14). It is after Dave's self-interrupted "Ri-" and third attempt to return to the job at hand (line 14) that Bert drops the emotion laden subject. Both questions take part in the reclassification and evaluation process.

Dave's display of solidarity is most prominent in his recharacterizations of the rumored words as lying and exaggerating (31,33), and his repetition of Bert's rendition of the final transformation (40-42). There is no overt opposition or negativity expressed. Dave expresses agreement and compliance with "yeah" rejoinders (8,25,39,44,51), as

well as listener participation in uptake on Bert's utterances (7,17,20,22,26). He provides phatic communication markers, "uh-huh" (34,41,43), two of which seem to have the force of agreement (35,37). Dave's repetition of Bert's words (42) can have multiple functions, such as signaling rapport and ratifying participation (Tannen 1989). As another Text of Discrimination indicates (Appendix B, TOD 2 and 4.2.1) Dave tells two other material handlers that Bert doesn't want Bess in the stockroom, so he's giving her a hard time. Dave may, therefore, be uneasy about Bert saying "Now who in the hell would spread that stupid rumor down here?" (6-7), and has a vested interest in displaying solidarity to Bert.

3.5 THE DIALOGUE DISPLAYS TWO OPPOSING POSITIONS

Tracy's words have one meaning in the transformation process — displaying a position of gender equality, most likely, commensurate with the rhetoric of union philosophy. The union is putting forward its position — that Bess be treated like everybody else (which can only mean the men).as a transformed opposition to the position of discriminatory treatment embodied in the base statement¹⁶ The force of her utterance is mitigated by the syntactic components "Bert, all I ask..." (40) suggesting that the union position takes the form of a personal appeal. The stockroom supervisor's position is presented as the origin of the transformation: the discriminatory one of making it hard so the woman would quit.

3.5.1 REACCENTING IN THE TRANSFORMATION PROCESS: BAKHTIN AND DIALOGIZED DISCOURSE

Bakhtin (1984) presents an elaborate theory of discourse, characterizing the spoken utterance as rejoinder expressing the position of the speaker in relation to another speaker's words and position. As discussed above, speech in dialogue represents the whole human being affirming, contradicting, disagreeing with, questioning, and so forth — that is, anticipating and responding to another's discourse. This discourse is directed both toward the referential object of speech, and toward someone else's speech, in what is called double-voiced discourse.

I hypothesize that the final transformed meaning does not remain in the egalitarian words attributed to Tracy, the union chairperson. Bert revoices Tracy's words, and Dave repeats Bert's rendition. I propose that in Bert's mouth the meaning has been transformed back to the meaning of the original base statement.

[TOD 1]

Bert:	That's all I said. And then Tracy right away intervened, the chairman.
Dave:	Yeah.
Bert:	She says, Bert, all I ask is that she be treated just like everybody- I said, she will definitely be treated-
Dave:	She definitely'll be treated- (laughs).
Bert:	like //everybody else. You know.
Dave:	//Yeah.

Tracy's words in the mouth of Bert can be considered reported speech. But, as Vološinov (1973) points out, reported speech must be connected to the reporting context, and the meaning of the reported speech is inevitably transformed by the reporting context (Bakhtin (1981). Tannen (1989:101) states that "...the term reported speech is grossly misleading in suggesting that one can speak another's words and have them remain

primarily the other's words." She argues that another's words are creatively constructed by a current speaker in a current situation.

The reporting context must be understood as all the dialogue that directly involves the rumored statement [TOD 1], as well as extraverbal factors of situation. The reaccented words of Bert and Dave represent transformational activity; Tracy's words provide the technical apparatus for a new articulation. A necessary part of the syntax is the manner in which these words are said, as well as Dave's laughter. There is strong latching of words, self-interruption and lexical differentiation from the words attributed to Tracy. Figure 3.5 highlights the sequence of features.

Figure 3.5

- a. Bert: [reporting Tracy's words] she be treated just like everybody--
- b. Bert: [transforming the words] I said she will definitely be treated
- c. Dave:[agreeing with Bert] she definitely'll be treated-- [laughs]
- d. Bert: [finishing Tracy's words] like everybody else.

Bert has inserted the modal operator "definitely" (b), which emphasizes the certainty of the message, and has deleted the meaning that "just" provides (a token of sameness). Before Bert finishes Tracy's words "like everybody else" (d), he can hardly wait to express to Dave his seeming agreement with Tracy. And Dave (c), in the interval between Bert's two syntagms (b,d), quickly adopts "definitely" and moves it closer to "she." He does not repeat add anything after "treated" (c) and self-interrupts with laughter. I hypothesize that Bert has arrived at a fair sounding statement that he can fully support. It suppresses any mention of social agents. I argue that Dave sees the beauty and irony of this transformation, as suggested by his laughter of sarcasm and the role he plays in the woman's training, discussed below.

3.5.2 THE EQUIVOCAL MEANING OF THE DIALOGIZED TRANSFORMATION

In discussing the functions of transformations, Kress & Hodge state (1979:34):

The relation between transformed structures and their pretransformed form is an equivocal one. The transformed structure differs in significant ways from the underlying (previous) structure (though it may not be interpreted by a hearer as different), yet it will be interpreted in part or whole as 'meaning' the same. So the relationship is one of simultaneous identity and disjunction. Ideally the identity is prominent, and the underlying (previous) pretransformed structure directly recoverable.

While it is clear that Tracy's words are a transformation of the position represented by the prejudicial statement, it is not apparent whether Bert's reaccented words are sincere or not. Bert's position is that he is unfairly accused of a prejudicial statement, that all he did was kid around, and that he's angry and hurt. After Dave responds with a final "Yeah" of the cited dialogue (line 44), Bert says (not cited) "I want to tell you though that I'm a little hurt by that because it's not right I mean Jesus Christ—."

In Grice's view (1975), Tracy's words "all I ask is that she be treated just like everybody else." (40) invite conversational implicature. Tracy articulates something that should be taken for granted. She might not have considered Bert's response to Jeff — "nobody in this department is going to do that" — as sufficient. That is, it violated the maxim of Quantity in not being fully cooperative. On the other hand, Bert's response to Tracy — "She will definitely be treated like everybody else" — assumes his belief that Tracy is following the maxims (saying something she has adequate evidence for). Bert also shows by his response that he is following the cooperative principle.

3.5.3 DO THE REACCENTED WORDS AND RUMORED WORDS MEAN THE SAME?

Tracy's intervention supports an identity between the prejudicial utterance and the final one. There is further buttressing for Bert and Dave returning Tracy's "treat her like everybody (else)" to the meaning "we're going to make it rough for her." First, Bert is concerned with appearing morally right. Also, the lexico-grammatical string of the base has been affirmed by calling the words a joke. And Bert does not deny the professed words to Dave, but to the union representatives.

There are also other situational and dialogic texts which provide support for the transformation to original meaning. As supervisor, Bert had initiated a change in the training, which took place after the first two men were trained. Newcomers were started on receiving rather than pulling — tasks that required more and heavier physical work (Scribner & Sachs 1988:24–41). Chapter 6 compares the actual training. The contrasting pedagogys are taken up in Section 6.2. For example, we learn that Dave is known for choosing the bigger and harder jobs.

Another feature of the base prejudicial statement and Tracy's assertion of equal treatment is their broad generality. It is not clear what either of these statements mean in actual practice. They are ambiguous. It is, therefore, conceivable that treating her like the males and making it rough for her as a woman mean the same. We can well understand why Bert adopts the rhetoric, even recognizes its legitimating function, and its double-edged instrumentality. He could certainly have used this occasion on tape to exonerate himself.

3.6 CONCLUSION

I have attempted to illustrate the importance of a linguistic theory of transformation in deriving social meanings created through talk. I used the theory to interpret social meanings in a dialogue between the supervisor and woman's trainer. I claim that a process of legitimizing is going on, and that classification is an important aspect of the talk. I discussed the significance of reaccenting Tracy's words, and that such reaccenting brings about a shift in meaning, establishing an identity between the base discriminatory statement and the final legitimate transformation, although the language is different. Such an interpretation is based on knowing or inferring the positions of the speakers — the egalitarian position of the union in seeming opposition to the expression of discrimination by stockroom management.¹⁷ In semiotic terms, the phenomenon of reaccenting involves one signifier that has two signifieds, certainly, an indicator to search for other instances where two meanings share a single sounding. Although I have presented evidence to support that the reaccented words mean the same as the rumored words, we are still on the horns of dilemma. However, by demonstrating how this transformational exchange functions in dialogical relationships of agreement and affirmation to other texts about the woman's training, a sequence of sociolinguistic practices that serve to exclude her is subsequently defined.

* * *

CHAPTER 3 ENDNOTES

¹ For example, see Blau (1984) for discussion of theoretical models, and Fuchs Epstein (1988). They view discrimination as tied to gender segregation in jobs.

² Hodge & Kress (1988) have revised their model of transformations in that a base structure occurs previously to a transformed one, rather than underlying it. I am working with the formulation "previous," which is relevant to my analysis. In the dialogue I analyze in this chapter (TOD 1) the base structure is actually articulated, something rarely occurring in linguistic data.

³ Other semiotic paradigms, such as Roland Barthes' (1964, Elements of Semiology, New York: Hill and Wang) and Ferdinand de Saussure's (1959, Course in General Linguistics, New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company) base analyses of meaning on formal structures and stable functions in a fixed system.

⁴ Cited in Hodge & Kress (1988:168). Dialogue taken from The Dreamers, by Aboriginal dramatist, Jack Davis. (1982) Kullark/The Dreamers. Sydney: Currency Press.

⁵ I use the term topical theme or theme (Halliday 1985), in my analysis of the dialogical exchanges.

⁶ In additional dialogue, Meena gives answers to more school questions by Shane. Then Dolly orders Meena to take the rubbish out; but Meena wants her mother to make Shane do it because she has to finish an assignment on Aborigines). See pp.168–173 for more dialogue and an elaborated analysis of the social meanings and different time scales involved, as well as a detailed account of transformed relationships of Dolly and Meena.

⁷ Dostoevsky's Diary of a Writer, in Volosinov (1973:103-104).

⁸ Goodwin cites Harvey Sacks' (1967) unpublished class lectures as the source for work on tying techniques.

⁹ See pp.178–179 for subsequent dialogue and further analysis, in which the "I know I'm laughin' at" framework is used by Martha and Billy.

¹⁰ From the Laboratory of Cognitive Studies data resource files (TAPE 77, p.20).

Dave: Yeah, I don't see it. X112 X124.

Bert: I think he was supposed to put it away. See, I don't have it.
Wait a minute, Wait a minute. Hang on. Hang on.

Dave: (That's boss).

Bert: These guys are going to drive you () crazy. I swear to god.
I don't know what to do anymore. I talk to them.

Dave: [laughs] Don't worry. ()

Bert: Did you hear about the rumor?

¹¹ The exact wording in a transformation lends itself to speculation as to meanings the speaker conveys, and the reasons for a particular syntactic arrangement. I consider "...nobody in this department is going to do that" (lines 34) a negative transformation of "I was going to make it very hard for this girl..." (lines 32-33). However, the negative structuration has also undergone what Kress & Hodge (1979) call modal operations, since a hypothetical direct negation would be I was not going to make it very hard for this girl. Using the modal operator "nobody" in an initial

or theme position, emphasizes its importance and also suppresses Bert as a direct causal agent. It may subtly introduce other covert meanings, such as, there is no substance (body) to the rumored assertion. Also, the words "in this department" indirectly reinstate Bert as department supervisor, responsible for seeing that the unfair treatment does not happen. See Kress & Hodge (1979:137–151) for an provocative discussion of negation in transformation and modality processes.

¹² Kress & Hodge (1979:150) state that such a statement has the force of a negative, usually invoked when the speaker feels the need to rewrite the modality of an utterance (in this case of the utterance attributed to him).

¹³ Using the language of metaphor, curse words or expressions of emotion suggests the interweaving of a more informal and personal register, in contrast to register talk about the work.

¹⁴ See Chapter 5, Section 5.5.3, for a discussion of clausal processes in Halliday (1985). Verbal processes, expressed through verb components, are clauses which depict various actions related to saying and symbolizing. In the dialogue between Bert and Dave, there are frequent references to what other people have said, and evaluations and responses to their words. This contrasts with training and work talk, where the common register is exemplified by material process clauses, and hardly any verbal ones.

¹⁵ Conversational analysis in the concept of adjacency pair and Grice's theory of implicature in the co-operative principle call attention to the phenomenon of a question not responded to. Based on an assumption that a classification process is going on, Dave in not answering the questions may be uneasy or uncertain about Bert's characterizations. Dave makes it clear that he is not sure if Tom, a fellow worker in the stockroom, spread the rumor; therefore, to classify Tom as linked to "that bullshit" may be something he doesn't want to do. It is only after he confirms that Tom did not spread the rumor, that he participates in the classification process, applying censorious attributes of "lying" and "exagg-"(erating) to the person involved. The three times repeated discourse marker "oh" (lines 20,22) has a function of proposing that its producer has undergone some kind of change in his or her locally current state of knowledge, information, orientation or awareness (Schiffrin 1987).

¹⁶ I base my argument on Pêcheux's (1975) discussion and contention that every discursive process is inscribed in an ideological relationship, with utterances representing a speaker's position; and on Bakhtin's theory of the utterance (1984) as dialogical relationships involving speakers' positions. Thus, in TOD 1, the prejudicial statement and the legitimized one put forward by Tracy are in a dialogical relation of transformation, and represent two differing positions. Also, I utilize the findings of O'Donnell (1990), who analyzed conflict in talk between labor and management representatives as constituting organizational position statements.

¹⁷ In a subsequent dialogue between Bess and a Caribbean-born male worker (see Chapter 5), the gender position that this is a traditional male job is expressed. I view this position as the dominant one, representing the managers and most of the factory workers talking on tape.

Chapter 4

SPEAKING DIALOGICALLY: TEXT OF DISCRIMINATION — Part 2.

4.1 THE TEXTS OF DISCRIMINATION

The Texts of Discrimination that I identify in this and following chapters are organized by certain kinds of dialogical and cohesive relationships. They contain sequenced segments as in TOD 1, but these are dispersed over time, and vary as to length and speakers. How such texts can be described and viewed as a unified entity is the theoretical question I address. This “text” is multi-voiced — it involves not only different speakers, but also differing positions that union and management and other workers take. It is synthesized from parts taken from the six-hour corpus of Bess’ training. In Chapter 3, I argued that a transformational process of legitimation had taken place. In this and following chapters, I identify other dialogical processes — exemplification, justification, verification, disclosure and warning. These relationships are social processes that probably occur in situations where discriminatory practices are carried out. I show how dialogical relationships of affirmation and agreement by different speakers support the hypothesis of these social processes. I demonstrate how dialogues occurring at various times are linked, and how “discourse trails” are established. These discourse trails are then understood as a sequence of discursive and material acts that lead to the woman withdrawing from the material handler job (see Chapter 8).

4.1.1 DIALOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS

As mentioned previously (see 3.6.1) what people say stands in certain relationships that are fundamental to understanding the meanings in communicative interaction. Speakers can agree or disagree, question and answer, assert and object, suggest and accept, augment what another says, apply it, and prepare for its execution. In short the utterance is filled with dialogic overtones. Bakhtin (1984,1990) and 3.6.1) has gone beyond these relationships of verbal exchange to include the “double-voiced” penetrating of the other’s utterance within the same person. For the most part, **dialogism** has been utilized in the study of written text, but it is prevalent in orienting to another’s words in everyday speech. Bakhtin (1984:196–97) classifies and describes these discourse types.

Internally polemical discourse...Here belong...all words that ‘make digs at others’ and all ‘barbed’ words. But here also belongs all self-deprecating overblown speech that repudiates itself in advance, speech with a thousand reservations, concessions, loopholes and the like...The individual manner in which a person structures his own speech is determined to a significant degree by his peculiar awareness of another’s words, and by his means for reacting to them.

Analogous to the hidden polemic is a rejoinder from any real and profound dialogue. Every word of that rejoinder, directed towards its referential object, is at the same time reacting intensely to someone else’s word, answering it and anticipating it...The semantics of dialogic discourse are of an utterly special sort. (The extremely subtle changes in meaning that occur in the presence of intense dialogicality have unfortunately not been studied).

(In) hidden dialogicality, a phenomenon quite different from hidden polemic...Imagine a dialogue of two persons in which the statements of the second speaker are omitted, but in such a way that the general sense is not violated. The second speaker is present invisibly, his words are not there, but deep traces left by these words have a determining influence on all the present and visible words of the first speaker. We sense that this is a conversation, although only one person is speaking...each present, uttered word responds and reacts with its every fiber to the invisible speaker, points to something outside itself, beyond its own limits, to the unspoken words of another person.

Dialogical relations invoke the notion of positioned-practice in that speakers relate to each other in social formations of alignment, alliance, consensus, conflict, opposition, and co-optation articulated or voiced in specific textual and intertextual production (Thibault 1991).

Texts can be said to articulate or voice a plurality of conflicting discursive positions and values in relation to particular social practices (p.43). The heteroglossic relations among textual voices can index a plurality of ideological and axiological positions, which can be realized within the bounds of a single utterance or textual production, thus defined as "dialogic" in the writings of Bakhtin/Vološinov (p.25).

Thibault adapts and develops Bakhtin's concepts of *dialogicity* and *social heteroglossia*. Bakhtin (1981, 1984) conceptualizes *social heteroglossia* in contrast to a common or standard language, as the plurality of languages which comprise a range of socially marked register types. These include the language used in certain professions and trades, in certain genres such as sermons, ceremonies, and meetings, in class and political interest groups (the language of the rich, the farmer, the merchant, the servant, the low socio-economic worker, the political party representative), and in formal and informal situations (the lecturer, the street-gang member, the bureaucrat). With the more recent studies of gender and language use, female and male styles of speech have also been formulated. The concept of enormous socially linguistic diversity sensitizes the analyst to inequalities, transformations, and appropriations in communication rather than just to features of shared conventions and knowledge. My analysis focuses on dialogical relationships and differences between the training talk and the texts of discrimination.

Conversational analysts, in their description of sequential conversational organization (Levinson 1983), have identified a fundamental unit that resembles dialogical

pairing,, the adjacency pair. Its prime feature is that a first part is a prelude requiring a particular second part(s). Prototypical pairs are question/answer, request/compliance, apology/minimization, greeting/greeting, and so forth. The pair could be embedded in and/or separated by other sequences of talk. The absence of the second part is particularly marked. Furthermore, agreement, compliance, and acceptance have been found to be preferred responses, requiring less work than dispreferred responses. However, in this methodology, transformations and appropriations of meanings remain unanalyzed, and acts of assertion such as challenges and claims require additional analytic apparatuses. Bakhtin's paradigm investigates a broader range of relationships between speakers and within the utterance, and brings the speaker's semantic position into the interpretation, thus implicating power and ideology. It is also an instrument for relating text dispersed over time and speakers. The dialogical model highlights the evaluative nature of talk.¹

4.1.2 STUDIES EMPLOYING DIALOGISM

Dore (1989) employs "dialogism" in a study of how a young child talking to herself, reinvoices "genres" from her father's speech to her. The meanings in the dialogues/monologues are contextualized in the broader framework of a three-person family in social collaboration. Formulation of these generic narratives undergo successive developmental transformations. Emily repeats or assimilates her parents' genres "through her own newly emerging internal system" (p.235). Dore analyzes genre as "...a social performance, requiring recognition, uptake, and collaboration in order to be sustained" (p.238). The pre-sleep dialogues negotiate the conditions for going to sleep in the context

of a struggle between the adult goals and the child's resistance, accounting for emergent conflictual talk, and a "sleep-bargaining scenario" of interwoven genres. The dialogues are coded for propositional themes (buying/crying), style (baby talk/adult talk), and discourse structures (narrative/adjacency-pair exchanges). These features lead to the identification of two genres in the father's talk. The "buy" themes are articulated in a promissory genre and the "cry" themes in an explanatory genre.

Emily's "monologues are characterizable as mixtures of repeated features of her parent's genres. Dore discusses how the processes in monologue — successive listing of names, same cadence and rhythm, and the mixture of question, answer, and statement — are analogous to the processes in dialogue. He also discusses how the monologues combine the father's official voice of authority with Emily's own persuasive voice. The implications of this study is that adults talk to each other in language developed as a complex of enormous socialization processes and social genres.

4.1.3 COHESIVE TIES: A SUPPLEMENTARY TOOL OF ANALYSIS

Halliday & Hasan's (1976) theory of cohesion is a useful tool that I have adapted to help identify utterances that directly participate in the TOD. Cohesiveness is accomplished through the lexical, grammatical and semantic presuppositional devices that tie utterances together: by reference, substitution, ellipsis, conjunction, and lexical cohesion. Such devices help bring the dialogic relationships and social processes I identify into focus. The following is an example of how the theory is applied to my data.

4.1.3.1 COHESIVENESS IN THE DIALOGICAL TRANSFORMATION

As discussed in Chapter 3, the transformation of Bert's words into Tracy's words constitutes a dialogical relationship: transformational opposites or contrasts.

Figure 4.1 COHESIVE DEVICES

- a) Bert: we're going to make it rough for her that so she's gonna quit.
 b) Bert: I was going to make it very hard for this girl that she would quit.
 c) Tracy: ...she be treated like everybody (else).

Bert has formulated the rumored words twice (a,b). Both utterances have dialogical and cohesive connections between them. They also connect with Tracy's words (c). Bert in reiterating the rumored words stresses its presence. Cohesively, she and her presume the same referent (a), and this girl is tied synonymously (a,b). It is noteworthy that rather than refer to Bess by name, gender is stressed. Comparison of (a) and (b) also calls attention to the change of agent pronoun we to I. Both renditions implicate Bert. In fact, as the Text of Discrimination is expanded, the plural signifier becomes substantiated. The cohesive relationship of be treated like everybody (else) involves lexical cohesion, specifically collocation. At this point in Halliday & Hasan's theory, collocation is defined as the regular co-occurring of lexical items in close proximity. The authors present a collocational chain from a text:ride→ riding → travel → flight → motion, but they consider collocation problematical.² My analysis broadens the definition and scope, so that make it rough (a) enters into a collocational tie with be treated like everybody (else) based on how she is treated. However, the dialogical connection of transformation and legitimation is the major one. Tracy's words are referring back to the words attributed to Bert, taking them into account, and responding to them.

4.2 EXPANDING THE TEXT OF DISCRIMINATION

Just prior to the start of Bess' training, and an hour and a half before Bert and Dave's conversation, Dave talks with Mickey³ and Larry, a material handler in the closely connected receiving department. The talk takes place in the receiving dock, just outside the stockroom proper (see Appendix E, Figure 3.2). Until she leaves, Bess is privy to this talk, along with researcher Pat Sachs, and Jeff N., the shop steward, later brought into the dialogue. The dialogic exchanges occur in TOD 2 (see Appendix B).⁴

4.2.1 AFFIRMING THAT THE RUMORED WORDS WERE ACTUALLY SAID

Focusing on dialogical relationships with the aid of cohesive connections, we observe in Figure 4.2 that the following exchanges display dialogical affirmation.⁵

Figure 4.2 DIALOGICAL AFFIRMATION

- a) Bert: we're going to make it rough for her that so she's gonna quit.
TOD 1:4]
- b) Bert: I was going to make it very hard for this girl that she would
quit. [TOD 1:27-28,30]
- c) Dave: Bert Bert Bert want her- Bert don't want her down here
that's the bottom line to all that. [TOD 2:4-5]
- d) Mickey: I don't think they want that girl to work downstairs- [40]
- e) Dave: That's what it is man. [41]
- f) Mickey: so they are giving her a hard time. [42]
- g) Dave: Bert was telling me yesterday man. [43]
- h) Dave: That's why they're sending her to do the hard stuff. [45]
- i) Mickey: They're gonna try to give her a hard time so she'll quit. [51]
- j) Mickey: trying to get rid of her. [60]

Both Mickey and Dave are in agreement that Bert and others don't want Bess to work in the stockroom (c,d). Strong lexical repetition supports this dialogical relationship. And Dave reaffirms and restates this hypothesis (e). Dave asserts (g) that Bert was

telling him the same thing that Mickey had just previously stated (g,f). Mickey and Dave are basically affirming through lexical collocation that Bert made the discriminatory statement (a,b) in all seriousness: all the clauses form a collocational chain: quit →...don't want →.get rid of:

COLLOCATIONAL CHAIN

going to make it rough for her so she's gonna quit (a) →. don't want her down here (c) → they're sending her to do the hard stuff. (h) → They're gonna try to give her a hard time so she'll quit (i)→. trying to get rid of her (j).

The cohesive ties are clear, the same personal referents — we, they, her, that girl (again Bess' name is not used) and lexical synonymy. Social agency is posited for at least two levels of management, supervisor Bert and stockroom manager Stan B (supplied by Larry in TOD 2:13) and affirmed by Dave in TOD 2:14,16). This is displayed in the use of they by Dave and Mickey (f,h,i) corresponding to Bert's we (a).

4.2.2 DIALOGICAL EXEMPLIFICATION

TOD 2 contains another type of dialogical relationship, that of exemplification or execution. It is a relation of particular to general. "Sending her (Bess) to the (machine) shop" is a specific way of "making it rough/hard for her" or "sending her to do the hard stuff." Figure 4.3 presents the exemplification relationship of two or more utterances.

Figure 4.3 DIALOGICAL EXEMPLIFICATION

- a1) Bert: we're going to make it rough for her that so she's gonna quit. [TOD 1:4]
- a2) Bert: I was going to make it very hard for this girl. [1:28]
- b1) Mickey: so they are giving her a hard time. [TOD 2:41,42]
- b2) Dave: That's why they're sending her to do... the hard stuff. [45]
- b3) Mickey: They're gonna try to give her a hard time. [51]
- c1) Larry: They're still sending this girl- I don't know [24]
- c2) Mickey: Still sending her to the shop... [25]

Sending Bess to the shop involves lifting and opening up vendor received cartons, pouring their contents into bins placed on a wheelcart and pushing it up a ramp. The ramp also goes outside the building and to the machine shop, where the bins are unloaded. Taking the parts to the shop for the purpose of having other people perform certain operations on them. Parts taken back to the stockroom have undergone operations and will be counted, recorded, and stored until needed. They make two trips to the shop with the wheelcart, and move three loads into and out of the elevator to be “received in” in the stockroom (see 2.8.1). Pat Sachs provides affirmation of and elaboration on the heaviness of the tasks. For example, by questioning Dave, she finds out that these bins weigh about fifty pounds each (see TOD 5).⁶

4.2.2.1 FURTHER INSTANCES OF DIALOGIC EXEMPLIFICATION OF HEAVY WORK

TOD 3–5 presents more examples of giving Bess heavy work to do, as well as elaborations of these tasks. As displayed in TOD 4, the plan of the department managers is to have Bess go to the machine shop every day for “two weeks or whatever” (24). This statement is viewed as an elaboration on the specific job task of going to the machine shop, specifying the time factor (see 4.2.2). As discussed above, there is concern about Bess going to the machine shop, and the union shop steward is called to intervene. On their second trip to the shop, after picking up 12 bins for the stockroom, , Dave instructs Bess to lift the bins off the elevator by herself — “Now you can either put them on the elevator or take them off the elevator.” (TOD 3:1)

As Scribner & Sachs (1989) have stated, the reason that two people are on receiving is because it takes two to do the heavy lifting, loading and pushing and pulling of the cart. Dave could have instructed that they lift the bins together, both on and off the elevator, though this means they both go up and down stairs. The advantage to Bess would also be in her seeing more repetitions of how to operate the elevator and wheelcart. As it is, Bess is confused about how to handle the heavy work; sometimes she does it, but often she does not. Training is more complicated for Bess as a woman, and the web of exclusionary practices plays a role in the final outcome for her.

So far, it is the managerial staff who have selected the heavy tasks, and Bess' trainer who is implementing the policy. However, there is dialogic exchange which shows that another member of the stockroom workforce participates in assigning Bess to the harder tasks. On the fourth morning of training Chuck initiates talk with Dave. Chuck is the older leadperson, who Bert mentioned in his talk with Pat S. (TOD 4:6–7). He is of Caribbean descent and a long time worker in the stockroom, with close ties to supervisor and department managers. Figure 4.4 presents this exchange (TOD 6).

Figure 4.4 DIALOGICAL EXEMPLIFICATION

- a) Chuck: Did she put in more () Cuz?
- b) Dave: Yeah I'm showing her now Cuz.
- c) Chuck: Right
- d) Chuck: Let her put the big ones () start upper and
//come down.
- e) Dave: //Yeah 'cause then she might get hooked on them little ones
Cuz. (0.3) [laughs]
- f) Dave: She might get hooked on Ted's little orders you know what
I'm saying Cuz?
- g) Chuck: Right.
[Pat S. affirms the exemplification of heavy work in her
commentary]
- h) Pat S: This is Chuck interjecting uh to Dave that she (Bess) should
start on big work orders.

Just previous to this, Dave and Bess had been doing backorders. That is, they weighed and counted parts being received into stock, in order to send them to other departments (see 2.8.1). Big back orders involve handling large amounts of parts and therefore the lifting of heavier loads. Dave agrees with Chuck that Bess should be started on big work orders (d,e). The statements (a,d,e,f,g) show lexical and collocational ties: more → big →. upper → (not) little, which also engage cohesively with statements in TOD 1 and TOD 2: rough...hard...hard time...hard stuff. Of interest is the reciprocal use of an address term “Cuz,” which Chuck initiated(a,b,e,f). Dave has used it with other workers he has social bonds with. I suggest that it is a shortened form of *cousin*, signifying a bond of solidarity,. Dave also offers a reason for starting Bess on big orders (e,f). This metaphor “get hooked on” is marked by repetition and laughter. Dave checks to see if Chuck gets his meaning (f). The ambiguous nature of its meaning is discussed in section ?. In Grician terms, Dave has violated the maxim of quality, saying more than is necessary. The implicature of sarcasm is apparent.

Previous to this exchange, Pat Sachs had asked Chuck “Are these big or small, these work orders?” to which Chuck replied “He (Dave) always takes the biggest ones you know yeah dependable very dependable.” These interchanges distinguish two features of the male material handlers: doing big or little jobs. One or more males do lighter tasks, but this is not presented as an option to Bess.

4.2.3 DIALOGICAL JUSTIFICATION

The data contains another important social process, that of justification. The management presented its rationale for starting Bess on hard jobs in Figure 4.5. The opposing position is given by Mickey in TOD 2 (see Figure 4.6, Section 4.2.3.1). Thus, giving Bess hard work is leading to justifying this practice, and later other social processes.

4.2.3.1 DIALOGICAL JUSTIFICATION: MANAGEMENT POSITION

The managers' justification is presented through reported language of Dave, Mickey and Jeff N (see Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.5 DIALOGICAL JUSTIFICATION: MANAGEMENT POSITION

a)	Dave:	Bert don't want her down here. (TOD 2:4)
b)	Dave:	He try to use 'cause they grade 5's he grade 9 and he grade 12. (7)]
	Larry or	
c)	Mickey:	That's discrimination. (19)
d)	Mickey:	(they're) sending her to the shop
e)		Bert came with this...b.s. about grade 9 and grade 7and grade 5. [25,26,28]
f)	Jeff:	Yeah this policy they're just startin'... [27]
g)	Pat S:	Talking about some new policy about the hiring. [30]

Dave establishes a causal connection (b) which serves to present the grading system as a justification for Bert's postulated exclusionary position. (a). Mickey affirms that the grades are being used (e) Although he doesn't use a causal tie, he basically gives the same message that Dave does — *.Bert doesn't want Bess down here, so he's sending her to the shop and using the grades as a reason.* He also negatively evaluates the reason. Jeff dialogically acknowledges and elaborates on Mickey and Dave's reference to grades with "Yeah, this policy..." (f). Pat S. echoes Jeff's word "policy," stating that it is a "new"

hiring policy (g). Clauses which contain the following identical and collocational lexical items are cohesively connected: grade 5 → grade 7 → grade 9 → grade 12 → policy → new hiring policy.

Dave also elaborates on the grading justification theme: "...he (Bert) said Stan B...we always do it like that." (TOD 2:15-16), which means *start trainees on the tasks of receiving (which includes going to the machine shop)*. The modal operator "always" is not congruent with the data of all the trainees. Mickey also trained two of the males in this dissertation study, and he did not start them on the heavier receiving tasks. TOD 2 takes place after Mickey's transfer to another department and Bert's changing the task order in training.

4.2.3.2 DIALOGICAL JUSTIFICATION: UNION POSITION

From an opposing perspective, Mickey has also provided a justification against starting Bess on heavy loads in response to researcher Sachs' question (see Figure 4.6, TOD 2:29-34). This supports the union position of not sending Bess to the machine shop.

Figure 4.6 DIALOGICAL JUSTIFICATION: UNION POSITION

- a) Pat S: Mickey what is the story that's going on with grade 5's and moving around? [TOD 2:33]
- b) Mickey: It's not right we all are trained to do () [35]
- c) Dave: But you're grade 5 but you're a material handler... he a grade 9 he still a material handler.[36-37]

There is enough of Mickey's syntax to infer his message as a justification (b). He is asserting that regardless of grade, all the material handlers do all the different types of stockroom tasks, and therefore someone else could have been sent to the machine

shop. Dave can also be viewed as affirming the unfairness of using the grading system to justify management's position, and in effect affirming Mickey's statement (c).

4.2.4 DIALOGIC CLASSIFICATION

Dialogically Larry (or Mickey) is classifying as "discrimination"(Fig.4.5,c) Dave's affirmatory statement of Bert and other department managers' position (a) The shop steward is called in because Bess is being started on heavy tasks and the hiring policy is being used to substantiate that. Evaluative classification is tied to the justification and classification process. Mickey calls management's use of stockroom grades "bull-/b.s. (TOD 2:23). Bert calls the talk about the rumor "bullshit" (TOD 1:15). Mickey also classifies the grading system justification — "it's not right" (Fig.4.6,b). The union representative's words — "Yeah this policy they're just startin'" (f) — indicate that managerial strategy of using the grading system to justify the hard tasks is successful; the union does not prevent this from happening. As the "Text of Discrimination" is further defined, we will see other instances of the classification process and their social meanings.

4.3 THE NECESSITY OF USING CONTEXT TO DERIVE SOCIAL MEANING

Understanding that the statements about the different grades constitutes dialogical justification requires processes of inferencing that depend on further knowledge of the factory context. For example, what is the connection of the hiring policy involving grades to Bess being started on heavy tasks? Scribner & Sachs (1989) inform us that the

stockroom material handler job consisted of three grades: grades 2, 3, and 5. Dave worked at the lowest grade, 2, along with any newcomers in training.⁷

Prior to 1985, all three official material handler job descriptions, dating from 1966, emphasized the physical labor aspects (responsibility for handling, maintaining and transferring some material from one place to another), and ignored or downplayed the mental (e.g., math, using computer inventory program, record keeping, learning and retaining information). With the implementation of a computerized inventory control plan, only the grade 5 bulletin was changed to reflect the predominance of using the new technology and its record keeping over the labor requirements.

Since training principles and procedures were not codified or written, they operated as oral traditions. However, after Mickey trained the first two men, Bert changed the training so that new-comers were started on the heavier tasks of receiving, rather than pulling. We interpret “some new hiring policy” (Figure 4.5, g) as an official proclamation of differing job responsibilities: workers in grade 5 and above would be more involved in inventory and record-keeping, and those in grade 2 and 3 would basically do the physical work. Thus, we have the justification for starting Bess on these tasks — Bess can’t be started on work that involves inventory and higher-order record keeping, which grade 5 and above is supposedly responsible for.

4.4 BESS’ TRAINING: A “BATTLEGROUND” OF UNION-MANAGEMENT OPPOSITION

The two opposing sides come into sharper focus in TOD 2. Management wants Bess to start on the harder tasks, the union is against that. Certainly, the metaphors of

battle are significant: “We fought but we couldn’t do it” (1), “They just wanna dump the bayonets” (46). Jeff, the union representative mentioned in TOD 1, is called in (TOD 2: 12,19,22) and exchanges dialogue (26,29). We note the involvement of the next level of management in this discourse, Stan B., the stockroom manager. Larry asserts that Stan B. told Bert to talk about the grades (12–13), and Dave agrees (14). While there is no taped talk between union–management representatives, dialogic exchanges establish that there is a meeting going on minutes after Bess begins training (See Figure 4.7; Appendix B – TOD 7A).

Figure 4.7 MEETING OF UNION AND MANAGEMENT

- a) Dave: Oh oh oh oh they went and got that lady now. Yeah Stan B. can’t come down so Bert by himself. He said as soon as they came down he said well let me call Stan B. Stan B. inna meetin’.
- b) Bess: They got Stan B. in there?
- c) Dave: Naw he can’t come he in a meetin’.
- d) Bess: Where at? () Jeff N?
- e) Dave: Yeah Jeff N. and that lady.
- f) Bess: All this attention about me?

The dialogue continues — Dave mentioning the union representatives but, it is not clear in what context. Pat S. affirms and clarifies this assertion. “...and she (Bess) heard that there’s evidently a meeting going on right now with Tracy D. and Stan B. and Jeff N. and I don’t know about Bert. This is all over the issue of a woman down here as far as I can tell....” This dialogue about the meeting takes place prior to Bert’s conversation with Dave about the rumor (TOD 1) and after Mickey calls Jeff to the stockroom to see if he can prevent Bess’ assignment to the machine shop. It is apparent that the managers’ won their point, and that when Bert reports to Dave that Tracy said “...all I ask is that she be treated just like everybody—, she is speaking from a position of weakness. The union is unable to

change the course of her training concerning the heavy tasks. So, in Tracy's "voice of fairness," equal treatment is put forward.. As Snitow (1989) points out, this embodies a central paradox: between equality and the factors of biological and gendered differences (p.214).

4.5 "POINTERS" TO PREVIOUS DISCOURSE

Bakhtinian analysis allows for a plausibly fine and nuanced interpretation of meanings. I have discussed the significance of the dialogic reverberations of others' words that can be found (see section 3.6). Such relationships in the data stand primarily as transformations, but also affirmations and elaborations. The dialogue also contains what I call "pointers" to prior talk, often in the form of adverbials: "Still" in "Still sending her (to the shop)" (TOD 2:24,25) indicates that there has been discussion of some kind between representatives of labor and management about training Bess. The adverbial implies earlier agreement that Bess will not be sent to the machine shop. In TOD 4:there are also *pointers* to previous talk: Pat S. queries Bert about Bess' training before it begins (see Figure 4.8).

Figure 4.8 POINTERS TO PREVIOUS TALK

- a) Pat S: What are you having Bess start out on today Bert?
- b) Bert: Well she's working in the machine shop she's-- for-
unfortunately this //week [TOD 4:10-11]
- Pat S: //She's doing receiving? [12]
- c) Pat S: And who's getting the 8870's?
- d) Bert: Uhh Bess supposedly and uh Dave.
- e) Pat S: Oh I see //so she's working with Dave?
- f) Bert: //Because that's part of-- that's going to plating.

Although it is difficult to establish principles on which dialogic discourse functions as *pointers* to not only previous discourse but later talk as well, these *pointers* are

often in the form of adverbials and lexical and metaphoric items that connect to other talk. That is, they are part of dialogical interaction, raising and conveying important discourse material for inferring and interpreting social messages. Dialogically they function mainly as affirmations and elaborations. In Figure 4.8, two adverbials contain such inferencing items—unfortunately and supposedly. Much of Bert's communication with Pat S. In TOD 4 justifies starting Bess on the machine shop work. Unfortunately is an adverb of evaluation. In the context of union–management discussion Bert is sensitized to the heavy work issue. The interjection of this adverbial takes into account the union position, which Pat S. shares.⁸ But it also reverberates with the “voice of fairness or legitimacy” I have identified in TOD 1.⁹

In response to Pat S.' question (“What are you having Bess start out on today?” (c)), Bert uses a modal of uncertainty—“Uhh Bess supposedly and uh Dave.” Again, this suggests the conflictual nature of previous union–management talk. The uncertainty and shifting nature in this situation is also expressed with the non-referential discourse marker “well,” in Bert's message—“Well she's working in the machine shop.” Schifffrin (1987:114) suggests this marker “...is more likely to be used when a respondent cannot easily meet a conversational demand for a response because the idea content of his or her answer will not fit the options just opened by a prior question.”

These *pointers to previous discourse* dialogically support and affirm the original oppositional stance of union and management expressed in the metaphors of “battle”, in the adverbial pointer “still” in “Still sending her to the shop” (TOD 2:25), and in the legitimation transformation in TOD 1. The dialogue between Pat S. and Bert (TOD 4) provides af-

firmation and elaboration of the justification and exemplification processes by management, already identified in talk having to do with Bess' training (see 4.2.2 and 4.2.3). Bert elaborates that grade 9 and above never leave the stockroom, and that the other workers rotate. He implies that new workers, like Bess spend two weeks going to the machine shop before rotating to lighter tasks. Mickey and Dave claim that this distinction of graded work and rotation of tasks does not in actuality occur.

4.6 METAPHOR AND THE TEXTS OF DISCRIMINATION

Metaphoric items are important features in describing a register. Halliday (1985:332) states that the study of register-type variation has to take account of metaphorical processes in the grammar "...because...different functional varieties of language differ mainly in their pattern of wording, and the extent and kind of metaphor employed is one of the significant dimensions of variation." He analyzes metaphor in contrast to the literal or "congruent" use of language. Bert uses two metaphors—"machine shop deal"(14) and "breaking her in" and "broken in" (23)—that introduce a set of other meanings, just as "fought" and "They just wanna dump the bayonets" (TOD 2:1,46) bring out the message of battle. *Breaking* someone *in*, although common in the world of work, in contrast to the congruent *training* someone, raises questions about when and where it is selected, and who it is applied to. *The machine shop deal!* (14) refers to the factory's need to have certain vendor parts (that just arrived) unpacked and brought to the machine shop for particular production operations. The word *deal!* also suggests the occurrence of chance as in dealing a deck of cards, as well as an arrangement of some kind. In both metaphors, the element of ambiguity and the indirectness of meaning is striking. I discuss other

metaphors in Section 5.5.4. The existence of pronounced and covert metaphor and discourse *pointers* indicate that the Text of Discrimination is a register with distinctive features from the training register (see Chapter 8).

4.7 FURTHER GENERAL SOCIAL PROCESSES

4.7.1 DIALOGIC VERIFICATION

In this process, Bess is monitored and watched to see whether she is doing the required physical labor. There are many instances of verification which TOD 6–11 display. In the data collected during Bess' training, it is the verification process which engages the largest number of people, both union and management representatives and factory workers, and which plays a decisive role in the outcome for Bess.

4.7.1.1 BERT SEEKS VERIFICATION

On the third morning of training, at about 10:40 am, as Dave and Bess are counting parts at the scale, Bert approaches Pat Sachs (see TOD 10A–10B). He makes sure the tape recorder is off and asks if the researcher would "...inform him about whether or not Bess was doing any lifting." (5–6) Verification in itself would seem "natural" in this situation. After all, the job and training require doing heavy physical work at times. But the verification is textually tainted and dialogically connected to the message of making it hard for Bess so she would quit. We can say the same about the other "natural" processes attributed to management: legitimation, exemplification, and justification.

Five minutes later, Bert calls Dave over, while Bess is out of earshot. Bert asks the verification question (TOD 11:3) "She's picking up things now?" The clause has a

double meaning—as a metaphor for learning, and the literal one of performing physical action. This is another example of one signifier having two signifieds, which was shown when Dave and Bert reaccented Tracy’s words that Bess be treated like everybody else (see Section 3.5). The form of this question as declaratory, signaled by ending tonal rise, invites speculation. I suggest that it has the force of asserting that this is what Bess is being monitored for, picking up the heavy loads rather than her ability to learn the tasks. Dave responds to its literal meaning, disclosing that Bess doesn’t want to push the wheel-cart uphill and to the machine shop, and that he helps her take the bins off the elevator (see TOD 11:4–6). These assertions dialogically affirm and elaborate on the heavy tasks that Bess was set up to do, and divulge that Bess is not doing them. Finally registering what Dave is saying, and hearing that Bess said she’d quit if she has to take bins off the elevator by herself (20), Bert says he “better get Stan B. down here and explain it to him....” (21). This dialogue leads to further complications for Bess in the training situation.

4.7.1.2 CHUCK INSTRUCTS DAVE TO WATCH BESS

About ten minutes after Chuck and Dave talk about starting Bess on “the big ones (jobs)” (TOD 6), Chuck again enters the area where Dave is working and initiates dialogue with a multi-meaning metaphor (see Figure 4.9).¹⁰

Figure 4.9 DIALOGICAL VERIFICATION (TOD 8)

- a) Chuck: Now she’s running into the real stuff Cuz.
- b) Dave: Yeah Cuz.
- c) Chuck: Uh huh keep your eyes on her.
- d) Dave: I got them on her Cuz (0.2) [laughs]

Chuck works very closely with stockroom managers. It is not surprising, therefore, that he participates in the process of verifying that Bess is doing the heavy work; Chuck is part of the team. The verification follows Chuck's mocking metaphor depicting the large number of parts Bess has to handle as "the real stuff" (a). Again, features of solidarity predominate — agreement (yeah, uh huh) and exchange of lexical repetition (keep your eyes on her/I got them on her), the reciprocal use of "Cuz." The meaning is clear, "watch to see that she's doing the heavy work." While Bess is doing a few different tasks, including filling out forms and checking the shelves for parts, it is the physical work that she is being monitored for. The occurrence of metaphor, including synecdoche (using the part for the whole) — "keep your eyes on her" (c) — may be a signal that exclusionary talk is going on.

4.7.1.3 OTHER FACTORY WORKERS WATCH BESS WORK

For Bess, going to the machine shop has the effect of transforming her into an object of attention. Pat S. describes this in TOD 9B:11-13 — I swear everybody was and just looked up and watched all the men in the machine shop the women in secondary machine shop I could see eyes following Bess walking through...." Phil, a material handler in the shipping department, confronts her with the fact that Dave is sweating but she's not sweating, thereby implying that she's not working hard (TOD 9A:2). Bess opposes this (3). He later informs her that he's checking her out (TOD 9A:19). So, Bess is scrutinized, challenged, hooted at, razzed, and laughed at. We get an idea of her reaction to this kind of attention with her response to Phil — "Don't check me out leave me alone." (TOD 9A:21). Bess also expresses resistance, frustration and anger at being monitored by another

material handler and on the fourth day of training, the manager of the dispatch department.).

4.7.2 DIALOGICAL DISCLOSURE

Bess lifted heavy bins by herself and with Dave (TOD 9A:9,9B:2,6). It is the verbal recording and and dialogical connections of the heavy work Bess didn't do, and her assertion that she would quit if she has to do this work that lead to disclosure and further consequences. Bert goes to his boss, the stockroom manager (TOD 11:20) — “Well I better get Stan B. down here and explain it to him before ().”

4.7.3 DIALOGICAL WARNING

The verification and disclosure displayed in TOD 11 results in a warning to Bess by Tracy, the union chairperson. The warning is is issued on the fourth morning of training. It is displayed in a dialogue between Bess and Sully, a stockroom material handler (TOD 12A) and reported by Pat Sachs (TOD 12B). The conversation between Bess and Sully takes place at 10:15 am, about an hour after Bess has been warned by Tracy.

Figure 4.10 presents this process.

Figure 4.10 DIALOGICAL WARNING (TOD 12A,12B Excerpt)

- a) Bess: They went and they told her that they don't see me lifting no bins and pushing () (TOD 12A:17-18)
- b) Bess: She called me up there she didn't even ask me if it was true she goes you got to lift the bins an' you gotta push it.(21-22)
- c) Pat S Bess has already clearly been spoken to about doing h'ordering doing her pulling her weight an' an' lifting bins an' pushing the cart uhmm by somebody uh it may have been Tracy I'm not sure. (TOD 12B:4-7)

Tracy's warning (b), affirmed by researcher Sachs (c), is presented by Bess in evaluative terms. It has a high degree of obligatory force (you got to lift the bins an' you gotta push it). Bess censures Tracy for not checking with her as to the truth of the claims. According to the account, Tracy did not engage Bess with any expressions of solidarity or support.

4.7.3.1 TRACY'S WARNING TIED TO DAVE'S LANGUAGE

We can say that Tracy's warning is based on Dave's words which Bert conveys to Stan B. Bess' account has dialogical affirmation ties and lexical cohesiveness to Dave's previous exchanges with Bert (see Figure 4.11).

Figure 4.11 DIALOGICAL AFFIRMATION AND LEXICAL COHESION

(TOD 12A)

- a) Bess: They went upstairs to tell Tracy that I didn't wannna help with the big jobs. (5)
- b) they don't see me lifting no bins and pushing (the cart) (15–16)
- c) you got to lift the bins an' you gotta push it.(19–20)

(TOD 11)

- d) Dave: I be helping her taking the stuff off (4–5)
- e) she don't be wanting to push that thing up the hill (5–6)
- f) she gonna have to take them off (10,12)
- g) and helpin' her take them off (14–15)

Dave uses a modality of obligation (f) which is used in Tracy's message (c). These utterances incorporate the verb help in that Dave is helping Bess take bins off the elevator (d,g), and Bess didn't want to help with the big jobs (a). In Chapter 7, I argue that Dave is culturally caught up in the contradictions of a gender code of help and the exclusionary practices that management has instituted.

4.8 POSITIONAL VOICES:

4.8.1 THE VOICE OF FAIRNESS AND THE VOICE OF DISCRIMINATION

Bakhtin views ironic discourse as a particular kind of **double-voiced** use of someone else's statement, which is invested with new value, conveying aspirations that are hostile to it. The social voice is an evaluative one that takes into account the ideological horizon (values) of the receiver. Thibault's (1991:25) definition of voice as "specific positioned practices corresponding to discursive subject positions...through which relations of alliance, consensus, opposition, conflict and co-optation are articulated..." offers an additional way to view my data. Bakhtin's theory (1981, 1984) was primarily applied to literature, and thus he was able to identify not only the dialogic points of view of author/narrator/characters, but the social semiotic meanings and messages of the text. that the interjection of direct literary genres generate. The identification of voice has the advantage of providing, extending, or confirming the social significance of past utterances.

I have distinguished two institutional level positions: department management starting Bess on heavy tasks as a way of getting rid of her, and the union not starting her on those tasks and specifying that she be treated like everybody else. I characterize these positions in their appearance as oppositional voices, which I call the "voice of discrimination" and the "voice of fairness." There are instances of shifting between these voices, predominantly by Dave, but also Bert, Chuck, and another material handler, Kip (see Chapter 5). The two voices at first were clearly separated into two different speakers,

Tracy and Bert. They merged in the legitimation process — transforming the prejudicial statement into one that is “fair-sounding” (see 3.6). That is, Bert and Dave eagerly assimilated Tracy’s “voice of fairness.” Bakhtin (1981:324) would say this represents double-voiced discourse where two different intentions are expressed simultaneously, which is the basis for irony. Given the initial opposing positions of union and management, irony occurs in the union representative providing a syntactic formulation that is acceptable and also does not change or prevent a deliberate strategy to get rid of Bess from being carried out.

Dave displays two types of behavior that are manifested as shifting voices. As we have seen, Dave has participated in two opposing conversations (TOD 1 and 2). When he spoke with Mickey and Larry, he expressed solidarity with the union position of not starting Bess on heavy work, and with Bert, he showed alignment with his position of making it hard for her.

The voices reappear in TOD 11 and account for the presence of certain utterances. Bert assumes the “voice of fairness” in his initial utterance “I think she’s doing pretty good” (1). Dave acknowledges this (2), and interjects “I’m giving her the benefit of the doubt” (9–10). The fact that Dave has marked the message with the question “now you know what I’m saying?” lends support to depicting it as an instance of voice. Dave also reports to Bert what he told Bess, including “I’ll let you get away with it today but tomorrow—” (15–16). Here, Dave’s message somewhat resonates with a “voice of fairness,” but also conveys other meanings. This, in fact, can be understood as Dave’s warning to Bess that she has to carry out the heavy tasks. Bess, at the same time is pejoratively presented as

someone who is getting away with something. As more data is analyzed, (5.6.1, 7.5), the conflict about whether to help Bess, and how much, grows more apparent.

Dave's ambivalence in this situation is also manifested in two statements he makes to Bert that are closely tied by dialogical affirmation and lexical cohesion. They differ in modality and personal pronoun:

a) "I might have to let her take it (bin(s)) off by herself...." (TOD 11:8)

b) "she gonna have to take them off the elevator by herself.." (10,12)

Together they show Dave's uncertainty about his role in this situation, and the cultural bind that he is caught up in. The modal force is weaker in (a), and he encodes himself as the actor, the theme and the grammatical subject. He is unsure about his role regarding the heavy lifting. He transforms this uncertainty into a statement that assigns Bess an obligatory discourse role to lift by herself (b). I claim that the semiotic meaning of this transformation shows Dave caught in a cultural bind between acting in a non-discriminatory manner and implementing the hard work for Bess to carry out. I discuss below the linguistic encoding of Dave's ambivalence, and the inconsistency in Bess' work behavior that reflects the contradictions inherent in this situation (see Sections 7.3, 7.5, 7.6, 7.7).

4.9 CONCLUSION

I continued to show that the "Texts of Discrimination" in this situation are made up of social processes — legitimization, classification, exemplification, justification, verification, disclosure, and warning — which are described as dialogical relationships, and "discourse trails." The texts display a strong cline of verbal processes — there are many overt references to what others say and self-reported words. Metaphors also dis-

close an ambiguity of other meanings, the meanings of adverbial forms and lexical items that evaluations. I have indicated how another's voiced position is an inherent part of clausal utterances that have no obvious linguistic marking of this phenomenon.

If any text existed without the others, there would be no way to understand the social processes in the context of opposing positions. The text would represent one institutional position or voice, one version of reality (Berger & Luckmann 1966), that of department management. While we have only gotten the skeleton of union/worker opposition, the institutional positions haunt the texts.

These texts occur in an environment of union-management positions and display signals and markers of this opposition, mainly in metaphoric and adverbial forms, and evaluations. I have argued that these two ideological positions, in effect, are one, enabling disclosure of the irony in this situation. In the next chapter, the meaning of these ideological positions are further defined as the "text of discrimination" is expanded.

* * *

CHAPTER 4 ENDNOTES

¹ Bakhtin (1986:142) discusses understanding and evaluation in notes about literary text. For references to the term “work” we can substitute *dialogue*. “Understanding is impossible without evaluation...cannot be separated from evaluation: they are simultaneous and constitute a unified integral act. The person who understands approaches the work (dialogue) with his own already formed world view, from his own viewpoint, from his own position. These positions determine his evaluation to a certain degree, but they themselves do not always stay the same. They are influenced by the artwork (dialogue), which always introduces something new...The person who understands must not reject the possibility of changing or even abandoning his already prepared viewpoints and positions...Active agreement/disagreement (if it is not dogmatically predetermined) stimulates and deepens understanding, makes the other’s word more resilient and true to itself, and precludes mutual dissolution and confusion.”

² See chapters 6 and 7 in Haliday & Hasan (1976) for the text on which this collocational chain is based, and for an indepth discussion of lexical cohesion and text.

³ Mickey trained the first two men trying out for material handler, but is currently working elsewhere in the factory.

⁴ All the text transcripts discussed in this chapter are found in numerical order in Appendix B.

⁵ The dialogically related clauses do not include hesitations, repeated items, and interrupted sounds. The letters are used for identification purposes. The brackets after the clause denote the particular lines within the text.

⁶ Certain dialogic exchanges display elaborating details about the nature and execution of the hard work. They function to bring into sharper focus the social agents’ positions and messages.

⁷ At that time, grade 2 had a wage scale of \$6.44-\$6.70 an hour; grade 3, \$6.50-\$6.78; and grade 5, \$6.67-\$6.98. Progression from minimum to maximum rates within a pay bracket occurs in four increments over a 15 month period. The leadman, in a different job category, was grade 12 in the factory grade system. The largest number of jobs and those with the broadest skill range include the component stockroom where Bess is being trained. The stockroom, along with the dispatch, shipping and receiving departments are tightly interdependent, and at the highest ranks of material handler, responsibilities spill over department lines. When a vacancy occurs within these grades, the official job description

bulletin is posted. Scribner & Sachs also point out that job descriptions reflect a management point of view.

⁸ Based on personal communication with Dr. Sachs..

⁹ False starts or insertions such as “for–” in “Well she’s working in the machine shop she’s for– unfortunately this week (TOD 4:10–11) are good candidates for the emergence and suppression of unconscious language. It is not unlikely that Bert started to say fortunately and immediately self-interrupted with the acceptable and fair word.

¹⁰ Chuck has already asked Dave a question about what Bess did— Did she put in more ()...?” (TOD 6:1). The final word is not audible, but the question displays Chuck’s active participation in knowing as well as determining what Bess does.

Chapter 5

SEX-TYPING:THE LADY OR THE JOB TEXT OF DISCRIMINATION — Part 3

5.1 THE SEMIOTIC MEANING OF OPPOSING POSITIONS

Two positions relating to Bess being started on hard physical tasks were identified: the department managers assigned the hard tasks and the union opposed them.

Because of the discursive linking of giving Bess hard work and getting rid of her, the managers' position is viewed as discriminatory and is counterposed to an egalitarian position voiced by the union chairperson to treat Bess like everybody else. In accord with my analysis, these opposing positions are not fixed, stable, or consistent in their link with institutional representatives. Rather, they are characterized as "voices of fairness" and "discrimination" that either side can utilize, for rational purposes and/or unconsciously.

I have demonstrated how the supervisor (and then the trainer) adapts the egalitarian union voice in a process of legitimizing (see Sections 3.4.1, 3.6, 4.10.1), by reaccenting the chairperson's words, how the supervisor and trainer use both voices (see Section 4.10.1), and how the union chairperson, as reported by Bess, speaks in the syntax of authority (see Section 4.9)

As in the double-accentedness of the legitimizing statement, the social processes of exemplifications of hard work, the verifications of doing it, the disclosure and consequential warning to do it are also viewed as double-voiced in that they appear fair, but also function within the domain of exclusionary practices. That is, most of the identified social processes can simultaneously serve two masters. The "voice of fairness" I suggest, even appears when the supervisor uses the lexical items "leadpeople" and

“leadperson” instead of *leadmen* and *leadman* in speaking with the woman researcher (TOD 4:5,7), which is in contrast to his use of “chairman” when talking to the trainer (TOD 1:45).¹

5.1.1 LOCATING IDEOLOGY IN DISCOURSE

I claim that these two voices constitute a higher order semiotic, which can be viewed as the interaction of conflicting ideologies. Social semioticians are particularly concerned with the metalinguistics of ideological processes and conflict. They have demonstrated the value of speculating about the language user’s choice of lexicogrammatical forms and their transformations as the expression of a version of reality. For example, as I discussed in 3.2.4, comparing the linguistic variation of newspaper accounts of the same conflictive events have brought to the surface opposing viewpoints and social practices.

Such analyses have demonstrated how ideological contradictions are resolved. They have shown the prevalence of dominant social groups’ vantage point engaged in constant struggle with positions representing dominated groups (Hodge & Kress 1988).

Gramsci’s theory of hegemony has particular applicability to my study:

...social semiotic theory must also theorize the processes whereby one social group succeeds in imposing on some other group a particular set of social meaning making practices that reproduces and serves the ideological interests and values of the first group in ways that are legitimated or naturalized as a kind of ideological second nature. The processes of imposing...a hegemonic system can only be successful if the dominated collude with and/or identify with the dominant social meaning making practices in ways of which they are not likely to be fully conscious (Thibault 1991:112-113).

As Althusser maintains, an ideology always takes shape in struggle with some opposing ideology under the dominance of ruling ideology (Macdonell 1986:33-34).² Althusser (1971) has also hypothesized hegemonic "Ideological State Apparatuses," discourses which sustain predominant cultural institutions (including the trade-union), thus positing the crucial role of language in maintaining the social order. But communication is inherently the site of countless confrontations and processes of struggle and resistance to hegemonic power, and the ambiguous and little studied level of ideology cannot be overlooked. Hodge & Kress (1988) theorize the necessity of drawing on indices of power and solidarity in analyzing ideological formations in communication. Their assumption is that modern industrial society is permeated with conflicting values and ideologies, and that one major contradiction in a capitalistic democracy is that dominant groups prefer to exercise and maintain control over dominated social groups through their cooperation and solidarity.

Opposing positions are considered one of the dialogical relationships. But they constitute a higher plane of discourse than that of other dialogical relationships, along with the lexicogrammar and register — the plane of ideology.³ Linguistic activity is always ultimately governed by larger ideologies (Kress 1989:67). Vološinov (1973) equates the semiotic sign with the ideological sign, and Bakhtin (1981, 1984) and Pêcheux (1975) view speakers as engaging in intertextual relationships involving ideologies, semantic wills, points of view, or social positions and values. Thus, ideological vantage points are an inherent part of writing or speaking, and pose the question of how and where to locate the ideological in speech. I agree with Poynton that

the level of ideology is necessary in order to fully account for the meanings of the dialogues in this situation , and in order to show how it affects choices of syntax, lexicon, register style, and institutional discourse (see Section 1.6).

5.1.2 SEMIOTICS, IDEOLOGY AND DATA ANALYSIS

In the data I am analyzing, the two opposing ideological positions of union and management occur as a higher level semiotic interpretation of surface syntagms. These two viewpoints are in a dialogical relationship of opposition, and also undergo transformation. They are characterized as “voices” as well.

A syntagm is a significant combination of signs in space-time. A sign is a portion of the **syntagmatic** plane that is treated as a unity, having two components, the signifier or phonetic sound and the signified or meaning. Sign systems function most economically in producing meaning if there is a clear link perceived between signifiers and signified by all users of the signs. However, negative and hostile relationships within the **semiotic plane** motivate the opposite tendency, an inaccessible link between signifiers and signified, leading to systematic distortion of such links. Signs can therefore be ranged on a continuum between transparent and opaque, in terms of how clearly the link between signifier and signified is perceived by a class of semiotic participant (Hodge & Kress 1988:262). The semiotic plane is the one on which the meaning in a message is constructed and exchanged. But, the message also refers to something outside of itself, the **mimetic plane**, implying some version(s) of reality as a possible referent, from which its meaning derives. The interaction of the semiotic and mimetic planes is necessary for

the social production of meaning to occur (Hodge & Kress 1988:5,261-2). Together they constitute a **semiotic** event.

In the dialogue central to this chapter (TOD 15), Bess talks with a material handler that she knows. On the mimetic plane, the dialogue refers to the physically heavy aspects of the job and to how Bess is relating to this. Classification of the job as “male” and covert verbal challenges to Bess occurs on the semiotic plane. The interpretation of power and solidarity are an important part of the analysis.

5.2 SEX-TYPING OF WORKPLACE JOBS

The resolved institutional ideology of treating Bess like a man leads to discourse that classifies the job as male and expresses a gender code of behavior — whether to help Bess and to what extent. The data contains the interconnectedness of stereotypes and occupational sex-typing with gender ideology. Speakers take positions, shift positions and evaluate directly and covertly.

The rhetoric and legislation of “equality” has been utilized in countless situations characterized as struggles to break through and transform occupational divisions based on gender. Again, documentation of the barriers, ordeals, and punishments that are part of or that constitute these social circumstances is necessary.

In a public hearing on the construction industry in New York City, the Legal Director of the NOW Legal Defense and Education Fund asserted:

...the overriding stereotype about women operating in the construction industry is that women cannot and should not have these jobs, that construction is a man's world. This sentiment is commonly expressed in the work site...you will hear testimony that (the) foremen single women out for specially burdensome tasks which only the burliest and healthiest of men can handle, where they do not assign the same jobs or

they will change assignment if they are requested to do so by a male worker with a back problem or who may be too small to handle the task alone.⁴

Excerpts from testimony of a woman carpenter in the construction trades bring into realistic focus discriminatory practices that women face. The underlined statements constitute an opposing discourse to one that excludes women (Public Hearing on the Construction Industry in New York City 1990a:199–202).

When I went to this particular site in Manhattan...I stayed there from 10 o'clock in the morning until 2 in the afternoon and no one responded to me aside from saying that the man that's supposed to be here, he's going to come shortly. And I never saw this man and I actually asked them to pay me for waiting for this man and I was paid for part of the time. After two days at the site as a carpenter's trainee, I was laid off because of the fact that they said they needed -- no -- there were too many people, and there were no women at this site and they said they had too many people...There's a lot of negativity in terms of women being on the job that men actually have been always -- you know, that men have actually owned these jobs for all these years...I know that without networking and being with other women that are willing to take risks, that are willing not to be sidetracked by the negativity or by the attitudes that permeate the society in terms of women should be doing a specific kind of work and males ought to be doing this other kind of work, I say give the job to whoever can do it. If I can't do it, if I'm interested, train me, because I'm showing a willingness.

Some sociologists have argued that experiences at work can effect psychological and social change in adults and alter gendered socialization patterns (Fuchs Epstein 1988). The concept of sex typing defined as the "designation of 'female' or 'male' to a task drawing on tradition or ideology... has been most thoroughly studied in the division of labor at the workplace..." (pp.101–2). The expectations people hold that members of a certain group will behave in a certain manner or according to a certain sequence may lead them to facilitate the expected behavior and inhibit other behavior. "Sex typing structures individuals' choices, and the selections are monitored and controlled by gatekeepers and institutions in a position to permit or deny access to certain

statuses...” (pp.101–2). According to the author, “...sex typing is the cultural designation that provides guidelines for the division of labor and maintains gender-specific boundaries and thus is a source of legitimation for gatekeeping.... Cultures demand that one must do masculine work to be considered a man, and not do it to be a feminine woman” (p.103).⁵ These generalizations are applicable to my analysis.

5.3 CLASSIFYING THE MATERIAL HANDLER JOB “NOT FOR A LADY”

“Since ideology is effective in so far as it conditions actual behaviors, its most potent form of expression is when it is inscribed in and organized through spatial codes and their transformations....Verbal language, therefore, plays a secondary role, acting as a commentary whose real meaning is given by the underlying behavioral text it invokes” (Hodge & Kress 1988:64). Kirk, a Caribbean-born dispatch department worker, who has put some bins in the same elevator with bins that Bess has to take out, initiates talk with her I argue that the overall dialogical relationship of this text with the other identified texts is one of classification. Kirk is labeling the job “not for ladies” (TOD 15:19) and focusing on the hard physical attributes of the work (18–19,62,67,72).

Kirk conveys the message that the job is basically hard work and therefore “man’s work” through a variety of clausal structures and lexical items, some repeated. Spatial metaphors are employed — “heavy,” “a lot,” “heavy duty,” “big bodies,” “big wide bodies,” “wide bodies;” also a strong copula and present tense modality — “it’s worse,” “those are just K-grips,” “...weighs seventy pounds,” “that’s nothing yet.”

Bess' agreement that the job is physically hard and "they need a man..." (61) appears to be a factor in encouraging Kirk to repeat and elaborate on the theme of heaviness (62-63,65,67,72). She presents a "feminized" version of the job as one of writing and filing 6-7), and contrasts this with a "masculinized" version — "I thought they would let the guys lift the bins and stuff" (12-13). Another alternative she presents is working with a woman material handler in the shipping department (49-50).

The behavioral constraint on women not doing heavy work that underlies this conversation is invoked in the initiating utterance, "They got you lifting you really lifting this stuff?" (1). The modal sign "really" provides grounds for establishing that it is this kind of behavior that is the reality being negotiated, opposed and transformed.

5.3.1 COMPARING THE TWO CLASSIFYING UTTERANCES

The transformation and clausal compression that occurs in Kirk's second classification structure compared with the first bears further examination.

- a) This is some heavy work. It's not for ladies. (TOD 15:18-19)
- b) It's some heavy duty work for a lady. (62)

The transformation from a negative to a positive follows Bess informing Kirk that she wanted to turn in her application to work as material handler with the other woman material handler. Kirk is therefore made aware that Bess is willing to do physical work, and the slightly weaker modal force would take account of that knowledge, along with the change from "ladies" to "a lady." The two different classification utterances share some syntax structures and lexical reiteration, and they are separated by a large number of turns. These lexicogrammatical and conversational features reinforce the supposition that

Kirk's sex-typing of the job is a position that he holds before speaking with Bess. His statement "I was explaining this to Warren" (19–20) can be viewed as indicating this.

5.4 MODAL ANALYSIS

I have previously discussed the term *modality* as referring to "the status, authority and reliability of a message, to its ontological status, or to its value as truth or fact." (see Section 1.8.3, Hodge & Kress 1988:124). There are many words and lapses that perform modal functions in a clause or message including auxiliary and main verbs, nouns, and adverbs, the grammatical mood (questions, statements, commands), tense, deixis, discourse markers, and hesitation phenomena (e.g., "ummm," "er," "kind of"). These functions "structure the relationship of the participants and their perspective on the status of aspects of the mimetic plane." Modality is used to "either affirm the 'security' of the classification system asserting its 'truth' or its status as 'reality', or to bring the security of the system into question, challenging its status as 'truth' or as 'reality'...Given that what is at issue is the question of 'affinity' or lack of affinity of the participants with the system (and thereby with each other) we can speak of a modality of high affinity (with the mimetic system) or of low affinity (with the system), or alternatively 'high' or 'low' modality." (p.123). Affinity indicates relations of solidarity or power (difference) of speaker with hearer. Usually, but not always, a high degree of affinity indicates the expression of solidarity, and a low degree indicates that power difference is at issue.

"Modality points to the social construction or contestation of knowledge-systems. Agreement confers the status of 'knowledge,' 'fact' on the system, or on aspects of it; lack of agreement casts that status into doubt."(p.123). In many instances,

agreement and affinity have been brought about by the more powerful enforcing their classifications on the less powerful. “Once the classification is accepted, a relation of solidarity then exists around that area of classification. Difference of power and lack of solidarity may continue around other areas; hence the potent (and correct) identification of power and knowledge in semiotic systems...(Modality) is consequently...the site of the working out, whether by negotiation or imposition, of ideological systems. It provides a crucial component of the complex process of the establishment of hegemonic systems, a hegemony established as much through the participation of social agents as through sheer ‘imposition’ of meaning by the more powerful on the less powerful participant.” (p.123).⁶

5.5.1 MODALITY IN THE CLASSIFYING PROCESS

What are the modal characteristics in the dialogue of Kirk and Bess and their semiotic meanings? Messages are predominantly conveyed in the primary tense presented as unmodified verb. This carries a modality or force of certainty. Table 5.1A displays these verbs and comments (with TOD 15 line number in parentheses). Table 5.1B shows the modal operators of intermediate degrees between ‘yes’ and ‘no,’ that express probability, unusuality, or are distancing devices between speaker and proposition or between interlocutors.

Table 5.1A MODALITY OF CERTAINTY	
VERBS	COMMENTS
a) (they) have (you) lifting (1)	
b) (I'm) thinking (4)(5)	
c) thought (6)(10))	see Table 51(b) for alternate analysis
d) were going to keep me (6)	past tense shows slight weakening
e) (You) didn't think (8,9)	Kirk responds to the certainty interpretation which would have the tag <i>did you</i> instead of <i>weren't they</i> ; negative polarity
f) (they) would let (12)	referent for "they" infers management level; see Table 5.1(c) for analysis of median modality
g) (they) don't believe (14)	ambiguous referent for "they" (managers don't believe in letting guys lift bins and Bess write and file OR guys don't believe in lifting bins; dialogical opposition
h) (I) know (15)	not clear which meaning of (14) Bess is responding to; but she knows that none of the men will go along with her division of labor regardless of their position
i) want to switch (16)	modality of strong inclination; but less certain than 'you are switching'
j) knew (18)	weaker than 'know'
k) would (switch) (18)	weaker than 'I know you will (switch)'
l) is (heavy work)/is not (for ladies) (18-19)	positive polarity; negative polarity
m) (I) was explaining (19)	past continuative account
n) say (20)	interrogative
o) is (a lot of work) (21)	statement of fact
p) belongs (to sweet Bess) (23)	
q) look (26)	imperative
r) am not (sweet) (24)	negative polarity
s) 'll give (half a hand) (25)	proposal of offer; certainty is weakened as to actual doing with the future modal verb
t) sounds (good) (28)	
u) (Jeff) tried to talk (them) (30)	past account
v) happened (31)	interrogative
w) (I) don't know (32)	statement of fact; negative polarity
x) hook off (Kirk) (33)	imperative (continued)

y) be (a gentlemen) (41)	imperative
z) (I) told (her) (38)	past account
aa) (I'm) gonna help (her) (38)	certainty weakened by future modal verb
bb) (There) 's (a lot) (42)	unfinished clause; statement of fact
cc) (they) were (grade 9) (44)	slightly weaker past tense
dd) You got to talk (47)	high modality of obligation
ee) (I) told (Beryl) (48)	past account
ff) (I) wanna turn in (application) (48)	strong inclination; degree of certainty weakened by future tense
gg) (I) was (surprised) (51)	expresses more distance from proposition than <i>am</i>
hh) (they said (Bryon...) (51)	past account
ii) sent (me) down (51)	past account
jj) (You) don't do (this) (53)	negative polarity
kk) (I) have to (56)	high modal force of obligation
ll) (You) don't (59)	negative polarity
mm) (they) need (a man) (60)	strong obligatory modulation
nn) (that) 's (all I know) (60)	statement of fact; "all" is ambiguous — can indicate that all that it is necessary to know is "They need a man;" or that Bess' knowledge is limited
oo) is (some heavy duty work for a lady)(61)	statement of fact
pp) is (worse) (61)	statement of fact
qq) are (just K-grips) (62)	statement of fact (also Table 5.1(f))
rr) wait (62) (71)	imperative
ss) (you) get (big bodies) (62)	
tt) forget (it) (63)(65)	imperative
uu) (bin) weighs (...70 pounds) (66)	force of fact
vv) (she) lifted (heavy ones) (68)	past account
ww) (That) is (nothing yet)	strength of fact (see Table 5.1(g))
xx) (she) sees (wide bodies) (71)	

Table 5.1B MODAL OPERATORS SHOWING PROBABILITY OR DOUBT	
VERBS	COMMENTS
a) <u>really</u> lifting (1)	insertion of “really” admits an element of doubt
b) (I) <u>thought</u> ...(going to keep (6,7)	also analyzed as an interpersonal metaphor with the congruent form in a modal of probability (<u>they probably were gonna...</u>)
c) (I) <u>thought</u> ...(would let) (12)	congruent form — (<u>they probably would let the guys lift the bins</u> ; a median modality
d) let (me) <u>just</u> see (34)	“let me” displays less certainty in that it seeks allowance; compare with <i>I want to just see</i> ; “just” is modal adjunct limiting intensity of “see”
e) <u>maybe</u> they don’t want (46)	possibly; shows low modality (low degree of certainty)
f) are <u>just</u> (K-grips) (62)	“just” limits physical intensity of parts and prepares for “wide bodies” to come
g) is nothing <u>yet</u> (69)	modal adjunct of time; reduces significance of the lifting Bess has done

As mentioned above, the modality features presented in Tables 5.1A/B reveal that there is a predominant force of certainty occurring, with very few expressions of doubt, probability, and personal evaluations. The job is classified and described by Kirk in the present tense (Table 5.1A (l,o,oo, uu)) with the copula carrying the force of statement of fact. Examples are, “It’s not for ladies” (19), “This is a lot of work” (22), “One bin weighs...seventy pounds” (67). Dialogical opposition is expressed in direct polarity over whether Bess has actually thought she would write and file and the guys would lift the bins (Table 5.1A (e,g)) and in the attribution of “sweet” (Table 5.1A (r)). When analyzed as metaphor compared to congruent form her version of the job can be said to express a modified certainty (Table 5.1A (f), Table 5.1B (c)). But, the

classification of the job is what Bess explicitly agrees with — “They need a man...” (Table 5.1A (mm)), it displays high affinity between Bess and Kirk in that area.

Declarative clauses are prevalent. Kirk uses them to classify and describe the job, and dispute Bess. Bess chooses this mood to also oppose, as well as talk about her understanding of the job and what she tried to do. Goodwin (1990:199) discusses the role of declaratives and interrogatives in girls’ disputes; they disclose information states. In her data, declaratives are used to initiate a confrontation that a defendant was talking behind someone’s back. Interrogatives were often used to request information that the person actually said what she was accused of saying.⁷ In Bess and Kirk’s conversation, few imperatives and more interrogatives appear. The functional meanings of interrogatives are discussed in 5.5.2 Kirk uses the imperative “wait” (rr) and the modal operator “got to (talk)” (dd) to direct Bess’ behavior. Dave uses the imperative to seemingly control Kirk’s, “hook off” (x) and “be a gentlemen” (y), but it is a way to construct Bess as the object of male sexual interest. It also implies that Dave likes to be in charge. Bess utilizes the reiterated imperative “forget it” (tt) to support her position that she is not the one to do heavy work and to direct Kirk’s mental operations through a cognitive process clause (see Section 5.6).

To reiterate, there are very few modal operators expressing doubt, probability, or usuality. “Really,” functioning in a declarative question structure, casts doubt and challenges Bess’ ability to carry out “male-typed” tasks (Table 5.1B (a)). “I thought they would let the guys lift the bins...” also has a modal interpretation of probability (c). Kirk responds to this modality by asserting with certainty that “those fellow...don’t believe in

that” (Table 5.1A (g)). Modulation occurs in Kirk’s directive “Lemme just see you lift one of those bins here just one,” where he asks for permission, and limits the extent of seeing and lifting (Table 5.1B (d)). Those modal operations mark a sensitivity in verifying whether Bess can carry out these heavy tasks, but also highlight the importance of her being able to do them. Kirk also uses modal operators to emphasize that the job is even harder than what she sees — “those are just K-grips” (f), and “That’s nothing yet.” There are no modal operators that overtly assert evaluations of each other. Evaluations occur as adverb and adjective — Bess evaluates Kirk’s offer of help as “good” (Table 5.1A (t)), while Kirk introduces provocative meanings in “sweet” (p).

5.5.2 INTERROGATIVES IN THE DIALOGUE

Questions can be analyzed as requests for information, as Labov (1972) specifies when the patient in therapy asks her mother when she plans to come home (see Section 7.2.1)..⁸ But they also take on a wide array of other functions. Questions are significant in displaying Kirk’s position. In his opening clauses — “They got you lifting you really lifting this stuff?” — Kirk shifts the thematic focus from “they” to “you,” and transforms the statement into a question. If he had said the first clause only, the focus and thereby any rejoinder would be on an unspecified “they” responsible for Bess having to lift bins. The proceeding dialogue would thereby be disposed toward a different direction. But with the question we discern a modality of doubt, incredulity, or negativity, and a communicative challenge to Bess performing this action. The opening clauses also stress the heavy work and its *reality* by reiterating “lifting” and using the modal operator “really.” Bess’ unclear rejoinder (TOD 15;2) receives a negative

evaluation with Kirk's rejoinder "oh boy" (3). I suggest that Kirk's initiating messages are designed to put Bess on the defensive. Bess is therefore cautious about how to respond. She shifts the physical process "lifting" onto the cognitive plane of "thinking" (see Section 5.6). Kirk continues his challenge by transforming her assertion into a question:

- a) Bess: Thinking about it. (TOD 15:4)
- b) Kirk: You thinking about it huh? (5)

The next interrogative "So you wanna switch, right?" (16) is analyzed as a directive to switch utilizing a declarative force proposition, with the interrogative marked by "right?" However, it is structured to make Bess appear as the initiator of this proposition. "Right" has an additional function of attaching a positive evaluation and a moral meaning onto the message. In constructing the interrogative as Bess' position, Kirk does not explicitly semanticize his own position or voice here. This is displayed in his sex-type classifications and descriptions of heavy work. He does not employ the interrogative form *do you want to switch?*, a wording that would not support the supposition of his question as an indirect command which prompts for a positive response. I suggest that Bess' affirmative rejoinder "Yeah. Sure" (17) provides Kirk with the further manipulative move of imposing a time limit on Bess' training — "I knew you would I knew by the end of the day too" (18). Kirk's other questions, "How's that?" (26) and "Huh?" (28), prompt for a response to his offer of help, and "what happened?" (32) prompts for information about Bess' attempt to get transferred to a material handler position in the shipping department. Kirk's questions may also be viewed as ways to find out more about Bess'

relationship to this kind of job, as well as engaging in “egalitarian” conversation (Wilson 1989).

Bess asks one Wh-question, which appears to be a genuine prompt for information.. She wants to find out what Warren said in response to the job not being for ladies (TOD 15:20). Kirk’s response, “This is a lot of work,” is ambiguous (21). It is not clear if he is reporting Warren’s words, or restating that the job involves heavy work (18,19). What is important, are the functions of ambiguity in speech. By this “ambiguous” message, Kirk has strengthened his classification by establishing a connection to Warren who implicitly agrees. This particular dialogical exchange of question and answer, is significant in its relationship to the role Warren plays in Bess’ decision to switch back to her previous job (see Sections 5.6, 8.4). Her two “You know?” interrogatives (31,50) focus Kirk on information he would not know about her desire to work in the shipping department. Schifffrin (1987) analyzes *y’know* as a discourse marker, marking transitions in information state relevant to participation frameworks.⁹ Bess expresses probability in “Maybe they don’t want a grade 2 with them” (TOD 15:47). She has heard talk about the grades in the context of Bert not wanting her in the stockroom (TOD 2:4–9). The modality expresses her uncertainty about what is going on.

5.5 CLAUSAL PROCESSES IN THE DIALOGUE

Halliday (1985) describes three main grammatical functions of the clause as theme, exchange and representation. That is, the clause simultaneously expresses interpersonal and experiential/informational functions and clausal connectedness.

Clauses represent process types as conceptions of reality — doing, happening, feeling, being — which have particular social meanings. Halliday distinguishes five processes which are typically realized by a verbal group: the principal ones of material, mental, and relational, and the subsidiary types of behavioral, verbal, and existential. Material processes depict an action or happening; mental processes are those of cognition (i.e., thinking, knowing, understanding), perceiving (i.e., seeing, hearing), and feeling or affection (i.e., liking, fearing). Relational processes have to do with *being* where nominal and adjective groups have attributive, identifying and possessive relationships. Behavioral processes are physiological and psychological in nature (i.e., smiling, dreaming, sighing) and intermediate between material and mental processes. Verbal processes are those of saying, symbolizing, and acting verbally (i.e., insulting, praising, mocking). And existential processes represent that something exists or happens. Each of the processes has particular kinds of participants and circumstantial elements.¹⁰

In many registers, relational processes tend to be the most frequent and perhaps most informative of the process types (pp.123,124). However, as Halliday points out, categories obfuscate the notion of a continuum. For example, there are mental processes closer to the material, such as “I wanna turn in my application to get material handler in shippin’...” (TOD 15:48–49), mental processes closer to the relational — “They need a man” (60), or to the behavioral — “Thinking about it” (4), which is also categorized as a behavioral process of pondering (Halliday 1985).

Table 5.2 depicts the clauses as they represent the processes that take place relevant to Bess. The dialogue predominantly displays mental, relational and verbal

processes when compared with material ones. In fact, the only direct material process involves lifting.

Table 5.2 CLAUSAL PROCESSES	
Process	Clause
A. Material	a) They got you lifting (1) b) You really lifting this stuff? (1) c) I'll give you a half a hand while I'm here (26) d) You don't do this [lifting] every day (57) e) I have to [do this lifting] (60) f) You don't- [do this lifting everyday] (63) g) She lifted some pretty heavy ones this morning (73)
B. Mental – 1. Cognition	a) Thinking about it (4) b) You thinking about it, huh? (5) c) I thought (they were gonna keep me in there to write... d) You didn't think that [...write an' file] (8) e) You didn't think that [...write an' file] (9) f) I know (you didn't think that) [...write an' file] (9) g) I thought so [...write an' file] (10) h) You didn't [...think...write an' file] (11) i) I thought (they would let the guys lift the bins...(12) j) They don't believe in that [lift bins/Bess writes, files] (14) k) I know [fellows don't believe in that] (15) l) I knew you would [want to switch] (18) m) I knew by the end of the day [want to switch] (18) n) (Jeff N. tried to talk them...) You know? (31) o) I don't know [...sending me up to shippin'] (33) p) (...to get material handler in shippin') You know? (50) q) (They need a man) That's all I know (61) r) Forget it [doing the heavy lifting] 64 s) Forget it [doing the heavy lifting] (66)
2. Perception	a) lemme just see you lift one of these bins (35) b) Wait 'til) she sees some wide bodies (72)
3. Feeling/ State	a) you wanna switch? (16) b) Maybe they don't want a grade 2 with them (47) c) I was surprised (they said Bryon sent me down here) (52) d) They need a man (61)

C. Relational	a) This is some heavy work. (19) b) It's not for ladies. (19) c) This is a lot of work and all. (22) d) This belongs to sweet Bess. (24) e) I'm not sweet no more. (25) f) Be a gentleman Kirk. (38) g) These guys in there they were grade 9 (44,45) h) It's some heavy duty work for a lady. (62) i) It's worse (62) j) Those are just k-grips. (63) k) (Wait 'til) you get those big bodies (63) l) One bin weighs about sixty seventy pounds (67) m) That's nothing (70)
D. Existential	a) What happened? (32)
E. Verbal	a) I was explaining that to Warran too (19,20) b) What does he say? (21) c) I'll tell you what (24) d) Sounds good (29) e) Jeff N. tried to talk them into sending me up to shippin' (31) f) I told her (I'm gonna help her out on just this one while I'm here) (39,40) h) I told Beryl (I wanna turn in my application to get material handler in shippin') (49,50) i) They said (Bryon sent me down here) (52)
F. Behavioral	a) Look (I'm not sweet no more) (25) b) You gotta talk (48) c) Wait (til you get those big bodies) (63) d) Wait (til she sees some wide bodies) (72)

There is a significant number of mental process verbs — knowing, thinking, believing, wanting, needing, being surprised — with some clauses prefacing physical actions with mental processes. For example, "I thought they would let the guys lift the bins and stuff" (B.1.i)), "lemme just see you lift one of these bins here" (B.2.a)). It is to the mental plane that Bess shifts discussion of the problematic act of material lifting,

"Thinking about it" B.1.a). Kirk utilizes a cognitive process that emphasizes his explicitly shared knowledge — "I knew you would. I knew by the end of the day too" (B.1.1,m). But, what Kirk has done, in effect, is "switch" Bess out of the job with a connotation of a specific time limit.¹¹ Kirk is professing knowledge of Bess' thoughts and behavior. This may represent solidarity, but such assertions also demonstrate aggressiveness and control. Bess, however, does not switch at the end of the day. She continues to train for three more days. We see here how knowledge is used as a factor of control.

Bess utilizes mental process clauses to present messages important to her defense in training for this job — "Jeff N. tried to talk them into sending me up to shippin' you know?", "I told Beryl I wanna turn in my application to get material handler in shippin' you know where Mary is" (B.1.n,p) (see endnote 10). She also seeks to control Kirk's cognition by ordering him twice to "forget" that she has anything to do with handling the heavy bins (B.1.r,s).

As listed in Table 5.2.C, relational process clauses, without modulation, are used to classify and describe the "male" nature of the job, and to convey the status of fact, truth, and authority. They also function to counter any challenge to the job being for Bess. When Dr. Sachs calls attention to Bess having already "lifted some pretty heavy bins" (A,g), Kirk says "That's nothing yet". Relational clauses include possessives. In "this belongs to sweet Bess," Kirk makes the bins that Bess has to handle into a possession of hers. We can see the continuity of possessiveness from the previous turn. Researcher Sachs had asked Kirk if certain bins were his stuff (TOD 15:22). Bess uses

the strongest degree of certainty of all her utterances in “I’m not sweet no more” (Table 5.2:C,e), dialogically opposing Kirk’s designation of her.

Reported speech is common in conversational exchange. Verbal process clauses make explicit this occurrence, in contrast to another’s words that are employed but not specifically identified as such. Verbal process clauses, as shown in Table 5.2, have the function of signaling relevant communication that has gone on. Furthermore, they establish links between agents. Kirk brings Warren into the classification process as someone who may also view the job as too heavy for ladies — “I was explaining that to Warran” (E.a). Bess uses such processes to preface her wants and happenings about working in the shipping department — “I told Beryl I wanna turn in my application to get material handler in shippin’,” “they said Bryon sent me down here,” and “Jeff N. tried to talk them into sending me up to shippin’ (E.h,i,j,e).. casual conversation

The material process clauses focus attention on the physical act of lifting. Bess and Kirk are in dialogical opposition as to whether Bess has to do this kind of heavy lifting everyday — “You don’t do this everyday,” “Yes I have,” “No you don’t...” (A.d,e,f). Kirk works in the dispatch department and would assumedly know what the job entails. But it is the depiction of the job as requiring heavy physical labor that is being constructed and manipulated in this dialogue. In the context of words expressing management’s position to get rid of Bess, It is not surprising that she is given a distorted version of the work routines in addition to the exemplified heavy tasks. The fact that Kirk slightly “lightens” her burden suggests that he speaks in two simultaneous voices and shifts between them (solidarity/fairness and power/discrimination).

5.6 METAPHOR, GENDER-RELATED LEXICON, AND CLASSIFICATION

TOD 15 is notable for two other types of semiotic items, metaphor and words that carry messages about gender.

5.6.1 METAPHOR

Kirk has offered to help Bess lift the bins. But, the metaphoric wording is particularly significant (see Text 5.3). Kirk himself repeats his query for Bess' response (a,c) and he reformulates the content in speaking to Dave (e). The reformulated structure expressed to Dave (a) makes it clear that the help offered is limited.

Text 5.1

- a) Kirk: I'll give you a half a hand while I'm here. How's that?
- b) Bess: Good.
- c) Kirk: Huh? This is mine [lifting bins off elevator].
- d) Bess: Sounds good.
- e) Kirk: (I told her) I'm gonna help her out on just this one while I'm here.

How else is metaphor viewed? "Metaphor is a potent factor in ideological contention, a means to bring an area into one rather than another ideological domain...Metaphorical activity occurs at sites of difference, in struggles over power, whenever there is contention of an ideological kind, whenever an attempt is made to assimilate an event into one ideological system rather than another" (Hodge 1989:70-71).¹² Metaphors are multi-functional and open to multiple and cultural interpretations (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Tannen 1989). Cohn (1987), who discusses the language used in talking about American nuclear strategic practice by officials and consultants, notes the ubiquitous weight of male-dominant imagery, of domestic and other kinds of metaphor that remove users and hearers of such language from the reality of nuclear war.¹³ She

points out that “those with the most power are able to dominate and define the terms in which we speak about nuclear issues, so that...we find ourselves speaking as though we were the users, rather than the victims of nuclear weapons” (p.706).

The register that trainers use while training is primarily characterized by more literal lexicogrammatical structures (see Chapter 6). However, the presence of metaphor in the “texts of discrimination” is one of several significant features of distinction between these two kinds of talk. I suggest that “I’ll give you a half a hand” (TOD 15:25) is a sign of ambiguity in Kirk’s position regarding Bess working in the stockroom. It captures the dual aspect of Kirk’s talk and actions and raises the question of why Bess doesn’t warrant full help. In addressing Dave, Kirk restates that his offer of help is limited — “I’m gonna help her out on just this one while I’m here” (TOD 15:38–39). The immediate identification of Kirk’s metaphor is with the common one (to give a hand). To fractionally quantify the offer is specially marked. While we cannot be certain what is in operation here to constrain the offer, speculations can be made. For example, Bess is expected to do what a man does, therefore she won’t get full help; or doing a man’s job doesn’t make her a bonafide female and therefore she doesn’t deserve the same benefits. This is in line with the philosophy to treat Bess like everybody else. Dave also expresses reservations about helping Bess lift bins off the elevator, saying that it is “doing double work” (TOD 11:4–5) In a separate dialogue with Phil (Text 5.2,d), Dave imposes a similar limit of showing Bess only once how to lift the bins off the elevator, but immediately follows that with a directive for Phil to help her. These examples strongly suggest that Kirk and Dave have imposed restraints on helping Bess lift. I also claim that

stable gender categories are at stake; Bess is neither woman nor man (see 8.4). With the material tasks as the mimetic plane, Kirk puts forward the male features of the job and Bess the female. Their agreement that it's not a job for ladies verbally sustains the hard edges of categorizations, whereas the metaphor shows the covert contradictions.

If we look at the metaphor addressed to Dave (Text 5.1,e), the wording introduces two prepositions "out" and "on." This focuses attention onto the spatial plane rather than the material act of helping to lift the bins (Kress 1989). Prepositions are concerned with defining territory, and "...activities in general are viewed metaphorically as SUBSTANCES and therefore as CONTAINERS (Lakoff & Johnson 1980);¹⁴ for example, "How did Jerry get out of washing the windows?" or Bess' words, "I'm in trouble Sully" (TOD 12A:1). Kirk says he's "gonna help Bess out on just this one...." In a sense, that is what Kirk is doing in this dialogue, helping Bess out of the container of "male territory" defined by bins and heavy loads.

Bess accepts and evaluates positively the offer of fractional help, which is understandable in a basically non-supportive environment. Kirk has also used the synecdoche of his own body, the hand, which bears the most relevance to lifting. The offer of "give you a hand" has a warm thrust of friendship, but "half a hand" in its semiotic perspective also carries negative connotations.

Dave has also used metaphor in addressing Kirk, "Hook(s) off hook(s) off..." (TOD 15:33). Bess and Kirk are thereby transformed into object or nonhuman, Bess into a "catch," carrying associations of a harsh and painful material reality. This same

metaphoric device in reference to Bess also occurs two more times, when Dave and Chuck talk (Text.5.2,b,c), and when Dave directs Phil to help Bess lift bins (Text.5.2,e).

Text 5.2

- a) Chuck: Let her put the big ones () start upper and
//come down.
- b) Dave: //Yeah 'cause then she might get hooked on them little ones
Cuz. (0.3) [laughs]
- c) Dave: She might get hooked on Ted's little orders you know what
I'm saying Cuz?
- d) Dave: I showed her the first time now she got to take them off now.
[Phil is on his way downstairs to the elevator of bins where Bess is]
- e) Dave: Help her Phil hook her up Phil.

“...to any metaphorical expression corresponds another, or perhaps more than one, that is ‘literal’...or...CONGRUENT....There is a great deal of variation among different registers in the degree and kind of metaphor that is encountered” (Halliday 1985:321). Metaphors that use *hooked* are quite common. In comparing a form that is congruent to (b,c) such as *accustom herself to doing the little ones (pulls)*, we notice that the metaphoric form is passivized and the process highlights a material act, while the congruent form is in the active and displays a predominantly mental or behavioral process. Dave signals that the metaphor has a special meaning by his laughter (b), his repetition (b,c) and his explicit query “you know what I’m saying?” (c). The metaphor contrasts Chucks’s exemplification of doing big work orders (a) with Bess doing lighter work, thereby having a basis to resist the heavier loads. This implies that she might stay on the job. Dave, at the same time, disparages material handler Ted for his choosing the lighter tasks.

In talking with Phil, the material handler who indicated that Bess wasn’t doing her share of the heavy work and that he was checking her out (TOD 9A:2,19), Dave uses

“hook her up” as an alternate way of saying “help her” (Text 5.2,e). In this exchange, Dave has just assigned Bess to lift bins off the elevator by herself. As discussed above, we see the explicit limits imposed on Bess while training; she only gets shown one time in contrast to the males who were trained. There is a “gleeful” intonation to Dave’s message carrying a modality of obligation “she got to” (d). He speaks as a trainer in “I showed her...” (d), in a “voice of (seeming) fairness” with “Help her Phil” (e), but with one of “discrimination” in “the first time” and “now she got to take them off” (d). Nevertheless, his directive to help signifies Dave’s realization that the work Bess is being given in training is hard. In fact, she needs more help than she is getting.

5.6.2 GENDER-RELATED WORDS

Lexical choice takes into account the situation and interpersonal relationship of the speakers, and performs functions in a transformational capacity. The particular gender-related lexicon, “lady(ies),” “doll,” and “sweet,” in the TOD 15 merits discussion.

All three items not only construct Bess in terms of her sexual identity, but as a behaviorally constrained female. These designations are so traditional and common that, except within feminist discourse, other meanings are not brought into consciousness (Penelope 1990). *Lady* is a euphemism for *woman* (Lakoff (1975). If we substitute one for the other — “It’s not for *women*” and “It’s some heavy duty work for a *woman*,” the meaning is altered, as it would be with *you*, *girl(s)*, *sister(s)*, *female(s)*, and so forth. According to Lakoff, *woman* is a term conveying sexuality, which *lady* does not; however, it also implicates a broader set of connotations. Bess is given an exalted stature of nobility, and, I conjecture, the term is flattering to her. But its “implication is perilous:

it suggests that a lady is helpless, and cannot do things for herself,” is ““not in control of her own destiny”(p.25).¹⁵

In speaking with Dave (and Bess), Kirk uses “doll” in connection with Bess having to move bins by herself, and both men laugh. Here, male-bonded mockery is based on the contrast of the stereotypic female label and its behavioral constraint linked with the male-typed task. The interjection of “sweet” in “this belongs to sweet Bess” (TOD 15:23) functions also as a term of constraint. This attitudinal epithet,¹⁶ representing Kirk’s subjective attitude or evaluation of Bess, conveys an assemblage of synonymous meanings including *pleasing* and *agreeable*.¹⁷ Bess opposes the depiction of her as *sweet*, “Look I’m not sweet no more” (24). While the reason for this denial is not explicit, the frustrations, hardship, and challenging or discriminatory treatment of Bess are likely causes.

5.7 PERSUASIVE REASONING in the DIALOGUE: GENRE, LEXICOGRAMMAR and IDEOLOGY

Looking at what people have to lose is a good way of uncovering the largely unconscious ideology behind what they are saying (Martin 1989). Treating issues as ideological systems, Martin demonstrates some of the ways ideology masquerades as other meanings in the lexicogrammar of expository student writing and in spoken conversation. In comparing two kinds of exposition, the first closer to speech (a letter arguing for the governmental control of firearms with a paragraph answering the question “Are governments necessary?”), the author demonstrates how reasoning (showing causality and explanations) in the more ‘written’ exposition is carried out through nouns,

verbs, and prepositions, rather than explicit causal conjunctions such as 'because'. Use of causal conjunctions, Martin argues, is more characteristic of 'spoken' genre.¹⁸ He also shows how genres differ in that subjective reactions are more overtly expressed in the spoken lexicogrammar by means of relational clauses and mental process clauses of affection (feeling). Examples from my data are "That's not bad" (TOD 16:1) and "I can't stand this" (TOD 14A:3). Martin states that the expression of feelings and attitudes is restricted in expository writing as compared with speech. "Turning attitudes into abstract qualities is one way of sounding objective while still presenting a point of view" (pp.23,24); for example, "I feel that government is responsible for ceasing the fatalities caused by firearms" can be rewritten as "Ceasing firearm fatalities is the responsibility of government." In this instance, the personal pronoun and causal preposition are omitted, and nouns express subjective feeling and causal connections.¹⁹

As discussed above, Kirk's position is asserted twice in dispersed relational process clauses — "it's not for ladies" (TOD 15:19) and "It's some heavy duty work for a lady" (61). However, the first is not an initial statement, but one that follows probes of Bess' position, and the reiteration dialogically affirms Bess' agreement that "They need a man" (60). That is, the position is inconspicuously embedded in the interactive dialogue and embodies Kirk's thesis. Kirk speaks in a soft, friendly intonation. What is more, the turn-taking structure, the mutual references, shared knowledge constructions, and prompts for information point toward the utilization of a conversational register attributed to conversational equals who share some form of social bond (Wilson 1989). But Kirk is also exercising power and putting forward a position basically opposing Bess doing that

job. His forms of persuasion or line of reasoning, unlike the generic features of expository text or explicitly voiced argument is well concealed. Kirk has countered Bess' notion that the job consists of lighter tasks, classifies it as a man's job, and presents examples of how hard the work is. The fact that Bess' verbally agrees with the classification suppresses overt structures of argument. But, Kirk is essentially defining the situation, challenging Bess' version of the job, removing her, justifying the classification with attributive statements and descriptions of heavier work in store, and dismissing the importance of any physical work she has done. In a sense, he is defining her experience. Kirk is persuading, but in an implicit manner. This is shown in Table 5.3 in a structural format using the genre of exposition as model (Martin 1989).

Table 5.3 STRUCTURE OF DIALOGICAL PERSUASION	
Kirk	Bess
1. Questions/doubts Bess' lifting of bins 2. Opposes "feminized" version of job, presents "masculinized" version 3. <u>Thesis</u>: The job is not for ladies. 4. Directs Bess to switch 5. <u>Argument (1)</u>: Job consists of heavy work. <u>Argument (2)</u>: Heavier loads to come.	1. Gives "feminized" version 2. Defends it 3. Elaborates her version 4. Agrees to switch 5. Agrees with Thesis 6. Affirms • Job is not for her • Work is too hard

Kirk's thesis and argument(s), therefore, is the job is not for ladies because it consists of hard work and even heavier loads to come (Table 5.3:3,5), with which Bess agrees (5). Unlike spoken dispute and written exposition, the lines of reasoning are

embedded in the dialogue with a noticeable absence of discourse markers and causal conjunctions such as “because.” The thesis and argument(s) are stated as impersonal relational processes, and Bess’ agreement and elaboration clauses encode mental processes, “Forget it” (TOD 15:63.65), and a final disassociation of herself from the heavy job, “Not me” (67). This disassociation can be viewed as a significant closing to the conversation. This is borne out by Dr. Sachs reopening the theme of lifting, “She lifted some pretty heavy ones this morning” (68), and Kirk responding by reiterating his language of heavier loads yet “Wait ‘til she sees some wide bodies” (71).

5.8 THE SITUATIONAL DESTABILIZING OF GENDER CATEGORIES

While there are economic and political factors behind the resistance to Bess becoming a stockroom material handler, there are also indications that the training situation raises problems involving the stability of feminine/masculine categories as they pertain to doing heavy physical work. Pat Sachs reported that both Bess and Dave were often uncertain about their actions in performing these tasks. At times, they weren’t sure whether to lead or follow.²⁰ This also took the form of brief dialogues about whether a load is heavy or not, the inconsistency of Dave’s instructions and actions, and Bess’ unevenness in carrying out these tasks. For example, Dave assigned Bess to lift bins off the elevator by herself, and then complained to Bert that he helped her (TOD 11:4–5,8–9). Bess basically refused to participate in moving the cart, especially when watched by co-workers, and when walking in the street en route to the machine shop where there was close and heavy traffic.

The classification process and the clausal processes that serve to verbally remove Bess from the job, and which Bess agrees with, can also be viewed in a framework of seeming solidarity, where Kirk is being protective of Bess. Protective practices, including gender restrictive legislation in the workplace, however, has been a means of excluding women from physically hard and maternally “dangerous” jobs, utilizing protectivism as a social argument which assigns men and women to different kinds of work. Bess inadvertently challenges this exclusion by trying out for the job. What does it mean for males, part of whose definition as males includes physical strength over women, when a woman can do the work they do? Acts of help, in assisting or taking on Bess’ tasks happen in the space of contradiction that Dave, Kirk and others face. Bess also displays inconsistent behavior concerning the heavy work. I argue that the stability of gender categories and behavior is at stake and that the language displays instances of gender transformation. (see Section 8.4) ?

5.8.2 WHAT ARE KIRK AND DAVE DOING IN THEIR TALK?

In the verbal exchange, with Bess as audience, addressee and participant, Dave and Kirk are sexually objectifying Bess (see Text 5.3).

Text 5.3 (TOD 15 Excerpt)

- a) Dave: [enters area] //Hook(s) off hook(s) off Kirk=
- b) Kirk //So lemme=
- c) so lemme just see you lift one of these bins here
- d) just one ()
- e) Bess: I-ahhhhhhhh!
- f) Dave: Be a gentleman Kirk.
- g) Kirk: [short laugh] I told her I’m gonna help her out h-on just this
- h) one while I’m here. All the rest doll is
- i) the one you () move. //[laughs]
- j) Dave: //[laughs] Okay put ‘em over
- k) here () then I’ll be over there.

Dave initiates the talk with a metaphor “hook(s) off” (a) that is used to designate a type of interpersonal contact. That the metaphor might have sexual connotations is supported in his continuation of this theme to Kirk to “Be a gentlemen,” (f). In a covert manner, Dave has transformed Bess into a sexual object, thereby setting her up for abuse or mockery. Kirk utilizes the sexual label “doll” reciprocally (h). Immediately after Dave enters the talk, Kirk initiates a verification process directed to Bess: “lemme just see you lift one of these bins” (c). As discussed above, this process is practiced more frequently than any other (see Section 4.7). The message takes Dave into account as audience. Dave has also employed it (TOD 2:49-51). It is the kind of talk that the men would do, and it serves as a bond between them. This verification directive is also thematically connected to Bess and Kirk’s previous dialogue about lifting. Bess does not carry out this directive; instead she responds with a sound of “exasperation” (e). A “help” theme is also part of their exchange. Kirk lets Dave know that he told Bess he’s going to give her limited help (g-i). Kirk and Dave exchange laughter (i,j) after Kirk, using the label “doll,” asserts that Bess basically has to get a portion of bins off the elevator by herself. Bess is constructed as the stereotypic object of male desire who needs a man’s help and warrants mockery because she attempts to do a “man’s” job. Sexual objectification here is intricately bound up with the lifting that Bess has to do. Thus, with Bess as a conversational participant, , Kirk and Dave have exchanged messages between them that pertains to the gender-related training situation.

5.8.3 HYPOTHETICAL SUPPORT

The extent to which Kirk's ideology and positions of power/solidarity are conscious cannot be determined. Social semiotics, however, aims to display and speculate on less obvious or covert/hidden and nonconscious/semi-conscious meanings and ideologies, as well as the contradictory nature of discourse. Structural and rational paradigms alone capture normative and conventional communication, but these in turn have to be associated with the covert ideologies that theories embrace. Kirk has prejudged that the work is too heavy for "ladies"; he dismisses the abilities Bess does have, and what her evaluations, needs, and goals are in trying for the job. If we were to hypothesize a different kind of support and sympathy conveyed through talk, as in Text 5.4, it would be closer in meanings to the first stockroom trainer's words when training John, a small, slim and somewhat frail man (see Chapter 6). Mickey said that if John needed any help in lifting, it was alright to ask the guys in the stockroom, and they would help him. As Scribner & Sachs (1989) mentioned, two workers were assigned to do receiving because of the heavy work involved.

Text 5.4 HYPOTHETICAL DIALOGUE OF SUPPORT

Kirk:	They got you lifting this stuff alone?
Bess:	Yeah.
Kirk:	How is it?
Bess:	It's heavy.
Kirk:	Someone should be helping you. Two is better than one. Wanna try taking these off with me?
Bess:	Sounds good.

5.9 CONCLUSIONS

A *feminized* version of the job and a *masculinized* version is being contested in Kirk and Bess' interaction. This is a job that consists of heavier and lighter tasks. Bess is not adverse to performing the lighter tasks and, I suggest, she could be trained to perform the heavier ones, and/or work collaboratively with the males. There is evidence that male workers are able to choose the lighter tasks. The training is also much more complex and stressful for Bess than for a male because of the high visibility she is accorded and the issues of gender roles, constraints, and identity.

Interrogatives are used to challenge and to express negativity and doubt. Kirk (and Dave, see Section 7.6) asks questions to find out Bess' position concerning the heavy work. Questions are used to put Bess on the defensive, and seem to be accomplishing that. Unlike informal social conversation, there are few modal operators. Expressions represent the certainty more than probability and doubt. Modalities that intensify and weaken the force of messages are infrequent. Bess' strategy in discussing the heavy tasks she has to carry out is to switch from the physical process of lifting to the mental one of thinking about it. This represents a site of contestation talking a

Bess' behavior is being monitored in relation to how she handles the heavy loads, and it is in this regard that she is made sport of and challenged, although subtly (see Section 4.7.1). Of all the training dyads, Bess and Dave had by far the most third party interventions. Kirk's position and classification of the job as not for females is the position that is dominant in this situation. Kirk's version of the job prevails in that Bess makes it known that she verbally agrees. This classification enters into a dialogic

relationship with other dialogues that display the general social processes in operation — oppositional institutional positions, legitimation as an agreed upon resolution, classifications, exemplifications of hard tasks, justifications, verifications, disclosure and warning. It supports the means of excluding Bess and reserving this job for males. Evaluations rest overtly on the heavy physical attributes of the job, which implicates traditional gender differences based on upper body physical strength, and ideological constraints on female behavior.

This is an unstable situation regarding the category of gender. This is reflected in the oppositions between Bess and Kirk, in the ambiguity of questions and metaphor and the inconsistency of action. My analysis suggests that lexical and clausal ambiguity has the important function of veiling socially charged meaning and ideology (see Chapter 7 for further discussion). The training of Bess has marked distinctions from the way the male subjects were trained and this will be the focus of the next chapter.

* * *

CHAPTER 5 ENDNOTES

¹ Incorporating non-sexist items in communication does not in itself permit an interpretation of the speaker as “non-sexist” in ideology. Rather, it is in the context of other discourse-in-situation that a determination is attempted.

² Macdonell (1986:30) gives examples from Althusser (1970) of how compulsive education is divisive while claiming to be egalitarian, in that all do not receive the same education. “Children learn ‘know how’ under forms...so that for many there is ‘submission to the ruling ideology,’ linked to incomprehension, and for others there is mastery, an ‘ability to manipulate’ its devices.”

³ Poynton (1989) uses the term “plane” for her connotative semiotic categories of ideology, genre, register, and language.

⁴ This hearing took place on March 12, 1990, sponsored by New York City Commission on Human Rights and New York City Office of Labor Services (p.155-156,158).

⁵ See Fuchs Epstein (1988:101-110) for an overview of research and theories concerning occupational sex typing.

⁶ Modality is also a component in theories of politeness, and in analyzing indirection in speech acts. As Halliday (1985), Hodge & Kress (1988), Kress (1989) and my analysis indicate, modal force also indexes other social meanings.

⁷ With extensive data showing the reoccurrences of this pattern, Goodwin (1990) is in a position to generalize. In contrast, I focus on the central dialogical acts as they relate to other dialogues and the situational meanings. Gender-related patterns, therefore, are more difficult to discern with fewer exemplary dialogues, but I can suggest the generalizable patterns.

⁸ Although Labov (1972) was elaborated into a comprehensive but preliminary discourse rule model based on the data of therapeutic discourse (Labov & Fanshel 1977), I will not attempt to present the modal. Their focus on the underlying meanings of specific speech acts, however, is important. I agree with Taylor & Cameron’s (1987) critique of the rules and units approach — that it does not account for all social meanings and discourse features, such as register, genre and ideology, and the significance of transformation, modality and lexicogrammatical structure.

⁹ I am analyzing “you know” as a mental process clause functioning to call attention to the importance of the preceding clauses in Bess’ defense of herself. Schiffrin’s (1987)

discussion is applicable to my analysis of this cognitive process. Schifffrin analyzes *y'know* as a discourse marker designating transitions in information state relevant to participation frameworks. It refers to the cognitive state in which one has information in terms of what speaker and hearer share or do not share in particular and in the area of general knowledge.. It also is a call to hearer for attention. The clausal marker may also function "to open an interactional negotiation over the informational status of a generalization (is it really shared knowledge?), or...to enlist hearer agreement when such agreement is not forthcoming" (pp.294-295). Schifffrin presents pertinent examples of various functions of *y'know* in collected data. In her analysis, discourse markers function to integrate knowledge, meaning, saying and doing and are needed for discourse coherence. Her model of discourse structures takes account of the simultaneous multi-functionality of discourse as pragmatic, cognitive, interactive and ideational. The semiotic models utilizing Halliday's functional grammar (1985) also account for simultaneous functions and meanings in discourse, but as noted, go further in identifying sociocultural ideologies and social meanings conveyed through such instruments as modality, transformations, dialogical relations, register, and genre.

¹⁰ See Halliday (1985:101-157), Chapter 5, Clause as representation, for detailed exposition of processes and clausal constituents.

¹¹ Since this conversation takes place at about 10:30 on the first day of Bess' training, "...the end of the day" would probably mean that particular day. It is not likely that Kirk is referring to the end of the previous day. However, I have discussed the function of ambiguity when Kirk responds to Bess' question about Warren. It may be that in this instance the "aggressiveness" of his message requires the mask of ambiguity.

¹² See Halliday (1985), Hodge (1989), Lakeoff & Johnson (1980), Martin (1989), and Tannen (1989) for further discussion of the significance of metaphor in discourse.

¹³ For example, nuclear devices are termed, "penetrators," are named "the Peacekeeper," and nuclear expansion is "the need to harden our missiles." The author suggests that "clean bombs" (and "surgically clean strikes") is the perfect metaphor for this technostrategic language.

¹⁴ Penelope (1990), in analyzing other kinds of metaphors which relate to communication (i.e., "her feelings didn't come through to me clearly") discusses the most frequently used metaphor about communication, LANGUAGE IS A WOMAN. She argues that the container metaphor described in Lakoff & Johnson (1980) is male-centered in that women are containers/receptacles. "LANGUAGE IS A TOOL is the next most frequently used analogy for talking about language..." (p.39).

¹⁵ Even Mickey and Larry, who are supporting Bess, utilize the term “girl” (TOD 2:21,39). Lakoff (1975) discusses the meaning of “girl” as a substitute for “woman”, pointing out that “boy” is not equally distributed. The meanings include a stress on youth which “removes the sexual connotations lurking in woman,” but implies “a person “who is both too immature and too far from real life to be entrusted with responsibilities and with decisions of any serious nature” (pp.25-26).

¹⁶ The term “attitudinal epithet” is from Halliday’s (1985) functional analysis of nominal groups.

¹⁷ One meaning of “sweet” from the actual words of a policewoman reporting about the aftermath of a sexually-molested young girl’s rescue bears notice, “I thought she was sweet, but she was tough.” Here the contrastive “tough” brings meanings of fragility and docility to “sweet”(NYC TV program Top Cops, channel 9, 3 pm, January 12, 1995).

¹⁸ The two texts and their analysis are in Chapter 2, pp.16–32.

¹⁹ In another example, Martin (1989:18) shows how reasoning is often not stated explicitly as in “Life is too precious to be lost in this tragic way.” It becomes explicit when the clause is rewritten as “Life is very precious; so it should not be lost in this tragic way.” The researcher employs the social semiotic theory of transformations to reveal how ideology is conveyed and how certain meanings are foregrounded and others suppressed. He utilizes lexicogrammatical systems developed by Halliday (1985), such as the conjunction and verb systems, in analyzing the social messages of structures, in examining characteristics of genre, and in disclosing hidden ideology. Such an approach grounds interpretation in clausal structure.

²⁰ Based on a conversation with Dr. Sachs.

Chapter 6

COMPARING THE TRAINING TALK: VARIATIONS IN REGISTER STYLE

6.1 SYNOPSIS

The dialogical social processes of legitimatization, exemplification, justification, verification, classification, sex-typing, disclosing, and warning took place, for the most part, in dialogues apart from actual engagement in training. They were about Bess, about her training, and the situational factors that concerned gender differences. The only texts discussed so far that involved actual on-the-job training were Dave's exemplification of assigning Bess the heavy task of lifting bins off the elevator by herself. Dave and Bess also participated in opposing dialogic classifications of the tasks as hard or easy. (TOD 16-21). But Bess was also being trained to do lighter physical tasks, and ones that required cognitive skills such as mathematics, using a computer for item location, filling out forms, and weighing parts on ratio and electronic scales. In this chapter, I analyze training talk of the five pairs (dyads) see Appendix E, Figure 2.2, or other place). Two tasks that they all performed were chosen — filling out forms and weighing parts on a scale. I have also brought into the discussion a sampling of other training talk between Dave and Bess which, I argue, shows the use of features that differ from the common training register.

I first discuss the shift in the pedagogy of stockroom training, followed by how trainees are oriented to heavy tasks. Then I characterize the training talk as a register with features common to all the pairs. I compare the same-gender and cross-gender texts for features of power and solidarity, kinds of knowledge/information conveyed, and utilization of other registers. My analysis highlights the metalinguistic phenomenon of using a highly

visible register, in this case the training register, to mask other social meanings (a hidden agenda), both on a conscious and unconscious level. These meanings represent power and control in contrast to solidarity and are also viewed as discriminatory practices.

Using the clause as the basic unit of analysis in each text, I identify the structural and continuative theme, which, together with the topical theme, constitutes the thematic message, the transitivity process (material, mental, relational, behavioral and verbal), the mood and modality, and cohesive patterns (see Training Talk Tables, Appendix C). This portion of the analysis is largely based on Halliday's (1985) systemic-functional lexicogrammar, Halliday & Hasan's (1976) theory of cohesion, and Hodge & Kress' (1988) and Thibault's (1991) instruments of social semiotic analysis. I look at the relationship between clauses to determine differences that relate to gender. Along with Bakhtin's theory of dialogism, I investigate relations of transformation, agreement, contestation, and question and answer.

I utilize Halliday & Hasan's (1989) conceptual framework linking the situation with the lexicogrammar to describe the training register as features common to all five training pairs. In recognizing differences that are gender related, as well as training related, I finally articulate the social meanings and practices that these differences encode.

6.2 A SHIFT IN TRAINING PEDAGOGY

As comparison of the training texts will make evident, there is a shift in training pedagogy (Scribner & Sachs 1989) that took place after Mickey, who trained the first two males, left the stockroom, and Bert instituted his views. Mickey gave his trainees general knowledge about the broader factory and stockroom operations, hypothetical examples and detailed explanations and descriptions of job tasks. Bert believed in curtailing such informa-

tion because it was confusing for trainees. It was enough to just feel the parts in their hands, he told researcher Sachs. Taped dialogue also captures Bert's opposition to the way Mickey was training (see 6.2.1). Mickey was an experienced worker, having been at the factory about five years. The two other trainers had only been working there one and two months. Also, except for Mickey's trainees, the other three were immediately inducted into the work process. Mickey started the trainees out by showing them the layout of the stockroom; he also assigned his trainees to pulling work orders, consisting of lighter physical tasks, rather than receiving parts in. He explained to the researchers that this was the way he was trained. Mac and Dave's trainees were started on receiving tasks, which included going to the machine shop. However, the task of pulling backorders (common to both receiving and pulling) and the work of pulling was included early in training. This change from starting trainees on receiving rather than pulling was part of the justification process in starting Bess on the heavy workloads. It also accounts for differences in the trainers' register.¹ Bert is aware of receiving being hard on the trainer. He comments to Pat about Mac while training Reggie, "I have the poor guy on M5's all the while trying to break in new help."

6.2.1 TWO TRAINING VIEWS IN DIALOGUE: MICKEY, BERT/CHUCK

The following dialogue occurs on the first morning when Mickey is training Joe to count parts on the electronic scale. Bert approaches as Mickey is counting out 64 parts.

Text 6.1

- a) Bert: Mickey.
- b) Mickey: 8- yeah.
- c) Bert: Can I just ask you a question real quick?
- d) Mickey: 12=
- e) Bert: =I- I don't wanna ()
- f) Mickey: 16- hold on Bert one second.
- g) Bert: Yeah.
- h) Mickey: 20 25-
- i) Bert: My question is to you //()
- j) Mickey: //28 30-
- k) Bert: What's the history eh program?
- l) Mickey: Hold on hold on.

Bert strongly marks his speech act as a question, at the same time pointing out its importance (c,i). But Bert is negatively evaluating the way Mickey is training in the expression “the history program” (k), thereby transforming the question into a challenge. Characterizing Mickey’s training in that way, conveys a multiplicity of meanings (common in literary analysis) — the extensive and intensive factual knowledge of the classroom, the connotation of a course rather than an individual lesson, a subject that directs attention to the past rather than the present. These meanings take into account what is known about Bert’s differing views on training. Mickey does not respond to Bert’s question, instead he continues the training and Bert withdraws.

That same morning, approximately a half-hour later, leadman Chuck initiates talk with Mickey. Mickey is explaining to John the numbering system involved in plating operations on the parts.

Text 6.2

- a) Chuck: Will you ask him if you’re going too fast and if he understands what you’re saying
- b) Mickey: Yeah okay I will.
- c) Chuck: Because sometimes you know we know it right off but
- um- d) Mickey: Right.
- e) Chuck: a new person-
- f) Mickey: Okay.
- g) Chuck: You know.
- h) Mickey: [to John] Anyth– if there’s anything you don’t understand I’ll go over it again with you and like if you’re not too sure ask me again okay. [continues with the training]

Chuck too is negatively evaluating Mickey’s way of training (a), at the same time pointing out to Joe a possible problem area and its solution in what he considers too much and too advanced training verbiage. Bert and Chuck present modalities of politeness or reasons for their intervention.

6.2.2 BESS' STARTING WORKLOAD WAS HEAVY

Like trainees Reggie and Tony, Bess was started on heavy tasks. Reggie and Tony went up to the machine shop, loaded bins filled with parts onto a cart, and brought them back to the stockroom. However, Bess with Dave was first given the task of opening twenty cartons in the receiving area, pouring the contents into bins, loading these on a wheelcart and then pushing it up to the machine shop. This required two separate trips. From there, Dave and she took cartloads of other bins back to the stockroom.

6.2.3 TRAINERS' ORIENTATIONS TO HEAVY PHYSICAL WORK

Early in the training, male trainers oriented the male trainees not to strain themselves, or to get help if something was too heavy. Mickey talked to Joe who was short and slight of build about the question of heavy lifting, stressing that if something was too heavy, he should ask one of the guys to lift it. "They try to make it so that one person can lift it up himself. Sometimes...depending on the person, he really is not that strong or big, so he can't lift up the bin by himself, which there's nothing wrong with... If you need any help, any of the guys'll be willing to help you out." Mickey also tells Ed, "You shouldn't strain or kill yourself." He explains that some guys will lift something too heavy and get back problems, and says "If you think a bin is too heavy, ask for a hand." Mac, who trained Reggie and Tony, tells Reggie right away, "Don't kill yourself....You never have to go stock up by yourself. There's always somebody with somebody." On the first morning, Mac training Tony to use the ratio scale shows him an easier way to pour parts into the scale cup, saying "No reason to break your back." In the male dyads, the action is often characterized by lifting heavy loads together, or the trainee receives help from another factory personnel. The two trainers at the start of training also choose to do more of the physical work.

Bess did not receive any such orientation from Dave in three days of training segments. On the fourth day, Dave orients her to ask for help if something is too heavy. On that first morning, Dave's strategy is to divide up the work so that Bess either can load heavy bins onto the elevator by herself, or take them off by herself. He tells her, "I would say the easy part would be taking them off" (see Section 4.2.2.1). In contrast, when Reggie is being trained by Mac, Chuck agrees that the pulls should be easy ones. Thus, Bess' training as compared to the males is characterized by her being deliberately assigned big work orders and lifting heavy loads by herself with no early orientation given to solicit help. In addition, she was not shown how to use certain tools and equipment for these tasks (see section 6.8).

6.3 A THEORETICAL MODEL FOR REGISTER

Halliday & Hasan (1989) present a model that shows the relationship between situational and linguistic categories. The *context of situation* has a *field* of discourse which refers to what the participants are engaged in; a *tenor* of discourse which refers to the status and social roles of participants along with their speech roles; and a *mode* of discourse which refers to (1) what the participants expect the language to do for them in that situation, (2) the channel of communication (e.g., face-to-face, telephone, writing), and (3) the rhetorical mode — what is being achieved by the text in terms of such categories as persuasion and exposition (this also involves the category of genre).¹

The context of situation is connected to the functional components of the semantic system: (a) ideational, subdivided into logical and experiential; (b) interpersonal; and (c) textual. Halliday and Hasan posit a correlation between the categories of situation and those of the semantic system. Basically, the field is reflected in the experiential meanings of the text, the tenor in the interpersonal meanings, and the mode in the textual meanings. To dem-

onstrate the situational discourse concepts, a radio excerpt with comments from Halliday & Hasan (1989) are reproduced in Appendix D.

In describing some of the situational and semantic correlations in a dialogue between a two-year old boy and his father, while the child is playing at home with trains, Halliday & Hasan (1989) identify the field of discourse as involving the manipulation and evaluation of objects. These have to do with processes of existence, possession, movement, and location. The tenor of discourse shows that the child is determining the course of action expressed through the choice of mood, intention, demands and questions. The child is also sharing his experience with the parent by verbalizing it and then checking to see if there is agreement or contradiction. The mode of discourse is task-oriented language, alternating between 'monologues' and 'dialogue' expressed by the exophoric use of pronouns like "it" and "that," and the use of ellipsis in the two person exchange.

Register, therefore, is a configuration of meanings typically associated with a particular situational configuration of field, tenor and mode. It includes the expressions, lexicogrammatical and phonological features that typically accompany or realize these meanings. "Sometimes we find that a particular register also has indexical features, indices in the form of particular words, particular grammatical signals, or even sometimes phonological signals that have the function of indicating to the participants that this is the register in question." For example, 'Once upon a time' serves as a signal that a traditional tale will follow (p.39). What is important about register is that participants make inferences from the dialogue to the situation, and from the situation to the dialogue. For instance, if one hears just these audio-taped words 'For next class, we'll discuss Ventola's article on the structure of casual conversation in English', the inferred situation would be an instructor focusing stu-

dents on an assignment in a college classroom in linguistics. Knowing the situation, we can also infer or predict a great deal about the kind of language that is employed.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, Halliday & Hasan also discuss degrees of constraint in registers. For example, the language of air traffic control requires a fixed set of meanings, it is therefore a closed register. On the other hand, open-ended registers (or sets of registers) are those of the classroom, where differences in the register of elementary and high school often account for the difficulty students have in making the transition. The most open kind of registers are those of everyday spontaneous conversation, where participants use strategies to persuade, criticize, entertain, support, and so forth. The authors state that "there is no situation in which the meanings are not to a certain extent prescribed for us" (p.40).

6.4 CHARACTERIZING THE TRAINING TALK AS REGISTER

The on-the-job training register being examined can be considered an intermediate open institutional register, more open than weather reports, but less than informal discussions among friends and colleagues (see chapter 1, note 4). It is an action-oriented register accompanying the carrying out of specific tasks. Cazden (1988:161) discusses the distinction between register and style pertaining to classroom discourse. The teacher-talk register is one "common to all teachers by virtue of their role, not stylistic differences in the enactment of that role from one situation or one teacher to another." Christie (1989), Mehan (1979), Cazden (1988), Martin (1989), and Lemke (1989), among others, have focused upon the pronounced asymmetry of classroom discourse: the power teachers have exercised by the use of questions and evaluations, and in controlling access to academic genres and registers.

The relationship of trainer to trainee is like that of teacher to student to the extent that it is the trainer who has the know-how (or some degree of it) and the trainee who needs

to learn. That relationship is manifested in the training talk in the monologue-like nature of the trainers' discourse. The language in which on-the-job training is carried out, however, differs in significant ways from classroom talk. For example, the prevalent classroom pattern of assessing students' knowledge through questions is basically non-existent in the male training pairs, but does emerge at times in the cross-gender training. As Hodge & Kress (1988) demonstrate, talk is characterized by indices of power and solidarity, and the training talk has its particular ways of displaying them. If reciprocity in verbal exchange is not how solidarity is conveyed, then what features are in operation? Are trainers different from classroom teachers in their display of power? As far as I know, the language of training in the workplace has never been described as a configuration of common features— that is, a register of talk..

I will also be investigating if and how the trainer incorporates other registers, such as a classroom register, into the training register. If so, what purpose or meanings does the register serve? The notion of intertextuality enables us to compare the training dyads as to commonalities, differences, and use of other registers (see Section 1.5).

6.4.1 A CONFIGURATION OF COMMON FEATURES IN THE TRAINING REGISTER

6.4.1.1 TEXTS AND TABLES

The first task examined is filling out a bin card and other paperwork (see Figure 6.1A, 6.1B); task 2 is weighing factory parts on a scale (see Figure 6.2). The training texts are presented in temporal order over a six month period; they take place on the first morning of training. Table 6.1 shows the labeling information. Training Text is indicated by TT. Each TT has an numerically identical table showing the textual and topical theme, the proc-

ess, and the mood and modality features of each clause. The tables are grouped together and follow the training texts. Thus, the table for TT 3.2 would be designated as TTT 3.2. The table shows certain features for each clause — the textual connector between clauses and the clause topic (the theme), the process type (see Section 5.5), and the mood and modality. These tables serve as an approach in describing the training register and displaying differences. The texts, each followed by a table are in Appendix C.

Table 6.1 TRAINING TEXT AND TABLE DESIGNATIONS

Dyad	Names	Task 1 – Paperwork (TT 1)	TTTable 1 (TTT 1)	Task 2 – Scale (TT 2)	TTTable 2 (TTT 2)
1	Mickey/Ed	TT 1.1-	TTTable 1.1	TT 1.2-	TTTable 1.1
2	Mickey/Joe	TT 2.1-	TTTable 2.1	TT 2.2-	TTTable 2.2
3	Mac/Reggie	TT 3.1-	TTTable 3.1	TT 3.2-	TTTable 3.2
4	Mac/Tony	TT 4.1-	TTTable 4.1	TT 4.2-	TTTable 4.2
5	Dave/Bess	TT 5.1-	TTTable 5.1	TT 5.2-	TTTable 5.2

The paradigm for training in these situational texts shows trainers carrying out material processes that have to do with stockroom operations involving electronic parts, such as walking to and from item locations, and locating, taking, putting, pulling, pouring the parts, as well as counting, doing math operations and recording this information. Trainers accompany the physical activity with language that depicts what they are doing. Material processes also include the effect of an activity, such as movement of the needle on a scale or the change of screens on a computer. The relationship of talk to action, therefore, is basically one of utterances taking place within the duration of a particular physical activity. It is rare for talk to reference the action after it is completed.

An analytic schema developed by Dore, Scribner & Schwartz (1989) focuses on the options a worker-trainer has for coordinating what he/she says and what he/she does singly or jointly with the learner: there may be talk about some aspect of the work before doing

it, talk while working, or talk after the work has been done² Talk that is not tied to ongoing action or state, such as routines or hypothetical examples, is captured in a fourth category of “general” time. The talk timed to action can refer to specific work tasks, other activities in the stockroom and broader factory production system, or non-production focused talk about conditions and relations of labor and social life. The results of coding a base period of time comprising segments different from the training texts I am analyzing show that the trainers predominantly talk during task performance, as illustrated in endnote 3..³ In contrast, the texts of Dave training Bess in Appendix C disclose a shift of this paradigm to a prevalence of before assertions. The talk-timed-to-action schema, however, does not account for the diverse meanings that before and during clauses convey, such as what clausal process is used, what is thematized, and so forth. Dave is issuing task imperatives for Bess to carry out in contrast to the language that trainers employed for training the men.

6.4.2 SITUATIONAL DESCRIPTION OF TRAINING TEXTS

Field:	Institutionalized procedures, that are not codified, for initiating novice workers into the work process; manipulation of objects; range of task-related operations.
Tenor:	Trainer is authority and assumes the role of “expert,” directing the work activity and the actions of trainee; trainer assumes position of employer in work directed talk and action, but also has choice of indices to establish solidarity and/or power; trainer assumes that trainee will learn how to do the work without specifically checking on his/her mastery.
Mode:	Face-to-face dialogues; mostly “monologue-like,” text and physical action are highly coordinated; varying degrees of descriptions, identifications, and attributions of work-related activity; sequential order of tasks determined by trainer; nature of talk and work derives from the factory production system.

6.4.3 THE RELATIONSHIP OF CONTEXT OF SITUATION AND TEXT

6.4.3.1 FIELD OF DISCOURSE AND IDEATIONAL METAFUNCTION

The features of context (see Section 6.4.2, 6.4.3) are realized in the lexicogram-matical features of the training texts. The manipulation of objects and institutional procedures of the field of discourse are most obviously reflected in the vocabulary. Words function as (1) names — e.g., machine shop, ratio scale, needle, scoop, bin, bin card, dispatch ticket, order number, work order; (2) terms for activities — e.g., staple, count, recount, subtract, write, initial, bring the card to zero, receives them in, pulled, pouring, level this off; (3) attributes — e.g., the same, different weights, heavier, in the middle, over; and (4) numbers (occur extensively).

When we look at the transitivity processes depicted in the training texts, we see the substantial use of Material process clauses — e.g., “when they plate them, they lose a couple” (TT2.2:74), “you can sit down”(TT2.1:20) “we have to make a recount”(TT2:1:12), “we have to write an M-5”(TT3.1:1), “you go to the location”(TT3.1:54), “we’re gonna count 209 pieces”(TT4.2:39), “put the date”(TT5.1:5), “come to the computer”(TT5.2:19–20), “we subtract it off the total”(TT4.1:3–4), ‘just throw ‘em in here (TT4.2:48)’; Relational process clauses are also utilized — i.e., “some of them are five pounds”TT3.2:10–11), “all these bins have different weights” (TT3.2:9-10), “your location is X-30” (TT5.1:12), “they’re pretty accurate” (TT2.2:56-57), “if it’s close” (TT2.2:24-25), “this is what’s known as filling back orders” (TT4.1:16-17). Much less common are mental process clauses —i.e., “if we know we have at least 150” TT1.1:3), “we need 150” (TT1.2:7), “understand me?” (TT5.2:3), “they look on here for a location” (TT3.1:51), “if you want to count hundreds” (TT3.2:26); and rarely occurring are Verbal process clauses - i.e., “Like I said” (TT2.2:56),

“it tells us how much balance on hand” (TT1.1:18), “the bin card is saying” (TT2.1:30); and Behavioral process clauses - i.e., “which you find here on the bin card” (TT3.1:29), “come over here” (TT5.1:25). As Halliday discusses, these process type categories are points on a continuum, so that many utterances embody more than one process. For example “they look on here for a location” represents both a mental process and a behavioral one.

The material process clauses depict a participant-actor(s) doing something, most often to or with some inanimate object. In relational clauses an object or person is given an attribute(s) or is identified in some way. Mental process clauses show a conscious being designated “senser,” a mental process verb of perception, affection or cognition, and usually a non-human phenomenon. Clausal processes are analyzed to see if the corresponding categories are explicit or implicit.

6.4.3.2 TENOR OF DISCOURSE AND INTERPERSONAL LANGUAGE METAFUNCTION

Trainers initiate themes and direct the course of activities. This is often expressed in personal pronoun selection. Trainers vary as to the frequency of the pronoun “we,” and alternate with “you” and “I.” “They” is used to distinguish other jobs in the stockroom and broader factory from the particular type of job the dyad is doing. Trainers also use mood in the form of declaratives and a varying number of imperatives to determine the course of action. They check to see if novice is following and understanding, often with ellipted or monosyllabic items such as “right?” “okay?” and “got it?” Novices respond with affirmations or questions, sometimes interjecting these without any linguistic signal from the trainer. Trainers usually answer wh- questions and intonational requests for confirmation with degrees of curtness and elaboration. There are few modal operators; trainers are conscious of

exercising and not exercising control over their charges' behavior. Modals show high affinity with trainee, but also express obligation.

6.4.3.3 MODE OF DISCOURSE AND TEXTUAL LANGUAGE METAFUNCTION

Talk is constrained and guided by the factory production process. Trainers stay with or go back to a "monologuing" mode. Since training is based on accomplishing actual work tasks, sequential conjunctions have higher frequency. At times, however, the sequences are not marked conjunctively. Trainers also use varying degrees of causal and hypothetical conjunctions to connect the text. There are differing frequencies and kinds of reasons and generalities. Modals of temporality are used to distinguish work activity that is usual or unusual, problematic, or infrequent. Trainers occasionally use lexical items and clauses to evaluate the hardness or easiness of work operations.

The topical thematic structure of clauses focuses attention on what the message is concerned with. The training register displays exophoric (pointing to the situation outside of the text) as well as endophoric reference to the text. This is expressed in thematic deictics such as "this," "that" e.g., this is what we call a bin card, this is new stock added, these are special parts, this goes down here, that's the order number). Trainers utilize degrees of explicitness to identify the references for deictic items, and if not clearly done, this may cause confusion for the trainee. There is a high occurrence of topical deictic pronouns, but relatively few nouns that focus attention on work items. Verbs which are topically thematized are commonly in the form of imperatives. There is also a high frequency of unmarked forms in declarative statements where the topical theme, the actor, and the grammatical subject are conflated. Unmarked thematic exophoric reference of deictics and personal pronouns have to do with the language oriented to doing work, while explicit identification of references

refer to the informational content of the training. The text-making features of the mode of discourse reflect this.

6.5 REGISTER FEATURES OF EACH TRAINING DYAD

If we look more closely at each trainer and trainee's language features, we are in a better position to distinguish what each participant is doing in common and in significant contrast.

6.5.1 MICKEY TRAINS ED AND JOE

Table 6.2 shows the features of Mickey's and trainees Ed and Joe's talk. Training Texts and Tables 1.1, 1.2, 2.1, and 2.2 in Appendix C are used to highlight certain features for the discussion:

Mickey's language expresses the importance of knowledge of the specific task and broader factory operations. He uses mental and relational process clauses to indicate this, especially the verb "know," and relational declaratives of names and attributes. By asserting what the guys doing receiving need to know and do, he establishes connections between the work he and the trainees are doing and other types of stockroom and factory work.

Mickey also provides reasons for procedures and operations often signaled by causal conjunctions, and uses hypothetical examples expressed clausally with "if."

Table 6.2 · FEATURES OF MICKEY AND TRAINEES' REGISTER

Language Metafunction	Trainer Mickey	Trainee(s) Ed/Joe
Ideational	Names/gives attributes of work items and information about workplace as he performs activities; presents hypothetical examples: "if," "when," gives reasons: "because," makes distinctions; says what he's going to do, then does it; high relational and mental	Ed expresses a material process
Interpersonal	Checks to see if trainee is following: "right?," "okay?," "you know what I'm saying?"; low command/obligatory; uses modals of obligation and imperatives with reasons; uses "we" as device to include trainee. Demonstrates tasks.	Affirms they are following/paying attention: "right" "yah" "um-hmm;" Ed repeats/restates Mickey's informational assertions at the same time checking to see if he is right.
Textual	Spontaneous talk determined by factory production process; face-to-face monologuing; high use of conjunctions: focus/sequential: "now" "okay" "and" "so," causal/ consequential: "because" "so that" "so;" repeats and elaborates information.	Being lectured to; monosyllabic rejoinders.

In addition to the existence of cognitive processes, Mickey also "humanizes" the work. He talks about workers needing and wanting items (TT 1.1:19; 2.1:7;16,21;), or not worrying if there are a few more parts than the number ordered (TT2.2:61-72). Inanimate items "talk": the bin card "tells us/is saying" (TT 1.1:18; 2.1:16-171, the scale needle goes "zzzzzzzz" (TT2.2:47). Cognitive processes are recast as communicative acts and speech: "if they want to know if a part was pulled...If they call from upstairs...'Was this part every pulled?'" (TT1.1:19-21.

Mickey's authority and status as "expert" is partly expressed in his non-reciprocal use of language, and the informational declarative present and future tenses. He often expresses what he's going to do in general terms and then breaks the task into specific acts and information. He basically does not question and evaluate the trainee to find out what he knows or is learning, except to say "right" to Ed's restatement of information. He occasionally evaluates the training/work connection, saying "this is a bad one to show you...but maybe it'll be okay." Implicit in his repetition of informational clauses and elaborations is their importance or connection to problem areas or procedures with alternate solutions. For example, he says to Joe that they're going to zero a bin out so that the weight of the bin won't affect the count. He then asserts, repeats and elaborates on the relationship of bins weighing about 5 pounds: to leave the scale setting at 5 instead of adjusting the scale for each bin (TT2.2:18-25).

6.5.2 MAC TRAINS REGGIE AND TONY

Training Texts and Training Text Tables 3.1, 3.2, 4.1, 4.2 are the basis for this discussion. Table 6.3 below presents identified register features. Mac uses a high frequency of material process clauses, a moderate number of relational clauses and almost no mental or verbal processes. Whereas Mickey foregrounds training knowledge in carrying out the work tasks, Mac is just as or more focused on doing the work, which substantial material process clauses express. When he is working with Tony at the electronic scale (TT 4.2), he offers no reason why hitting 16 on the ratio scale will give them a count of 180. Tony's repeating three times of their need for 18,000 pieces, would indicate a prompt for more informational talk (25-29). Mac doesn't respond to this but continues counting and then does paperwork in silence, as researcher Sachs reports. He explains to Dr. Sachs,

TABLE 6.3 FEATURES OF MAC AND TRAINEES' REGISTER

Language Metafunction	Trainer Mac	Trainee(s) Reggie/Tony
Ideational	Names/gives attributes of work items; emphasizes numbers and counting process; distinguishes pulling and receiving; high degree of material clauses, moderate relational, and low mental;	numbers; relational and material process clauses.
Interpersonal	Checks to see if trainee is following: "right?" "all right" "okay?" "Got it," low command/obligatory; at times switches between "you," "I" and "we" to talk about tasks; uses inclusive "we" and "we" as marker of group doing work. Demonstrates tasks.	Affirm they are following/paying attention: "right" "yeah" "um-hmm" "okay," repeat/ restate Mac's declaratives, at times requesting confirmation.
Textual	Spontaneous talk determined by factory production process; face-to-face monologuing; high use of conjunctions to focus/sequence: "now" "and" "and now" "so," very low causal/consequential conjunctions: "so."	Echo repetitions; markers of listener involvement and ratification of speaker; high synchronicity.

in Tony's presence, the work problem which took him away from training for quite a while, and then goes to talk to Bert about the work order. He finally resumes training. His preoccupation with the work problem would account for the lapse in training Tony at the scale. Analysis of the corpus of Dyad 4 training shows him to be otherwise consistent in describing what he considers important for the trainee. His training talk, however is much less elaborate than Mickey's.

Mac distinguishes between the stockroom tasks involving pulling and receiving, using a "we/they" distinction. By doing that, he shows something about the relationship between the receiving tasks that he and Reggie are engaged in and the pulling activities of others. This is presented as a hypothetical situation showing contrasts and identities of the

men in pulling doing the same backorder task (TT 3.1:42-71). He uses the inclusive “we” but alternates with a general “you” more frequently than Mickey. The meaning of “you” as general rather than the addressee “you” is based on the fact that Mac is carrying out the physical tasks as he talks. But as discussed in more detail below (Section 6.7), “you” also has the function of signaling the ultimate goal of training — for the trainee to independently carry out the work.

Mac’s stronger orientation to doing the work is also expressed through temporal conjunctions of sequence. “Now” is frequently employed as a way to focus attention on the immediate task at hand.. He uses relatively few causal connectors. With the presence of “because” amidst several discourse markers, the segment on doing pulling would be an explanation of why Mac and Reggie write on the dispatch card as those in pulling do (TT 3.1:42). Mac checks to see if the trainees are following him. Both Reggie and Tony demonstrate more interaction than Mickey’s trainees. They more frequently respond to Mac’s checks to see if they are following him, and also interject their own “right,” “okay” and “yeah” to show listener involvement. Reggie also echoes what Mac says. Tannen (1989) discusses the various functions of repetition, including that of ratifying the speaking partner. Except in not responding to Tony’s prompt for more information, Mac answers the trainees’ questions, sometimes elaborately.

6.5.3 DAVE TRAINS BESS

TABLE 6.4 FEATURES OF DAVE AND BESS' TRAINING REGISTER

Language Metafunction	Trainer Dave	Trainee Bess
Ideational	Emphasizes material processes, moderate behavioral processes, low relational, hardly any mental or verbal; Names/gives a few attributes of work items; uses numbers.	Numbers; relational and material process clauses.
Interpersonal	High command/obligatory; moderate control of trainees behavior: "come here" "put" "gotta wait" "take this"; verbs are thematized; high use of "I," moderate "you," low "we;" low check to see if trainee is following the talk. Confirms Bess' requests for confirmation with "yeah," negative evaluations. Doesn't demonstrate paperwork tasks. Controls trainee's movements	Marked dialogic intervention; Asks a lot of questions, some to clarify what to do and others for deictic meanings; no dialogic affirmations.
Textual	Spontaneous talk determined by factory production process; face-to-face; more dialogic due to trainee's questions, but returns to monologic; high sequential conjunctions: "and" "then;" low causal conjunctions: "so."	Repeats trainer's words.

Dave and Bess' exchanges show a distancing and lack of solidarity in contrast to the other dyads. Dave focuses mainly on the sequence of work activities as evidenced by prevalent material process clauses. Bess is more verbally interactive than the male trainees. Checking to see if she is doing the work that Dave directs her to do may indicate uncertainty on her part, attempts to establish interpersonal communication, or lack of clarity in Dave's instructions. What we notice is a shift in the way Bess is being trained when compared to the males. Unlike the other dyads, where the trainer talks and also carries out the specific task operations, Dave has Bess do the paperwork and a significant number of physical tasks at or near the scale without demonstrating them first. He utilizes the imperative and model of ob-

ligation for this. I interpret this as part of the configuration of power which he exercises. There is also no connection to or mention of others in the workplace, no hypothetical examples, and few reasons and explanations. Dave makes few distinctions, neither does he establish the solidarity of “we” bonding. He often distinguishes himself through “I” and sometimes uses “you.” Dave uses job terminology but often doesn’t provide enough explanation as to their meaning. This may partially account for the high frequency of questions by Bess, for example, when showing Bess how to weigh parts on the scale (see Text Excerpt 6.1 and TT 5.2:1–12).

Text Excerpt 6.1

Dave: Now we have to level this off.
 Bess: Level it off?
 Dave: Understand me?
 Bess: To get this in the center? [refers to needle]
 Dave: Yeah see most likely this will be down here ().
 Bess: It’s too much?
 Dave: No see it’ll usually be on zero right so I do it like this.
 [Dave is moving the weight in front of the scale, tightening it up.
 The indicator now reads zero]
 Dave: See, that’s the bottom level. So now—

Dave also does not explain what “RR” means after he tells her to write it on the form and Bess is puzzled “RR?”(TT 5.1:16,17). However, he usually responds to her requests for confirmation with “yeah” or “no.” Another significant difference is in the control of behavior. The other trainers do not encode any explicit control. Dave has taken over control of Bess. Because he is using the training register with its commonality of processes, conjunctions, and vocabulary in the work environment, the features of power are not visible, and neither are the features of solidarity in the other training texts.

Many of Bess’ questions do not take the canonical interrogative form, instead they are declaratives with questioning intonation. It is difficult to determine the reasons and

functions for this, although several can be presented: less frequent checks to see if Bess is following, negative evaluations of her performance, unclear terminology and instructions, the perception by Bess of the monologue-like nature of the talk, and more pressure on her or inclination to perform correctly. Questions are also scanned by talkers for evaluations. Dave may view Bess's frequent questions as an implicit negative evaluation of his training. Dave's explicit imperatives for Bess to see and understand what he is saying suggests areas of contention. The declarative form of questioning would stand in contrast to questions occurring in the classroom, which predictably, would carry the full *wh-* and *yes/no* syntax both by teachers and students. This is an example of register distinction between classroom teaching and learning and on-the-job-training.

6.6 COMPARING THE TRAINING TEXTS OF THE FIVE DYADS

Table 6.5 visually gathers together the features of each training dyad's register for comparison purposes. A lexicogrammatical form does not in itself express the semiotic meanings; instead it is the configuration and relationship of the features that do. Table 6.5 depicts the total number of clauses of each trainer, combining the two tasks. It displays clausal process types (see Section 5.5). The training register consists of material processes expressing physical-type action and effects of such action; relational expressing identity, possession, and attribution; mental expressing cognitive, sensing, and affective states; verbal presenting processes of saying, reporting, and naming; and behavioral expressing physiological and psychological states and the control of behavior. Textual links are explicit conjunctions — causal (*so, because*), hypothetical (*if....then*), and sequential (*now, then, and*). It presents the thematic topic of personal pronoun. Modality in the table focuses on impera-

tive/obligatory . Since there are little or no interrogatives in these training texts, the declarative mood is calculated by means of the imperative. The table also presents the percentage of deictic items such as “here,” “there,” and “this.” Self-expanded clauses are elaborative, qualifying, general/particular, and additive information based on Halliday (1985:202–227).

As Table 6.5 demonstrates, we see a cline: Mickey’s talk represents features that acclimate the trainees to the work in a knowledgeable and solidarity-like manner; Mac does this to a lesser degree, and Dave even more so. Mickey talks the most to both trainees about tasks. Mac talks the least, but he also was called away on a problem that involved work he had previously done. Dave utilizes the most material process clauses, the most behavioral, and the least relational ones. Mickey uses 35% more and Mac 50% more relational clauses than Dave. Dave incorporates the most behavioral talk, offers a minimal amount of reasons, explanations and hypothetical examples, and has approximately 50% to 60% more sequential connectors than Mac and Mickey. Looking at the pronominal as theme, Mickey uses “we” the most, occasionally using I” and “you.” The high frequency of “we” is a feature that is strongly predicted for any training that Mickey does, along with a high modal affinity with the trainee, and other features discussed in section 6.5.1. Dave employs “we” 3% of the time. Many of his themes are imperative verbs; his “you” may be considered a modulated imperative which he topicalizes in 14% of his clauses. Dave uses a significantly higher number of locational deictic items than both trainers, about 32% more. But it is his use of the imperative and obligatory modality that is most pronounced — 53% of all his clauses, compared to 6% for Mickey and an average of 16% for Mac. When it comes to elaborating or extending information, Dave does this approximately one-half the amount of the other two trainers.

Table 6.5 COMPARING THE TRAINING TEXTS (both tasks)

[Percents are based on number of each functional item in relation to total number of clauses]

	<u>DYAD 1</u> <u>Mickey/Ed</u>	<u>DYAD 2</u> <u>Mickey/Joe</u>	<u>DYAD 3</u> <u>Mac/Reggie</u>	<u>DYAD 4</u> <u>Mac/Tony</u>	<u>DYAD 5</u> <u>Dave/Bess</u>
Total clauses	98	163	89	63	70
<u>Process</u>					
Material	(36) 38%	(68) 42%	(6) 52%	(35) 56%	(45) 65%
Relational	(50) 50%	(64) 39%	(33) 37%	(19) 30%	(12) 17%
Mental	(9) 9%	(23) 14%	(3) 4%	(4) 6%	(5) 7%
Verbal	(2) 2%	(8) 5%	(2) 2%	(2) 3%	(0) 0%
Behavioral	(1) 1%	(0) 0%	(5) 5%	(3) 5%	(8) 11%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%
<u>Textual Links</u>					
Causal / Hypothetical	(26) 27%	(29) 18%	(18) 20%	(12) 19%	(5) 7%
Sequential	(12) 12%	(15) 9%	(16) 18%	(11) 17%	(22) 31%
<u>Clause Theme</u>					
We	(35) 36%	(43) 26%	(13) 15%	(20) 32%	(2) 3%
You	(3) 3%	(9) 6%	(10) 11%	(1) 2%	(10) 14%
They	(5) 5%	(16) 10%	(17) 19%	(1) 2%	(0) 0%
I	(4) 4%	(12) 7%	(1) 1%	(6) 10%	(8) 11%
<u>Modality</u>					
Imperative/ Obligatory	(5) 5%	(9) 6%	(11) 12%	(13) 21%	(37) 53%
<u>Deictic Items</u>	(15) 15%	(24) 15%	(11) 12%	(12) 19%	(33) 47%
<u>Self-Expanded</u>					
<u>Clauses*</u>	(55) 56%	(115) 71%	(46) 52%	(29) 46%	(18) 26%

[* Elaborates or extends information intra- or inter- clausally — i.e., “This is basically the same as that scale, except instead of having a tin, we’re going to put our own tin on” (TT2.2:2–3)]

6.7 POWER AND SOLIDARITY RELATIONS IN THE TRAINING DYADS

How are power and solidarity relations manifested in the trainer/trainee talk? All trainers assert their power through monologuing and control of the theme. The purpose of

the talk-in-action, above all, is to construct a productive worker. In that sense, trainers take on the voice and position of owners and managers. But Mickey also intervenes in the construction by first showing the trainees the layout of the stockroom, and by presenting hypothetical and additional information about the work and the factory. Such an induction into the work process leaves open the way the trainer indicates whether he is displaying power, exercising control, and establishing distance, or essentially fostering solidarity with the trainee. To cite examples, a strong power semantic might be used in situations where gender and race have significant consequences, or with an employer training an employee. Messages expressing solidarity and/or power are conveyed through many features of the register, in particular, indices of mood, modality, and pronominalization.

6.7.1 RESEARCH STUDIES OF POWER AND SOLIDARITY

These register features carry a great deal of ideological weight, which discourse researchers and theorists have focused attention upon. Brown & Gilman (1972) looked at the connection between social structure, group ideology, and the power/solidarity semantics of the pronoun, both cross-culturally and historically. Speeches in the political arena have been analyzed in terms of the distribution and choice of pronominal forms (Lakoff 1990, Maitland & Wilson 1987). Lakoff draws attention to the creation of we/they dichotomies that justify discriminatory and inhumane practices. She also shows how the subtle weaving together of several meanings and connotations of “we,” in a 1984 campaign speech by Ronald Reagan, “both cements the President’s hold on his constituency and kindles their patriotic fervor and national pride....” She states that these effects are largely subliminal (pp.188–194). The various meanings of “we,” inclusive, exclusive, “royal” and “editorial,” as well as instances of ambiguity, help to construct and establish interpersonal relationships with the president. Func-

tions of “I” and “you” are also identified. Lakoff analyzes the intertextual weaving of a technical and a colloquial style, and the use of deictics, as examples of the way Reagan’s authority and role is displayed while at the same time making the hearer into a buddy and confidant. Her analysis is basically a social semiotic one. Maitland and Wilson demonstrate how members of the Conservative and Labour parties in 1984 Britain make use of the pronoun system in prescribed speeches to project their own political beliefs. For example, Conservative Prime Minister Thatcher “has employed the distribution of pronominal forms to separate her own deep personal feelings from her public action. By making use of a distancing switch from “I” to “we,” Mrs. Thatcher manages to simultaneously present the image of a peace loving woman, but yet one who is resolute in her attitude to the possibility of war (by the government/Britain) at anytime.” The authors utilize a scale of pronoun devices that speakers use to distance themselves from whatever and whoever they are talking about, and show how the scale of each of three politicians coincide and differ (p.499–500).

6.7.2 POWER AND SOLIDARITY IN THE TRAINER’S TALK

Although it is Mickey who is carrying out the work activities as he talks, he utilizes a high volume of “we.” Mac also does the work and uses “we”; but Dave has Bess carry out a majority of the tasks, and utilizes “we” infrequently. Without additional marking, thematic “we” is ambiguous as to its inclusion or exclusion of trainee. “We” can refer to stockroom personnel, those that do the pulling as distinct from those who do the receiving, to both trainer and trainee, or to all three. Because the trainer is performing specific activities for the purpose of training, the “we” involved in those processes shows a strong inclination towards inclusiveness.⁴ When Mac uses “we” with the past tense to review what he had done, there is no doubt as to the inclusion of trainees. “We” functions to establish a closer connection be-

tween the training pair. It also raises the notion of a collective entity involved in the work process — workers, even managers, all who do this task or know how to do it. Furthermore, it conveys to the trainee that he/she is not alone and not the one responsible in the situation. Without dialogical opposition, “we” functions as a solidarity feature. It has the function of inviting the trainee to be included. Were the trainer to predominantly substitute the general or direct address “you” or the pronominal “I” in place of “we,” the interpersonal meanings would be quite different over the span of text.

Mickey and Mac contrast *we/they* to distinguish different types of workers, such as those doing pulling and receiving, and those who work upstairs in contrast to those in the stockroom. Examples of this contrast are: (1) “So we write RR so that they can write their information in like this...” (TT 2.1:70-71), where “we” refers to those pulling and recounting the stock (which can be inclusive of trainee) and “they” to those who receive in new stock and also pull parts that were previously short; (2) “If they call from upstairs...we can go back an’ look (at the bin card)...” (TT 1.1:27-30), where “they” refers to people in another department, possibly Dispatch, and “we” is broad but limited to those in the stockroom; and (3) “anything we receive in we write an M-5 for. These are special parts they send these down to us” (TT 3.1:3-5), where “we” refers to collective stockroom receivers, and “they” is dispatch personnel and/or workers in the machine shop. The “we/they” distinction widens the trainee’s perspective of other work situations in the stockroom and broader factory system.

Trainers alternate the collective “we” with “I” and “you.” Pronominal variation could function as a stylistic diversity to escape repetition and monotony. But that function alone would miss other work related functions. There is indication that “we” is used with routine work procedures and “I” may signal a departure or problem area. For example,

Mickey in training Joe to do paperwork, has an order to pull a number of parts larger than the amount in stock - "What I usually do is- I need 1843" (TT 2.1: 2,3). The "I" may signal a work situation that is more complicated than Mickey would choose for training purposes. In fact he says "This is a bad one to show you off the go, but maybe it'll be okay (14-15). He immediately switches to the inclusive "we," since the two are the only ones doing these particular tasks. Not having enough parts occurs on a regular basis and would be considered part of the work routine. Mickey also uses the conventional "I" in verbal process clauses such as "I mean," "I said," "you know what I'm saying?"

Mickey's use of "I" may also have interactional force. That is, speakers are sensitive to pronominal choice and orient to it. For example, in training Ed to use the ratio scale, Mickey is using the inclusive "we," switches over to "I" after Ed reformulates a point of information, and returns to "we."

TT Excerpt 6.2 (TT 1.2:17-21)

Ed: So you put five there and one there.
 Mickey: Right. Okay so now what I'm going to do is start dumping them. Okay now I'm over. So now what I got to do is take some back (0.6).
 So now I'm under, 1, give them an extra one, because we're nice. Okay, now we got 150.

Mac may be orienting to Tony's use of "you" (TT 4.2:39-46).

Text Excerpt 6.3

Mac: we're gonna count two hundred an' nine pieces two hundred an' nine two hundred-
 Tony: You gotta throw nine in that one two in that one?
 Mac: Yep.
 Tony: Two hundred and nine ()
 Mac: That's two hundred an' nine pieces okay? Okay now just count what's reft- what's left. And now the easiest way to do it is take your bin, put it up here-

“You” has important functions in realizing the goals of training which is to enable the trainee to do the work tasks by herself or himself. It indicates a generalized “you,” and carries connotations of responsibility. Another important function is to imbue work objects and procedures with qualities of possession. Examples of the different functions are: “You go to the location right? and they’ll find this bin card with the parts” (TT 3.1: 55-56), “if you were five hundred over...” (TT 2.2:68,69), “Then you get one of these” (TT 5.1:1), “This is part of your count, so you gotta take these out” (TT 1.2:23,24), and the example above “the easiest way to do it is take your bin” (TT 4.2:45)

6.7.3 SOLIDARITY IN THE MALE DYADS — POWER IN THE CROSS-GENDER DYAD

Table 6.6 presents the features of power/solidarity identified in the male training pairs and the cross-gender duo that are the basis for discussion below.

Table 6.6 COMPARING SOLIDARITY/POWER INDICES IN MALE PAIR AND MALE/FEMALE PAIR TRAINING TEXTS		
FREQUENCY	MALE PAIRS	MALE/FEMALE PAIR
/ / High \ \	topical theme "we"	topical theme "you"
	declarative mood	imperative mood
	monologue	dialogue
	dialogic agreement	dialogic contestation behavioral control interrogatives by trainee
	identification and attribution of deictics causal textual cohesion lexical repetition of information	sequential textual cohesion repetition of imperatives evaluations by trainer
	synchronicity	interruptions
/ / Low \ \	imperative mood interrogative mood	declarative mood identification and attribution of deictics
	+ solidarity	- solidarity

Trainers of the males basically do not command or control trainees behavior. They perform the tasks and talk about what they are doing. Prevalent or balanced use is made of the inclusive/collective "we," along with repeated dialogic affirmations of "right" and "okay." Trainees acknowledge that they are following, sometimes echoing what the trainer says. There are no negative evaluations of trainees knowledge or performance. The trainers' role as expert and monologuer is basically not challenged by trainees, nor are there many

questions or any instances of polarity. The pair are working in agreement and accord. These features are indicators of an orientation of solidarity between trainer and trainees.

In contrast, the cross-gender talk is constituted by dialogic interaction — interruption at times, negative and positive evaluations both explicit and implicit, and contentions. There is a high degree of control over the trainee's behavior, so that power and social distance take precedence over indices of solidarity and communicating knowledge about the job.

Examination of the training tests and corresponding tables shows a high frequency in the imperative mood. In the paperwork task, Dave has Bess do the writing. He then issues imperatives such as “put your date here,” “don't look at that yet,” “come here,” “put RR.”. The force of the imperative is also moderated with “you” as in “you put your location,” “you add it on to that,” and so forth. Unlike same-gender trainers, Dave frequently uses the imperative elsewhere in the course of training; for example, after Bess weighs parts for another receiving task, Dave directs her to write on the receiving card.

Text 6.5 (Additional Training Text)

Dave: No, just put 4,540, here, 4,540. Just forget lines. Just forget them.
 Bess: Wait. Wait. I'll tell you what I'm going to do. they didn't write it in here (and) this thing?
 Dave: Because they—all you got to do is write that out (). Put 5,750 there ().

In this instance, Dave has extended the command form over more of Bess' mental processes. He orders her to forget something she sees.⁵ Bess' response shows her resistance to Dave's command, and her determination to understand the meanings of the card and task activities. Her rejoinder also implies that she wants more say in the training. This exchange and others suggests that Dave is hustling Bess through the training, and that she needs more

time. She is asserting herself in a manner that the male trainees have no reason to. What is particularly salient is Dave's responses to Bess' full-fledged wh-question, "Because they—all you got to do is white that out. Put 5,750 there." He interrupts an explanatory answer (Because they—) to present an obligatory modal and command. This represents linguistic expression of the semiotic meaning glossed above — exerting power takes precedence over communicating knowledge.

6.7.4 DAVE IS TRAINING BESS DIFFERENTLY FROM THE WAY HE WAS TRAINED

In arguing that the training register in Dave and Bess' texts compared with the same-gender texts differs in the tenor of power instead of solidarity, it is significant that Dave actually says to Bess that he is changing the way he was trained.

Text 6.6 (Additional Training Text)

See when they taught me they just taught me how to weigh at first and take the long slow way so I'm going to teach you all of it at one time and then teach you like that it will just be better than just teaching you piece piece piece like that.

Dave discloses that he has transformed his own training, offering as a justification "that it will just be better." Conventional implicature inclines us toward an interpretation that it is better for Bess, but the unstated benefactor leaves it open for Dave to be inserted there. Any changes to genre structure and register features affects the other meanings in a text (Halliday & Hasan 1989, Hodge & Kress 1988). And we have already seen that the institutional shift in training pedagogy after Mickey trained means more material actions and process clauses relative to clauses which imparted information (see 6.2). Dave in the above text also focuses attention on time. Bess will be given the short, fast way since he spent too much time on one task. Dave has made a case for compressing and speeding up her training.

There are other instances of Dave pulling Bess away from one task or operation to another, and of Bess wanting to spend more time on each operation. In TT 5.2 (15,20,24,39,41). Dave frequently tells Bess to “come here” after she asks a question or repeats something he said. Dave, of course, is also classifying his training as “teaching.” His assertion that he is changing the way he was trained introduces questions about other ways not mentioned explicitly in which the training is different. And his power semantic would appear to be another way he has transformed his training.

6.8 EMPLOYING ANOTHER REGISTER AND DISCOURSE: OTHER FEATURES OF THE CROSS-GENDER TRAINING:

The commonality of register features for the same-gender dyads were consistent over the course of training. There were occasional interjections of talk used to get to know more about the other’s personal experiences apart from work, such as talk about sports. Dave’s talk is characterized, however, by the utilization of what I will designate as other registers, for the purpose of expressing certain kinds of meanings. He employs features from a classroom teacher register, and those from a ‘sexist discourse’. This weaving of registers constitutes the phenomenon of intertextuality, which I am defining as the incorporation of identified intermediate language unities, (1) discourses or texts (patriotism, sexism, religion, scientific, etc.), (2) genres -literary, writing and speech (expository, buying/selling, narrative, greetings, etc.), and (3) registers (classroom, interview, sermon, etc.) into the situated discourse.

Lakoff’s (1990:191-192) identification of a colloquial/folksy and technico/administrative style in Regan’s speech (see 6.7) exemplifies the concept of intertextuality, although the author uses the descriptive terms “a change in style,” “a movement from

'government business' to 'everybody's business'," and "mixing the two." Goodwin (1990:123) notes the caricaturing of a teacher in girls' play-task talk accompanying the breaking of the glass rim of a bottle. This is largely displayed through singsong intonation and laughter. "Through this caricaturing of the talk of an instructor, Bea distances...herself from the teaching role she is currently enacting, thereby making herself a more equal partner in the play." Goodman presents data depicting ritual insult that shows that speakers are sensitive to the interjection of another register.⁶ In Text 6.8, a statement is viewed and possibly intended as that of a buying/selling register.

Text 6.7

Ruby:	One roach here and one roach here. THE ONE RIGHT HERE,
Malcolm:	Oh you trying' ta sell 'em for him.
Ruby:	THE ONE RIGHT HERE W-
Malcolm:	Oh you tryin' to sell 'em.
Ruby:	THE ONE RIGHT HERE WAS UP HERE SAYIN'-
Malcolm:	Somebody gonna buy your damn roach.

Ruby has said that Malcolm's house has two sets of roaches which her brother and her saw. We can imagine a sales pitcher or vendor raising his/her voice and pointing to a product or item. but Malcolm perceives it as or has transformed the statement into one belonging to a selling register. He uses the register meaning to issue his ritual insult. Ruby does not respond to being a seller of roaches, instead she issues a different insult (not included) through the mouths of the roaches (pp.186-187).

6.8.4.1 A CLASSROOM TEACHER REGISTER:QUESTIONS AND EVALUATIONS

Dave in contrast the males' trainers occasionally asks Bess questions like a teacher who questions not to get information but to test and evaluate the student. When Bess is at the computer, Dave asks her where the location for a part is written on the screen. She

does not see it and he points it out. He also asks questions based on information he had told her previously. Bess, in one instance, responds “I don’t remember.” Dave quickly asserts “You remember,” and she points out that he only showed her how to pull workorders for three minutes yesterday. This exemplifies Dave’s disregard for Bess’ experience, and in effect, an attempt to exert control over her mental processes as well as the physical.

6.8.4.2 EMPLOYING A DISCOURSE OF SEXISM

Dave treads the thin line between teasing and mocking in discourse that can be characterized as sexist in tone. Two instances of this in almost sequential succession bring out this patterned thread woven into the training. On the final day, Bess has to go to a shelf location for parts. Stan B., the stockroom manager, contributes to the exchange.

Text 6.8 (TOD 24)

1. Dave: Then what you do you go to our location (0.7) B1-E
2. UH HUH AAAHHH.
3. Bess: B1E right?
4. Dave: I’m not helping you.
5. Bess: Answer me.
6. Dave: B- ye- you see it right there on the card (0.3)
7. I know I tell you this now you way off now (0.4)
8. //[laughs].
9. Bess: //So why won’t you tell me what it is?
10. Dave: Oh it’s down here it’s down here okay?
11. Bess: B? Okay nice way of teaching.
12. Dave: [laughing] you never know it you know.
13. Stan B: That’s why we gotta teach sugar pie.

Text 6.8 is characterized as dialogic conflict between Dave and Bess. It is part of a pattern of differences as to interpersonal needs and views of training. After Bess succeeds in getting him to respond to her request for information, Dave makes the point that Bess has to depend on herself, not Dave for information that he decides she knows or should know — “you (‘ll) never know it (if I tell you)” (12). This raises the question of whether Dave’s mo-

dus operandi of issuing directives to do task operations with little or no explanations may foster dependency, and thereby show the contradictory nature of this statement. The statement also functions as a justification of his perceived breach in saying he's not helping her (4), which Bess' sarcastic rejoinder (11) and other challenges to Dave not helping her (5, 9) has prompted. It is not clear how Stan B. interprets the meaning of Bess' statement "...nice way of teaching" (11), alone or in conjunction with the preceding interchanges, but his message (13) is an affirmation of the norm of training, and at the same time an alliance with Dave (we teach). The patriarchal overtones are additionally conveyed by the genderized term of address "sugar pie," which carries its own implicit sarcasm in the context and co-text of conflict.

The parts are not in location B1-E, and this generates the following exchange.

Text 6.9 (TOD 25)

1. Dave: Somebody probably got it=
2. Bess: =It's not //there.
3. Dave: //So then you go down here aks people
4. do they have it if it's not there you know just
5. aks around like Domingo had it just now before--
6. Bess: What? This number ()
7. Dave: Aks- er yeah say [in falsetto voice] do anybody
8. have 1 dash 11 forty-five dash one?
9. Bess: [laughs] Okay.
10. Dave: You know you gotta aks in your sweetest voice
11. you know.
12. Bess: Domingo do you have this job 1 dash 11 forty-five dash one?
13. Dave: Okay go aks somebody else over here.
[sound of men talking in background]
14. Dave: [loud laugh]
15. Bess: Excuse me excuse me Sully=
16. Sully: =What?
17. Bess: do you have this stuff one dash 11 forty-five dash one?
18. Sully: What about it? No I don't have it (mamm?)
19. Bess: No he don't.
20. Dave: Come over here aks somebody aks Ted does he have it.
21. Bess: Ted do you have this job one dash 11 forty-five dash one?
22. Ted: You don't see it on here?

23. Dave: No no she just you know it's not there.
 24. Ted: Oh okay uhh.
 25. Dave: [referring to Ted] You know he's a nice man he want to
 26. help you so you know you take in all the help you you know.
 27. Bess: (0.3) Why you told me somebody must have got it?
 28. Dave: I said they might have it ya see you're not listening see.

On one hand in Training Text 6.9, Dave constructs dialogic interaction between Bess and other material handlers in the stockroom, and also points out to Bess an ally, Ted. But, the interaction is established through an explicit and implicit control of Bess' behavior and talk. This is expressed through direct and indirect imperatives "ask," and "you go down here," and the formulation of what Bess should say. Thus, Dave commands and Bess complies in what appears to be a recognizable and natural mode of interpersonal exchange in the training situation. Does gender effect the type of imperative? Would male trainers exercise control of male trainees' movements, tell them what to say and how to say it, and then repeat the directives? The dialogue has pointers to its underlying sexist nature — Dave's instructions to "ask in your sweetest voice" (10) and his falsetto imitation of a woman's higher pitch (7). Dave's intonation (26) in response to Ted's question displays a contrastive change in its implications of seriousness and forthrightness. If we were not knowledgeable as to the gender of the trainee, such features of the transcribed language would provide this identification.

Modality also plays a role in this exchange. Bess at first laughs at Dave imitating a woman's voice and is in agreement with his directive that she ask around (9). But her question "Why you told me somebody must have got it?" (31), in a tone hinting at anger, challenges Dave as to the modal degree of certainty he used that somebody has the part she is looking for (1). If we compare the modal operators expressed (1,31,32),

- (a) Dave: Somebody probably got it
- (b) Bess: somebody must have got it
- (c) Dave they might have it

Dave's "probably" functioned to set up an expectation in Bess of locating the part. This is expressed in her transformation to "must." Dave in turn downplayed and transformed his original modality to "might." I suggest that "probably" is stronger than "might" in its modal force and weaker than "must." Bess' perception of a high degree of certainty may also be supported by assumptions generated by other indices. Examples are: "so then you go down here" (3) a procedure for getting the parts), "if it's not there..." ((4) it has to be here), "just ask around" ((4-5) that's all to it), and "like Domingo had it just now before ((5) Domingo would know where it is). Perhaps it is also the projection of feminine politeness and sweetness Bess uses so that she expects results. Whatever the sway of language on the unconscious, Bess did not register Dave's initial modal of probability, and is quickly corrected for that (line 33), although Dave also weakened the modality slightly to strengthen his case.

While Bess chose to challenge Dave in terms of the expectations she perceived him to set up for her in locating the necessary parts, this rejoinder may indicate that Bess is also taking account that in some sense she is being mocked, teased, manipulated or that she failed in the task goal. This speculative discussion provides groundwork for Chapter 7, in which I explore the linguistic processes of ambiguity in relation to the destabilization of gender categories and the underlying conflictive nature of this situation.

6.8.4.3 INSTRUCTION REGARDING USE OF TOOLS AND EQUIPMENT

Bess is not familiar with certain tools and equipment, and we will see how Dave relates to this. At the start of training, as Bess is opening cartons and learns that there is a union-

management meeting going on about her, she says to Dave, "I wish they could get me out of here ." Then in a lower tone she asserts "I don't even know how to hold the pliers."⁷

The implement Bess is handling is used for the purpose of cutting the heavy wires on the cartons she is opening. Because the talk isn't videotaped, it is not clear if Dave hears her talk about the tool, although he is close by. He does not reply. However, Dr. Sachs responds "Pardon?" and Bess repeats in exact words what she said about holding the pliers.

There is another exchange a while later in which Dave doesn't show Bess how to handle the empty wheelcart.

Text 6.10 [TOD 26]

1.	Dave:	Now we got to go get them parts where I showed you
2.		Yeah you can push you can push.
3.	Bess:	I can't drive.
4.	Dave:	If you crash you crash.
5.	Bess:	I don't know ().
6.	Dave:	(0.8) Hit him hit him crash into him crash into him!
7.	Bess:	Nooooo.

Dr. Sachs comments that Dave hands the cart to Bess and after she says "she can't" he essentially tells her to, and she does it. The cart needs special handling in steering it, so it doesn't veer to the side or go in another direction. Rather than instruct Bess in how to manipulate the cart, Dave uses language to suggest and thereby create the risk of accident.

The exchanges contain language associated with a car. Textual cohesiveness is established through the lexical collocation of the words "drive," "crash," and "hit." In looking at the sequence of exchange, Dave initially uses "push" in a clause that tells her she can do it, and it is Bess who uses "drive" in dialogic opposition that she can not. But Bess is also indicating that it takes more to handling the cart than just pushing it. The word "drive" and the fact that the wheelcart is referred to as a VW (the name of an automobile) becomes the context for

Dave's rejoinders "if you crash you crash" and "hit him crash into him." Such "playfulness" concerning gender is often lightly disposed of as "teasing," and the implicit message of disregard for Bess' physical and emotional well-being is, thereby, overlooked.⁸

Another incident involved Bess using a brass rod to pull a bin full of parts to its shelf locations. Dr. Sachs reports:

Text 6.11 (Additional Text)

he's grabbing the brass rod for pulling bins he hands it to Bess he tells her to hook her u- hook it on her ha ha now he turns the bin around she's pulling it with the brass line down to the location while Dave stays at the scale...er Bess wasn't having a lot of luck with the brass rod.

Bess was also nervous about opening the elevator doors; she was afraid it would close on her fingers. Dave showed her just one time, and Bess asked him to demonstrate it again. She continued to have trouble handling the doors. The fact that Bess wasn't shown how to operate some tools and equipment, and the message she received of being shown one time only are good candidates for fostering anxiety. Such talk and practices stand in contrast to the male-dyad training.

6.9 SUMMARY OF THE TRAINING LANGUAGE AS STYLE VARIATION IN REGISTER: A SOLIDARITY AND A POWER SEMANTIC

In the training register, trainers' talk is directed to informing about work objects and operations rather than to verbal interaction. It functions to tie the trainee to sequential operations. Consequently, the trainer does not basically ask questions, and the mode of talk is predominantly monologic. Dialogic agreement and synchronicity are expressed in the male-pair texts. Trainees' questions are linked to information and to interpersonal factors. When dialogism enters into cross-gender training in various forms of question and response,

this represents a significant difference. The dialogic exchanges of the cross-gender pair display polar oppositions as to the heaviness of objects, evaluations and challenges of competency by trainer and trainee, conflicts about communication, and ultimately differing points of view about training. While trainees in the male dyads rarely as frequently. Male trainers predominantly do not control the behavior and movements of their trainees. This contrasts to the cross-gender trainer, who has also largely cut out of the training process the demonstration of task operations before the trainee performs them. The male trainers' utilize the simple present declarative, using the inclusive or collective thematic "we," although, varying the degree of its use. Modality directed toward the trainee, though sparse, expresses options of choice. Within the limitations of producing a competent worker, male trainers establish indices of solidarity.

The woman's trainer, on the other hand frequently employs the modality of imperatives. He seldom uses "we," inserts evaluations, and uses relatively few relational clauses of identity and attributes. There are basically no reasons, causes, or hypotheticals, and no introducing of the next work activity. The cross-gender talk employs meanings from the classroom teacher register, and discourses of sexism. This is in contrast to the style features of the male trainers and trainees.

Semiotic analyses of the training texts provide the basis for suggesting two differing semantic orientations to training:

- 1) Male dyad talk is oriented to a display of solidarity and the avoidance of indices of power. The higher-order semiotic message of trainers is glossed as **WE ARE BOTH EQUALS AND POWERLESS TOGETHER; THE POWER I DO HAVE IS THAT OF EXPERT TO NOVICE.**

2.) The cross-gender dyad talk is constituted by dialogic contest, interruption, and a high degree of control over the trainee's behavior. The semiotic message of the trainer is glossed as **EXERTING POWER AND ESTABLISHING MY COMPETENCY TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER CONVEYING KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE JOB AND SOLIDARITY**

* * *

CHAPTER 6 ENDNOTES

¹ Gregory & Carroll (1978) call attention to the interconnectedness of all three aspects of language-in-situation. However, they restrict "mode" to communication channel and type of interaction - monologue/dialogue, and point out that what is considered "genre" involves not just textual indices but ideational and interpersonal ones in a typically associated configuration of the semantic resources.

² "On-the-Job Training Talk and its Relation to Ongoing Action" (John Dore, Sylvia Scribner, Rosalie Schwartz) was presented at the American Educational Research Association conference in San Francisco on March 27, 1989.

³ The following table of coding results is in Scribner & Sachs (1989:120).

TIMING OF TRAINER TALK REFERRING TO DYAD'S TASK ACTIVITY*

(in adjusted base period) (numbers in parentheses are percentages of total sentences)

<u>Timed to Task</u>		<u>General</u>			
<u>Dyad</u>	<u>Before</u>	<u>During</u>	<u>After</u>	<u>Untimed</u>	<u>Total</u>
(18.4)	103 (41.2)	26 (10.4)	75 (30.0)	250	
(23.8)	156 (48.3)	31 (9.6)	59 (18.3)	323	
(21.4)	85 (50.6)	27 (16.1)	20 (11.9)	168**	
(40.6)	101 (50.0)	11 (5.4)	8 (4.0)	202	
Total	241 (25.5)	445 (47.2)	95 (10.1)	162 (17.2)	943

* Excludes 150 instances of "fuzzy" time categories as well as indeterminates and errors.

** Base period time includes the time that trainer Mac was called away from training to deal with a work problem, and accounts for the lower number of sentential utterances.

⁴ Because of the scope of data and analysis in this dissertation, an in-depth study of occurrences of the pronoun "we" for evidence of whether it is inclusive, exclusive or indeterminate is reserved for further investigation.

⁵ In TT 5.1:3, Dave also instructs Bess "Don't look at that yet."

⁶ Goodman does not analyze the exchange in terms of using a register; this is my analysis.

⁷ This is additional text, not included in Appendix B.

⁸ Employing the innocence or cloak of a joke is particularly pervasive in situations where political conflict is identified. For example, according to the The New York Times (Dec. 7, 1994, A10), Republican Senator Jesse Helms said "President Clinton was not "up to the job" of Commander in Chief" and warned that "the President "better have a bodyguard" if he visited military bases in Mr. Helms's neck of the woods. He later regretted that last barb, but offered no apology and today called reporters "suckers" for taking a jest seriously.

Chapter 7

FUNCTIONAL AMBIGUITY IN THE CROSS-GENDER TRAINING SITUATION

7.1 AMBIGUITY AND THE CONTEXT OF CULTURE

The living environment of the discourse surrounding and including Bess is characterized as one of situational and cultural conflict. This conflict concerns differing positions as to Bess having a traditionally male job, the kind of work with which to start training her, and the destabilization of gender categories. That agents take positions on Bess performing this job is a basic assumption displayed in various forms in the texts. The broader cultural context for analyzing this case study is associated with patterns of gender discrimination in the workplace, as well as variations of treatment for women entering male-typed jobs ranging from overt instances of discriminatory talk and behavior to subtle and hidden ones, and also to shows of support.¹ As I have argued, the meanings generated in this particular situation must take account of workplace practices and cultural changes as it relates to gender. It is therefore not surprising that portions of the talk under examination engenders indirection and ambiguity, and that agents express uncertainty, engage in transformations, shift voices, and present equivocal dialogical processes.

In this chapter I examine the data for location, type, level, and function of ambiguity and equivocality. I present some of the literature on this subject. An important aspect of this analysis is an approach to disambiguation. Although it is not possible to ascertain the messages of all ambiguous chains, I claim that the dialogical relationship

among the different texts in this situation as well as the primary semiotic acts going on are necessary tools in the disambiguation process.

It is conceivable that the presence of researchers and audio equipment constrained more explicit expressions of discrimination — what Labov has termed the “observer’s paradox” (Labov 1970). A *prima facie* institutional position of equality may also modulate the discourse away from direct disclosure of prejudicial evaluations, positions, and plans. That is, the tape recorder in its role as public enunciation may induce statements expressing fairness and solidarity, as well as ambiguate, transform and mask discourse expressing prejudice and power.

7.2 STUDIES OF AMBIGUITY

The terms *ambiguous* and *equivocal* are used by researchers, often interchangeably. Dictionary definitions include: being of uncertain signification, susceptible to different interpretations, and having two or more possible meanings.² However, one dictionary points out *equivocal* is used when ambiguity is deliberately intended to mislead or confuse. I use these terms synonymously, since intentions are difficult to discern. Declaratives that are not direct and questions that are ambiguous or not clear lead to inquiry as to what function(s) is being served.

Types of ambiguity have only been partially characterized. Ambiguity has been studied as a misunderstanding of a speech act that can have the force of a question or an alternative determination. In (Schegloff 1972) disambiguation as a display of speaker agreement is largely based upon sequential organization of the spoken text. Dore & McDermott (1982) using a context-sensitive interactional approach analyze a student’s

illocutionary ambiguous rejoinder to an elementary school teacher's question as a pragmatic counterfactual. Halliday (1985) using categories of his functional grammar discusses the semiotic meanings in a conversation between the manager of a jewelry store as she trains a new sales employee. He discusses the ambiguity of a clause "The people that buy silver love it" as to the logical priority, the buying or the loving?. Social semioticians have highlighted instances of ability in spoken text used to produce a certain effect (Halliday 1985) Hodge & Kress 1988).

Hodge & Kress (1988) have demonstrated how those in positions of power in a "democratic" society prefer to achieve goals via the solidarity of those in subordinate positions, often employing articulations of solidarity and disguising those of power. Expressions of power, therefore, are not necessarily predominant or used consistently in asymmetrical discourse. For example, in an analysis of the depth of indirection in Nixon's language in the Watergate transcripts (Lerman 1980 cited in Stubbs 1983:163),³ the researcher "discusses what she regards as the puzzling hesitation, softness, casualness, frivolity and constant mitigation used when the most powerful politician in the Western world gives commands to his aides: what she describes as a maximally distant style." In this example, using markers of solidarity does not necessarily imply closeness, nor power imply distance. Whatever else Nixon is doing, it is plausible that he is or wants to be perceived as establishing solidarity with his subordinates at the same time as he asserts his power. Tannen (1994:24-28) provides instances of the polysemy of strategies signaling power and solidarity, claiming that solidarity in itself can be a form of control.

7.2.1 INDIRECTION AND TEXT

In his focus in showing how one utterance follows another in a rational, rule-governed manner, Labov (1972) has identified categorical sequencing rules in discourse which always apply. For example, a responses to a polar question is interpreted as clausal ellipsis of the question. Labov poses this as a rule, while Halliday & Hasan (1976) state that the remainder of the question clause is presupposed. Labov goes further, positing that a speaker talks about what she/he knows, what the other speaker knows, and what they both know, and this effects the kinds of response. In analyzing a sequence from a therapeutic interview, where A is a college student and B her mother who has been away four days helping a married daughter; A and B both know that A wants B to come home; and that B has said many times in the past that A cannot take care of herself, which A denies.

A: Well, when do you plan to come home?
B: Oh why-y?

Labov states that A's question is a request for action, not information, that her mother come home. Thus, B's response is interpreted as "Why are you asking me to come home?" by A, who responds that the housework and her studies are too much for her. This response shows that A is interpreting B's response in congruence with articulated discourse rules which are social constructs (see Labov 1972 for details). B responds that A should ask and tell her sister, not B. In Labov's framework, the surface speech act, in this example, a request for information is interpreted as a request for action, which may appear on a higher level as a challenge. Labov believes that the task of linguists is to find the total range of discourse rules to account for the meanings that occur between

speakers. Whether applying rules can reveal the multiplicity of underlying meanings remains controversial (Taylor & Cameron 1987), but articulating and utilizing rules seems to be part of the intuiting processes involved in interpreting communicative language. In not answering the question, Labov posits a general rule for interpreting any utterance as a request for action or command: both A and B know that some action X should be done for a purpose Y, B has the ability and obligation to do X, and A has the right to tell B to do X. He points out that "We rely on our intuitions to distinguish coherent from incoherent discourse..." (p.299). Other studies of ambiguity will be discussed below under specific chapter headings.

7.3 AMBIGUITY IN DIALOGICAL PROCESSES

Social processes of institutional training, legitimation, exemplification, justification, verification, classification, disclosure, and warning are linguistic constructions and interpretations that agents utilize in diverse social practices. Because institutional and ideological positions in discourse are largely underlying and hidden (Hodge & Kress 1988, Kress & Hodge 1979), or, as exemplified in my data, not made explicit, identifying these processes is a major problematic. But more so, the fact that agents can alternate positions, assume different voices, and weave together different texts.

They can incorporate polysemy, indirection, mitigation, and forms of power and solidarity into their linguistic repertoires, and use such ambiguous entities for purposes of denial, omission and cover (Stubbs 1983). If, as I argue, speakers can speak in two voices or participate in two texts — one of fairness/egalitarianism and one of discrimination — how can one be distinguished from the other? Just as conversational

analysts utilize concepts such as “repair” and “breach” to help establish “normative” linguistic practices, I propose that identifying instances and areas of ambiguity can help in defining the practices going on in the training situation. Equivocality, after all, can be invoked to present legally and morally unacceptable practices (such as discrimination) as legitimate ones. I use the term “ambiguous” to denote the uncertainty as to which text a dialogical process falls into — egalitarianism or discrimination, what function the words perform, and how a discourse can utilize both positions in intended and/or resultant compromise.

7.3.1 AMBIGUITY IN THE JUSTIFICATION PROCESS

The justification process is susceptible to ambiguity as to what function it is serving. This would be particularly applicable in speech situations which are not genre managed like the one I am investigating. In studying encounters between customers with billing problems and telephone company representatives, identified justifications and excuses are predictable constituents of the generic register. For example, customers would offer explanations as to why they should not pay certain charges; these were unsolicited in that billing agents only oriented to identifying and remedying the problem (Iacobucci 1990). However, in open-ended dialogues, if there is no dialogical connection to overt accusation or blame (accusation/justification), the existence of a justification act raises questions as to its semiotic function.

I have previously discussed an example of managerial justification for starting Bess on heavy work presented as a system of work rotation where lower graded newcomers are started on the heavier jobs of receiving (see 4.2.4 and TOD 4), and the

opposite position that Bess could be started on lighter tasks and somebody else could do the heavier ones. However, management justification of following a routine work procedure has dialogical connections with the overt prejudicial statements of making it hard for Bess so she'll quit (see Chapters 3 and 4), and therefore is viewed as an institutionally legitimating rationale for prejudicial strategy or intent. That is, those in power can manipulate, maintain or relax institutional procedures depending on goals and/or position (in this case regarding Bess becoming a material handler). The important point is that such a justification by itself appears legitimate, fair, or institutionally sanctioned.

Another justification, which Dave presents to Bess, takes place on the final afternoon near closing time as she works at the scale on a pulling order for 3000 pieces (see Text 7.1). We explore the question of what function this process is performing.

Text 7.1 [TOD 27] Dialogic Justification

1. Bess: () I wanna get out of here now.
2. Dave: Wha? (0.2) Oh you wanna go home? (0.3) you're not quittin'
3. now right? (0.2) no okay okay.
4. Bess: I didn't answer you.
5. Dave: (Well) you said no (0.3).
6. Bess: ()
7. Dave: That's easy [refers probably to pulling job that Bess is working
8. on at the scale] (0.3) Well see I just wanted to-- I just wanted to
9. show you you know the heavy ones f--first (0.2) so you can
10. just-- see when you go pick yem yourself you can get the ones
11. for like thirty pieces ten pieces fifteen pieces five pieces.
12. Bess: That's what they do back there?
13. Dave: You know they just go and take one ().
14. Bess: Anyone?
15. Dave: Yeah.
16. Bess: ()
17. Dave: See I like doin' the big ones 'cause I think the big ones is the
18. easy ones 'cause de de li-little pieces you be countin' fore:ver
19. with them little pieces.
20. Bess: Okay.

Dave acknowledges that he has given Bess heavy orders to do from the start, “I just wanted to show the heavy ones first so you can just– (8–10). This first attempt at justification is self-interrupted, but is completed in “ I like doin’ the big ones ‘cause I think the big ones is the easy ones” (18–20). Causal conjunctions “so” and “because” overtly mark his justification clauses as explanation (9,17,18).

The dialogue shows departure from the training register in that it consists of personal conversation features — i.e., I/you and clausal reciprocity are evident (1–10, 18) Except for elaborations on the justification, turn-taking is equally distributed. Agents talk about affective and cognitive states in the conveying of information. Mental process clauses expressed through verbs in this short exchange are frequent — want, like, think, you know, see. Bess initiates the exchange by asserting “I wanna get out of here” (1). After establishing that she is going to quit, Dave reciprocates with what he wanted, “...show you the heavy ones first” (8–9). Dave expands the mental processes with “I like” and “ think” (17), emphasizing his first-person subject discourse role. The indices “you know”(9,13) and “see” (8,17) signal that Bess’ understanding is sought, though in command form. The strong use of mental process clauses can be viewed as an appeal to Bess’ intellect.

Ambiguity is displayed in the with the interjection of “you know,” in shifts in meaning of lexical items “big,” “heavy,” and “little,” and in the personal pronoun “you.” “You know” (9) can mark information that Dave supposes Bess shares. Although there is irony in Bess knowing that it is the heavy work orders and not the light ones that Dave

showed her. It can also be used to establish solidarity with Bess. Again, why is Dave projecting solidarity features in his discourse.

Dave's exercises of power has mainly been manifested in forms of behavioral imperatives, cognitive control, and definitions of tasks as being hard or easy. This dialogue contains such an evaluation when he proclaims "That's easy" (7). Although the referent for "that" is not textually retrievable, the proceeding clauses about heavy ones and five (few) little pieces provide a basis for inferring the referent as having to do with the task she is working on. Dave also asserts control by assuming (or misinterpreting) that Bess is not quitting (2–3). When she responds "I didn't answer you" (4), he asserts that she said no (5). This is another instance of contestive discourse. However, given that Dave has already displayed control over Bess' language by telling her to ask others for a part and to do so in her sweetest voice (TOD 25:10). control of Bess' words is a fitting subtext of this dialogic exchange. As I have mentioned, it is the intensity of the control of actions and the extension into areas of thought, behavior, experience, and language that differentiates Bess' training from the males'. The question of gender is ultimately connected to this intensity and extension. Unfortunately, the question of how Dave would train a male cannot be determined.

It is important to look at changes of meanings in lexical items. The relationship of such shifts to equivocal functions and ambiguous messages needs further conceptualization, so this is an exploratory discussion. However, such changes are a semiotic phenomenon that occurs, in this dialogue, with adjective phrases and personal pronouns — "heavy" (9) to "big" (17). "I" (17) to "you" (18) and the ambiguity of "you"

Dave wanted to show Bess “the heavy ones first” (9), ambiguous as to the referent of “ones”. The use of “heavy” is ascribed to the *weight* of parts and by implication the loads or pulls. This meaning may account for Dave not being able to complete a reason for giving her heavy loads. Instead he moves over to *number* of pieces — thirty, ten, fifteen, five (11), which are few in number and therefore the loads would be light. Thus, he presents option for a “you” to select small number loads. He contrasts himself as liking the “big ones” (17). “Big” implicates size because it is followed by contrastive “*little pieces*” (18).⁴ Thus, “heavy” has shifted to “big” and contrasts to “little pieces.” For Dave “big” is “easy.” Bess is given the idea that she will be able to select small jobs, but the one she is working on is not thirty pieces or less. The pull selected by Dave is for 3000 large pieces.

The first shift in pronominal significance is from the interactive personal “you,” clearly established (2,5,9,10), to an ambiguous “you” — either Bess and/or a general “you,” contextually inferred ““when you go pick yem yourself you can get the ones for like thirty pieces” (10–11)⁵ It is noteworthy that Bess interprets “you” as “they” (the higher graded material handlers who do the pulling jobs) in her question “That’s what they do back there?”(12).⁶ This may well indicate that she knows that the option of choosing few pieces does not include her. Dave uses her “they,” thereby affirming it (13). Bess’ “Anyone?” (14) is ambiguous as to pull job or person.. The next pronoun shift is from “I” in “I like doin’ the big ones ‘cause I think the big ones is the easy ones” (17–18) to “you” in “...you be countin’ forever with them little pieces” (18–19). With this final “you,” Dave has included Bess in the reason for starting her on heavy/big pieces/loads.

Not only he but she and anyone will be counting forever. Dave in a circuitous semantic path has completed his originally self-interrupted justification using the personal “you,” “so you can just–”(9–10) with the explanation “you be countin’ forever with them little pieces”(18–19) in a clause where “you” can include Bess.

Bess’ questions (12,14) show her interest and focus on Dave’s disclosure that “you can get the ones for thirty pieces...five pieces.” There are utterances in other dialogues that support Bess believing that she has to do the heavy tasks and other material handlers can do the lighter ones (e.g., TOD 13:58-64). That is, the job has been defined in that manner.⁷ Bess’ rejoinder “Okay” (20) in response to or after Dave’s justification (19–20) is equivocal as what is being okayed. But, it can be viewed as some form of acceptance of the justification. It constitutes closure of this particular segment as Dale steps away to do something.

7.3.1.1 TWO TEXTS THAT DIALOGICALLY AGREE: BESS IS GIVEN THE HEAVY JOBS

Text 7.1 (TOD 29) has close connections with TOD 6 in which Chuck tells Dave to start Bess on the big pulling orders and Dave agrees. Both texts display repetition and synonymous lexical items (big ones/upper/heavy ones; come down/little ones/easy; ones/orders; start/first), and unsolicited justifications by Dave (she might get hooked on them little ones/the big ones is the easy ones). Dave’s justifications differ in talking to Chuck and to Bess, as might be expected. With Chuck, not getting hooked on little orders is the rationale for giving Bess the big orders. There is laughter, a tone of sarcasm, and implications of exclusionary practice. Dave has to mark his metaphor by

reiterating it and adding “you know what I’m saying?” In talking to Bess, he could hardly tell Bess that he started her on heavy pulls so she wouldn’t get hooked on little ones. His justification is personalized and presented in a serious key.

Usually justifications are offered when someone is accused of having done something wrong or inept (Austin 1970:176). “Justification” and “excuse” go hand in hand in that they appear in occurrences of blame. But they are distinct acts of defense, the former consisting of reasons for doing some responsible action, while in the latter, the speaker does not accept full responsibility. Dave acknowledges his responsibility, but his justification is not a response to any explicit speech act of accusation. Rather, it appears unsolicited. But the fact that it immediately follows Bess’ disclosure that she is quitting may be grounds that Dave is grappling with his role or responsibility in this outcome and is absolving himself of blame, both to Bess and publicly on tape. Therefore unsolicited justifications, such as those presented in my analysis, may be indicators of unjust or socially problematic practices.

7.3.2 DIALOGICAL AMBIGUITY IN FUNCTION OF CLASSIFICATION

It is not always clear what functions a classification serves. As Kress (1989:63) emphasizes, processes of classification position and reposition individuals in respect to potent social/cultural classificatory systems, and power is involved at every point in the process. Elsewhere I discussed two significant classifications, both representing opposing positions regarding Bess. In TOD 2, one of the material handlers says “that’s discrimination” in reference to giving Bess hard work so she’ll quit. Kirk

also classifies when he types the job as “male” and so automatically excludes women (TOD 13). Classification in the form of evaluation also occurs in Dave and Bess’ contestation over whether an item is heavy or not (TOD 16–21). All these classifications pivot around the assigning and carrying out of strenuous physical work (it’s discrimination, it’s not for ladies, it’s easy/hard).

However, another type of classification occurs on the fourth day of training in a dialogue between Dave and a stockroom co-worker, a “homeboy,” with whom Dave is working on a special task (see TOD 28). Dave knows Ted from his neighborhood prior to coming to work at the factory. Ted is the person in Dave’s justification to Chuck (TOD 6:9) who likes to select little orders. Dave also tells Bess that Ted wants to help her (TOD 25:28–30), and tells Chuck that Ted will help Bess. In this act of classification Dave designates Bess as “not too bright” (TOD 28:1), pejoratively evaluating her intelligence. Dave focuses on Bess’ math skills after metaphoric joking that displays sexual innuendo, with laughter and hyperbole contributing to the mocking episode (she needs paper to add one and two (3–13)).

Is there any basis for Dave’s negative classification? First, there is no negative evaluations of any kind of the way the male trainees learned and performed the work. Bess has been very involved in her training asking questions. She has expressed uncertainty in carrying out particular steps in a task, and in doing some math operations. Researcher Sachs reported on Bess’ need to have Dave check over her work and pointed out where Bess had difficulty. Bess herself talked about being wrong and not knowing what she is doing. Dave at times had done the math for Bess. While Bess often used

scratch paper to calculate, Dave did it mentally so that Bess can write the outcomes on the forms.. Other times he would check the results of Bess' calculations.⁸ But Bess also has done some independent calculations, occasionally rechecking her figures. The data, therefore, shows some basis for Dave's evaluation. But the classification occurs in a discourse that demeans and sexualizes Bess, and thus implies meanings of superiority for Dave and Ted, as well as hostility. The metaphor "maybe some of mines'll rub off on her...I hope none of hers rub off on me," bears this out (18–19) His message "you gotta have patience" (17) carries subtle sarcastic and patronizing meanings. This clause may be concession to a "voice of fairness" interjected into the dialogue. Its strongly bounded reiterative "you know" and contrastive conjunction "but" may be indicators of this contrastive function of appearing fair; just as the clause boundary marker "you know" calls attention to the socially problematic if not prejudicial classification (1).

Text 7.2 (TOD 28 Excerpt)

1. You know she– she's not too bright you know.
17. You know but you know you gotta have patience you know.

Implicit in this characterization of Bess is a defence against challenge to his competence as a trainer and/or ethnic differences in their teaching/learning styles.⁹ The processes involved in teaching and learning must be viewed as inseparable as well as contextual. Dave's response to Ted (who says he hates training someone who's dumb) is "Take forever" (21). The implication of training someone who is dumb taking forever has strong ties to Dave's evaluation of Bess. We have already noted instances of Dave moving Bess through the training faster than her needs warranted. It may be that cultural differences in Bess' and Dave's learning (and therefore teaching) styles (Heath 1986)

account for the negative evaluations and indirect challenges. It is conceivable that Dave's style of teaching by imperatives with little or no explanations is a factor in Bess' dependence upon Dave and her uncertainty in carrying out task operations. Again, while such learning style differences can and do exist, it did not manifest itself in any of the same-sex talk. Finally, the mechanism of negative stereotyping and pejorative attributions usually accompanies discriminatory practices. Dave, for the most part, doesn't give Bess credit for what she did learn and carry out. And although Bess is inconsistent in carrying out cognitive tasks as she is in the heavy manual ones, Dave has constructed a classification that can dialogically be connected to the exclusionary practices which I argue are in operation in this situation.

7.3.2.1 THE APPARENT CLASH OF CLASSIFICATION

A particular dialogue with leadman Chuck twenty minutes after Dave tells Ted that Bess is not too bright affirms the negative characterization and captures both Dave's and Chuck's inconsistency in their position toward Bess (TOD 29). Chuck, who has higher status than Dave, initiates the dialogue in reference to something Bess has done at the scale. While the exact referent and the exact material process may be ambiguous in Chuck's questions "She put 'em by herself?"(1) and "She's good?"(3), Bess is positively evaluated (1-4), and is again when Dave responds "Yeah' (12) to Chuck's question "she can read the scale?"(11). But Dave has inserted a singsong intonation on the words "already Cuz" in the clause "yeah Cuz she good already...Cuz (4). The intonation insinuates that the evaluation is not entirely serious. Dave later comments on her

incompetence in reading the scale “she kinda like that” (guys who read the scale backward) (18). Dave has displayed what might be heard as a contradiction.

Text 7.3 (TOD 29)

1. Chuck: She put ‘em by herself?
2. Dave: Yeah Cuz. (0.3)
3. Dave: She’s good?
4. Dave: Yeah Cuz she good [singsong→] already Cuz. (0.2)
5. Chuck: //()-
6. Dave: // You know I’m checkin’ up on her you know=
7. Chuck: =I know I know.
8. Dave: You know.
9. Chuck: Well you stay close you know.
10. Dave: Yeah you know ()-
11. Chuck (When Bess) countin’ she can read the scale?
12. Dave: Yeah.
13. Chuck: D’ya know some guys here-
14. Dave: //sh- you know sh-
15. Chuck: //() the scale you read it backward you know?
16. Dave: Yeah Cuz you know.
17. Chuck: (I) ask for one pound they give you two.
18. Dave: [laughs] Y-y- (we) know Cuz she kinda like that
19. but ya know (0.3) ya know Ted’ll help her out ya know.

Instead, the seeming inconsistency must be understood in terms of the social, interactive, and intertextual dynamics of the dialogue. Beginning with the interactive dynamics of this dialogue, there are many markers of solidarity: Dave uses “Cuz” to signal this (2,4,16,18) as well as a density of “y’know’s” (6,8,10,14,16,18,19) which Chuck also uses (9,13,15). Chuck responds to Dave’s two “y’know’s” with “I know I know”(7). Dave makes reference to a previous dialogue they had in which Chuck tells Dave to keep his eyes on Bess (TOD 8) when he says “I’m checkin’ up on her”(6). Bess’ training is not only an individual assignment to Dave but a collaborative activity involving Chuck.

I argue that since Chuck has higher status, Dave would be scanning Chuck’s words for semiotic clues or insinuations., This status is made manifest by his initiating

question(s) about Bess (1,3,11), Dave's positive responses to Chuck's statements (10; 16), his quickly abandoning an overlapped turn (14), and his providing appropriate responses to Chuck's words (laughing after Chuck gives an example of incompetence at the scale (18).

Hervey (1982) cites Barthes' view of signification as paradox:¹⁰ it is not what information is conveyed but the impressions created by linguistic objects that have in themselves the status of meaningful signs (insinuations). Thus, a speaker can mean one thing and hint at some other. Advertising texts, for example, have both a literal message and an ulterior meaning. Barthes claims social myths have this paradox: women are equal to men but there is no consistent stereotype depicting this. Women are still in a socially lesser position than men. In Hodge & Kress' theory, agents utilize the referential-based or mimetic plane to convey meanings on the semiotic plane. Contradictions are often apparent rather than real. Language is scanned for socio-political value judgments, in accord with Bakhtin's theory of dialogue as evaluation.

In TOD 29, Dave is being asked to evaluate Bess via Chuck's questions (1,3,11). Evaluating whether Bess can do the job is an inherent part of the situation and discourse, with acts of verification quite frequent (see Section 4.7). The social processes of classification and evaluation in this dialogue and the previous one with Ted (TOD 28) is linked to the verification process. The final clause in the dialogue "Ted'll help her out"(19) locates the negative evaluation of her skills in a discourse of superiority, indeed male superiority: Bess needs help and Ted will do it (the "help" theme is discussed in Section 7.4). In this instance, "Y'know" as a clausal boundary with repetition and

conjunctive emphasis, “but y’know y’know Ted’ll help her out y’know”(19), appears to function as what I will call an “insinuation marker.” It signals problems as to how to classify and evaluate Bess.

7.3.3 MITIGATION IN THE DIALOGICAL PROCESS

Dave’s assertion that Bess is “kinda like that’ (18) (misreads the scale) can be viewed as a mitigation of his classification to Ted that Bess is not too bright (TOD 28:1). Mitigation is the use of linguistic forms that reduce the severity or directness of discourse utterances. It is most often associated with markers of politeness and indirection in communicative and speech acts (Ervin-Tripp 1976, Stubbs 1983). Mitigation is also involved in relationships of power and solidarity with the expectation that more power allows the speaker to use unmitigated forms (Labov & Fanshal 1977). Mitigation allows interactants to leave things unsaid; it is a “central aspect of much social behavior...” (Stubbs 1983:178). It also reduces the impact or effect of utterances, thus serving as a qualifying device. Looking at the articulation of messages as processes of emergence and transformation in the dynamics of interaction, I suggest that Dave’s classification to Chuck: “she kinda like that” is constructed to take account of a multiplicity of social and linguistic factors. After Dave affirms Chuck’s question “She’s good?”(3) in evaluation of Bess, he refers to his role as trainer, “I’m checkin’ up on her”(6). The insertion of that role may well be the first hint at a forthcoming negative or qualifying evaluation.

7.3.3.1 THE EQUIVOCAL FUNCTION OF “Y’KNOW”

The reciprocity and frequency of “y’know” is particularly noticeable. In addition to showing interactant solidarity, it appear to have other functions.

Text 7.4. (Excerpt TOD 30)

6. Dave: You know I’m checkin’ up on her you know=
7. Chuck: =I know I know.
8. Dave You know.
9. Chuck: Well you stay close you know.
10. Dave: Yeah you know ()-

In Text 7.4 it appears to be functioning as an “insinuation marker” hinting at some unstated message(s) in addition to its meaning of creating a joint focus on speaker-provided information and demonstrating shared knowledge (Schiffrin 1987). The marker does just that, leaves unsaid the trainer’s role as “spy.” The marker is used again in a self-interrupted fragment — “sh- you know sh-”(14) which precedes an opposing evaluation to Bess being good at the scale, after Chuck starts talking about some guys misreading the scale (17). The phonological sh appears to be a component of she. The mitigated form — “she kinda like that” — rests on prefatory hints, using Chuck’s words, employing the modal “kinda,” and on downplaying the fact that he had already evaluated Bess’ performance at the scale as good. The y’know in Text 7.5 below is connected to Dave’s reluctant disclosure of Bess’ weakness at the scale..

Text 7.5 (Excerpt TOD 29)

13. Chuck: D’ya know some guys here-
14. Dave: //sh- you know sh-
15. Chuck: //() the scale you read it backward you know?
16. Dave: Yeah Cuz you know.
17. Chuck: (I) ask for one pound they give you two.
18. Dave: [laughs] Y-y- (we) know Cuz she kinda like that
19. but ya know (0.3) ya know Ted’ll help her out ya know.

In talking to Ted, Dave initiates the topic “she’s not too bright. That lexicogrammatical selection has its own mitigated features — use of a negative rather than a positive such as stupid, and the modal “too.” The visibility of the classification is intensified by the reformulations of the idea, Dave’s warning not to tell anybody, and Ted’s uptake of the topic using the term “dumb”(21).

7.4 TEXT LINKING IN THE SOCIAL PROCESSES

Comparison of dialogues between Chuck and Dave (TOD 6,8,29) lead to the view that both stockroom workers are inconsistent or equivocal about how to treat or regard Bess. Text 6 displays an exemplification of giving Bess heavy work orders to do first, which is linked to discourse that discloses the managers don’t want her and are giving her hard work to do (TOD 2). Text 8 links the exemplification acts to Chuck’s directive and Dave’s acceptance of verifying her actions in relation to the ‘real stuff’ (4/5). In these two dialogues, making it hard for Bess has been chosen. In Text 27, Bess is evaluated as doing ‘good’ by Dave; Chuck accepts this evaluation, providing a contrastive example of men misreading the scale (13,15,17). That is, the dialogue points to a shared, perhaps emergent, acceptance of Bess represented by a positive evaluation. This, however, is qualified by Dave saying in effect she doesn’t know how to read the scale and requires help. Thus, Chuck and Dave are actors who perform exemplification acts in carrying out the exclusionary goal of management, but they also display inconsistency by their positive evaluations of her.

In comparing the talk about and to male trainees, there is no verifications and negative evaluation of the male trainees, and no talk showing that the trainees are

deliberately being given hard work; in fact, Chuck mentions to Mac that Reggie should be given easier tasks. The assumption is that the males can and will eventually do the job. Dr. Sachs points out that male trainees do occasionally make mistakes, which may or may not generate a correction by the trainer, but does not set off third party questions or discussion.

7.5 THE THEMATICS OF HELP: A GENDER CODE OF CONTRADICTION IN THE MALE/FEMALE PAIR

When Dave asserts to Chuck that “Ted’ll help her out” in reading the scale (TOD 30:19), I suggest that Dave is alluding to a code of traditional gender behavior that is tied to Bess’ lack of mathematical skill and even accounts for it: females need help both physically and mentally from the “superior” males. The code may also be construed as a subcode of the established code that men protect women. That the utterance entails a gender code reading is based on it immediately following Dave saying Bess is “kinda like that.” its intertextual connections with Text 29 where Bess is designated as “not bright.” and its lexical cohesiveness and connection to the numerous utterances which explicitly encode the clausal process of “help’.

Given the references and implications of gender in this training situation, it is not surprising that a thematics of help is distributed in the dialogues. Help is introduced the first morning in connection with Dave assigning Bess to lift heavy bins off the elevator by herself, when he directs a material handler to help her do that. As it turns out Dave subsequently helps Bess take bins off the elevator (TOD 11:4–6,16). The fourth day of training is particularly robust with messages of help in the form of directives by

Dave to Bess to ask others for help, his own offers of help, and Bess' requests for help from Dave and others. Dave, at the time he has Bess ask Ted for a particular component they are looking for, also says "You know he's a nice man he want to help you so you know you take in all the help you can you know"(Chapter 6, Text 6.6:29-31). Another time Dave instructs Bess to ask others for help, and Pat Sachs comments on the several occasions when Bess does so, especially in lifting.¹¹ Such apportioning and denials of help express the existence of a behavior code intricately bound up with gender distinctions. "Masculinity becomes identified with skill and technology in a process that defines the feminine as unskilled and inept with technology" (Wilson 1992) It is also a code of behavior associated with resentment, equivocality, mockery, benevolence, and dominance, more so in this situation than oppositional qualities.

Dave displays resistance, resentment, and equivocality to helping Bess. He withdraws his help when Bess checks with him on the number of a certain part location: "I'm not helping you"(6.8.1.2 Text 6.5:4). When researcher Sachs questions him about training a woman, Dave displays both his experience and a "voice of fairness"qualifier (see Text 7.6):

Text 7.6 (TOD 30) Dave on Training Bess

1. Pat: This your first time training Dave?
2. dave: Yeah? How do you how do you like it?
3. Dave: Well it's kind of different with a with a young lady
4. you know.
5. Pat: Yeah?
6. Dave: Yeah.
7. Pat: What- uh what makes it different?
8. Dave: It seems like I do more work.
9. Pat: Yeah?
10. Dave: Yeah but you know I don't mind it you know.

The previous day he had expressed to the supervisor that he was “doing work” in “coming downstairs and helpin’ her take (bins) off” (the elevator). Again, this is coupled with a seeming “voice of fairness” in that he is “giving her the benefit of the doubt” and letting her “get away with it,” which basically criticizes her work performance (TOD 11:9–10, 17–18). When Dave directs Bess to ask others for help, she accuses him of not wanting to help her: “You don’t want to help me no more” (TOD 31:1). The theme of “help” in the discourse raises problems of conveying and interpreting messages. It can be argued that if exclusion is the goal, then Bess would not be offered or receive help from the men. But this is exactly what captures the cultural conflict inherent in this situation: to help or not to help. Women receive a range of differential treatment from men as Deaux & Ullman (1983), Swerdlow (1989), Walshok (1981), and Wetherby (1977:8-9) have shown. An account of a woman meatcutter highlights the diversity regarding help in comparing two different shops in her work experience. In one, the manager and the men in the shop “treat you like you’re a woman.” They don’t “expect me to lift as much as the other guys...and if (something) it’s too heavy the manager

doesn't object to having one of the guys help me out." In another, "I was expected to do the things that a man did" (Wetherby 1977:8-9).

In talking with Bert (TOD 11:4-6), I suggest that the prefatory cognitive process clauses (along with contrastive "but") - "Yeah but see I didn't know I be helping her taking the stuff off the elevator..." indicates that the question of helping Bess is an emergent phenomenon, something not originally foreseen or predicated; it is brought into play in the ongoing context of the situation.

7.5.1 "HELP" IN MALE TRAINING PAIRS

References to help in the male training pairs are very sparse and occur early on the first morning of training: Mickey tells John to ask others for help if something is too heavy to lift, and Warren after helping Tony put bins into the elevator, directs him to go downstairs and help Mac take them off the elevator.

7.6 THE EQUIVOCALITY OF QUESTIONS

7.6.1 RESEARCH STUDIES AND THEORY

Questions are ambiguous as to the distribution of power between the participants (Kress & Hodge 1979), and also as to their other semiotic and speech act functions/goals. Kress & Hodge maintain that yes/no questions indicate uncertainty about whether a statement is true or not, and assume that there is a listener who may know the answer. Thus a question classifies the speaker as (-knowledge) and the hearer as (+knowledge) and in certain situations as (+expert), so that the questions of a traditionally recognized expert such as a teacher are interpreted as a test. In some situations (-

knowledge) implies (-power), resulting in the asker classifying him/herself as (-power). But also, asking a question controls the behavior of the hearer, thus putting the questioner in a position of (+power).

As Dore & McDermott (1982) demonstrate, both well-defined social contexts in the form of concerted group behavior and lexico-grammatical forms and conventional speech acts are necessary for utterance interpretation. In a first-grade reading lesson, the teacher's initial question "Who else is ready?" is ambiguous as to the propositional specificity of the reading activity. In effect, the ambiguity opens up negotiation for the next reading turn. The question can also be heard as an indirect action request "Be ready." The authors also discuss the illocutionary ambiguity of one pupil's response, "I could read it." They state that an utterance cannot manifest multiple functions simultaneously. Basing analysis on filmed postural configurations, speech acts of what the students are doing together, and other texts that disclose the frequency of behavioral and verbal patterns, the above utterance is interpreted as a pragmatic counterfactual conveying the opposite of what it literally states. This designation, however, also serves as a signal to the others that a reader has been assigned and the reading is the item on the agenda.

The study raises questions relevant to my investigations. How can the analyst assess the function of a specific question and determine the recipient's interpretation in a situation that is not generically/typologically defined or subject to clearly defined concerted group behavior, and which lacks the gaze and postural positions captured in

videotapes? How do speakers in the training situation orient to questions? How can signs of what interactants are doing together be derived from the dialogue?

7.6.2 THE FUNCTION OF INITIAL QUESTIONS

In the training dialogues initial yes/no questions are potential signs for what the interactants are doing together. Usually the initiator of the dialogue poses or insinuates the goal-oriented activity or purpose. The question thematizes a topic and suggests a further course of development. Consequently, we ask: is there a connection between the initial clause and the final one; if so, what is it? The situation is overtly one of realizing on-the-job training, but dialogues are also being scanned for implicit or covert functions that disqualify or qualify Bess, or make speakers appear fair in the way they are treating her..

7.6.2.1 BERT'S QUESTIONS

Supervisor Bert opens dialogue with Dave with a yes/no question "Did you hear about the rumor?"(TOD 1:1). The question establishes the focus and centrality of the rumor and leads to the disclosure of its content and its transformations/recharacterizations to a legitimized form (see 3.4–3.6). Bert has put himself in a position of (-knowledge), but he is stably classified in institutional terms as (+power). Dave's response "What?"and his own questions show him as first seeking clarification of what the rumor is, and then whether Bert had said that Tom spread it. By answering "What?"to a yes/no question, Dave implies his ignorance and in effect a non-involvement. But Bert's following interrogative "Now who in the hell would spread that

stupid rumor down here?" implicitly raises the issue of Dave's loyalty, and questions it. By not waiting for an answer, instead recharacterizing the rumor as a joke, Bert lets Dave temporarily off the hook. We know that Dave did in fact envoice the contents of the rumor to and with Mickey and Larry saying that Bert doesn't want Bess down in the stockroom and that's why he's sending her to do the hard stuff (TOD 2:4-5,45-46). Dave, while attempting to shift the topical focus back onto the job tasks he and Bert are dealing with, displays his loyalty by agreeing with Bert's statements, offering recharacterizations, and repeating Bert's final transformation in a collusional manner. Bert's questions appear to test for Dave's position of alignment with him, as well as involving Dave by downplaying or mystifying Bert's power in assuming a (-knowledge) status. Bert's tone of indignation and his question "Am I right or wrong?"(16) expose the moral dimensions of the communicative act that the rumor encompasses. The initial yes/no question, introducing the topic of the rumor and connecting it to Dave, leads to the final transformation of the rumored statement into a legitimate sounding one. Questions perform multiple functions and must be recognized and analyzed in this capacity.

In Text 11, when Bert initiates dialogue with Dave on the third day of training he starts with a wh- question "How is she doing?"(1), which again is a focusing device, this time on Bess in her role as trainee. The question is rhetorical in that Bert immediately provides his own positive evaluation in the recipient's answer slot.¹² By answering it himself, Bert signals that the "real" question is to come. When Dave agrees that Bess is doing good, Bert counters with a yes/no interrogative in declarative form, "She's picking up things now?" (3). This question is notable because of the

indeterminacy of what meaning Dave is responding to in his first rejoinder “Yeah”(4), immediately followed by “But see I didn’t know I be helping her take the stuff off the elevator”(4-6).

As analyst, the question has two different interpretations, one literal and one metaphoric in the sense of learning. Does it have the same ambiguity for Dave? There is no articulation for the cognitive interpretation. Dave’s “yeah” is ambiguous and indeterminate as to what meaning he is responding to, although “but” may signal contradiction or contrastive clause. Its presence does raise the possibility that Dave may first be interpreting the question as metaphor. However, it is the literal interpretation that is articulated by Dave and advanced by Bert, which is precisely what Bess is being scrutinized for. The question leads to Dave’s disclosure that Bess isn’t doing her share of the heavy tasks and proceeds to Bert’s conversational closure of disclosing the disclosure to the person in managerial authority. The initial yes/no question opens the path via the verification process to the social act of disclosure. The outcome is not predictable, but Dave has indeed fulfilled the managerial goal. It didn’t seem to matter to Bert who verifies and discloses Bess’ failing, as he also asked Pat Sachs if Bess was doing any lifting and she answered, under protest, in the affirmative, (TOD 10B).

7.6.2.2 CHUCK’S QUESTIONS

Chuck initiates dialogue with Dave using yes/no questions, “Did she put in more () Cuz?”(TOD 6) and “She put ‘em by herself?”(TOD 27). Chuck who is (+power) over Dave in the hierarchy of authority gives Dave the status of (+knowledge, even +expert) in the role of verifying that Bess is doing the heavy tasks and of evaluating

her performance. The assignment as expert is articulated in Chuck's directions to Dave to keep his eyes on her (TOD 8:3), stay close to her (TOD 29:9), and Dave's statements of agreement (TOD 8:4) and that he's checking up on Bess (TOD 29:6). Dave answers "Yeah" to both of Chuck's opening questions. His affirmative response to Chuck indirectly implicates his role as trainer. If Bess is acknowledged as accomplishing tasks, then Dave is seen as an effective trainer. Chuck has input in the training as demonstrated in his comments to Mickey about giving Joe too much information at too fast a rate. He has made comments to Mac and to another trainer taking Mickey's place on the second day of Joe's training. The gist of his comments was to make the training easier and to give the trainees a choice of picking the lighter jobs. It would appear that Dave is mindful about being regarded in a positive light by Chuck, to whom he has also displayed solidarity. He emphasizes his role as trainer when he adds "I'm showing her now Cuz"(TOD 6:2). However, in Text 6, Chuck proceeds to direct Dave to give Bess the heavier tasks and Dave agrees (4-6). Chuck's initial questions appear to focus Dave not only on Bess' performance but also on Dave's. Dave has stakes in the way he is evaluated, as a worker (displayed in other texts that involve him in work problems apart from the actual training), as a trainer and as a colluder in making training hard for Bess. Dave is in a contradictory role training Bess.

7.6.2.3 KIRK'S QUESTIONS

Kirk's initial yes/no question "You really lifting this stuff?"(TOD 15:1) does not receive a polar response, even though Bess has lifted a few heavy bins by herself. Her "Thinking about it"(4) indicates her uncertainty as to how to answer; that is, how to

characterize her behavior in a situation that is socially charged in terms of gender. Kirk's question, although said in a friendly manner, is probably unsettling. What is particularly noteworthy is that the dialogue progresses through classification and elaboration of how hard the job is, including an offer of help, on Kirk's part, and Bess' defensive explanation that she thought the job would be different along with her agreement that it's not for her. That is, the conversation achieves closure when Bess actually answers Kirk's opening question with "Not me"(67), referring to her not lifting the even heavier bins to come, that Kirk has described.

7.6.2.4 BESS' QUESTIONS

Bess' strong involvement in her training takes the form of constant and numerous questions, as well as non-verbal activity where she takes the initiative into the next step of a task or a new task. There is no doubt that Bess is trying hard to learn the job. It is the physical loads that pose the most difficult problem. Bess' questions can be viewed as a means of asserting power by controlling Dave's behavior, at times even interrupting his training discourse. Dave sometimes doesn't answer her question. For example, in the machine shop area that contains bins for Dave and Bess to take to the stockroom:

Text 7.7 Bess' Question

1. Bess: What if the ticket says two bins and y-you don't have two bins there?
2. Dave: You don't have them? We have it though.
3. Bess ()?
4. Dave: Yeah see look see.
5. Bess: Two bins.
6. Dave: These two.

[Dr. Sachs comments on this exchange]

7. Bess asked about if– what if they don't have any. Dave
8. demonstrates by showing another one. In other words he
9. doesn't answer what you do if you ().

Bess has introduced a hypothetical question, which Dave discounts, focusing her attention solely on “what is” rather than “what could be.” and makes no further comment. He has transformed Bess' question by deleting “what if.” answering as if she had said “You don't have two bins’, therefore, classifying Bess as someone who lacks perceptual ability (see look see two bins), as someone who is “not too “bright’. Dave has set up a contrastive reality, where “though” in “We have it though’, and verbal polarity (don't have/have) play up the negation. He, Dave, is there to correct her false perception, in effect to transmit the message that the work and training reality consists of seeing how many bins there are to lift and then doing that. Dave is focusing Bess on the manual labor, which is the test she must pass. Bess is caught in the labor-filled moment, saying not that Dave didn't answer her question, but reducing her original question to the sole perceptual reality of quantifiable bins. Her question is ambiguous as to whether it is a quest for knowledge, a way to defer the here and now of hard manual labor, and/or as her only access to power. Bess at other times also posed several questions about what task steps or tasks lie ahead. However, in this text she has accepted Dave's transformation, and the interchange closes with his agreement in the form of the repeated numeral deictically signified.

7.6.2.6 DAVE'S QUESTIONS

Dave uses catechistic questions with Bess to establish the authority of teacher who is (+knowledge, +expert) (see Section 6.8.1.1). He also uses a declarative sentence

to say that the bins are not heavy to lift, seeking Bess' agreement; for example, "That's not bad, is it?"(TOD 16), "That's not hard, right?", "It's not bad, right?"(TOD 19:4). He masks the force of his evaluation of the task activity in the ambiguity of the question form.

Dave doesn't use the canonical yes/no question form here, implying that his questions are not primarily designed to find out how Bess is experiencing the hard work. When Bess says the work is hard. Dave asks "What's hard about it"(TOD 16) and laughs at her reply "Walkin' all over"(pushing the bin cart). Often questions are used to criticize Bess, without being direct. Examples are: "It's a new part, remember I told you that?," "What I told you about when it don't have no alphabet on it when it don't have no letter on it?," "What did I tell you? When I said it don't have no letter on it, where's it at? "It's on the bottom when it don't have no letter on it, right?," "Didn't I say to put an extra piece in there or two?"¹³ Bess is being chastised for not listening or remembering.

7.7 EQUIVOCAL AGENTS IN A CULTURAL BIND

The training situation in this case study generates a discourse that I distinguish from the "normative" register in which on-the-job training is usually carried out. I have called this discourse "Texts of Discrimination." One of the features that characterize it is the display of positions regarding Bess training for (and doing). The discussion in this section will offer some preliminary concepts and methods in the hopes of contributing to this problematic area.

The notion of equivocality in this situation is captured in the shifts of speakers between two voices conceptualized as oppositions, and in messages that are inconsistent:

“Voice of fairness” and “Voice of Discrimination.” These voices are often tied to indicators of power and of solidarity. The shifts of voice and message occur intermittently in clauses that are often indirect, mitigated, or ambiguous. There are instances where the same message will express both voices.

7.7.1 THE VOICES OF DAVE

Dave provides a good example of the fluctuating voice. He has participated in discourse that presents the two differing positions concerning Bess’ training. In TOD 2, he sides with the Union position (expressed by Mickey and Larry), “We fought but we couldn’t do it”(1). His words describing and elaborating on Bert’s position, his pronominal identification with a Bess supportive “we” and separation from “he”(Bert) and “they”, and his uptake and agreement with the union justification for not starting Bess on particularly hard tasks suggest solidarity and cooperation with Mickey and Larry. However, when Bert engages Dave in talk about the rumor (TOD 1), Dave’s exchanges suggest solidarity and cooperation with Bert, though laced with signs of reservation. In Table 7.1, exemplars of these two voice — Voice of Fairness (VOF) and Voice of Discrimination (VOD) — are presented both as separate utterances and as merged in the same utterance.

Table 7.1 TWO VOICES OF DAVE

TEXT	VOICE OF FAIRNESS	VOICE OF DISCRIMINATION
1	a) She definitely'll be treated (like everybody else).	←→ a) She definitely'll be treated (like everybody else).
2	a) We fought but we couldn't do it. b) that's why they're sending her to do the hard stuff.	c) I said can you pick one up for real.
3	a) you can either put them on the elevator or take them off. b) the easy part would be taking them off.	←→ a) you can either put them on the elevator or take them off. ←→ b) the easy part would be taking them off.
6		a) she might get hooked on Ted's little orders.
8		a) I got them (eyes) on her.
11	a) I'm giving her the benefit of the doubt. b) I'll let you get away with it today.	←→ b) I'll let you get away with it today. c) I'm like doing double work. d) but tomorrow you're going to have to take them off the elevator by yourself
14	a) Don't quit.	
25	a) You're not quitting now b) I wanted to show you the heavy ones first. c) 'cause I think the big ones is the easy ones	←→ b) I wanted to show you the heavy ones first.
26	b) you gotta have patience.	←→ a) she's not too bright. b) you gotta have patience.
27	a) She('s) good	b) she kinda like that
28	a) I don't mind it.	b) It seems like I do more work.
(AD) Additional	a) If you need help don't be afraid to ask.	←→ a) If you need help don't be afraid to ask.

The “Voice of Fairness” (VOF) and “Voice of Discrimination” (VOD) are expressed simultaneously in the same utterance (Table 7.1, Text 1aa,3aa,bb,11bb,25bb,26bb,ADaa). Dave can appear or be a gracious benefactor of fairness. Giving Bess a choice of putting in or taking out bins in the context of assigning her the task of lifting by herself has an especially sardonic ring (Text 3aa,bb), making the VOF resonate with its discriminatory implications. In other examples, Bess is belittled for not being a man; she is inferior and even a burden (Text 6a, 11bb,c). Here too, Dave can evaluate Bess as good and then shift to her not being bright (Text 26a), or again, appear supportive in not wanting her to quit (Text 14a,25a).

There are indications that Dave may be growing more sympathetic to Bess, and/or increasingly ticked off at Bert because of the situation he is placed in. Dave gives a few positive evaluations to Bess, such as “that’s good,” “you got it,” and “you’re starting to get it.”¹⁴ As discussed above (see Section 7.5), he offers help and directs Bess to ask for help if she needs it (Text ADa). Dave mentions the names of those she can ask including himself, and explicitly tells her not to go to Bert. He also tells her not to worry about working on a group of cards out of order and lays the blame on the leadman. However, I have discussed how help is a double-edged sword in that Dave had disclosed that helping Bess lift bins was doing double work (Table 7.1 Text 11c; TOD 11:9). Also, on the fourth morning he talks more when training Bess.

Along with these displays of solidarity and acceptance, Dave inserts talk that subtly challenges Bess when he gives her information in what I term “I told you” clauses (see 7.6.2.6). As discussed above, Dave continues to employ imperatives, direct Bess’

behavior, and put words in her mouth, and Bess continues to ask questions. In contrast to the male dyad trainers, Dave covertly expresses emotion in reaction to Bess' questioning assertion that he doesn't want to help her any more (see Text 7.8).

Text 7.8 (TOD 31)

1. Bess: So what'd you say? You don't want to help me no more.
2. Dave: Who?
3. Bess: You.
4. Dave: No I didn't say that. (0.3) Oh that's heavy [←under his
5. breath] [laughs].
6. Bess: ()
7. Dave: Oh god. [← under his breath]

Moreover, Dave is not consistent in his dialogic exchanges with Bess about whether a load is heavy or not. While he basically opposes her evaluation that the work is hard, he contradicts this when he agrees to Bess' evaluation "this is heavy work"(TOD 16:13), with the rejoinder "See"(this is heavy work) (14). The mental process clause "See" displays Dave as directing that Bess cognitively understand and/or perceptually notice "this is heavy work." He also points out a bin that is "kind of heavy" and then takes it (TOD 20-A:1, 20-B:1-2). The modal operator "kind of" reduces the intensity of the attribute "heavy." I suggest it plays a role in mediating the dilemma that Dave is in. Acknowledging that the bin is "heavy" attests to the meanings of discrimination hidden in the evaluation, while saying it is "easy" conveys the appearance of being fair. The physical classification of "not hard" would suppress the moral/legal implications of assigning deliberately hard tasks to remove Bess from the job. Dave in his evaluations of the work as "easy" is, therefore, speaking in a "voice of fairness." "Kind of" takes account of these two meanings or voices.

Dave's two voices, do not seem to emerge as recognizable in interactive exchange. But for the analyst concerned with social semiotic messages, Dave's participation in oppositional texts may reflect a protean quality of playing both sides. He displays ambivalence about having Bess work as a material handler. He may be covering up or mitigating his part in any exclusionary acts with statements that make him appear egalitarian/fair. In face-to-face interaction with Bess, Dave maintains his normative posture as trainer, at the same time displaying his power over her and making the training hard for her.

7.7.2 OTHER AGENTS' INCONSISTENCY

Bess displays her inconsistency non-verbally. Her messages are that the manual work is hard, and therefore, for a man, not her. However, for four days she deals with the heavy loads, sometimes lifting and dragging by herself, using the scoop to take parts over to the scale, lifting together with Dave, or asking the men to help her (virtually to do the lifting). As discussed above, Kirk displays ambivalence by shifting between features of solidarity and messages of control (see 5.3 and TOD 15). Solidarity appears in the reciprocity of conversational turns, questioning about a topic Bess raised, and using soft-spoken tones. His power is asserted by indirectly putting Bess on the defensive, challenging her assumptions about the job, classifying it and making a case for the classification, and not acknowledging the lifting Bess did. His offer of help is followed by mocking insinuations to Dave. It may be that cultural and social ties mediate the dialogue, but the indices and implications of gender, and power/solidarity cannot be

ignored. Along with the other identified features and material practices, Kirk's depiction of the job has a part in the final outcome for Bess.

7.8 CONCLUSION

I have identified texts which display managerial strategy to start Bess on heavy manual tasks and legitimate, justify, exemplify, verify and warn about this arrangement. However, this set of dialogic relationships is highly "naturalized" in that it follows current stockroom training pedagogy, and bases gender distinction on commonly accepted biological differences of muscular strength. What is not visible is the evaluative classifications in play — it's a man's job, Bess isn't competent, and she needs help. Also hidden are the constraints on Bess' physical behavior, particularly expressed in the numerous undertakings at verification. The equivocality of agent positions is represented in linguistic and bodily behavior — Bess' agreement that the work is too heavy for a woman, but at times doing these tasks; Dave's assignment of the hard tasks to Bess, then helping her and directing others to help her, and disclosing his help to the supervisor. I suggest that asking for and receiving help presents some form of resolution of the inherent conflict for Bess and Dave.

Conflict is often subverted into functional ambiguity in speech. This is manifested in initial questions and evaluations that have to do with whether Bess is able to carry out the hard physical tasks. Inconsistency and equivocality is displayed in Dave's two voices: "fairness" and "discrimination" These voices alternate or merge in the same lexicogrammatical clause so that exclusionary practices are covered over by the "voice of

fairness.” Also solidarity features alternate and merge with those expressing dominance. Agents are inconsistent as to their messages. Dave contradicts his evaluation of the work as “easy.” And comparison of dialogic exchanges between Chuck and Dave (TOD 6,8,29) show them carrying out the exclusionary goal of management by assigning Bess heavy tasks, but they also display inconsistency in displaying positive evaluations of her. Dave provides both negative and positive evaluations.

Agents must be characterized as choosing syntagms for multi-functional purposes, with the knowledge that conventional forms and interpretations may mask hidden agendas. The discernment of patterns in workplace and gender discourse and the continued development of ways to connect dispersed text serve to disambiguate messages and provide tools for plausible speculation. Although multi-functionality poses difficult problems for the researcher of discourse, its presence in many situations of conflict and cultural instability demands recognition.

* * *

CHAPTER 7 ENDNOTES

¹ This is also evidenced in testimonial, theoretical and research discussions of workplace discrimination practices against women (Barrett 1980; Blau 1984; Crompton & Sanderson 1990; Deaux & Ullman 1983; Needleman & Nelson 1988; Public Hearing on the Construction Industry in New York City 1990; Reskin 1984; Reskin & Hartmann 1986; Swerdlow 1989; Walshok 1981). There is discussion of this theme in Chapter 2 of this dissertation.

² Dorset & Baber (eds) (1983). Webster's Unabridged Dictionary, New York, NY: Simon and Schuster.

³ Lerman, C. L. A Sociolinguistic Study of Political Discourse: The Nixon White House Conversations. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Cambridge.

⁴ This may be in section on dialogical agreement of two texts. Big ones' also has lexical ties with "big" implying heavy in weight when Chuck's comments to researcher Sachs that Dave chooses the heavy jobs.

⁵ There is no way in knowing Dave's intention for selecting that pronoun, perhaps it is on an unconscious level. Continued and further investigation on processes and patterns of pronoun selection would be fruitful.

⁶ The ending intonation of this clause makes it hard to characterize. It hovers between a rising intonation usually signaling a question and a falling intonation signaling a statement. Dave's response (13), however, covers both meanings.

⁷ There is reference to Bess initiating talk with Bert on the second day of training. Dr. Sachs does not go over and tape that dialogue knowing of Bess' reluctance to go on record. I would speculate as to what Bess would talk about to Bert: she wants to know what the job entails as to physicality of tasks, and Bert presents it as being particularly strenuous for a woman, just as Kirk focused on the heavy work in TOD 13.

⁸ The identification of this kind of inconsistency in training has not been carried out in a systematic way with comparisons of the male training pairs. What is clear is that there is an absence of competitive and pejorative language between the males. Therefore consistency or inconsistency in males' trainers is not significant in the social processes that do take place between males..

⁹ As teacher in an adult classroom setting, I have witnessed conflict between Black American and Jamaican students: Jamaicans are criticized by Southern Blacks for their attitudes of superiority in intelligence. The sociolinguistic factors of ethnicity, gender, and class or status are discernible in this instance since the conflict involves female students of the same socioeconomic class. In the training situation, gender and ethnicity are difficult to separate out in analyzing the discourse signs. While gender is a determining category in much of the discourse, there are examples of contestation in the training that

may be correlated to factors of ethnicity or both gender and ethnicity. There is simply not enough determinate ethnographic information/studies or discourse data.

¹⁰ Barthes, Roland (1973). *Mythologies* (trans. A. Lavers). London: Paladin

¹¹ For example, Bess asks Tony to lift a bin that is too heavy for her. This is the same Tony that was previously trained by Mac, and who also brought Dave into the factory and was his trainer. He is Dave's sister's fiancée, but has been trying to make a date with Bess.

¹² That Bert is also the author of a positive evaluation requires some explanation. This statement is baffling because of the establishment of his prejudicial position that he (and management) will make it hard for Bess so she'll quit. I argue that the process of legitimization put forward in TOD 1 of looking fair and reasonable, of putting on a public face for the audiotape, and reiterating (through modeling) to Dave the importance of this voice is displayed in "I think she's doing pretty good'. The mitigating features, "I think' and "pretty', are not difficult to understand. This is Bert's voice of fairness, which is echoed in Dave's statements of agreement that Bess is doing pretty good (2), and two of his messages, "I'm giving her the benefit of the doubt" (9-10), "I'll let you get away with it today" (15-16).

¹³ These instances are not included in Appendix B. They are additional Texts of Discrimination.

¹⁴ See Endnote 13.

Chapter 8

“SEE IT’S GOT TO BE EVEN:” A SEMIOTIC MODEL OF DIALOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS

8.1 CHAPTER SYNOPSIS

The question of how the cross-gender training texts are producing an intermittently embedded situation outside of and different from the training situation of the males, one of exclusionary barriers, is discussed in this chapter. I first present a model of the relationship of the various dialogues that will serve as a basis for discussions in this chapter (see Section 8.2). The intertextual model will show the data’s identified components and discourse types arranged in a hierarchy of levels and the direction of effect and dialogical exchange. In Figure 8.2, I present a sequence of coherent events leading to the situational outcome. Another focus is behavioral sanctions and attitudes about Bess doing heavy physical work. The legitimate institutional position of treating her like a man raises a concern with gender identity and its transformations, which I address. I then summarize and discuss the ways that Bess is not taken seriously in trying out for the job, and argue that the economic and social stakes involved support the use of such a strategy. After that I discuss how Bess is co-author in the multi-voiced texts that serve to exclude her. She is in a position where her performance and her views of the job are being tested and subjected to negotiation and manipulation. Assertions and rejoinders by the males seem sensitive to what Bess is saying and not saying, and doing or not doing. Various dialogues represent a training register which on the surface appears usual, but compared to male-dyad training texts shows the type and degree of control, evaluation, and mockery

going on. I discuss and summarize how talk that indicates the occurrence of discriminatory practice is mystified by this legitimate register.

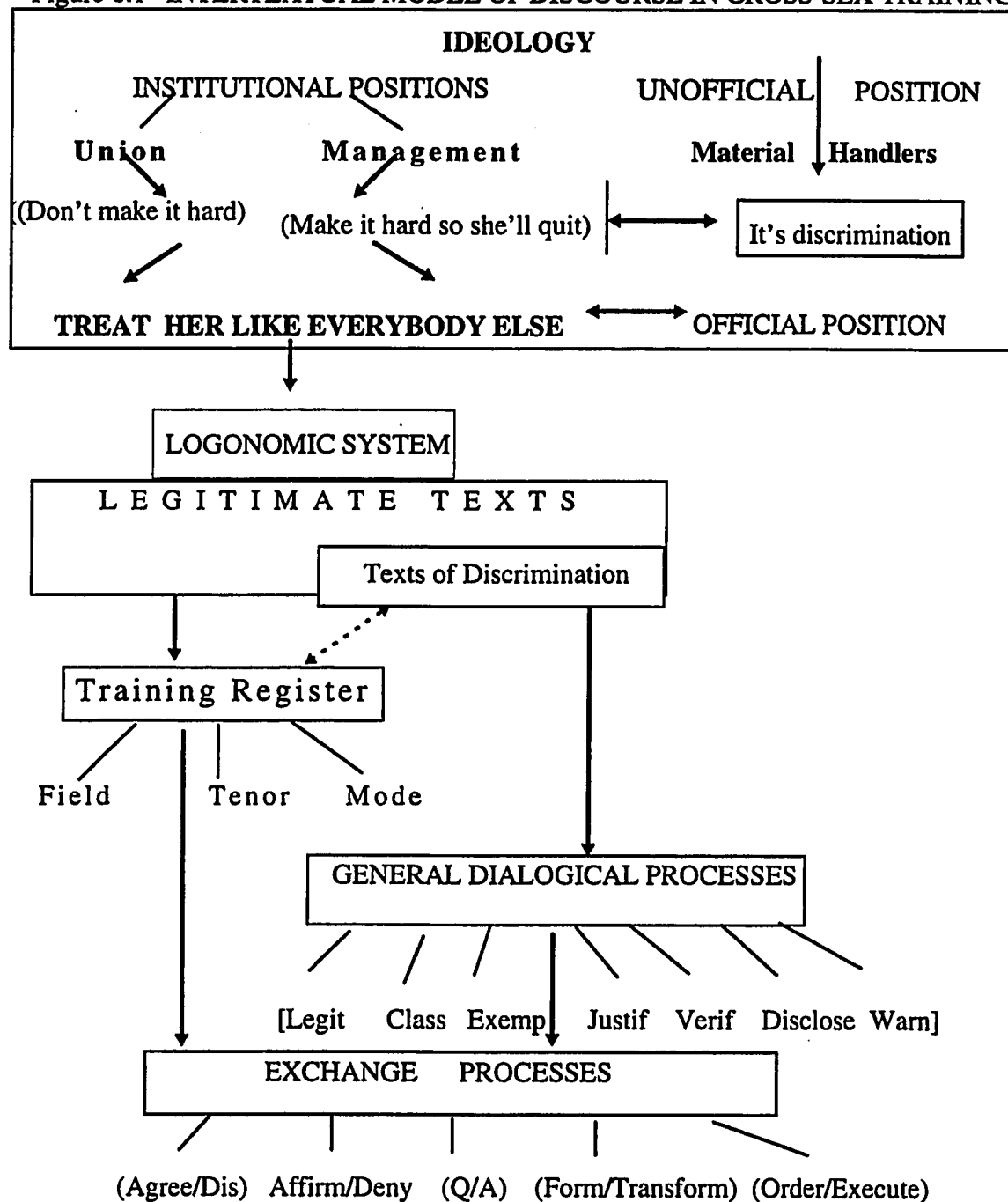
I then comment upon the dialogical relationships of agreement and affirmation as to their significance and how they get accomplished. I review and discuss the function of question/answer, assertion/opposition, and transformation. I summarize the mono-gender and bi-gender training talk for similarities and differences in these dialogisms. Following this is how power/solidarity is asserted, including the dialogic order/execution, and how power/knowledge is interconnected in the various texts. In line with the theoretical perspective presented, I then discuss how verbal interchanges are semiotic processes and transformations that deploy “naturalization” as an ideology. That is, how talk is constructed to make it seem “natural” that Bess as a woman is not fit or able to perform the job as a man would. This biological naturalness omits the complexity, contradiction, and ambiguity of messages and the inconsistency of behavior, as well as the social constructions of reality that have taken place. I briefly explore the notion that the training dialogues represent an historical process of deskilling, and that all the dialogues can be viewed as part of another diachronic process that results in the eventual inclusion of woman in the stockroom. I conclude by encapsulating the dynamics of the four-day social drama.

8.2 MODEL OF INTERTEXTUAL RELATIONSHIPS

The model below (Figure 8.1) shows an official “egalitarian” text of training and “legitimate” dialogical processes that are “dialogized” by an illegitimate sub-text (Text of Discrimination) which is intermittently inserted and co-occurs with texts of and

about training. The model presents the intertextual relationships among the dialogues and training register and shows the hierarchical levels that determine and influence the level below along with the direction of discourse.

Figure 8.1 INTERTEXTUAL MODEL OF DISCOURSE IN CROSS-SEX TRAINING

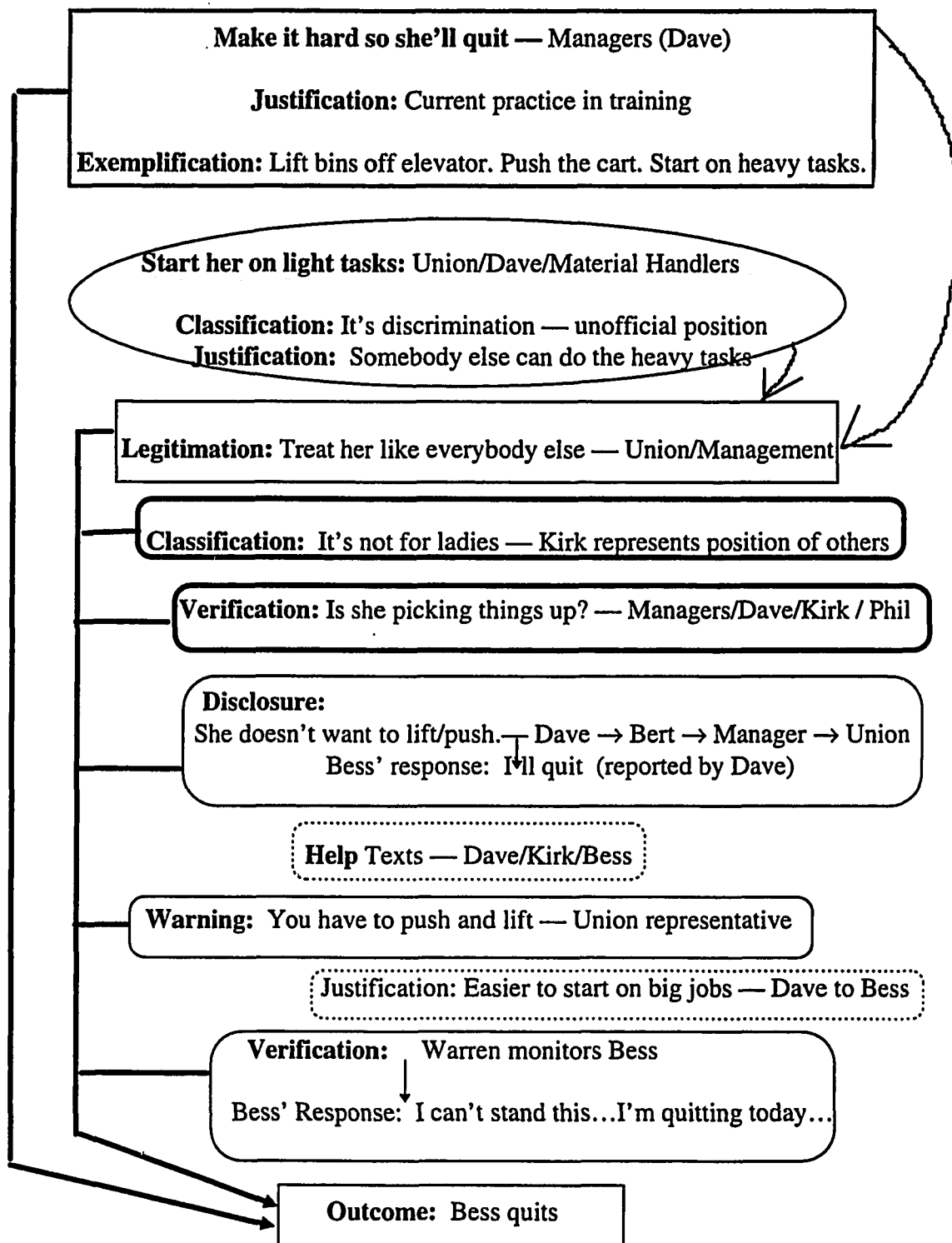


The discourse is directed by and accomodates to the official “egalitarian” position expounded by both union and management that Bess be treated like everybody else. This official position is an adapted transformation of the illegitimate management position to make it hard for the purpose of getting her to quit. Legitimacy is thereby accorded to texts, and texts of discriminatory practice are masked, existing as dialogized sub-text and co-text. Both kinds of texts (legitimate/illegitimate) are represented as dialogues about the training or talk exemplifying and varying a recognizable register of training. The various texts are connected via social processes of classification, exemplification, justification and so forth, and in further dialogical relationships of agreement and opposition, question and answer, and transformation. Ambiguous messages (not diagrammed) are generated at all levels of the intertext.

8.3 A COHERENT SEQUENCE OF DIALOGIZED EVENTS

Figure 8.2 displays the sequential flow of practices in the case study data. These form a coherent set that I suggest is applicable to other situations. At any juncture an issue or opposition can emerge. If there is no display of overt conflict, then the situation has been successfully marked as conventionalized or naturalized.¹

Figure 8.2 SEQUENCE OF DIALOGIZED EVENTS



8.4 GENDER IDENTITY AND TRANSFORMATIONS

I claim that the training situation is not only a matter of physical qualifications in doing heavy workloads, but is intricately bound to the factory's structure of gender segregated jobs and to questions of gender identity. As Hodge & Kress (1988:106) state, "Like all ideological forms, constructions of gender are the site of struggles and renegotiations of meanings. They have their own inconsistencies, and are attacked or supported for their own reasons by contending groups, whether of the same gender or not." Two examples provide clues that gender transformations are an important part of the social meanings taking place: a woman worker seeing Bess near the bins offers an explicit gender transformation of counterfeit, "Aw you pretend like you're a fellow," and Dr. Sachs reports that the only woman material handler in the factory is called "the Amazon."² These transformational messages are transparent in contrast to the transformation implied in the institutional position that Bess be treated like everybody else. "Everybody else" in the stockroom clearly are men, so that the effect of the message is to treat Bess as if she were a man. This official position is also reformulated in other talk. Dave, on the first morning of training after he and Bess finish the particularly heavy tasks says:

Text 8.1

Dave:	See this is the easy part now. (0.8)
Bess:	I hope they give me this and let you guys lift the bins.
Dave:	No see it's got to be <u>even</u> (laughs)

Kirk responds to Bess' explanation (that she thought they were going to let her write and file and let the guys lift the bins) with "these fellows...don't believe in that." Bess agrees (TOD 15:6-15). And Dr. Sachs comments that Bess is not essentially pulling

her weight (pushing the cart of bins) which it (the job/task) requires (TOD 9B:9-14). Gender equalization appears to be a dominant as well as official position according to the above mentioned texts. Here, there is no accommodation to what is considered 'natural' biological differences in upper body strength except by means of the contradictory and consequential "Help" texts (see Section 7.3). The agreed upon classification of the job (it's not for ladies) by Kirk and Bess also has implications for gender identity. Gender-typing the job not only sets up restrictions on behavior, but leaves Bess vulnerable to gender transformational activity, as the instances discussed above demonstrate.

Bess clearly rejects an identification with the masculine in her assertion that the job requires a man and that is all she knows (TOD 15:62. In her appearance, Bess displays effects of femininity in make-up and polished long nails.³ The solution to her situational dilemma is to play up the lighter tasks in the job, that is to present a "feminine" version in contrast to the "masculine" version that Kirk, managers and trainer present, or to get assigned to the shipping department where Mary works (TOD 15:50–51). Bess had requested being with Mary before she was assigned to the stockroom. This suggests that Bess is not adverse to doing the material handling that Mary does, and that by working with another woman she can get the kind of support which she is not getting in the stockroom. Bess' negative reaction to the monitoring of her work performance, from her assertion "Don't check me out leave me alone" (TOD 9A:19) to her emotion-laden "I can't stand this I swear to god I'm quitting today" (TOD 14A:3), also points to her concern with being categorized as unfeminine, although never explicitly stated. However, at the same time that Bess is being considered and treated like a male, she is also being objectified as a sexual female. In addition to instances discussed above, Tony,

the trainee before her, tries to make a date with her even though he is engaged to Dave's sister. And there is discussion about who should buy her a snack during break time, Dave and Ted assigning each other the action. Along with the "naturalized" sexist terms of address and mocking innuendoes between the males, Bess displays no active opposition to this talk. It is regarded as a natural way of talking between the sexes.

There are examples of how males are viewed and respond in terms of gender identity. In one, Bess initiates social talk during the training .

Text 8.2

Bess: (Do you miss Tony?)⁴

Dave: Who?

Bess: Umm Tony.

Dave: Do I look like a girl?

(?): ()

Dave: I don't miss nobody. don't miss my mother.

Here Dave rejects Bess' attempt to talk in a way that he characterizes as female. In another example, Chuck asserts with pride that Dave likes doing the big and heavy jobs, which Dave dialogically affirms to Bess (TOD 25:19-21). In another (TOD 6:10), Dave implies that Ted's little orders is feminine in that they are something a woman can and would like to do (Bess can get hooked on them). He is subtly calling attention to Bess' lack of strength and demeaning Ted, using the ambiguity of laughter. That it is all right for males, at least those who do not look strong, to choose the lighter tasks is displayed on the second day of Joe's training when another trainer, Rick, takes Mickey's place. As mentioned, Joe is weak looking. Rick tells Joe that he can pick any workorder he wants. Leadman Chuck then says "That's right, that's good, give him a choice," to which Rick replies "See after awhile he'll learn [laughs] take the ones with two pulls on it." In this last example, choosing the light tasks are presented as a positive

option. Gender transformation with its inherent complications only occurs when Bess gets trained and not when any of the male trainees do.

8.4.1 IS BESS BEING VALUED LIKE A MALE?

A major premise in my analysis is that the same action/utterance will be regarded differently according to whether it was the action/utterance of a man or a woman. Although Dave uses training register features common to all trainers, comparison of the register variations demonstrates the extent and frequency of trainer control and domination in Bess' training (see Chapter 6). Power, however, is not directly asserted; it is embedded in messages of training about carrying out the work, so that imperatives do not seem inappropriate. Also there is no direct negation or prohibitions on Bess' physical behavior, such as 'Don't lift that. Leave it to a man'. While she receives some seemingly positive evaluations, they can be recognized as mocking or patronizing in meaning and intonation. Unlike Bess, male trainees are not negatively or positively evaluated. In the cross-gender training, information and explanation is at times curtailed or omitted. Bess is not shown how to operate the wheelcart, in contrast to the males, and her trainer does not teach her to operate certain tools that she is struggling with. Also, Dave has changed the way he had been trained, speeding up and compounding the task operations. Dave also interweaves mockery, sexual innuendo, and laughter into his discourse. This strongly suggests that Bess is not being taken seriously. It is more perhaps accurate to say that it appears that she is being treated equally to a male. This is so because talk focuses on the carrying out of work tasks, but the instances described above exemplify features from registers that are different from the training register. The inclusion of these features indi-

cates that Bess is being treated as less valued. This interwoven mixture marks her training as contrastive to the males'.

There is also nothing being said or done to encourage a sense of Bess belonging or being integrated into the stockroom work environment. In fact, there are messages indicating that she does not belong there. Kirk excludes her by classifying the job as male and verbally switching her back to her female job as packer. Bess displays her sense of distance and distress in the training situation with her comment "I'm in trouble" (TOD 12:1,3). This is expressed in the modality of certainty, with the spatial metaphor conveying a sense of being inside or surrounded by trouble. Bess expresses that "they" and dispatch manager Warren disclosed to the union that she wasn't doing her share of the heavy work (TOD 12A,13,14A) and that Warren had an ulterior motive in watching her train. This mystifying and noncommunicative verification and disclosure would represent a sign of nonsolidarity and nonaffinity by somebody whose position toward her working there Bess concerns Bess.. The effects of these acts contribute to her perception that she is not wanted. Bess even asserts to Kirk "Maybe they (the higher graded stockroom handlers) don't want a grade 2 with them" (TOD 15:47).

Also there are expressions of disconcerting and distancing emotional states attributed to Bess. Pat Sachs reports that on the first morning Bess was feeling "funny" about the management/union meeting concerning her (TOD 7B). Her commentary on day four about the warning to Bess in includes "She's in a foul mood today, she's upset, she talked about quitting" (additional text not included in Appendix B). Bess herself expresses negative and atypical states of feeling which point to the degree of distance and alienation she is experiencing. As rejoinder to Kirk's insertion of "sweet" before her

name, she emphasizes that she's "not sweet no more" (TOD 15:25). She exclaims to Dave "I can't stand this. I swear to god I'm quitting today" (TOD 14A:3). She also says to Dave on the final day that she didn't want to come to work (text not included in Appendix). And she agrees that she feels "wicked" in wanting to hurt someone (most likely Warren). This text is presented as TOD 32. Dave does not ask Bess why she feels that way, instead he subtly moves the emotional process toward the material, into action, and is therefore in a position to order Bess not to do that, as he cannot order her to not feel wicked.

The contrast of feeling to action ties in with identified gender oppositions of emotion with femininity and action with masculinity (Poynton 1989:18). While Bess has agreed with Dave's action rendition, she returns to the mental process, which suggests that she is more interested in discussing feelings. In this text there are markers of solidarity displayed in Bess' agreement of Dave's tentative characterization, and in Dave's "I" and message response. While Dave leaves Bess no option to want to hurt someone, the formulation for himself leaves open the possibility that there may be circumstances in which he is obligated to hurt someone. Bess does not directly discuss her feeling ("you" not "I," question not declarative); the implication and Dave's response "Don't do that" indicates that the question has to do with her, and that moral issues of right and wrong are involved. Thus, Dave's assumption that action is involved. The gender differences outlined in this analysis display dominant gender patterns expressing the power of the male, including Bess giving the topic over to Dave and asking for a yes/no answer (which is what she receives with "Umm-hmm"). Her question also may be an attempt to establish solidarity through an affirmation of both having the same feeling. The features of soli-

clarity, including Dave's pickup of the topical theme, somewhat cancels the indices of power in this dialogic exchange. This dialogue has some features of casual conversation (Wilson 1994, Levinson 1983) and represents differences from the training register.

[TOD 32]

Bess: Have you ever felt wicked?

Dave: Mmmm?

Bess: Have you ever felt wicked?

Dave: Wicked? Like you (wanna) hurt somebody?

Bess: Yeah.

Dave: Don't do that.

Bess: Have you ever felt that way?

Dave: Um-hmm.

[work talk and social talk (1.7)]

Dave: I don't want to have to hurt nobody just-
Huhl- [break bell rings]

8.5 A METAPHORIC DIALOGUE FOR THE BI-GENDER TRAINING SITUATION

As I have argued, stable gender categories are in jeopardy in this social drama. The following dialogue (TOD 33) takes place before the woman's training begins and contains a symbolism involving the placement of her pocketbook. I view this a metaphor for the entire situation. It encapsulates the dialogic process of events (see Figure 8.2), the instability of the situation, and the outcome.

[TOD 33]

1. Bess: Do I have to (work) with my pocketbook?
2. Bert: Is this yours?
3. Bess: Ye:p.
4. Bert: Wh- where do you want to leave it Bess?
5. Dave: //[laughs for (0.8)]
6. Pat S.: [commentary tape] //Now Bert's coming in
7. carrying Bess' pocketbook and asking her
8. how she's going to handle it. She's getting-
9. Dave: Put it in y our desk Bert.
10. Bert: Aw I- god forbid something happens you know
11. //what I mean?
12. Jeff: //Lock it up in () your desk. Lock it
13. in that thing where you keep all those pens
14. and stuff at.
15. Bess: Okay I'll take it upstairs.
16. Bert: //All right yeah that's because it's-
17. Jeff: //Yeah best to put it in your locker. You leave it
18. downstairs something might happen.
19. Bert: Oh god forbid even in my- even in my desk drawer
20. they can get into. You know what I mean Bess?
21. Bess: Okay.
22. Jeff: Bess go on with him and do what you gotta do. We'll see if
() straighten out.

(continued)

24. [voices in background]
25. Dave: () take your pocketbook.
26. Bess: Where do I go upstairs from here?
27. Dave: () up the stairs and you'll be right there
28. right that door right there ().
29. Bess: Okay I'll be back.
30. Pat S: Bess' gone off to put her pocketbook- lock up her
pocketbook upstairs.

The pocketbook as symbolic object can be considered a conventional sign of femaleness, and therefore of Bess. The speakers are Bess, researcher Sachs, Jeff N, the shop steward, supervisor Bert, and Dave. The text is in fact a segment in TOD 2 that was alluded to but not presented. The collective focus on placement of the pocketbook suggests its recognition as the expression of symbolic power and ideological position (Bourdieu 1991). There are clearly many interpretative readings of this incident. In the one I present, the power of management as represented by Bert negates the safeguarding and acceptance of Bess as a female stockroom worker. Bert's symbolic negation can be viewed as dialogical affirmation of Dave's statement that Bert doesn't want her down her and that's the bottom line (TOD 2:4-5). Bess offers to take the pocketbook upstairs, in effect, agreeing with the covert meaning I outlined: her femininity is now in jeopardy in the stockroom. She must have just freely set her bag down. In this text, Bert certainly could be concerned about its security, and does not want responsibility for locking it in his desk. This is a socially recognized, rational and instrumental type of rejoinder. But Bert is physically carrying the handbag from a place where Bess has left it, so his comment "Where do you want to leave it" casts doubt on the intention of his question as seeking information. Jeff, however, wants to make Bert responsible. He originally sees no danger in the bag being locked in the desk. Bess supplies the commonly agreed upon solution. But here, I suggest, is an early indication that she is not wanted down there.

The incident foreshadows and is an ironic metaphor for the gender transformations: Bess, not willing or able to be like a man finally returns to her proper institutional place with the woman. The factory job structure and the economic implications for gender are kept in tact. In retrospect, there are many signs of this particular outcome; for example, her admission that the job requires a man, that she would quit if she had to do the particularly hard tasks of pushing the loaded cart and lifting bins by herself, and her reaction to being monitored. The uncertainty and equivocality concerning gender is expressed in the union representative's agreement to both locations of placement, the secured drawer and Bess' locker. Without Bert's commitment to locking up the pocketbook, he agrees with Bess' solution. Bess' response to seeing Bert holding out her pocketbook is to assign him power to obligate her to work with her pocketbook (line 1). Bert leaves this in Bess' hands. I speculate that Dave provocatively raises the underlying issue of gender in his direct imperative (line 9). Bess complies with Bert's decision not to put the handbag in his drawer. Her "Okay" (line 14) implies agreement to Bert's inferred negation. The common concern for safety of possessions is voiced as the rational and instrumental reason for locking the pocketbook upstairs. While negotiation is the general description of what is occurring interactively, this alone does not indicate power/solidarity features, how negotiation is achieved, and what the implicit levels of social meaning are.

8.6 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF DIALOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS

Analysis of dialogic relationships discloses and implies the position of a speaker to her own words, to the words of another, and to the questions/issues that are raised or engendered in this particular discursive situation. Considered a key element in

Bakhtin's pragmatic theory, such relationships are the embodiment of living language, and constitute the rejoinders that occur between speakers. I have identified two major kinds of dialogical relationships: (1) that which constitutes specific yet socially realized processes taking place, such as classification, legitimation, justification, exemplification, and so forth, and (2) that which occurs repeatedly in communicative exchange, such as agreement-affirmation/disagreement-negation, assertion/opposition, transformation, question/ answer, command/execution, and so forth. The situational context determines the significance and function of the dialogic relationships displayed in the data. Here, rejoinders show a high frequency of agreement and affirmation, question and answer, order and execution (in the cross-gender training register), and a much lesser occurrence of assertion/opposition, and transformation. These dialogic relationships will be discussed in separate sections, and will include both the texts of discrimination, and similarities and differences in the training text utterances. Table 8.1 presents the key dialogical relationships exemplified.

Table 8.1 KINDS AND EXAMPLES OF DIALOGICAL EXCHANGE RELATIONSHIPS

Dialogical Relationships	Examples	Text or Section
Assert/Agree	1a) Bert: I better get Stan B. down here and explain it to him... Dave: Yeah.	TOD 11
	1b) Chuck: Let her put the big ones start upper and come down. Dave: Yeah.	TOD 6
Assert/Repeat/Reformulate	2a) Pat S: This is Chuck interjecting to Dave that she should start on big work orders.	TOD 6
	2b) Kirk: It's not for ladies. Bess: They need a man.	TOD 15
Affirm/Deny	3a) Bess: I thought they were gonna keep me in there to write an' file... Kirk: No, you didn't think that!	TOD 15
	3b) Kirk: You don't do this everyday. [lift bins] Bess: Yes, I have to	TOD 15
	3c) Bess: They're heavy. [bins] Dave: No.	TOD 18
	3d) Dave: That's not bad, is it? That's not hard, right? Bess: It is hard.	TOD 16
	3e) Dave: But you know how to do it now. Bess: I don't remember. Dave: You remember.	Section 6.8.4.1
	4a) [Dr. Sachs comments that Phil says of Dave He's sweating. Phil: You're not sweating. Bess: I am sweating.	TOD9A/9B
	5a) Pat S: Are those boxes heavy? Dave: Yeah.	TOD 5A
Affirm/Deny/Transform		
Question/Answer		

(Table 8.1) continued)	5b)	Dave: It's easier than your other job? Bess: No.	TOD 16
	5c)	Bert: She's picking up things now? Dave: Yeah but see I didn't know I be help ing her taking the stuff off the elevator...	TOD 11
	6a)	Bess: I'm in trouble. Sully: You're in trouble?	TOD 12A
	6b)	Bert: I had said that we're going to make it rough for her that so she's gonna quit. ↓ Bert: I said she will definitely be treated like everybody else.	TOD 1

8.6.1 HOW AFFIRMATION AND AGREEMENT GET ACCOMPLISHED

Agreement/disagreement is a fundamental dialogic relationship (Bakhtin 1986, Todorov 1988). In studies of conversation as a genre, developing the text by agreement has been shown to be the usual overt formal characteristic (Pomerantz 1972). Agreement implies such textual strategies as exemplification, modification, reformulation, and development of the previous speaker's text. Kress states that overt disagreement, in fact, is a determinant of a different genre such as argument or debate (Kress 1989:21).

In my data, agreement is prevalent both in the dialogues about training and in the actual training. Affirmation can be used synonymously with agreement in the sense that when an assertion is affirmed it is also agreed with, when negated and- opposed there is disagreement. But affirmation/negation is also a dialogical category in itself. Which utterances interactants affirm and agree with and where they disagree and express opposition are important indicators of interpersonal, ideological, and thematic positions, as well as competence and utilization of register and genre. Command/compliance-noncompliance

noncompliance is also a dialogical relationship. Agreement and affirmation are expressed in two major ways: by yes (okay) (I know) in rejoinder to an assertion, and by repetition/reformulation of an utterance. Dave and Mickey reformulate (TOD 2) the rumored statement that the managers are making it rough for Bess so she'll quit (TOD 1) and thereby affirm its status as truth. Agreement and affirmation give the impression that the events and practices in the stockroom are occurring routinely and naturally, and that agents are expressing solidarity and cooperation.

But, it is necessary to turn to the kinds of opposition and negations that occur to locate conflict and analyze whether it is being maintained, escalated, neutralized or resolved. Opposition occurs in discerning the different positions of union and management over Bess' training. The differences are briefly expressed in classifying management's position as discrimination, and in opposing justifications of both positions. Opposition basically does not develop or lead to argumentative discourse. In fact, the conflict is neutralized in the official position (see Figure 8.1), and does not overtly emerge again. Bess and her interactants engage in brief and infrequent affirm/deny and oppositional exchanges concerning positions and attitudes about the job and the training (3a-3e). These are never developed, and only repeated in Dave and Bess' easy/hard disagreement. However, it is significant that no oppositional discourse exists in the male dyads, nor would that be expected in the shared training register.

8.6.2 DIALOGICAL QUESTION/ANSWER

Questions are especially mystifying as to their functions and meanings. Social semiotic analysis has pointed out that commands are often presented in question format,

as are indirect challenges, and that often under the guise of seeking information, they have other function as well. In an overview of this dialogic relationship, I propose that (1) the messages that Bess presents about her views, perceptions, experience and degree of commitment in pursuing the job influence the practices of the agents she interacts with, and (2) her actions and attitudes lead to further acts in the exclusionary process. Question/Rejoinder has an important function of finding out where Bess stands and provides the grounds for further practices. This is encapsulated in Sully's interrogative rejoinder "Did you say that?" to Bess' assertion that Tracy was told Bess "didn't want to help with the big jobs" (TOD 12:5-6,9).

Questions also are a way to tentatively broach or introduce a theme. Initiating questions to and about Bess are often in declarative form, indicating a preferred response. There are few tag questions. Direct wh-questions also are infrequent, but there are some what-questions. What happened? occurs in quests for information about union/management position on training (TOD 2:2,7) and about the attempt to have Bess work with the woman material handler (TOD 13:34), and "What's hard about it?" is Dave's probe to Bess about the job (TOD 16:5). Bert's response to Dave's saying "tomorrow she gonna have to take them (bins) off the elevator by herself" is "What'd she say to that?" (TOD 13:24). "What?" is sometimes a response to an initial question or statement, that appears to serve as a hedge, a probe for further information about the function and/or meaning of the utterance, and sometimes an exclamation of surprise. These monosyllabic questions usually occur at the beginning of dialogues.

Dave's questions to Bess about actual training tasks have the meaning of testing and therefore of evaluating Bess. Trainers of the males do not basically question their

trainees about the training, but rather about prior work experience and questions of a sociable nature. It would most likely be correct to predict that no trainer would use why-questions to the trainee regarding training, and looking over the corpus confirms this. This is because the primary function of the register is to have the trainee perform the tasks rather than know reasons why. Trainer Mickey conveys the importance of reasons through his monologue-like discourse, and not by questions.

Bess asks who- and why-questions in connection to her investigation of the dialogical disclosure. She also wants to know what the job entails, and what tasks are next. She asks questions to confirm that she does or has done a task operation correctly, and to get more information. Dave is inconsistent in supplying answers. Repetitions of questions seem to emphasize the importance attributed to an answer. For example Bess' "Have you ever felt wicked?" repeated three times (TOD 28), Mickey and Larry's "What happened?" (TOD 2), and Dave's thrice repeated question to Bess (not included in TOD 15A) inquiring whether Bess sees Warren at home, after she says that Warren doesn't belong in the stockroom.

8.6.3. OTHER DIALOGICAL RELATIONSHIPS

As I discussed in Chapter 3, there is a major semiotic transformation of the discriminatory statement that managers will make it hard so Bess will quit to the legitimate one of treating her like everybody else. Legitimation, I have argued, is a politically important social process. There are basically few transformational sequences between agents. One example is given in Figure 8.2 (4a). Hodge & Kress consider negation a transformation, and of course there is pronominal transformation in this example. The existence of

sweat becomes the sign of carrying out the heavy tasks. Bess is therefore being indirectly accused of not doing this work, an implication she opposes. Bess takes up Phil's assertion on the mimetic plane of sweating. But she is also implying that she is doing at least some of the heavy activities. Transformations also occur when assertions are changed to questions as in (4b). The dialogue with Sully (TOD 12) indicates that he is sympathetic to Bess. Hearing this conversation, Dr. Sachs remarked that it represents a "rallying around" her. Sully displays surprise that Bess is in trouble, and in response to her explanation of why, he offers her generic advice not to pay attention to it. Sully establishes a social category that would support the position of not accepting Bess: some indeterminate "they/people" who "put a knife in you before you even start" (line 27-28). The "you" he uses in "You get a lot of people in here who make trouble" and "Some people don't want to see you make it one way or another" is ambiguous as to personal or general. Sully's discursive strategies are commands not to believe what people say, and not to worry. His last, assertion "I wouldn't pay attention to it" to Bess' repeated attempts to stress the dialogical "Warning" event shows up the ineffectualness of his suggestion. The situation is much more complex for Bess than simply not listening and "...just go and do your job" would warrant.

8.7 THE SOCIAL WORLD PORTRAYED AS A NATURAL WORLD

Bernstein (1972) and others have argued that social class is the most formative influence upon procedures of socialization. Analyses of my data show that gender plays a major role in workplace socialization processes and practices. Bess is expected to do a man's job, at the same time that she is treated as a woman who needs help. It is the egali-

tarian position and the gender code of help that ironically work against her, placing her and Dave in a double bind. Dave's directive that Bess should ask for help and that others should help her has the effect of disqualifying her, of characterizing her as incompetent in her eyes as well as others. When I first listened to the taped discourse in the cross-gender situation, it seemed natural: Bess just couldn't do the job required. The classification of the job as not being for ladies, and the density of sociolinguistic practices subsumed by this social formulation, as well as the inconsistency of physical work on Bess' part, point to that visible conclusion. What is hidden is that the job has a light and heavy side to it, and that men were allowed to do the lighter work, and the dialogic processes outlined in Fig. 8.1 and 8.2. The practice of making it hard for her and Dave's control over Bess are masked by the training register, so that it appears that moment to moment reality is occurring as usual. But, this situation takes place in a framework of sexist practices for both Bess and the males. Individual physical differences among men and among woman are not directly referenced, but are implied in the few instances on record. All the dialogical social practices are part of these naturalistic practices: legitimation, exemplification, classification, justification, verification, disclosure and warning.

8.8 RELATIONSHIP OF THE TEXTS TO HISTORICAL PROCESS

Analysis of the texts suggests two different historical processes that can be identified: (1) The distinction made between two kinds of training pedagogy (see Chapter 6), (2) the situated texts in relation to a factory event two years later. The comparative training texts have implications for characterizing them in terms of a process of deskilling, and of interpreting this in broader social terms of management production and factors

of knowledge and control. Mickey's way of training (see Section 6.5.1) presents broad knowledge of the factory and various kinds of information related to the job. Bert's pedagogical stance represents the replacement of generalized knowledge with physical involvement of electronic components. The shift from a focus on knowledge to that of material action has implications for interpreting social change.⁵ Bess training can be viewed as part of an historical process in the factory. Two years later, women were hired into the stockroom. They did everything but the heavy "male" work. The discourse in this situation actually reflects and anticipates this historically constituted structural and social change.⁶ With women institutionally positioned in the stockroom, training was done by a manager and the meanings associated with help were entirely different from those which occurred with Bess.

8.9 CONCLUSIONS

The discourse in this institutional setting requires a fundamental premise that speakers will take positions regarding whether Bess can or should train, and therefore work as a material handler in this nontraditional job. As I have argued, most of the social agents in this situation have positioned themselves, consciously and unconsciously in the "naturalized" discourse of sexism. Conflict emerges and is signaled early in the dialogic opposition between union and management over making the woman's training hard or easy for her. If such opposition were to persist, it might become overt conflict with dialogic positions of disagreement and negation represented frequently, and most likely, the development of argument. In this situation, the conflict is resolved by the agreed upon

official position to treat her like the men. Relations of agreement and therefore of appropriate and routine processes are dominant in their frequency of occurrence.

The conflict and its resolution occur at the highest abstract level, and therefore direct and drive the situated dialogues. Discriminatory utterances and practices have been transformed into legitimate ones or covered over by appearing as the language of conventionalized training. In operation is a logonomic system with two discernable logonomic codes that direct agents as to how to read and produce discursive segments: as legitimate texts or as "Texts of Discrimination." Social processes of dialogism, such as justification, exemplification, verification, etc., are viewed as natural occurring processes rather than constructed as exclusionary practices.

The female trainee is given contradictory messages of acceptance and exclusion. On one hand, she is supposedly undergoing training consistent with that of a male, and told she will be treated the same way a man is treated. On the other hand, she is being trained differently. She is given help and told to ask for it, but this help is used against her. The job is classified as one for a man, to which she overtly agrees. She basically accepts the devalued position constructed for her and participates in its construction.

The transmission of exclusion influences her more than messages that seem accepting of her or at best neutral.. This is shown by her display of strong emotion and aversion to being watched, and the mystification (perhaps sense of betrayal) involved in the warning she receives. There is basically no direct feminist discourse that she utilizes or hears. That is, Bess does not produce or receive a "subversive" reading of the spoken texts. Power and gender devaluation are largely hidden. In her training, the trainer expresses it through the dialogism of orders and her execution of them, and his interweaving of the

testing and evaluation features of teacher talk, and utterances with sexist messages. The woman's trainer displays dialogic inconsistency or ambivalence in his embodiment of two voices (illegitimate/fair) and in his contradictory equality/help position.

I have shown register to be an essential sociolinguistic entity and area of inquiry (Biber & Finegan 1994), and have characterized the training talk as a configuration of register features, with variations of style between the same- and cross-gender texts. The training situation generates a discourse that must be distinguished from the "normative" register in which on-the-job training has been carried out. I have labeled this discourse "Texts of Discrimination" to indicate its exclusionary nature and effects. There is no basis for categorizing the texts as a separate register. However, I point out some preliminary differences shown in Table 8.2

Table 8.2 DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TRAINING TEXTS AND TEXTS OF DISCRIMINATION	
TRAINING TEXTS (COMMON REGISTER)	EMBEDDED TEXTS OF DISCRIMINATION
	Evaluations (Negative and Positive) Classifications
Congruent (literal, little or no metaphor)	Metaphor
Direct Talk	Indirect and Ambiguous Messages Inconsistent Messages and Behavior
High Frequency of Material Processes	Verbal Processes Noticeable Expressions of Feeling
Declarative Mood Predominates	Imperative Mood Interrogative Mood (Lack Of Solidarity)
Features of Solidarity	Features of Power/Control Solidarity Masks Power/Control Ideological Opposition Two Opposing Voices ("Fairness and Discrimination") Opposing Messages in One Utterance General Dialogical Social Processes

As Table 8.2 indicates, the TOD display more functions than the common training register. Talk used in carrying out conventional training is "colorless" in comparison. Trainers focus on the practical doing of tasks. Trainers of the men indicate their solidarity by not imposing behavioral and other types of commands, by orienting trainees not to strain themselves. Information is given clearly and directly. There are no negative evaluation or classification. Talk expresses agreement. Although the function of pronominal "we" is often indeterminate, it does convey the message that people are

working together, even if not explicit as to inclusiveness. Using the imperative rather than this pronoun, therefore, is significant.

The Texts of Discrimination and male\female training dialogues contain the oppositional views of union and management, and the general social processes of legitimation, exemplification, verification, and so forth. These processes are the indicators of the woman's differential treatment, including being given hard tasks to perform, and classifications of discrimination, sex-typing and negative attributes. Exclusionary messages are conveyed in metaphor, sexist terms and employing a school teacher register. Power is exercised by behavioral and mental commands. Clauses express noticeable mental and verbal processes, (e.g., know, believe, see; said, told). There are also displays of emotion (e.g., can't stand this, it's heavy, bullshit). Some agents employing this type of talk express equivocal positions and shift between indices of power and solidarity. Dave's two voices, "fairness" and "discrimination," exemplify this. Interrogatives are viewed multi-functionally as representing a lack of solidarity.

Of major importance are the levels and categories of discourse that were identified and their connections, depicted in Figure 8.1. I have argued that the ideological or institutional positions regarding Bess' training occurs at the highest and most abstract level. It appears to generate all of the dialogic exchanges and accounts for them. The position to treat Bess like the men performs two functions; the statement sounds legitimate and can be accepted by both sides, and it also allows for the identified discriminatory practices to be carried out without being obvious. The questions in this and any similar job situation where gender practices are involved, is not what a woman can do in relation to what the job requires. For with support, inclusion, and further job develop-

ment, I believe this can be accomplished. Rather, analysis must be concerned with identifying the kinds of barriers and actions that work to eliminate her, along with her positional reactions of agreement and opposition. Ultimately the outcome in this particular situation is to maintain the gender division of labor.

* * *

CHAPTER 8 ENDNOTES

¹ From a sociolinguistic perspective, Ferguson (1994) highlights the importance of the process of conventionalization in speaker communication. Kress (1989:19) points out that most social occasions are ritualized into conventionalized forms of texts called *genres*. He indicates, however that casual conversations may be an example of less ritualized and formulaic structures and forms. A major focus in my analysis is how institutionalized discourses, such as those of sexism and feminism, are incorporated into the dialogue and training exchanges.

² The information about Maria's work name was given to me by Dr. Sachs in personal conversation about two years after the training took place. Dictionary definitions of 'Amazon' include a masculine or manlike woman. The Greek legendary and possibly existant tribe of women had one breast removed so that they could better handle the archery that they are known for. Swerdlow (1989) concludes that men who need to maintain their belief in male superiority accomodate to women entering non-traditional jobs by sexualizing work relationships, exaggerating women's errors, depicting women's routine competence as exceptional, and perpetuating a rationale that women received certain breaks that made the job easier. Certainly the label 'the amazon' has the connotation that Maria is not a typical or ordinary women, and thus this transformation to a partial male (not a complete one) would comply with Swerdlow's analysis. Dr. Sachs also informed me that she was told by the union chairperson that Maria was subject to discriminatory practices, making her training very difficult.

³ See Brownmiller (1984) for a fuller discussion of long fingernails as a restriction on manual dexterity, and as a symbol of feminine difference and labor.

⁴ Tony brought Dave, his friend, into the stockroom and also trained him. He and Bess are both work and social interactants on the fourth day of her training.

⁵ To use a common metaphor, basing training on physical labor over general and more detailed knowledge introduces a "workhorse" orientation.

⁶ The following is from Dr. Sachs' fieldnotes of September 21, 1989. There were three female and four male workers in the stockroom. The women had been trained on pulling work orders by dispatch manager Warren (the person who said Bess wasn't lifting). Warren told Pat Sachs that receiving is 'more involved than just pulling orders'. As Warren observes the women and thinks they can handle more, he trains them on receiving (what Bess was started on). However the women only handle the 'light' parts. Warren said that in a pull, if a part (bin) is too heavy he asks a man to help the woman lift it. Women definitely do not go to the machine shop. Since the women are not handling the heavy loads, the men were handling a great deal of heavy work and were angry. Leadsman Chuck told the researcher, 'the girls are working out, who would have thought it? I didn't'. Dr. Sachs was not sure what grade the women were started on, stating that it could conceivably be grade 1 with a lower salary.

APPENDIX A

KEY TO TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

- a) **Parentheses ()** enclose pauses in minutes and seconds, non-verbal sounds, or uncertain words. Empty parentheses indicate inaudible section.
 (0.9) no minutes, nine seconds
 (laughs)
 (hopefully)
 ()

- b) **Square Brackets []** enclose relevant contextual information or commentary.

- c) **Slashes lined up vertically //**
 // denote overlap boundaries.

- d) **Dash —** marks a sudden cut-off of the current word or sound.

- e) **Equal Sign =** denotes latching, no interval between two utterances.

- f) **Underline** shows a raise in amplitude.

- g) **Colon :** indicates that the sound immediately preceding has been noticeably lengthened

Adapted from transcript conventions developed by Gail Jefferson.

APPENDIX B

[TOD 1] LEGITIMATION TRANSFORMATION

[Bert, the stockroom supervisor, initiates talk of the rumor, after discussing a work problem with Dave, Bess' trainer. Jeff is the union shop steward, Tom, a stockroom material handler, and Tracy, the union chair person]

- 1 Bert: Did you hear about the rumor?
 - 2 Dave: What?
 - 3 Bert: Jeff said that there was a rumor—that Tom was ready to open his
 - 4 mouth—that there was a rumor that I had said that we're going to
 - 5 make it rough for her that so she's gonna quit.
 - 6 Dave: Did Tom ()?
 - 7 Bert: No, Tom was going to open his mouth if Jeff said that. Now
 - 8 who in hell would spread that stupid rumor down here? All
 - 9 we did was kid around.
 - 10 Dave: Yeah!
 - 11 Bert: Alright. How do you like them apples?
 - 12 Dave: [refers to looked-for bin card] //There you go.
 - 13 Bert: [turns away] //() bastards.
 - 14 Dave: There you go.
 - 15 Bert: Am I right or //wrong?
 - 16 Dave: //Ri- there you go. Oh this the one we had
 - 17 yesterday remember? [the bin card]
- [15 minutes later, Bert calls Dave over to talk to him about taking some parts to the machine shop. Bert again initiates talk about the rumor.]
- 18 Bert: But, how do you like that bullshit?
 - 19 Dave: () on who //what'd they say?
 - 20 Bert: //I'm very angry about it.
 - 21 Dave: What'd they say? Tom said it?
 - 22 Bert: No, no. Tom, no.
 - 23 Dave: Oh, he was going to stick up for you?
 - 24 Bert: Yeah.
 - 25 Dave: Oh! Oh!-
 - 26 Bert: But he didn't because I don't want to get him involved
 - 27 with the shop steward you see?
 - 28 //You follow me?
 - 29 Dave: //Yeah, yeah?

30 Bert: So what I did (0.2) what I did when he come- he says-
31 Jeff says one of the reasons that he came out with that is
32 that he heard a rumor that somebody told someone that I
33 was going to make it very hard for this girl-
34 Dave: Uhm-huh.
35 Bert: that she would quit.
36 Dave: He might have been lying though. You know what I'm
37 saying?
38 Bert: Huh?
39 Dave: He might have been exag- you know what I'm saying?
40 Bert: I said to him, Jeff, nobody in this department is going to do that.
41 Dave: Uh-huh.
42 Bert: Alright?
43 Dave: Uh-huh.
44 Bert: That's all I said. And then Tracy right away intervened,
45 the chairman.
46 Dave: Yeah.
47 Bert: She says, Bert, all I ask is that she be treated just like
48 everybody- I said, she will definitely be treated-
49 Dave: She definitely'll be treated- [laughs]
50 Bert: like //everybody else. You know.
51 Dave: //Yeah.

**[TOD 2] AFFIRMATION, EXEMPLIFICATION, JUSTIFICATION,
VARIFICATION, UNION-MANAGEMENT POSITIONS**

[Stan B. is the manager of the stockroom, over supervisor Bert in the managerial hierarchy. Jeff N. is union shop steward. Mickey (former stockroom material handler and trainer) and Larry are material handlers in other closely related departments]

- 1 Dave: We fought but (0.1) we couldn't do it.
 - 2 Mickey: What happened?
 - 3 Bess: I don't know what //()
 - 4 Dave: //Bert Bert Bert want her- Bert don't want her
 - 5 down here that's the bottom line to all that.
 - 6 Larry: Well uh what happened?
 - 7 Dave: He try to use 'cause they grade 5's he grade 9 and he
 - 8 grade 12 //and all this. you know what I'm saying?
 - 9 Bess: //Mmm hmmm.
 - 10 Mickey: Norm D?
 - 11 Dave: Nah I think they went up-
 - 12 Larry: Mickey call Jeff N. You know who told him that?
 - 13 Stan B.told Bert to say that.
 - 14 Dave: Yeah 'cause I 'cause he called Stan B. he said Stan B. uh-
 - 15 Larry: He don't know what to do he can't do nothing on his own
 - 16 (0.2) he can't-
 - 17 Dave: He said he said Stan B. we should
 - 18 //uhm we always do it like that.
 - 19 Mickey //Jeff I forgot to tell Jeff.
 - 20 [on loud speaker] Jeff N. 267 Jeff N. 267.
 - 21 Larry: That's discrimination.
- [Watergate episode (0.24): Larry becomes concerned that the conversation is being taped, and is assured by Pat Sachs that it's confidential. There is joking — calling it "the Watergatetapes," and laughter when somebody says "Bring it down to Bert."]
- 22 Mickey: [Jeff is in stockroom] Jeff come over here.
 - 23 Larry: They're still sending this girl I don't know-
 - 24 Mickey: Still sending her to the shop Bert came with this bull
 - 25 (0.2) 'scuse me this B.S. about uhm-

- 26 Jeff: Yeah this policy they're just //startin' to ()
 27 Mickey: //grade 9 and grade 7 and
 28 grade 5
 29 Jeff: Yeah I don't want to hear that () [answers phone]
 30 Pat S: [tape commentary] Talking about um a po- some new
 31 policy about the hiring.

[Pocketbook episode (1.0): Bert comes over with Bess' pocketbook concerned about where Bess should put it. Others tell Bert to lock it in his desk, but he refuses responsibility, explaining that something might happen. Bess decides to lock it upstairs.]

- 32 Pat S: Mickey what is the story that's going on with grade 5's
 33 and and moving around? What's happening?
 34 Mickey: It's not right we all are trained //to do () we all--
 35 Dave: //OK but you're grade 5 but you're a
 36 material handler though right? He a grade 9 he still a material handler
 37 () right?
 38 Mickey: Yeah.
 39 Dave: Oh he's a leadman he's this come on man.
 40 Mickey: I don't think they want that girl to work downstairs--
 41 Dave: That's what it is man.
 42 Mickey: so they //uh are giving her a hard time.
 43 Dave: //Bert was telling me yesterday man.
 44 Pat S: So he what's happening why what is he doing?
 45 Dave: That's why they're sending her to do you know like the
 46 hard stuff.
 47 Mickey: [low] They just wanna dump the bayonets.
 48 Pat S: I see.
 49 Dave: [referring to carton of parts] I said can you pick one of
 50 them up? I said I went like this I said can you pick one
 51 up for real? she went like this [sound of a thump]
 52 Mickey: [low] They're gonna try to give her a hard time so she'll quit.
 [discussion about baseball]
 53 Mickey: ()
 54 Dave: It is man you should have seen Ber--
 55 Mickey: trying to get rid of her.

[Bess comes back and the training begins]

[TOD 3] EXEMPLIFICATION

- 1 Dave: Now you can either put them on the elevator or take them off
 2 the elevator.
 3 Bess: Okay.
 4 Dave: Which you want to do put them on the elevator or take them
 5 off?
 6 Bess: I don't know. I'll see ().
 7 Dave: Take them off.
 8 Bess: You got the paper? [the bin cards]
 9 Dave: Yeah. I would say the easy part would be taking them off.
 10 Bess: (I've got to move?) all of them?
 11 Dave: No I'll show you fir—
 [Dave then instructs Bess about keeping the same parts together if she ever
 puts bins on the elevator]
 12 Dave: Okay now you got to go downstairs and take them off come on.
 13 Bess: You send them down?
 14 Dave: Yeah come on I'm going to show you how to take them off first.

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- 15 Dave unloads 4 bins from the elevator onto a wheelcart and shows
 16 Bess how to send the elevator up. After that, Bess still asks questions
 17 about working the elevator. She is afraid of getting her fingers stuck
 18 in the door. She also doesn't know how to center the bins on the
 19 wiggly cart and how to determine which end faces forward, though
 20 Dave gave her brief instructions.

[TOD 4] DIALOGIC AFFIRMATION AND JUSTIFICATION

[Elaborations on Heavy Tasks, Grading Policy and Pointers to Previous talk]

[The dialogue between Pat Sachs and Bert starts in the middle of Bert's talk about stockroom training and work. 8870s are the number of the new vendor parts]

- 1 Bert: ...on a pick list and you start learning how to pull orders go in
- 2 the bins and pull 'em. Then you rotate but the only people that
- 3 don't rotate are Joh- uh Sully and and er-
- 4 Pat S: Domingo.
- 5 Bert: Domingo because they're leadpeople they're- he's a grade 9 I
- 6 need him down here like just like Chuck that's why Chuck's
- 7 down here we need him down here. He's a he's a leadperson and
- 8 he has a job to do. That's that's the hhhuh that's the job.
- 9 Pat S: What are you having Bess start out on today Bert?
- 10 Bert: Well she's working in the machine shop she's for- unfortunately
- 11 this //week
- 12 Pat S: //She's doing receiving?
- 13 Bert: Yeah un- what it is today is we hadda have 8870's
- 14 to go so that's part of the machine shop deal=
- 15 Pat S: =I see.
- 16 Bert: I uh and that's all- see after they got through with that then they
- 17 bring the machine shop down and they work there.
- 18 Pat S: And who's getting the 8870's?
- 19 Bert: Uhh Bess supposedly and uh Dave.
- 20 Pat S: Oh I see //so she's working with Dave?
- 21 Bert: //Because that's part of that's going to plating.
- 22 Pat S: //So who-
- 23 Bert: //Yeah and he's breaking her in now after she's broken in then
- 24 she can come out here after two weeks or whatever we pull 'er
- 25 off and we bring her out here if we get a new person they go
- 26 there and //who-
- 27 Pat S: //So so you're having Dave break her in today?
- 28 Bert: Yeah yeah right.
- 29 Pat S: Okay.

[TOD 5A] DIALOGIC ELABORATION OF HEAVY TASKS

[Dave is carrying cardboard boxes full of parts and pouring them into bins. He has to get more empty bins]

- 1 Pat S: Are those boxes heavy?
- 2 Dave: Yeah.
- 3 Pat S: Really? How much do they weigh?
- 4 Dave: Look just you know just it's like you know=
- 5 Pat S: =Fifty pounds maybe.
- 6 [Dave's breathing is heard on tape]
- 7 Dave: Yeah about fifty.

[TOD 5B] ELABORATION OF HEAVY TASKS

[Pat Sachs remarks to Bess that she has never seen such a big order come in, perhaps 200 boxes. Bess tells her that they have to take 20 to the machine shop. The following is Pat S' microphone comments]

- 1 Bess is continuing to open boxes...Bess is continuing to break these
- 2 wires trying to break these wires. These are a kind of a heavy gage wire
- 3 and she's using a mat knife to open up the boxes then Dave comes and
- 4 picks them up pours them outside. This is heavy work I would say we're
- 5 dividing up where Dave is handling the heavier hard work but Bess has
- 6 to after she opens these up she has to pick up the boxes and get them
- 7 down on the floor from the large pile they're in so she is doing a lot of
- 8 lifting.

[TOD 6] DIALOGIC EXEMPLIFICATION OF BIG RECEIVING ORDERS

[Bess and Dave are now doing backorders (pulling) on the parts being received into stock]

- 1 Chuck: Did she put in more () Cuz?
- 2 Dave: Yeah I'm showing her now Cuz.
- 3 Chuck: Right.
- 4 Chuck: Let her put the big ones () start upper and
- 5 //come down.
- 6 Dave: //Yeah 'cause then she might get hooked on them little ones Cuz. (0.3)
- 7 [laughs]
- 8 Chuck: ()
- 9 Dave: She might get hooked on Ted's little orders you know what I'm saying Cuz?
- 10 Chuck: Right. (0.)
- 11 Dave: [looks at computer screen] It's in B1 it's in B1!
- 12 Chuck: She better get to like it.

**[PAT S. AFFIRMS THE EXEMPLIFICATION OF HEAVY WORK
IN HER COMMENTARY]**

- 13 This is Chuck interjecting uh to Dave that she should start on big
- 14 work orders

[TOD 7A] ESTABLISHING UNION-MANAGEMENT MEETING ABOUT BESS

[Dave comes back to receiving dock after looking for more bins]

- 1 Dave: Oh oh oh oh they went and got that lady now. Yeah Stan B.
- 2 can't come down so Bert by himself. He said as soon as they
- 3 came down he said well let me call Stan B. Stan B. inna
- 4 meetin'.
- 5 Bess: They got Stan B. in there?
- 6 Dave: Naw he can't come he in a meetin'.
- 7 Bess: Where at? () Jeff N?
- 8 Dave: Yeah Jeff N. and that lady.
- 9 Bess: All this attention about me?
- 10 Dave: Yep.
- 11 Dave: What's that lady's name the um union?
- 12 Bess: Who Tracy?
- 13 Dave: Yeah.

[TOD 7B] AFFIRMATION OF UNION-MANAGEMENT MEETING IMPLYING OPPOSITIONAL POSITIONS

[As Bess and Dave continue working, Pat S. reports]

...and she (Bess) heard that there's evidently a meeting going on right now with Tracy D. and Stan B. and Jeff N. and I don't know about Bert. This is all over the issue of a woman down here as far as I can tell so she's feeling a little funny I think.

[TOD 8] DIALOGIC VERIFICATION

- 1 Chuck: Now she's running into the real stuff Cuz.
- 2 Dave: Yeah Cuz.
- 3 Chuck: Uh huh keep your eyes on her.
- 4 Dave: I got them on her Cuz (.2) [laughs]

[TOD 9A] DIALOGICAL VERIFICATION FROM FACTORY WORKERS

- [Dave and Bess are going through the plating department, Dave is pushing the cart of bins alone. Phil is a material handler in the shipping department.]
- 1 Bess: Hi Phil (0.4) Hi Phil. (.10)
 - 2 Phil: You're not sweatin'.
 - 3 Bess: I'm sweatin'.
[Dave and another worker talk about local baseball]
 - 4 (?): ()
 - 5 Bess: Oh I took the bundles down and I cut them up.
 - 6 Bess: [to Dave] ()?
 - 7 Dave: Grab a (). (.10)
 - 8 Dave: EH OHHHH UH OHHHHHH uhuh uhuh!
[Bess lifts bins by herself]
 - 9 Dave: Okay show your stuff show your stuff let me see go 'head.
 - 10 Bess: //()
 - 11 Dave: //[laughs]
 - 12 (?): Bess?
 - 13 Bess: What?
 - 14 Dave: [laughs intermittently]
 - 15 (?): She probably does everything by herself.
 - 16 Dave: She did she did.
 - 17 Phil: I'm checking you out Bess.
 - 18 Dave: [loud forced laugh]
 - 19 Bess: Don't check me out leave me alone.
 - 20 Dave: [laughs]

[TOD 9B] VERIFICATION AFFIRMATION AND ELABORATION

[Pat Sachs comments about Bess doing heavy work, as Dave alone pushes the 600 pound wheelcart through the machine shop and into plating]

1 Phil P. goes up to Bess looks her right in the eyes and points to Dave
 2 and says hey he's sweating Dave is taking the cart and he and Bess are
 3 lifting the bins onto the racks she's getting a lot of razzing here Phil
 4 asked her if she could lift them now she's lifting them by herself and
 5 Dave's kind of hooting at her everyone is watching another fellow in
 6 (plating) came up to Phil she wants to be a material handler he asked
 7 she's doing fine now she's lifting those bins Phil says I'm checking you
 8 out Bess she says don't check me out leave me alone.

[On the second trip to the machine shop]

9 Dave and Bess are lifting the bins off onto the racks Bess wasn't helping
 10 at all with pushing or pulling of the cart as she went through the machine
 11 shop I swear everybody was and just looked up and watched all the men
 12 in the machine shop the women in secondary machine shop I could see
 13 eyes following Bess walking through and she wasn't essentially pulling
 14 her weight which it requires.

[TOD 10A] DIALOGICAL VERIFICATION: BERT ASKS PAT S.

1 Bert: Let me ask you a question [low voice] got that thing off?
 2 Pat S: //Yeah sure.
 3 Bert: //Turn it off.
 4 Pat S: Okay.

[TOD 10B] AFFIRMATION OF DIALOGICAL VERIFICATION

[Tape is turned off. A few minutes later, Pat S., by herself, talks into the microphone]

1 As an aside Bert called me aside he asked me if I would inform him about
 2 whether or not Bess was doing any lifting I told him straight out that I was
 3 not I did not want to compromise my position that I could tell him that I
 4 have not been at the machine shop in the morning and I therefore couldn't
 5 tell him anything about that and I said from what I've seen I had seen her
 6 take things off the shelf and I'd seen them move things together but that
 7 was all I could tell him and he seemed satisfied with that he said I'm not
 8 trying to compromise you I'm just asking you to do me a favor.

[TOD 11] DIALOGIC VERIFICATION AND DISCLOSURE: BERT AND DAVE

- 1 Bert: How is she doing? I think she's doing pretty good.
- 2 Dave: Yeah.
- 3 Bert: She's picking up things //now?
- 4 Dave: //Yeah but see I didn't know I be helping her
- 5 taking the stuff off the elevator right and you know she don't be wanting
- 6 to push that thing up the hill so //tomorrow-
- 7 Bert: //Oh well well let's- yeah go ahead.
- 8 Dave: You know tomorrow she- I might have to let her take it off by herself
- 9 because then I'm like doing double work you know I give- I'm giving
- 10 her the benefit of the doubt now you know what I'm saying
- 11 //but I told her tomorrow she gonna
- 12 Bert: //Yeah.
- 13 Dave: have to take them off the elevator by herself.
- 14 Bert: In other words you puttin' them on and then
- 15 //comin'-
- 16 Dave: //and and coming downstairs and helpin' her take them off that's what I
- 17 told her I said okay I'll let I'll let you get away with it today but
- 18 to//morrow-
- 19 Bert: //What'd she say to that?
- 20 Dave: She said well I'll quit and I said well hmm (0.2)
- 21 Bert: Well I better get Stan B. down here and explain it to him before ()
- 22 Dave: Yeah.

[TOD 12A] DIALOGICAL WARNING

- 1 Bess: I'm in trouble Sully.
 2 Sully: You what?
 3 Bess: I'm in trouble.
 4 Sully: You're in trouble?
 5 Bess: They went upstairs to tell Tracy that I didn't wannna help with the big
 6 jobs.
 7 Sully: Oh yeah.
 8 Bess: Yeah () was checkin' me out.
 9 Sully: Did you say that?
 10 Bess: They said people tell her that they don't see me-
 11 Sully: Don't you don't you believe what people say.
 12 Bess: Ye- but they went and up //to her that ()
 13 Sully: //Okay? Because you got a lot of people in here that
 14 make trouble they're noted for it so you just go and do your job and don't
 15 worry about //what people say.
 16 Bess: //They went and they told her that they don't see me lifting no bins
 17 and pushing ()
 18 Sully: (0.6) You listen to what people say you go crazy. (0.13) You're always
 19 gonna have that.
 20 Bess: (0.10) She called me up there she didn't even ask me if it was true she
 21 goes you got to lift the bins an' you gotta push it.
 22 Sully: Some people don't want to see you make it one way or another they're
 23 out there they put a knife in you before you even start
 24 Bess: //Yeah.
 25 Sully: //Y'know I wouldn't pay attention to it.

[TOD 12B] AFFIRMATION OF WARNING BY PAT SACHS

[Pat Sachs comments right after the above dialogue]

- 1 That was Sully talking to Bess about just do your job evidently she was
 2 spoken to this morning about lifting. (5.0) I'm mentioning I'm
 3 mentioning this sort of thing because umm I wanna keep keep track of
 4 th- what is happening with co-worker relationships here when Bess has
 5 already clearly been spoken to about doing h'ordering doing her pulling
 6 her weight an' an' lifting bins an' pushing the cart umm by somebody uh-
 7 it may have been Tracy I'm not sure...

[TOD 13] DIALOGIC VERIFICATION AND DISCLOSURE

- 1 Bess: Who you who do you think went to //Tracy
- 2 Dave: //Put on top huh?
- 3 Bess: Who do you think went to Tracy?
- 4 Dave: Went to what?
- 5 Bess: Who do you think went to Tracy?
- 6 Dave: Went to Tracy? Warren //no Stan
- 7 Bess: //I think I think Warren did.
- 8 Dave: Stan B. went to Warren but Warren told Stan B.
- 9 Bess: (0.12) That's why he followed me down here.
- 10 Dave: That's why you know yeah (0.4) remember when he was standing- I
- 11 knew something was like kinda strange remember when I was helping
- 12 you take 'em off? he's like standing there get that one get that one you
- 13 know I thought he y'know was just watching us y'know?
- 14 Bess: No I saw the look in his face and then I knew he was up to something
- 15 but //he wasn't saying nothing.
- 16 Dave: //Cause () but but you know Warren you know he come down
- 17 here and you know an' be playing some time too so-
- 18 Bess: I know but you know what? () excuse me I don't wanna say
- 19 nothing on tape.
- 20 Dave: I know Warren is-
- 21 Bess: ()
- 22 Dave: Warren is kinda slick.
- 23 Bess: I know he's the one.

[TOD 14A] BESS AFFIRMS SHE'S BEING WATCHED: HER REACTION

[This takes place approximately 8 minutes after TOD 13. "He" refers to Warren]

- 1 Bess: Why does he have to be watching me?
- 2 Dave: Mmm-mmm.
- 3 Bess: I can't stand this I swear to god I'm quitting today.
- 4 Dave: Don't quit hmm put it on the desk don't quit
- 5 Bess: He don't belongs down here do he?
- 6 Dave: I don't really know.
- 7 Bess: He doesn't.
- 8 Dave: He don't?
- 9 Bess: No.

[TOD 14B] PAT SACHS AFFIRMS BESS IS BEING WATCHED

- 1 Warren keeps coming down into the room and Bess feels she's being watched by him
- 2 that was what her comment was about "I can't stand this."

[TOD 15] CLASSIFYING THE JOB

1 Kirk: They got you lifting you really lifting this stuff?
 2 Bess: I ().
 3 Kirk: Oh boy.
 4 Bess: Thinking about it.
 5 Kirk: You thinking about it//huh?
 6 Bess: //I thought they were gonna keep me in there to
 7 write //an' file an' ()
 8 Kirk: //You didn't think that no you didn't think that I know
 9 //you didn't think that.
 10 Bess: //I thought so!
 11 Kirk: No you didn't=
 12 Bess: =I thought they would let the guys lift the
 13 //bins and stuff.
 14 Kirk: //Oh no. These fellows? Oh no. They don't believe in that.
 15 Bess: I know.
 16 Kirk: So you wanna switch, right?
 17 Bess: Yeah. Sure=
 18 Kirk: =I knew you would [laughs]. I knew by the end of the day too. This
 19 is some heavy work. It's not for ladies (). I was explaining that
 20 to Warran too.
 21 Bess: //What does he say?
 22 Kirk: //This is a lot of work and all.
 23 Pat S: Is this your stuff?
 24 Kirk: No this this belongs to sweet Bess. (0.2) I'll tell you what-
 25 Bess: Look I'm not sweet no more.
 26 Kirk: I'll give you a half a hand while I'm here. How's that?
 27 Bess: Good.
 28 Kirk: Huh? This is mine [lifting bins off elevator].
 29 Bess: Sounds good.
 30 Kirk: (0.4) I'll let you go (within?) there now.
 31 Bess: Jeff N. tried to talk them into sending me up to shippin' you know?
 32 Kirk: So what happened?
 33 Bess: I don't know.
 34 Dave: [enters area] //Hook(s) off hook(s) off Kirk=
 35 Kirk: //So lemme=so lemme just see you lift one of these bins
 36 here just one ().
 37 Bess: I- ahhhhhhhh.
 38 Dave: Be a gentleman Kirk.
 39 Kirk: [very short laugh] I told her I'm gonna help her out on just this one
 40 while I'm here all the rest doll is the one you () move.
 41 // [laughs]
 42 Dave: // [laughs] Okay put 'em over there () then I'll be over there.

43 Kirk: There's a lot ().
 44 Bess: Hmm. (0.3) () I () work with is Jeff N. 'cause these guys in
 45 there they were grade 9 //Bert an'-
 46 Kirk: //Yeah () Oh yeah yeah.
 47 Bess: Maybe they //don't want a grade 2 with them=
 48 Kirk: //You gotta talk=You gotta talk.
 49 Bess: But I- I told Beryl I wanna turn in my application to get material
 50 handler in shippin' you know//where Mary is-
 51 Kirk: //().
 52 Bess: And I was surprised they said Bryon sent me down here so
 53 I think () might () need somebody to ().
 54 Kirk: Oh yeah well you don't do this everyday.
 55 Bess: (0.2) But that man-
 56 Kirk: ()
 57 Bess: ()//Yes I have to-
 58 Kirk: //()
 59 Bess: Yeah!
 60 Kirk: No you don't () (0.5) //()
 61 Bess: //They need a man that's all I know.
 62 Kirk: It's some heavy duty work for a lady it's worse ()
 63 those are just K-grips wait 'til you get those big bodies-
 64 Bess: //Oh forget it.
 65 Kirk: //those big wide bodies=
 66 Bess: =Forget it.
 67 Kirk: One bin weighs about sixty seventy pounds.
 68 Bess: Yeahss. Not me=
 69 Pat S: =She lifted some pretty heavy ones this morning.
 70 Kirk: That's nothing //yet-
 71 Pat S: //[laughs]
 72 Kirk: Wait 'til she sees some wide bodies.

[TOD 16] DIALOGIC OPPOSITION AND EVALUATION

[The first morning of training, Dave (pushing the empty cart) and Bess are going back to the receiving area, after Bess had lifted some bins by herself in plating]

- 1 Dave: That's not bad is it? That's not hard right?
- 2 Bess: It is hard.
- 3 Dave: It is?
- 4 Bess: Yeah.
- 5 Dave: Doin- what's hard about it?
- 6 Bess: Walkin' all //()
- 7 Dave: //[HA HA]
- 8 [Bess and Dave talk about itching skin (0.14)]
- 9 Dave: This is easier than your other job?
- 10 Bess: Huh?
- 11 Dave: It's easier than your other job?
- 12 Bess: No.
- 13 Dave: No?
- 14 Bess: Not really (0.3) I mean this is heavy work.
- 15 Dave: See.
- 16 Bess: The other you gotta keep going going nonstop.
- 17 Dave: All day?
- 18 Bess: Yeah only to go to the bathroom
- 19 Dave: [laughs]
- 20 Bess: at break time.
- 21 Dave: (0.6) See this job you sit down [high pitched voice →] all day.

[TOD 17]

[Dave and Bess are at bin-loaded elevator upstairs]

- 1 Bess: Some of 'em is awfully heavy.
- 2 Dave: No I'll show you fir-

[TOD 18]

[Dave is showing Bess how to lift bins out of the elevator and put them on the cart]

- 1 Bess: They're heavy right?
- 2 Dave: Huh?
- 3 Bess: They're heavy.
- 4 Dave: No.
- 5 Bess: None of them?
- 6 Dave: No.
- 7 Bess: Let me see ().
- 8 Dave: (0.4) It's not heavy.

[TOD 19]

[Bess has lifted bins out of the elevator]

- 1 Dave: () just put 'em on top like put this one with that
- 2 (0.5) it's not bad right? see I told you.
- 3 Bess: What?
- 4 Dave: It's not bad right? See they're not heavy put the other on.

[TOD 20A]

[At elevator loaded with bins]

- Dave: That one up front is kind of heavy.]
- 1 Bess: What?
- 2 Dave: This one.
- 3 Bess: ().
- 4 Dave: No I got this one.

[TOD 20B]

[Pat Sachs' commentary at elevator downstairs]

Dave's back down he's noticing the front one is heavy he just came in and took it.

[TOD 21]

[On the fourth morning as Dave and Bess do backorders]

- 1 Dave: It's heavy? [referring to a bagful of parts]
- 2 Bess: Yeah.
- 3 Dave: Oh.

[TOD 22A]**BESS EVALUATES WORK AS HARD**

[

[A woman from the same department where Bess had previously worked passes by the elevator]

- 1 Women: ().
- 2 Bess: This is hard because you gotta open the boxes ().

[TOD 22B]**PAT SACHS AFFIRMS BESS' WORDS**

- 1 woman from assembly came to talk to Bess asking her what the work is like
- 2 Bess is saying it is hard you got to carry thing- things.

[TOD 23 BESS THINKS JOB IS "TOO MUCH"]

[On the first morning, at the elevator and bins, Bess initiates talk with Pat Sachs]

- 1 Bess: I don't think I'm going to keep this job no.
- 2 Pat S: No why not?
- 3 Bess: It's too much.
- 4 Pat S: Yeah?
- 5 Bess: I thought they was going to let me like do the work orders
- 6 all this like the other guys do it ().

[TOD 24] Section 6.7.3.1 Text 6.6

- 1 Dave: Then what you do you go to our location (0.7) B-1-E
- 2 UH HUH AAAHHH.
- 3 Bess: B1E right?
- 4 Dave: I'm not helping you.
- 5 Bess: Answer me.
- 6 Dave: B- ye- you see it right there on the card (0.3) I know
- 7 I tell you this now you way off now (0.4)
- 8 //[laughs].
- 9 Bess: //So why won't you tell me what it is?
- 10 Dave: Oh it's down here it's down here okay?
- 11 Bess: B? Okay nice way of teaching.
- 12 Dave: [laughing] you never know it you know.
- 13 Stan B: That's why we gotta teach sugar pie.

[TOD 25] Text 6.9

1 Dave: Somebody probably got it=
 2 Bess: =It's not //there.
 3 Dave: //So then you go down here aks people
 4 do they have it if it's not there you know just
 5 aks around like Domingo had it just now before-
 6 Bess: What? This number ()
 7 Dave: Aks- er yeah say [in falsetto voice] do anybody
 8 have 1 dash 11 forty-five dash one?
 9 Bess: [laughs] Okay.
 10 Dave: You know you gotta aks in your sweetest voice
 11 you know.
 12 Bess: Domingo do you have this job one dash 11 forty-five
 13 dash one?
 14 Dave: Okay go aks somebody else over here.
 15 [sound of men talking in background]
 16 Dave: [loud laugh]
 17 Bess: Excuse me excuse me Sully=
 18 Sully: =What?
 19 Bess: do you have this stuff one dash 11 forty-five dash one?
 20 Sully: What about it? No I don't have it (mamm?)
 21 Bess: No he don't.
 22 Dave: Come over here aks somebody aks Ted does he have it.
 23 Bess: Ted do you have this job one dash 11 forty-five dash
 24 one?
 25 Ted: You don't see it on here?
 26 Dave: No no she just you know it's not there.
 27 Ted: Oh okay uhh.
 28 Dave: [referring to Ted] You know he's a nice man he want
 29 to help you so you know you take in all the help you
 30 you know.
 31 Bess: (0.3) Why you told me somebody must have got it?
 32 Dave: I said they might have it ya see you're not listening see.

[TOD 26] Text 6.10

1 Dave: Now we got to go get them parts where I showed you
 2 yeah you can push you can push.
 3 Bess: I can't drive.
 4 Dave: If you crash you crash.
 5 Bess: I don't know ().
 6 Dave: (0.8) Hit him hit him crash into him crash into him.
 7 Bess: Nooooo.

[TOD 27] Text 7.1 DIALOGIC JUSTIFICATION

- 1 Bess: () I wanna get out of here now.
- 2 Dave: Wha? (0.2) Oh you wanna go home? (0.3) you're not
- 3 quittin' now right? (0.2) no okay okay.
- 4 Bess: I didn't answer you.
- 5 Dave: (Well) you said no (0.3).
- 6 Bess: ()
- 7 Dave: That's easy [refers probably to pulling job that Bess is
- 8 working on at the scale] (0.3) Well see I just wanted
- 9 to- I just wanted to show you you know the heavy
- 10 ones f-first (0.2) so you can just- see when you
- 11 go pick yem yourself you can get the ones for like
- 12 thirty pieces ten pieces fifteen pieces five pieces.
- 13 Bess: That's what they do back there?
- 14 Dave: You know they just go and take one ().
- 15 Bess: Anyone?
- 16 Dave: Yeah.
- 17 Bess: ()
- 18 Dave: See I like doin' the big ones 'cause I think the big
- 19 ones is the easy ones 'cause de de li-little pieces you
- 20 be countin' fore:ver with them little pieces.
- 21 Bess: Okay.

[TOD 28] DIALOGIC CLASSIFICATION

- 1 Dave: You know she- she's not too bright you know //()
 2 Ted: //()
 3 Dave: On the real side (0.4). the (lights) is over
 4 [laughs] ain't nobody near her house
 5 //[laughs]
 6 Ted: //[laughs]
 7 Dave: She ain't got no--
 8 Ted: She lights your door () //[laughs]
 9 Dave: //[laughs]
 10 Ted: Put a big welcome mat at the door--
 11 Dave: [laughs] Uhhh she need a- she need a scrap paper to add
 12 one plus two on the real side don't tell nobody
 13 //what I said
 14 Ted: //she ain't so bright.
 15 Dave: No don't say anything.
 16 Ted: (right). (0.2)
 17 Dave: You know but you know you gotta have patience you know.(0.2)
 18 maybe some of mines'll rub off on her you know what I'm sayin'?
 19 I hope none of hers rub off on me.
 20 Ted: I- I hate training a dumb //() I hate this ().
 21 Dave: //[laughs] Take forever. [laughs]
 [Ted talks about training an old guy who couldn't read or write]

[TOD 29] EVALUATING BESS

- 1 Chuck: She put 'em by herself?
 2 Dave: Yeah Cuz. (0.3)
 3 Chuck: She's good?
 4 Dave: Yeah Cuz she good [singsong→] already Cuz. (0.2)
 5 Chuck: //()-
 6 Dave: // You know I'm checkin' up on her you know=
 7 Chuck: =I know I know.
 8 Dave: You know.
 9 Chuck: Well you stay close you know.
 10 Dave: Yeah you know ()-
 11 Chuck (When Bess) countin' she can read the scale?
 12 Dave: Yeah.
 13 Chuck: D'ya know some guys here-
 14 Dave: //sh- you know sh-
 15 Chuck: //() the scale you read it backward you know?
 16 Dave: Yeah Cuz you know.
 17 Chuck: (I) ask for one pound they give you two.
 18 Dave: [laughs] Y-y- (we) know Cuz she kinda like that
 19 but ya know (0.3) ya know Ted'll help her out ya know.

[TOD 30] DAVE ON TRAINING

- 1 Pat: This your first time training Dave?
2 Dave: Yes.
3 Pat: Yeah? How do you how do you like it?
4 Dave: Well it's kind of different with a with a young lady
5 you know.
6 Pat: Yeah?
7 Dave: Yeah.
8 Pat: What- uh what makes it different?
9 Dave: It seems like I do more work.
10 Pat: Yeah?
11 Dave: Yeah but you know I don't mind it you know.

[TOD 31] HELP THEME

[On day four, Dave has periodically been assigned to other tasks apart from Bess. He tells her who she can ask for help if something is too heavy]

- 1 Bess: So what'd you say? You don't want to help me no more.
2 Dave: Who?
3 Bess: You.
4 Dave: No I didn't say that (0.3) [under his breath→] Oh that's
5 heavy [laughs].
6 Bess: ()
7 Dave: [under his breath→] Oh god.

[TOD 32] DIALOGUE ABOUT BESS' FEELINGS

1 Bess: Have you ever felt wicked?
 2 Dave: Mmm?
 3 Bess: Have you ever felt wicked?
 4 Dave: Wicked? Like you (wanna) hurt somebody?
 5 Bess: Yeah.
 6 Dave: Don't do that.
 7 Bess: Have you ever felt that way?
 8 Dave: Umm-hmm.
 [talk about work and about snacks (1.7)]
 9 Dave: I don't want to have to hurt nobody just--
 10 [bell rings] Huhl=breaktime.

[TOD 33] A SYMBOLIC METAPHOR

1 Bess: Do I have to (work) with my pocketbook?
 2 Bert: Is this yours?
 3 Bess: Ye:p.
 4 Bert: Wh- where do you want to leave it Bess?
 5 Dave: // [laughs for 0.8]
 6 Pat S.: [commentary tape] // Now Bert's coming in carrying Bess'
 7 pocketbook and asking her how she's going to handle it. She's
 8 getting--
 9 Dave: Put it in your desk Bert.
 10 Bert: Aw I- god forbid something happens you know
 11 // what I mean.
 12 Jeff N: // Lock it up in () your desk. Lock it in that thing where you
 13 keep all those pens and stuff at.
 14 Bess: Okay I'll take it upstairs.
 15 Bert: // Alright yeah that's because it's--
 16 Jeff N: // Yeah best to put it in your locker. You leave it downstairs
 17 something might happen.
 18 Bert: Oh god forbid even in my- even in my desk drawer
 19 they can get into. You know what I mean Bess?
 20 Bess: Okay.
 21 Jeff N: Bess go on with him and do what you gotta do. 'We'll see
 22 if () straighten out..
 [voices in background]
 23 Dave: () take your pocketbook.
 24 Bess: Where do I go upstairs from here?
 25 Dave: () up the stairs and you'll be right there
 26 right that door right there ().
 27 Bess: Okay I'll be back.
 28 Pat S: Bess' gone off to put her pocketbook- lock up her pocketbook upstairs.

APPENDIX C

THE TRAINING TEXTS AND TABLES

Dyad 1: MICKEY/ED Task 1: PAPERWORK (Filling out a bin card for 150 part pull)

(TRAINING TEXT 1.1 (TT 1.1) (first dyad =1, first task =1)

1 Mickey: Now, what we're gonna do is- this this is what we call a bin card,
 2 this is this is how we keep track of our inventory. Okay? Okay, what
 3 we're going to do is- if we know we h- if we know we have at least
 4 a hundred an' fifty, what we're gonna do is we're gonna check on
 5 this right here, on on sheet one. We're gonna check it over here, so
 6 that when they go upstairs they know that th- this copy is gonna go
 7 with the parts so th- that they know they have it, and this one is for
 8 Teddy, to go inside the computer. So what we're gonna do is we're
 9 gonna fill this out. I'm gonna mark on the dispatch ticket one fifty,
 10 2/2/87 and I'm gonna write your name and my name. Ya can
 11 write initials, you can write your name. This is so that they know th-
 12 the date it was pulled and who it was pulled by, in case there's any
 13 mistakes. Okay, we're gonna put it inside a plastic bag. I'm just
 14 gonna- one of these blue- what we do is we put this on there so we
 15 can tie 'em up () side of the bag. (.5) Okay. Now, what we're
 16 gonna do is we're gonna we're gonna enter this on the bin card.
 17 Cause this bin card is like a journal for us, we can go back with th-
 18 z- it tells us how much balance on hand we have or if there if
 19 there's a mistake, if they want to know if a part was pulled, we can
 20 always go back and see. If they call from upstairs they wanna- "Was
 21 this part every pulled?" We can go back an' look an' see. What we
 22 do is write the date 2/2/87. We're gonna use this order number here.
 23 You see, all these tickets have the same order number, okay?
 24 Ed: Yeah.
 25 Mickey: So we write 0 4 5 3 7 0, one fifty is the quantity. Okay. Anytime we
 26 take stock out it's gonna be on the left, put it in this column on the
 27 left. Wh- what the guys are doin' down there is receivin', it's gonna
 28 go on the right.
 29 Ed: Mm-hmm.
 30 Mickey: Okay?
 31 Ed: Mm-hmm.
 32 Mickey: So anytime we're go- see, this is withdrawal and this is the new
 33 stock added. Anytime we take anything out it's on this side, anytime
 34 they add stock it's gonna be on this side.
 35 Ed: Yeah.
 36 Mickey: Okay, we're gonna subtract a hundred an' fifty from ninety-nine
 37 ten which would be nine thousand seven sixty. Okay? (hhhh) And
 38 all the paperwork is done.

[sighs, then introduces next task of counting the parts]

Dyad 1: MICKEY/ED — Task 2: THE RATIO SCALE

(TRAINING TEXT 1.2)

[Mickey had shown Ed the electronic scale earlier]

- 1 Mickey: Okay, with these is— we're not going to count these on this scale,
- 2 we're going to— I'm going to show you how to use the other scale.
- 3 These are a little heavy. What we'll do is, we'll go to this scale over
- 4 here. Here. These are what we call— Okay. This is what we call a
- 5 ratio scale.
- 6 Ed: Uh-hmm.
- 7 Mickey: Okay? This is your hundreds, this is your tens. What we're going to
- 8 do is, we're going to put one in the hundreds, so we need 150, right?
- 9 3, 5. One fifty, okay? What we're going to do now is, w-this thing
- 10 works by weight, so what we'll do is, when we put when we put the
- 11 pieces in here, when we get to- when we get this thing like this,
- 12 Ed: Uh-hmm.
- 13 Mickey: That means that the that there was a hundred an' fifty. If it comes all
- 14 the way over here that means we got too much.
- 15 Ed: Uh-hmm.
- 16 Mickey: Okay?
- 17 Ed: So you put five there and one there.
- 18 Mickey: Right. Okay, so now what I'm going to do is start dumping them.
- 19 Mickey: Okay, now I'm over. So now what I got to do is take some back.
- 20 (0.6). So now I'm under. 1, give them an extra one, because we're
- 21 nice. Okay, now we got 150. Actually, we're probably one piece
- 22 over but-- Okay. Now this is in the middle, so that's what we want,
- 23 a hundred and fifty. This is part of your count, so you gotta take
- 24 these out.
- 25 Ed: () these?

DYAD 2: MICKEY/JOE TASK 1: FILLING OUT PAPERWORK
(TRAINING TEXT 2.1)

[Mickey first shows and explains to Joe the shop packet with ten different forms in it for pulling an order]

1. Mickey: Now we pull this this out. [pulls a card from
 2. bin of parts] Okay? What I usually do is- (.4)
 3. okay, what I usually do is- I need eighteen forty-
 4. three, right.
 5. Joe: Yeah.
 6. Mickey: Now we'll call- alright, this is- fourteen sixty- three is
 7. what we have in stock. We need eighteen hundred-
 8. Joe: Mm-//hmm.
 9. Mickey: //now we're gonna be short.
 10. Joe: Yeah.
 11. Mickey: Cause we don't have enough, right? So what
 12. we're gonna do is we have to make a recount.
 13. Anytime we don't have enough we gotta make a
 14. recount. This is a bad one to show you off
 15. the go, but- maybe it'll be okay. We ne- we
 16. know we need eighteen hundred. The bin card
 17. is saying fourteen sixty-three, okay? This is
 18. what we call a bin card.
 19. Joe: Yeah.
- [Mickey shows Joe how to recount the parts on the scale (10.0)]
20. Mickey : [returning to the bin card paperwork] You can sit
 21. down. Okay. We needed eighteen hundred.
 22. Joe: Right.
 23. Mickey: We don't have eighteen hundred. So we're
 24. gonna write down here what we're recounting.
 25. Write today's date which is the twelfth,
 26. in this column. We're gonna write
 27. the word 'recount', (.5) okay, right here.
 28. This shows the boss that you recounted the
 29. parts physically. Okay? Cause he's gotta make
 30. an adjustment, because the bin card is saying
 31. fourteen sixty-three.(.5) Ya can use initials
 32. or write your name. Okay, now when we recounted
 33. fourteen twenty-three. Okay? We're gonna write
 34. today's date again, 2/12/87. Okay? Now this is
 35. the card- all these, you'll see all these cards are
 36. going o have the same order number. It's all going
 37. to be put together. Okay? All these order numbers
 38. are going to be the same on all these cards.

[points to order number on other shop packet cards and gives a hypothetical example of when the amount of parts to be pulled might be different]

39. Mickey: So now, now, what we'll do is we're gonna write
 40. the work order- its order number- work order number,
 41. okay? 0,4,9,4,5,0. And we're gonna pull everything
 42. that we have, which were counted, right? Which was
 43. fourteen twenty-three. We'll put our initials this time.
 44. Okay. Then we bring the card to zero. That
 45. means we have no stock now. Okay?
46. Joe: Um hmm.
47. Mickey: Okay? Now what we're gonna do is we're gonna put
 48. them on this card here [a different card called
 49. the dispatch card, which Mickey shows Joe how to fill out].
50. Mickey: [back to bin card] Now on the card we're
 51. gonna write RR underneath what we just did
 52. over here, okay? RR stands for receiving
 53. report, meaning that we gotta skip a sp- spot
 54. because when the guys that receive these
 55. parts in, they're going to pull the back
 56. order. Whoever receive these parts in when
 57. they come in, is going to pull your back order.
 58. Joe: so you skip a space here.
59. Mickey: So we write RR so they that they can write their
 60. information in like this. I mean, we're gonna put
 61. parts in the stock, we got to give them a spot, because
 62. you know what's gonna
 63. happen is- Gonna write your order number again, 0,4,9,4,5,0, and
 64. we need a balance of three seventy-seven. Okay? You don't write
 65. no date, because the guy who receives them in is gonna fill- Now
 66. what happens is, suppose, um, Ed here needs the same part and
 67. he- you have nothin', he already
 68. has none. He's gonna take his number, write it under here, 0 4
 69. whatever he needs, and write it next to yours. So the list can go all
 70. the way down to ere. You know what I'm saying?
71. Joe: Yeah.
72. Mickey: And when the guy receives them in he's got to
 73. have a spot to receive them in so he can pull all them back orders.
 74. That's the reason why we skip a spot. We write RR and then skip
 75. a spot. Okay?
76. Joe: Yeah, so far.
77. Mickey: //Okay?
78. Joe: //[laughs]
- [Mickey continues to explain and fill out other forms in the pull]

DYAD 2: MICKEY/JOE - TASK 2: RATIO SCALE
(TRAINING TEXT 2.2)

[Mickey has used a hypothetical weighing situation on a smaller scale to introduce the ratio scale. He now brings Joe to the big ratio scale to weigh components for an actual work task]

1	Mickey:	Okay, this is a big- this is basically the same as
2		that scale, except instead of having a tin, we're
3		going to put our own tin on, okay? Instead of
4		having-
5	Joe:	Yeah.
6	Mickey:	a scoop, we're going to we're going to put one of
7		these. This is what we'll call a bin, okay? What
8		we're going to do is- we're going to zero this bin
9		out, so that the weight of the bin won't affect our
10		count.
11	Joe:	Yeah.
12	Mickey:	Most bins are 5 pounds, okay? What happens is
13		from wae- from dragging them on the floor, this
14		and that, some of them wear out a little bit, so
15		like when w yo when we're receiving them back
16		there, what we're going to do is, we're just going
17		to throw the whole- we're going to just ta- leave
18		the weight at 5 pounds and just check, instead of
19		dumping them from one to another, you know
20		what I'm saying? Instead of leveling off-
21	Joe:	Yeah.
22	Mickey:	one and dumping and then dumping this back
23		again, we're just going to leave it at five, if it's
24		close, okay? You see, most bins are 5 pounds,
25		there's 5 pounds, okay?
26	Joe:	Right.
27	Mickey:	This scale has- is the same as that, except it has
28		thousands, okay?
29	Joe:	Um-hmm.
30	Mickey:	(There's thousands, hundreds, tens. (0.4) Okay,
31		so we need eighteen hundred, so what I'm doing
32		we're going to put one in there, that's a thousand,
33		3,3,4,5,6, 7,8. That's our eighteen hundred, okay?
34	Joe:	[very softly] Right.

35 Mickey: So this is going to work the same way, if this
 36 needle goes back over here to zero, that means
 37 that we have eighteen hundred, okay? If the
 38 needle goes way up here like this, that means we
 39 got too much.
 40 Joe: Yeah.
 41 Mickey: And yo- we're going to keep pouring until the
 42 until the needle moves, or we're going to keep
 43 scooping, because it's way over here, right? As
 44 we put the pieces in, you see, the needle's going
 45 to move slowly like this, zzzzz, until we want it
 46 to get right there, okay?
 47 Joe: Uh-huh.
 48 Mickey: And if it goes off over here, we got to take some
 49 out. Okay, so take one. [Mickey scoops parts into
 50 bin] Okay, it's starting to move now, right? ()
 51 (0.16) Okay. That's what we want, okay? //Zero.
 52 Joe: //() right.
 53 Mickey: Like I said, these scales are not- I mean they're
 54 pretty accurate I mean but I mean they're not
 55 exactly to the piece, I //mean-
 56 Joe: //()
 57 Mickey: they might be 1810, 1820 in there, but in 20
 58 pieces they're not going to worry about that kind-
 59 because the percentage, you know what
 60 I'm saying, the percentages- if there's 20
 61 pieces over on eighteen hundred, the
 62 percentage is maybe like, what, fi- two
 63 percent, something like that, so they're not
 64 worried, one percent they're not worried
 65 about. But I mean if if you were five hundred
 66 over or a hundred over-
 67 Joe: Oh.
 68 Mickey: you know, but like 10 pieces, 20 pieces,
 69 they're not really worried about, either way.
 70 'Cause what happens is, they'll wind up
 71 losing them anyway, when they plate them,
 72 they lose a couple, when they when they stamp
 73 them. Okay, so this is our eighteen hundred.
 74 Take this, this is all part of the count.

DYAD 3: MAC/REGGIE - TASK 1: FILLING OUT PAPERWORK -
(TRAINING TEXT 3.1)

[Mac explains pulling a back order to Reggie. He is also doing all the writing on this first M-5]

1 Mac: ...Now we have to write an M-5.
2 Reggie: An M-5.
3 Mac: Anything we receive in we write an M5 for,
4 Okay? On the M-5. This is-- see, these these
5 come down-these are special parts, they send
6 these down to us.
7 Reggie: Right.
8 Mac: So we don't have-- we don't pick these up
9 from the machine shop, we don't have a white ticket.
10 Reggie: Okay.
11 Mac: I had to get the M5 number from Bert
12 okay? Here so that that number goes
13 here, O5 () 50. Then you put the part
14 number, where it says part number- [Mac
15 points to areas on M5 card]
16 Reggie: Right.
17 Mac: 848 dash 1, and the M number.
18 Reggie: Number 26, right.
19 Mac: Okay, that's 26. Now you put packed by-- what's your
20 fir- what's the name?
21 Reggie: Reggie.
22 Mac: Reggie, okay. Just put our initials 'cause we did
23 it.
24 Reggie: Okay.
25 Mac: Quantity received was six hundred twenty pieces,
26 date 4/20/-
27 Reggie: Right.
28 Mac: 87. And the and you put the location, which is-
29 which you find here on the bin card,
30 Reggie: Um hmm.
31 Mac: just (check out) P-27, 7. Okay, that takes
32 care of that. Now there's a back order is
33 right here for 2,869 pieces. Okay? We have
34 620. So we're going to issue the 620.
35 Alright?
36 Reggie: Um hmm.
37 Mac: So you put down here the issued 620--
38 Reggie: Right.
39 Mac: Subtract that from that, that leaves you a balance
40 of 2249.
41 Reggie: Right. So the quantity is also put on this dispatch card?

42 Mac: Yeah, well, this because the, see -- when you pull parts,
43 Reggie: Right.
44 Mac: usually you go to the bin.
45 Reggie: Um hmm.
46 Mac: That- this we don't usually do this down
47 here, they do that down there where they pull
48 parts. They get work orders with like ten or
49 fifteen of these cards.
50 Reggie: Right.
51 Mac: And they- so they they look on here for a location.
52 Reggie: Um hmm.
53 Mac: Chuck usually puts it on here, but he made
54 this card up himself. You go to the location,
55 right? And they'll find this bin card with
56 the parts.
57 Reggie: Right.
58 Mac: And they'll pull. If it says two thousand
59 eight hundred and sixty-nine, they'll look on
60 here on balance, and if there's enough in
61 stock they'll pull it, right? Then they write
62 here twenty-eight sixty-nine--
63 Reggie: Right.
64 Mac: And they sign it.
65 Reggie: Okay.
66 Mac: But there's not there's not that amount,
67 there's only 620, so- if- they would have
68 done the same thing, they would have issued
69 the 620-
70 Reggie: Um hmm.
71 Mac: subtracted it and wrote the balance out on here.
72 Reggie: Balance out, right.
73 Mac: We put our initials, the date, and this goes down
74 here.

DYAD 3, Mac/Reggie TASK 2 - THE RATIO SCALE
(TRAINING TEXT 3.2)

[Mac and Tony are in stockroom receiving area]

1 Mac: Okay, first I'm gonna show you how to use the scale
2 Reggie: Um hmm.
3 Mac: count the pieces.
4 Reggie: Okay.
5 Mac: Then then we're gonna pull a back order.
6 [Mac explains what a back order is. He then carries a bin full of parts and puts
7 it down on floor next to scale, goes to other end of room and grabs an empty
8 bin, goes back to scale]
9 Mac: First thing we do- see, all these, all these bins have different
10 weights, right. Some of them are four and a half, some
11 of them are five pounds-
12 Reggie: Right.
13 Mac: some a little heavier than 5 pounds. So you got to zero it on the
14 scale. Take an empty bin.
15 Reggie: Um hmm.
16 Mac: This one is almost zero=
17 Reggie: =is almost zero.
18 Mac: This is your 5 measure right here.
19 Reggie: Right.
20 Mac: so it's a little bit-- those are heavier. Okay, that's zeroed right there,
21 okay. Now you wanna count these pieces. Dump them in
22 here.[dumps parts from bin on floor into bin on scale] Now it's just
23 counting with ratios, okay, so-
24 Reggie: Right.
25 Mac: if you wanna count-- this is tens-no, this is hundred, this is tens.
26 So if you want to count hundreds- there's probably about five
27 hundred or six hundred in there.
28 [Mac grabs a few pieces, throws them into the hundred cup. He's looking at
29 the needle on the scale as he does this; then he grabs a couple more pieces,
30 throws one, two, three into the ten's cup]
31 Mac: Okay, we got one, two, three, four, five, six in there and two in
32 there. That makes it six hundred and //twenty pieces.
33 Reggie: Six hundred twenty, r//ight.
34 Mac: Right? That's hundreds. That's tens.
35 Reggie: That's tens, right.
36 Mac: So six hundred twenty pieces in there,
37 Reggie: Right. So that's six in there, and two-
38 Mac: two in there
39 Reggie: two makes the twenty--
40 Mac: twenty-
41 Reggie: That makes six hundred.

42 Mac: That makes six hundred.
43 Reggie: Alright.
44 Mac: Okay. Now if there was six- if there was sixty in there,
45 Reggie: Um hmm.
46 Mac: it'd be six thousand.
47 Reggie: Six thousand. Alright.
48 Mac: If it was six hundred, it would be sixty thousand,
49 Reggie: Right.
50 Mac: and so on, so on. Okay, so we got six hundred twenty pieces. Now we
51 have to write an M-5.

DYAD 4: Mac/Tony TASK 1: PAPERWORK
(TRAINING TEXT 4.1)

[after parts have been counted on the E-scale, Tony sits and looks over Mac's shoulder, while Mac writes on the bin card]

1 Mac: So, we received in, RR, five hundred forty nine pieces. Okay, now, we pulled
2 forty pieces here. Okay, so, it's forty pieces. That's the order
3 number. We pulled 039800, forty pieces, initial it, we subtract it
4 off of the total that we have-
5 Tony: Yeah.
6 Mac: So, that leaves us 509. Now, we have another pull here. We date
7 it 4/27/87, initial it. Now, we have another pull here 068040,
8 Tony: That's what we've got to pull.
9 Mac: Five hundred pieces. We know there is 509 in here, so
10 we take 9 out,
11 Tony: Oh.
12 Mac: 2,4,6,8,9. Okay. Try and put those in that little bag.
13 Tony: This one? [hums rap song]
14 Mac: Issued five hundred. Initial it, K.A. 4/27/87. We're supposed to
15 wait until the white-out dries. I didn't. (.) This is what's known
16 as filling back orders.
17 Tony: Oh, yep?
18 Mac: So, that's it. We pulled five hundred, we pulled forty. And we
19 have 9 left over. So, we received in 549 pieces, 9 pieces in there,
20 the forty is in here, and the five hundred is in here. It shows it all
21 on the-
22 Tony: Okay. I understand it a little. Number-
23 Mac: Okay. I'll show you the RR and everything, when we
24 receive it in something normally.
25 Tony: Um hmm.
26 Mac: That just happened to be a back order, and they're
27 in a hurry for it, and that's why I did it

DYAD 4: MAC/TONY TASK 2: THE RATIO SCALE
(TRAINING TEXT 4.2)

[Researcher Sachs comments that Mac had already shown Tony some things about the scale previous to the audiotaping]

- 1 Mac: Okay, need a scoop. I'll show you how to use the- I'm going to
- 2 (make a pull here for)-
- 3 [laughs at something someone passing by says to him]
- 4 Mac: I'm going to make a pull for a hundred and eighty thousand, right? I
- 5 mean for eighteen thousand.
- 6 Tony: Um hmm.
- 7 Mac: So, we got to count out a hundred and eighty for
- 8 the hundreds bin. That'll give us eighteen thousand.
- 9 Tony: Yeah, right. //There's an easy thing down there.
- 10 Mac: //Instead of counting them by hand, we use the electronic
- 11 scale.
- 12 Tony: Alright.
- 13 [Mac goes to electronics scale at back of room. Tony realizes it and follows him.
- 14 Mac counts pieces into box on E-scale]
- 15 Mac: Okay, count sixteen. I hit sixteen. Got it?
- 16 Tony: Um hmm.
- 17 Mac: Just counting.
- 18 Tony: I was counting for you. Oh, yeah.
- 19 Mac: We need eighteen thousand, so we got to count out
- 20 a hundred and eighty.
- 21 [(1.8) Mac grabs the box of 180 pieces, and they go to large ratio scale. Mac
- 22 puts an empty bin on scale, moving the weight without any talk - levelling the
- 23 bin. Tony is watching as Mac pours 180 pieces into the hundred's cup and
- 24 takes the bin card out of the bin of parts]
- 25 Tony: Eighteen thousand, huh?
- 26 Mac: (.19) Uh, uh-huh. (.17) That's it, eighteen thousand. (0.10)
- 27 Tony: Eighteen thousand, huh?
- 28 Mac: Four twenty-four.
- 29 Tony: They have an order for eighteen thousand, huh?
- 30 Mac: () Oops. (faint) 107 4819 18,000 () 0,0,4,2,3 ()
- 31 [Mac does some paperwork without talking to Tony. He explains to
- 32 researcher and to Tony the nature of the problem that he had been tied up
- 33 with prior to weighing the 18,000 pieces.(5.0)]
- 34 Tony: So, now we got to count these, huh?
- 35 Mac: Yeah, I got to go talk to Bert [supervisor]
- 36 Tony: Uhhh!
- 37 [Mac returns after (3.0)]
- 38 Mac: Okay. Count these pieces. So, the easiest to do that is to do them
- 39 one at a time. First we're gonna we're gonna count two hundred an' nine
- 40 pieces (), two hundred an' nine. (0.20) Two hundred.
- 41 Tony: You gotta throw nine in that one, two in that one?
- 42 Mac: Yep.

43 Tony: Two hundred and nine ().
44 Mac: (0.10) That's two hundred an' ninepieces, okay? (0.9) Okay, now just
45 count what's - what's left. And now the easiest way to do it is take
46 your bin, put it up here-
47 Tony: Yeah.
48 Mac: and just throw 'em in here 'til it levels.
49 Tony: Uh huh.
50 [Mac puts next bin of parts on scale, puts pieces into ratio
51 cups until needle is at zero]
52 Mac: (0.18) Okay. So we got 2,2,4,6,8. one thousand thirty
53 pieces in there.
54 Tony: One thousand an' thirty.
55 [Mac then directs Tony to count the next bin]

DYAD 5: DAVE/BESS TASK 1: DOING PAPERWORK
(TRAINING TEXT 5.1)

[10:13am, M-5 form for machine shop receiving. Dave gives Bess a pen, so that, sitting at the receiving desk, she does the paperwork]

1 Dave: Alright, so then you get one of these, right? (0.30)
 2 Bess: So you turn-
 3 Dave: No, no. This, don't look at that yet. You put that here-
 4 Bess: The date, //today's date, right?
 5 Dave: No, no. Don't put the date. This-
 6 Bess: The number, right?
 7 Dave: Yeah. (0.6) Yeah. Yeah. (0.5) The M number 99. Okay, skip
 8 down to here, put your name and my name.
 9 Bess: D-A-V-E?
 10 Dave: Yeah. () Put the date.
 11 Bess: Down here in the ()?
 12 Dave: Yeah. (.5) And your location is X-30. Then you put here- put your date
 13 here. Ohhh, staple these together. Staple them together like that one.
 14 (0.4) Then when I'm finished countin 'em, right? Then you'll put your
 15 quantity, how much we received. But that's later. Put your date there
 16 (0.6) Put RR.
 17 Bess: RR?
 18 Dave: Yeah. Then you put this up here.
 19 Bess: 4, 1-
 20 Dave: Yeah, put that there.
 21 Bess: ()
 22 Dave: Now 194. Then, you put your location X-30, your name and my name
 23 Then you gotta wait until I count 'em up.
 24 [Dave then directs Bess to come to ratio scale, where the training continues]
 25 Dave: Come over here. [back at the paperwork] Right along here, put it here.
 26 Bess: Right here?
 27 Dave: Yeah. Then you add it on to that, and that's
 28 how much we got in stock.
 29 Bess: Add it?
 30 Dave: Yeah, to that.
 31 [on a card Dave handed her, Bess adds and double-checks her
 32 math(0.22)]
 33 Dave: Um hmm. Okay, put it there. [referring to total]
 34 Bess: So, what do you do with it? [referring to card]
 35 [Dave and Rick, another material handler who came by earlier, respond with
 36 imperatives. Rick puts the M-5 cards in a nearby location]

TRAINING TEXT TABLES (TTT)

Dyad 1: Mickey/Ed Task 1: FILLING IN Bin Card & DISPATCH CARD

(TABLE 1.1)

Theme			
Textual	Topic	Token/Process	Mood/Modality
now	this	is - rel: identify	present
	this	is - rel: attribute	present
okay if	we	know - mental: cog	pres/condition
	we	have - rel: poss	present
	do		
	we	is - rel: identify	future
	we	check - material:act	future]
	we	check - material:act	future
so that			
when	they	go — material: act	present
	they	know—mental: cog	present
	this copy	go— material: act	future
so that	they	know—mental: cog	present
	they	have— rel: poss	present
and	this one	is— rel: identify	present
so	what we're		future
	gonna do	is rel: identify	
	we	fill out - mat: act	future]
	I	mark - material:act	future
and	I	write - material:act	future
	ya	write - material:act	low modal
	you	write - material:act	low modal
	this	is - rel: identify	present
so that	they	know - mental: cog	present]
	the date	was pulled - rel:ident	past]
and	who	was pulled - rel:ident	
in case	there	's - rel: existential	present
okay	we	put - material:act	future
	what we do	is - rel: identify	present
	we	put - material:act	present]
so	we	tie up - mat:act	low model]
okay	what we're	is - rel: identify	present
now	gonna do		
	we	enter — material:act	future
'cause	this bin card	is — rel: attribute	present
	we	go back— mat:behavior	low modal
	it	tells - verbal	present
	how much balance		
		have - rel: poss	present
or if	there	's - rel: existential	pres/hypothes
if	they	want to know - men:cog	pres/hypothes
if	a part	pulled - material: act	pres/hypothes
	we	go back - mat:behavior	low model
if	they	call - verbal	pres/hypothes
	was	pulled - mat: act	past/interrog

	we	go back - mat:behavior	low modal
	what we do	is - rel: identify	present
		[write - material:act	imperative]
	we	use - mental:percept	future
	you	see - mental:perception present	
	all these tickets	have - rel: attribute	present
so	we	write - material:act	present
	one fifty	is - rel: identify	present
okay	anytime	take - material:act	habitual
	it	be - rel: attribute	future
	put	material: action	imperative
	what the guys are		
	doin' down there	is - rel: identify	present
	it	's - rel: attribute	future
	see	mental: cognitive	imperative
	this	is - rel: identify	present
and	this	is - rel: identify	present
	anytime	take - material:act	habitual/mod
	it	's - rel: identify	present
	anytime	add - material: act	habitual/mod
	it	's - rel: identify	future
okay	we	subtract - mat: act	future
okay?			
and	all the paperwork	is - rel:attribute	present

(TTTABLE 1.2)

DYAD 1: MICKEY/ED TASK 2: THE RATIO SCALE

Theme		Token/Process	Mood/Modal
Text	Topic		
okay okay?	we	count - material:act	future/neg
	I	show - material: act	future
	these	are - rel: attribute	present
	what we'll do	is - rel:identify	fut-in-pres
	we	go- material: act	future]
	this	is - rel: identify	present
	this	is - rel: identify	present
	this	is - rel: identify	present
	what we're going to do	is - rel: identify	fut-in-pres
	we	put - material:act	future]
so	we	need - mental: cog	present
	what we're gonna		
	do now	is - relational	future/incomp
so when when	this	works - rel:attribute	present
	what we'll do	is - relational	future/incomp
	we	put - material: act	present
	we	get - material: act	present
	that	means - rel: identify	present
	that there	was - rel: identify	past]
	if	it	comes - material:act pres/cond
okay so now	that	means - rel: identify	present
	we	got - rel: possession	past]
	what I'm gonna do	is - rel: identify	present
okay now		start dumping - mat:action	pres-in-pres]
	I	'm - rel: attribute	present
so now	what I got to do	is - rel: identify	fut-in-pres/ob
	take	material: action	pres/imper?
so now	I	'm - rel: attribute	present
	give	material: action	imperative
because	we	're - rel: attribute	present
	we	got - rel: possession	past
okay now	actually we	're - rel: attrib pres/modal	
	this	is - rel: identify	present
so	that	's - rel: identify	present
	what we	want - mental: affect	present]
so	this	is - rel: identify	present
	you	take - material: act	fut-in-pres/ob

(TABLE 2.1)

DYAD 2: MICKEY/JOE - TASK 1: PAPERWORK (Filling out the bin card)

Theme			
Text	Topic	Token/Process Type	Mood/Modality
now	we	pull - material: act	present
okay	what I	is - relational	pres/modu/inc
	I	need - mental/material	present
	fourteen sixty-three	is - rel: identify	present
	what	have - rel:possession	present
	we	need - mental/material	present
now	we	to be - rel: attribute	future
"cause	we	have - rel: attribute	pres/negative
so	what we're gonna do	is - rel: identify	present
	what we	do - material: act	future]
	we	make - material:act	obligation]
	anytime	have - rel: attribute	pres/neg/modul
	we	make - material:act	obligation
	this	is - rel: attribute	present
but	maybe	be - rel: attribute	future/modula
	we	know - mental: cog	present
	we	need - mental/material	present]
	the bin card	is saying - verbal	pres-in-pres
okay?	this	is - rel: identify	present
	you	sit down - mat:act	low modality
okay	we	needed - mental/mat	past
	we	have - rel: possession	pres/negative
so	we	write down - mat:behav	future
	what	're recounting - mat:	pres-in-pres
	write	material/men:act/behav	imperative
	we	write - mat:behavior	future
	this	shows - verbal	present
	that	recounted - mat:act	past]
	okay cause he	make - material: act	oblig/reason
because	the bin card	is saying - verbal	pres-in-pres
	ya	use - material:beh	pres/low modal
or	write	material: behavior	pres/low modal
okay now			
when	recounted - mat:act		past
okay?	we	write - mat: act	future
okay now	this	is - rel: identify	present
	you	see - mental:percep	future
	all these cards	have - rel: identify	future
	it	be put - mat: action	future/passive
	okay?	all these order	
	numbers	are - rel: attribute	future
so now	what we'll do	is - rel: identify	present
	we	write - material:	future]
and	we	pull - material: act	future
	which	recounted - mat:act	past
	which	was - rel: identify	past

okay then	we	use - material: behav	future
	we	bring - material:act	present
	that	means - rel: identify	present
	we	have - rel: possessive	present
now	okay? now	what we're	
	gonna do	is - rel: identify	present
	we	put - material:act	future]
	on the card	write - material:act	future
because	what	did - material: act	past/modula
	RR	stands for-rel:ident	present
	meaning that	skip - material: act	obligation]
	when the guys that		
so	receive these		
	parts in	pull - material:action	future
	whoever		
	receives the	pull - material:action	future
so that	we	write - material:behav	present
	they	write - material:behav	modal
	I	mean - verbal	present
	we	put - material:action	future]
because	we	give - material:action	obligation
	you	know - mental: cog	present
	what's gonna		
	happen	is - relational	present/incom]
and	gonna write	material: action	future
	we	need - mental/mat	present
	you	write - material:act	pres/negative
	the guy who		
now	receives		
	hem in	fill - material:act	future/incom
	what happens	is - rel: identify	present/incom
	Ed	needs - mental:affect	pres/hypothes
suppose	you	have - rel:attribute	present
	he	has - rel: attribute	present/modula
	he	take - material: act	future
	write	material: action	present
and	whatever	needs - mental	present
	write	material: action	present
	the list	go - material: act	low modal
	you	know - mental: cog	present/intrg
and	what I	am saying - verbal	pres-in-pres]
	when the guy	receives in-mat:act	present
	he	have - rel: attrib	obligation
	he	pull - material:act	modal/able
so	that	- rel: identify.....	present
	why we	skip - material:act	present
	we	write - material:act	present
	skip	material: behavior	present
and then			

DYAD 2: MICKEY/JOE - TASK 2: RATIO SCALE
(TABLE 2.2)

Theme			
Text	Topic	Token/Process	Mood/Modality
okay	this	is - rel: identify	present/incomp
	this	is - rel: attribute	present
	except	instead of	
	having a tin	put - material: act	future
	instead of		
	having a scoop	put - material: act	future
	this	is - rel: identify	present
so that	what we're		
	going to do	is - rel: identify	present
	we	zero - material: act	future]
	the weight	affect - rel: attrib	future/negativ
	most bins	are - rel: attribute	present
	what happens	is - rel: attribute	present
	some of them	wear out-rel: attribute	present]
and	when we	're receiving-mat: act	pres-in-pres]
	what we're		
	going to do	+(rel: identify	fut-in-pres
	we	leave - mat: action	future/modula
	just	check - mental: percept	present]
	instead of dumping		
	them from one to		
	another	material: action	nonfinite
	you	know - mental: cog	present
	what I	'm saying - verbal	prs-prs/inter]
	instead of leveling		
	off one and dumping		
	and then dumping		
	this back again	material: actions	nonfinite
if	we	leave - material: act	future/modula
	it	's - rel: attribute	present/cond
	you	see - mental: cog	present
	most bins	are - rel: attribute	present
	there	's - rel: existential	present
	this scale	is - rel: attribute	present
	except it	has - rel: possession	present
okay so	there	's - rel: existential	present
	we	need - mental: affect	present
	what I'm doing	material: action	pres-in-pres
	we	put - material: act	future
	that	's - rel: identify	present
	that	's - rel: identify	present
	this	is - rel: attribute	present
if	this needle	goes back - mat: act	pres/cond
	that	means - rel: identify	present
	that we	have - rel: possession	present]
if	the needle	goes - material: act	pres/cond
	that	means - rel: identify	present
	that we	got - rel: possession	present]
and	we	keep pouring-mat: act	future

or	until the needle	moves - material:act	present
because	we	keep scooping-mat:act	future
	it	's - rel: attribute	present
	as we	put - material: act	present
	you	see - mental: percept	present
	the needle	move - material: act	future
	until We	want to get-mental:cog	fut-in-pres
and if	it	goes off - mat:act	pres/condition
	we	take out - mat: act	obligatory
okay so	take	material: action	imperative
okay	it	's starting - mat:act	pres-in-pres
okay	that	's - rel: identify	present
	like I	said - verbal	past
	these scales	are - relational	pres/neg/incom
	I	mean - rel: identify	present
	they	're - rel: attribute	present/modula]
but	I	mean - rel: identify	present
	they	're - rel: attribute	pres/neg/modu]
	I	mean - rel: identify	present
	they	be - rel: identify	low modality
but	in 20 pieces	worry - mental: affect	future/neg
	you	know - mental: cog	present
	what I	'm saying - verbal	present/interg]
if	there	's - rel: existential	pres/condition
	the percentage	is - rel: identify	pres/modality
so	they	worried-mental:affect	pres/negative
	one percent	worried-mental:affect	pres/negative
but	I	mean - rel: identify	present
if	you	were - rel:attribute	past/condition
	you	know - mental: cog	present/inter?
	but	like 10 pieces,	
	20 pieces	worried - mental:affect	pres/neg/modul
'cause	what happens	is - rel: identify	present
	they	wind up losing-mat:act	future]
	when they	plate - material: act	present
	they	lose - material: act	present
	when they	stamp - material: act	present
okay so	this	is - rel: identify	present
	take	material: action	imperative

DYAD 3: MAC/REGGIE - TASK 1: DOING PAPERWORK (M-5 and Bin Card)
(TABLE 3.1)

<u>Text</u>	<u>Theme</u> <u>Topic</u>	<u>Token/Process Type</u>	<u>Mood/Modality</u>
now	we anything we see these these they	write - material:beh receive in - mat:act write - material:act mental: cognitive come down - mat:act are - rel: identify send - material:act	obligation pres/modulate present imperative present present present
so	we we I	pick up - mat: act have - rel: poss get - material:act	pres/negative pres/negative past/obligation
okay?			
so that	that number then you where it	goes - material:act put - material: act says - verbal	present present present
okay	that	's - rel: identify	present
now	you what	put - material: act 's - rel: identify	present pres/interrog
okay	just	put - material: act	imperative
'cause	we quantity received	did - material: act was - rel: identify	past/causal past
and	you which you just	put - material: act find - mat:behavior (check out)-mat:beh	pres/imper? present present
okay	that	takes care-rel:attrib	present
now	there	's - rel: existential	present
Okay?	we	have - rel: poss	present
so	we	issue - material:act	future
so	you subtract that see when you usually we they where they they	put down - mat: act material:mental-act leaves - mat: act mental: cognitive pull - material:act go - material: act do - material: act do - material: act pull - material:act get - material: act	present pres/imper? present imperative present pres/modulate oblig/modula present present present
so	they Chuck	look - mat:behavioral puts - material: act	present pres/modula
but	he you	made - material: act go - material: act	past pres/imper?
Right?			
and	they	find - mat:behavior	future
and	they	pull - material: act	future
if	it they	says - verbal look - mat:behavior	pres/hypothet future

and if	there	's - rel: attribute	pres/hypothet
Right?	they	pull - material: act	future
	then they	write - material: act	present
and	they	sign - material: act	present
but	there	's - rel: existential	pres/negative
	there	's - rel: existential	present
so	they	done - material	past/condition
	they	issued - material	past/condition
	subtracted	material: action	past
and	wrote	material: action	past
	we	put - material: act	present
and	this	goes - material: act	present

DYAD 3: MAC/REGGIE - TASK 2: THE RATIO SCALE
(TABLE 3.2)

Theme			
Text	Topic Token/Process	Mood/Modality	
okay	first	show - material: act	future
	then we	pull - material: act	future
	first thing	do - material: action	present/incomp
	see	mental: cognitive	pres/imperativ
	all these bins	have - rel: attribute	present
	some of them	are - rel: attribute	present
so	some of them	are - rel: attribute	present
	you	zero - material: act	obligatory
	take	material: action	imperative
	this one	is - rel: attribute	prsnt/modula
	this	is - rel: identify	present
	those	are - rel: attribute	present
okay	that	's - rel: identify	present
okay now	you	wanna count-mental/mat	present
	dump	material: action	imperative
now	it	's - rel: identify	prsnt/modula
okay so			
if	you	wanna count-mental/mat	pres/condition
	this	is - rel: identify	present
no	this	is - rel: identify	present/neg
	this	is - rel: identify	present
so if	you	want to count:men/mat	pres/cond/incom
	there	's - rel: identif	pres/modulat
okay	we	got - rel: identify	past-in-pres
	that	makes - rel: identify	present
	that	's - rel: identify	present
	that	's - rel: identify	present
	that	makes - rel: identify	present
	okay now		
if	there	was - rel: existential	past/condition
	it	be - rel: identify	past/condition
if	it	was - rel: identify	past/condition
	it	be - rel: identify	past/condition
okay so	we	got - rel: identify	past-in-pres
now	we	write - mat: behavior	obligatory

DYAD 4: MAC/TONY - TASK 1: PAPERWORK (Bin card and backorder)
(TABLE 4.1)

<u>Theme</u>			
Text	Topic Token/Process Type		Mood/Modality
so	we	received in - mat:act	past
okay now	we	pulled - material: act	past
okay so	it	's - rel: identify	present
	that	's - rel: identify	present
	we	pulled - mat: action	past
		initial material: action	imperative
	we	subtract - mat: act	present
so	that	leaves - mat: act	present
now	we	have - rel: identify	present
	we	date - material:act	present
	initial	material - action	imperative
now	we	have - rel: identify	present
	we	know - mental: cog	present
	there	is - rel: attribute	present
so	we	take out - mat: act	present
okay	try	material: behavior	imperative
and	put	material: action	imperative
	issued	material: act	past
	initial	material: act	imperative
	we	to wait - mat:beh	pres/modal
	I	didn't - mat: behavior	past/negative
	this	is - rel: identify	present
so	that	's - rel: identify	present
	we	pulled - material:act	past
	we	pulled - material:act	past
and	we	have - rel: poss	present
so	we	received in - mat:act	past
	the forty	is - rel: attribute	present
and	the five hundred	is - rel: attribute	present
	it	shows - verbal	pres/incomplet
okay	I	show - mat: act	future
	when we	receive - mat: act	present
	that just		
		happened- rel:existential	pres/modula
and	they	're - rel: attribute	present
and	that	's - rel: identify	present
	why I	do - material: act	past/reason]

DYAD 4: MAC/TONY TASK 2: THE RATIO SCALE
(TABLE 4.2)

Theme			
Text	Topic	Token/Process Type	Mood/Modality
okay	need	mental: affect	present
	I	show - material:act	future/incom
	I	make a pull: material	future
	I	mean - rel: identify	present
so	we	count - material: act	obligation
	that	give - material: act	future
	instead of counting		
	them by hand	use - material: act	present
okay	count	material: action	imperative
	I	hit - material: act	present
	got	mental: cognition	past/interrog
	just	counting - mat: act	non finite
	we	need - mental: affect	present
now	we	count out - mat:	actobligation
	that	's - rel: identify	present
yeah	I	go talk - verbal	obligation
okay	count	material: action	imperative
so	the easiest to do		
	that	is - rel: identify	present
		to do-mat: action	nonfinite
first	we	count - material:act	future
	that	's - rel: identify	present
okay now	just count	material: act	imper/modula
and now	the easiest way		
	to do it	is - rel: identify	present
		take - mat: action	imperative]
		put material: action	imperative]
and	just throw	material: action	imper/modula
	'till	levels - mat: act	present
okay so	we	got - rel: identify	past

**DYAD 5: DAVE/BESS TASK 2: DOING PAPERWORK
(TABLE 5.1)**

Text	Theme	Topic	Token/Process Type	Mood/Modality
alright so				
then		you	get - material: act	present/imper
no, no		don't look	mat: behavior	neg/imperative
		you	put - material: act	present/imper
no, no		don't put	material: act	neg/imperative
okay		skip down	material: behavior	imperative
		put	material: action	imperative
		yeah put	material: action	imperative
and		your location	is - rel: identify	present
then		you	put - material:action	imperative
		put	material: action	imperative
ooh		staple	material: action	imperative
		staple	material: action	imperative
then		when I	countin' - mat:act	past-in-pres
right?				
then		you	put - material:act	future
		how much	received - material	past
but		that	's - rel: attribute	present
		put	material: action	imperative
		put	material: action	imperative
then		you	put - material:action	imperative
yeah		put	material: action	imperative
then		you	put - material:action	imperative
then		you	wait - material:behavior	obligation
		until I	count - material: act	present
		come	material: behavior	imperative
		right along here		
		put	material: act	imperative
then		you	add - material: act	imperative
and		that	's - rel: identify	present
okay		put	material: action	imperative

DYAD 5: DAVE/BESS - TASK 2: WEIGHING PARTS ON RATIO SCALE
(TABLE 5.2)

<u>Theme</u>			
Text	Topic	Token/Process	Mood/Modality
now	we	level off - mat: act	obligation
		understand -mental: cognition	interrog/imp?
yeah	see	mental: perception	imperative
	most likely	be - rel: identify	future/modality
	no	see:mental: perception	imperative
	it	be - rel: identify	future/modality
right			
so	I	do - material: act	present
		see-mental - perception	present
	that	's - rel: identify	present
yeah	you	can - material act	low modal
no	come	material: behavior	imperative
	come	material: behavior	imperative
okay	come	material: behavior	imperative
	we	need - mental:affect	pres/negative
so	what I do	is - rel: identify	present
	take	material: action	present]
	put	material: action	imperative
	take	material: action	imperative
	come	material: actioni	mperative
	take	material: action	imperative
then	you	wait - mat:behavior	obligation
	until I	count - mat: action	present
and then			
okay	come	material: action	imperative
then			
okay	the bin	is - rel: identify	present
	I	take - material:act	future
and	dump	material: action	pres/imper?
then	take	material: action	imperative
and	count	material: action	pres/imper?
alright	that	's - rel: identifypresent	
	this	is - rel: identify	present
	how	do - material:action	present]
	I	take - material: act	present
and		dump - material: act	present
then		take - material: act	present
and		count - material: act	present
alright	that	's - rel: identify	present
yeah			
and	this	is - rel: identify	present
so	I	put - material:act	present
and	I	put - material:act	present
so	you	come - mat: behavior	pres/imper
oh	come	material:behavior	imperative
	put	material: action	imperative

APPENDIX D

ILLUSTRATION OF HALLIDAY'S MODEL OF REGISTER ANALYSIS

Halliday & Hasan (1989:13-14,26-27)
(from a radio talk show by the Bishop of Woolwich)

The Christian should therefore take atheism seriously, not only so that he may be able to answer it, but so that he himself may still be able to be a believer in the mid-twentieth century. With this in mind, I would ask you to expose yourself to the three thrusts of modern atheism. These are not so much three types of atheism--each is present in varying degree in any resentative type--so much as three motives which have impelled men, particularly over the past hundred years, to question the God of their upbringing and ours. They may be represented by three summary statements:

God is intellectually superfluous;
God is emotionally dispensible;
God is morally intolerable.

Let us consider each of them in turn.

Situational description:

Field: Maintenance of institutionalised system of beliefs; religion (Christianity), and the members' attitudes towards it; semi- technical.

Tenor: Authority (in both senses, i.e. person holding authority, and specialist) to the audience; audience unseen and unknown (like readership), but relationship institutionalised (pastor to flock)

Mode: Written to be read aloud; public act (mass media: radio); monologue; text is whole of relevant activity Lecture; persuasive, with rational argument.

The field is thus the maintenance of an institutionalised system of beliefs: the nature of the Christian religion, and of people's attitudes towards it, at a semi-technical level. The tenor is that of an authority to an audience. He is an authority in both senses: he hold authority in the Church, as a bishop, and he is an authority on religion, a theologian. He cannot see the audience, and does not know them; but his relationship to them is institutionalised in the culture, as that of pastor to flock. The mode is that of a text that

was written in order to be read aloud, as a public act on the mass media; it was a monologue, in which the text itself was the whole of the relevant activity--nothing else significant was happening. And it is a persuasive discussion, based on rational argument.

TEXTUAL FUNCTIONS AND MEANINGS

Textual functions and meanings correlated with the situational category of field are lexical items that name and express meanings and attitudes of Christianity: God, atheism, believer, motives impelling (one) to question, also military metaphors such as “thrust,” and words not in the given “excerpt - “defence,” “advance,” and “surrender.”. There are mainly two kinds of processes: mental - “take seriously,” “have in mind,” “question,” “consider,” “expose oneself to,” and relational - verbs such as “represent” and “be.”. What is important is that the mental processes can be verbalized. They are thoughts which can be said aloud. The relational process clauses concern an argument about problems of existence and attribution.

The tenor of discourse is that of a pastor to his/her flock and is reflected in the sequence “I ask you (to do something)” and “let us (do something together).” “...their upbringing and ours” shows that an inclusive “we” is intended. The pastor’s role of specialist is encoded in the declarative mood in the sense of “this is how things are and this is the explanation,” and his role as authority in the imperative in the sense of “this is what you (and I) should do about it.”. He also uses indirect imperatives of various kinds (for example, The Christians should take atheism seriously).

The mode is the particular part that the language is playing in the total event; these are reflected in the textual meanings. The mode is that of written text to be spoken aloud. It is extremely simple grammatically, and extremely dense lexically. It is also a rational argument. So it proceeds through conjunctives: therefore, with this in mind, in turn, (not in excerpt) first, and next. Anaphoric references are typically anaphoric to the text, which is characteristic of closely argued, rational discourse.

APPENDIX E

Figure 3.1 Semiotic structures: a complex transformational relationship
(Hodge & Kress 1989:169)

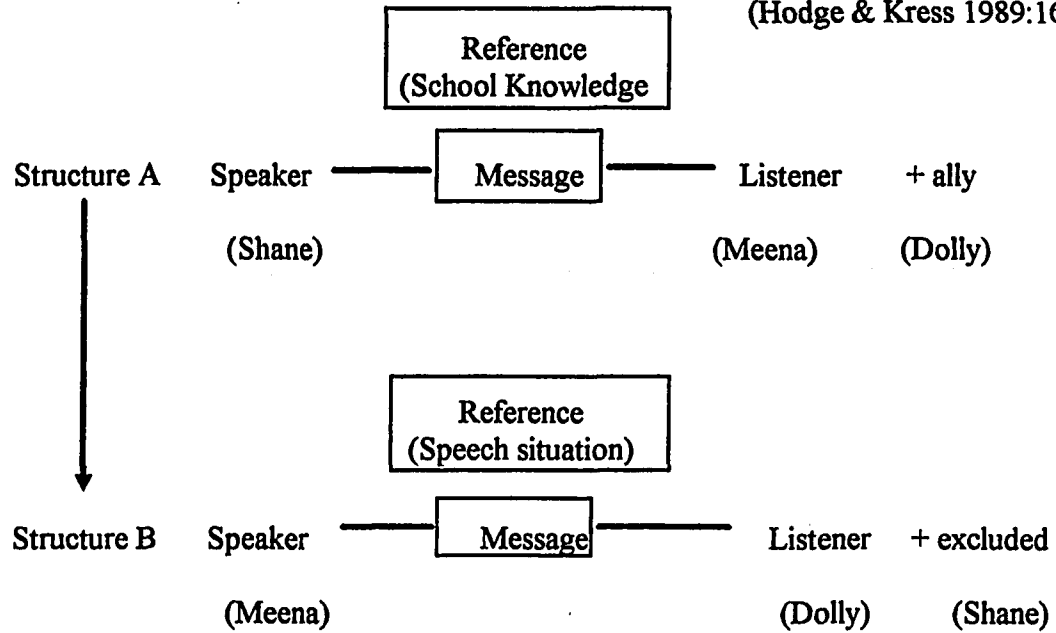


FIGURE 4.1 MAP OF THE STOCKROOM (adapted from Scribner & Sachs 1989)

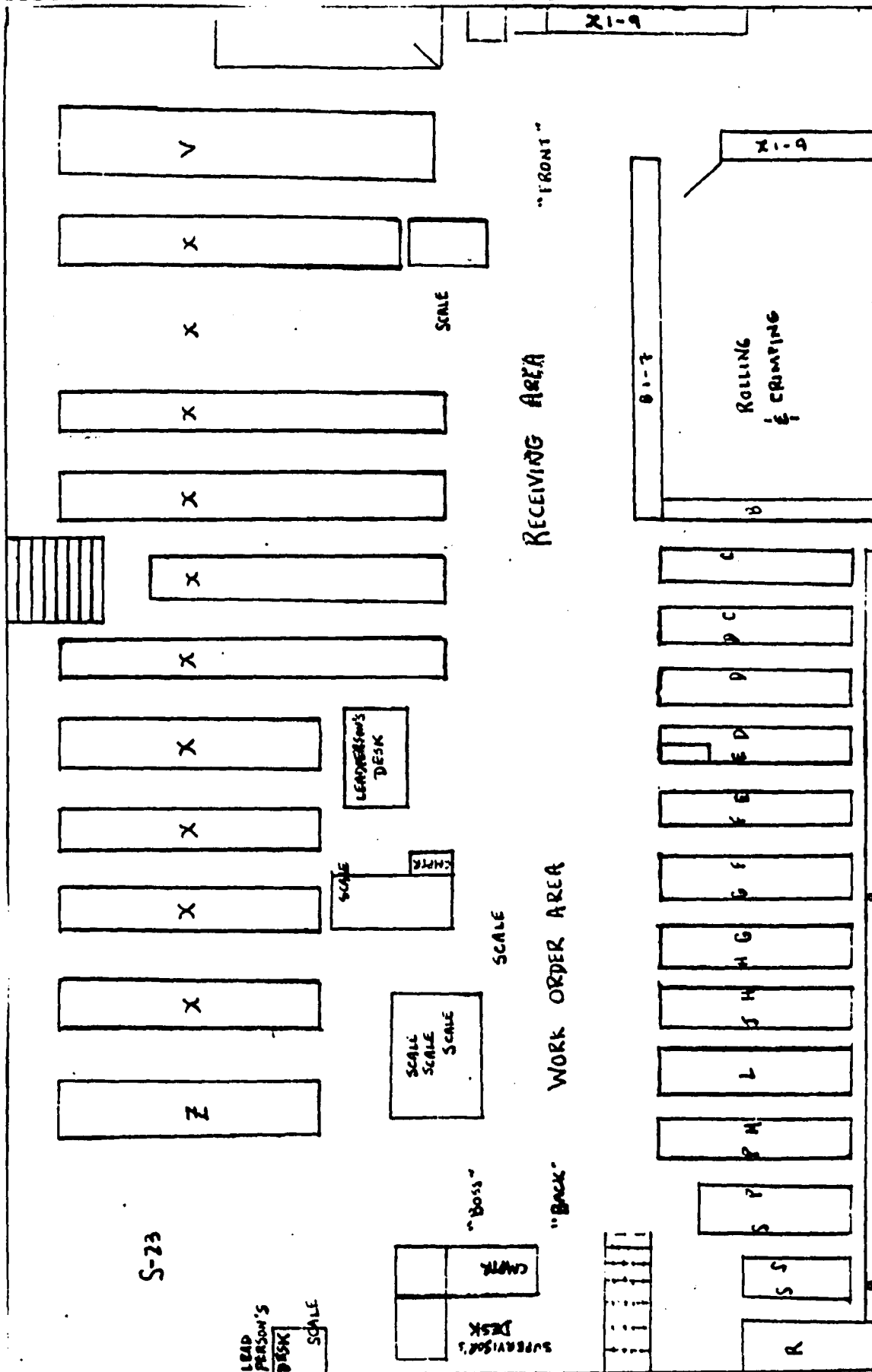


FIGURE 4 2 STOCKROOM PERSONNEL AND ASSOCIATES

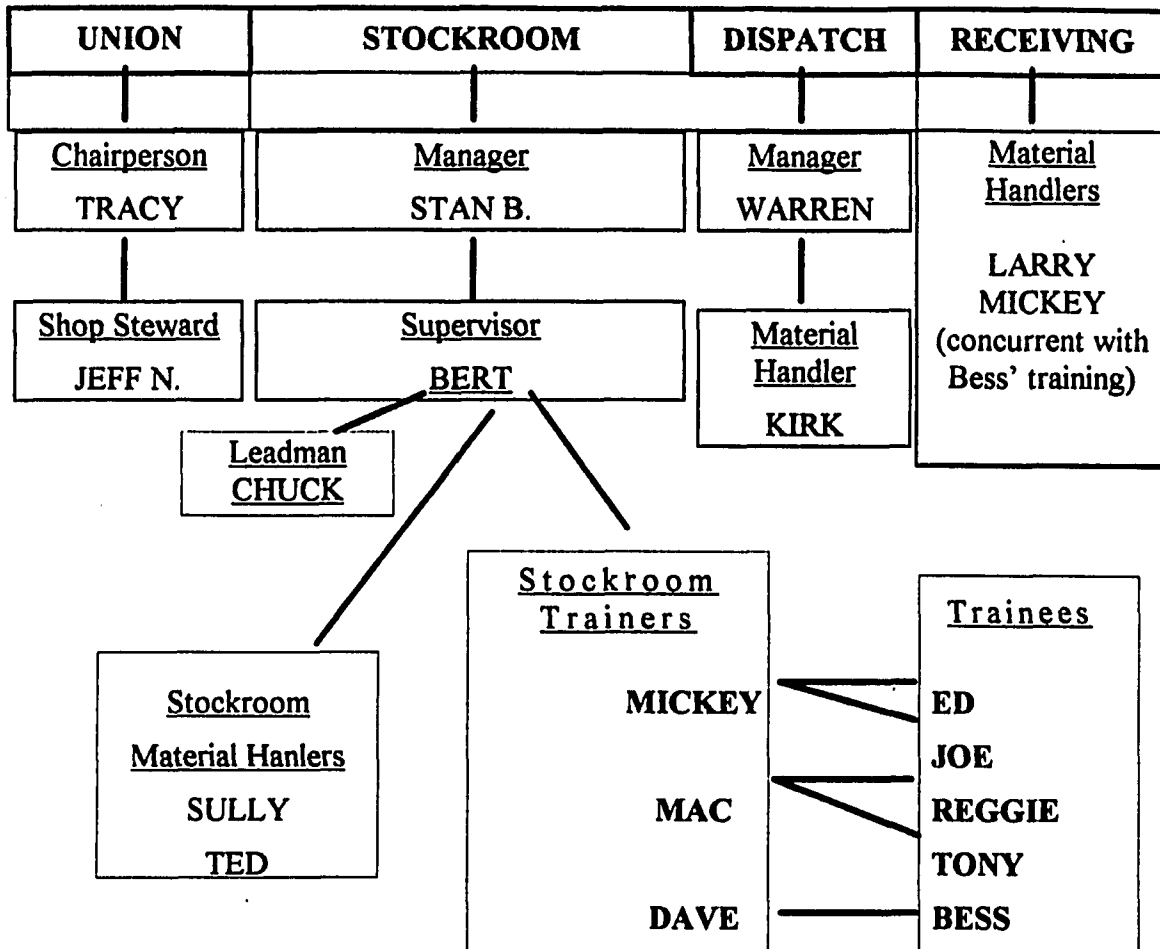


Figure 6.1 RATIO SCALE

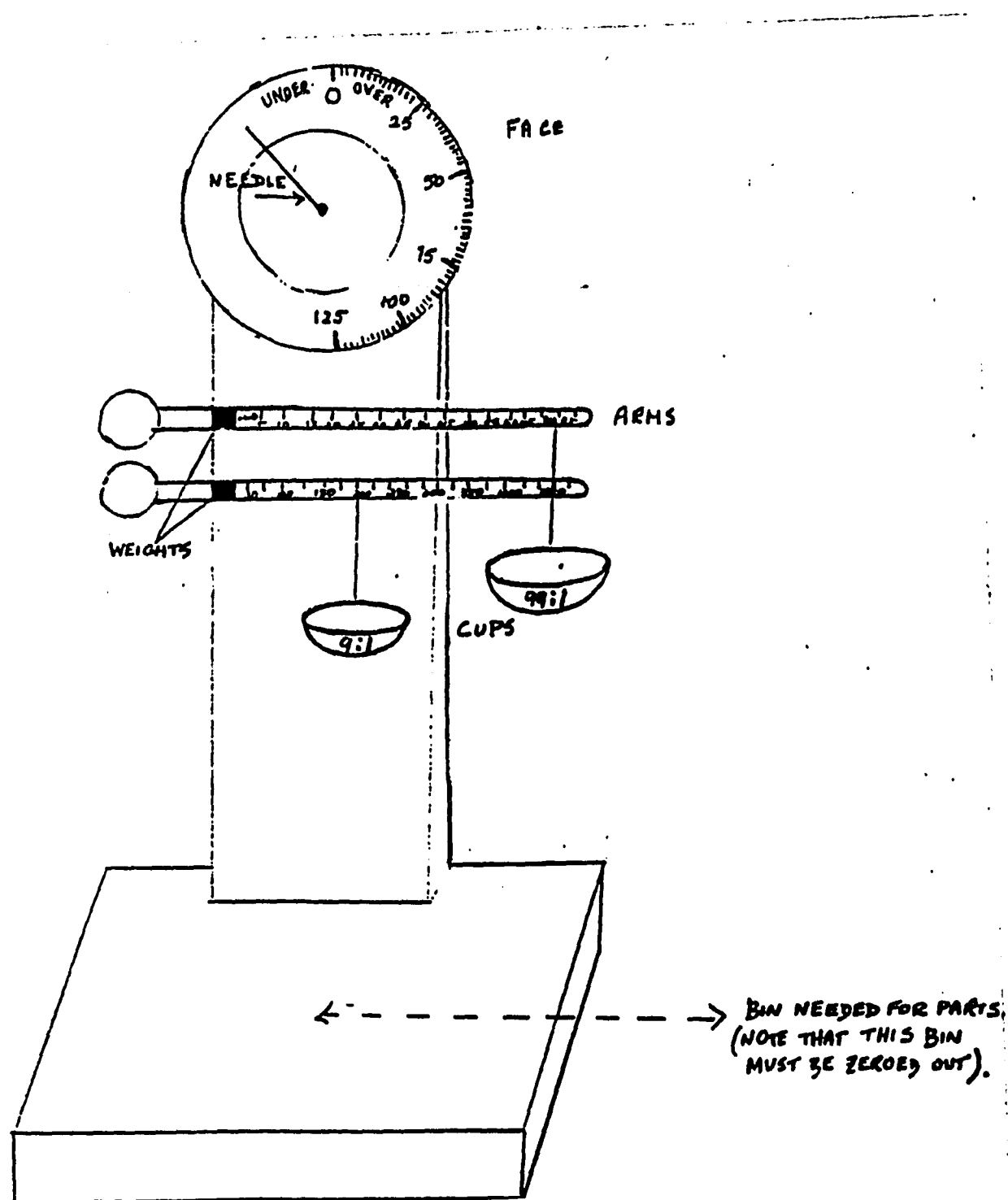


Figure 6.2A **BIN CARD**

[illegible]

Figure 6.2B SHOP PACKET WORKSHEET (Scribner & Sachs 1989)

NO. 01		SHOP PACKET WORKSHEET		DATE 1/22/87		TIME 15.19.23		PAGE 51	
ITEM NUMBER		2M DESCRIPTION		ORDER QUANTITY		START DATE		LAST TRANS DATE	
404610	879-16-1	1 SMA ADAPTER		REV06	185	1/22/87	0/00/00	1/22/87	
CUSTOMER: AHEADUSE ENGINEERING									
JUN 1987 STOCK LOC: 32410 NUMBER: REFERENCE: PLANNER: DEPARTMENT: OPERATIONS MATERIAL MISCELLANEOUS									
DETAIL RECORDS									
13 9 0									
MATERIAL LIST BY WAREHOUSE LOCATION									
COMMENT	W4 ITEM DESCRIPTION	STOCK U/STANDARD	LOC	W4 QUANTITY	ISSUED QUANTITY	USER	OPER	DATE	
1-1703-1	99 1 BODY	REV06 (086)	EA	185	0	0001	1/22/87		
1-1702-2	97 1 BODY	REV02 (BAG)	EA	185	0	0001	1/22/87		
1-1704-1	99 1 INSULATOR	CIC	EA	185	0	0001	1/22/87		
1-1702-1	99 1 INSUL	REV02 (CITE)	EA	185	0	0001	1/22/87		
1-2417-1	99 1 CONTACT	REV02 (DZ)	EA	185	0	0001	1/22/87		
1-1702-2	05 1 RETAINER RING	EA	EA	185	0	0001	1/22/87		
1-1704-1	99 1 GASKET	REV02 (P)	EA	185	0	0001	1/22/87		
1-1704-1	99 1 CONTACT	REV02 (MIN)	EA	185	10	0001	1/22/87		
1-1705-5	99 1 COUPLING	K06	EA	185	0	0001	1/22/87		

COMPOUND STOCK DEPT.
 JAN 28 1987
 2/2/87
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COMPOUND STOCK DEPT.
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APPENDIX F

GLOSSARY

- Ambiguity:** Having more than one interpretation (meaning) for a word, clause, proposition, speech act, dialogical act, or semiotic event.
- Diachronic:** Change, process, crisis and revolution in the smaller and larger scale. Succession in time, evolution, or historic change.
- Dialogical:** Conversational rejoinders expressing the position of the speaker in relation to another speaker's words and position. Such relationships may be that of affirming, contradicting, disagreeing with, and questioning.
- Dialogism:** Analyzing dialogical relationships in conversation.
- Discourse:** Texts which reproduce or change the sets of meanings and values which make up a culture. For example, the institution of medicine defines a specific set of meanings which are constantly involved in the social processes which are appropriate to that institution. Meanings from this discourse are often brought into texts which deal with the problem of drugs.
- Double-voiced:** Discourse which is directed both toward the referential object of speech and toward someone else's speech. Using another's words or your own previous words to express new meaning (see reaccent). Characterizing different points of view or positions within one person.
- Grades in the factory:** Ascending levels of salary and job descriptions referring to different job categories. There were five grades of material handlers (see Chapter 4, Endnote 7).
- Hyperbole:** Bold overstatement used either for serious or comic effect.
- Illocutionary Force:** Making an utterance into a statement, offer, promise, bet, etc., by virtue of the conventional force associated with it.
- Indirection:** Distance of surface linguistic forms to underlying social meanings; requires recognition of the social role of the speaker and situational context. Indirection becomes direct as a result of conventionalized usage, but is often problematic.
- Logonomic System:** Rules oriented to producers specifying what meanings they can produce, how and to whom; rules to receivers to constrain the semiotic potential. A system of interpretation and behavior: two ways to "read" the messages — legitimate or discriminatory — depending on the social agents involved.
- Message:** Smallest semiotic form ; it has a source and a goal, a social context and purpose.

- Mimetic plane:** Anchored in a world of referents to which messages refer, implying some version(s) of reality as a possible referent. Meaning resides in the version of the world projected. The claims about knowledge of representational objects. (see semiotic plane).
- Mitigation:** Lessening the severity or speech act force of an utterance or discourse.
- Paradigmatic:** The plane of selection; in constructing a message, the speaker chooses from the realm of the possible a particular syntactic item (i.e., Adjective, noun phrase). (see syntagmatic).
- Polysemy:** Simultaneous existence of multiple meanings or speech acts.
- Reaccent:** To use somebody else's words and invest them with different meaning.
- Semiotic Plane:** Implying some semiotic event(s) linking producers/receivers and signifiers/signifieds into a significant relationship.
- Semiotic:** The social process by which meaning is constructed and exchanged involving the interaction of the mimetic and semiotic planes. The relationship of sign to reality.
- Signified:** The linguistic sign unites a concept and a sound-image. The signified is the concept side. See signifier. (Saussure 1959).
- Signifier:** The sound-image of a sign, its phonetic component.
- Synchronic:** A static language-state.
- Syntagmatic:** The plane of syntactic combination, one of the two axes that describe synchronic language phenomenon based on Saussure's semiotic language model. (see paradigmatic).
- Text:** A structure of messages which has a socially ascribed unity.
- Transitivity Process:** The clause as a means of representing patterns of experience, and interpreting what goes on. Processes are material, mental, relational, verbal, existential and behavioral, and consist of the process itself, participants in the process, and circumstances associated with the process (see section 5.5)

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