

operation of speech acts on representations of objects in the internal world (and therefore their associations with representations of objects in the external world) results in the accomplishment of internal world membership categorisation. It should be noted that as the internal world and the external world are intimately related, as was noted in the previous discussion, external world membership categorisation will result in some internal world membership categorisation and internal world membership categorisation will result in some external world membership categorisation.

This section has presented an account of speech act theory from a Kleinian point of view, which has pointed to the 'internal world' as the locus of emotional interaction, and explored the relationship between action on the internal world, on the one hand, and action on the external world, on the other. It has explicated how the Kleinian category of the internal world is related to the more theory-neutral notion of emotional dynamics, and similarly how the category of the external world is related to the notion of socially accomplished cognitive classification. It provides background for the notion that the verbal negotiation of emotional dynamics can be construed as membership categorisation of the internal world in much the same way as verbal negotiation of cognitive categories of the physical and social (as exemplified in a very explicit fashion by Labov and Fanshel's rules of discourse) can be construed as membership categorisation of the external world.

Discourse topic and emotional dynamics

In the previous section I argued, in Kleinian terms, for the centrality of emotional dynamics in verbal interaction. In this section I shall draw together some of the implications for the discourse analyst.

If one is to ask 'what is really going on' in a chunk of discourse, as was the approach of Labov and Fanshel (1977), one needs to bear in mind

not just the social dimension but also the emotional-dynamic dimension (for the theoretical reasons given in the previous section). More specifically, one needs to bear this dimension in mind when defining notions such as 'topic', or what the chunk of discourse is about. Lexical leakage is a phenomenon where there is more to 'what is really going on' (or to 'what the discourse is about') than meets the eye. A Kleinian reorientation in discourse analysis thus leads to a re-examination of some of its key concepts, and the notion of topic in particular.

Brown and Yule (1983, pp. 69 and 70) define topic as follows:

"In order to divide up a lengthy recording of conversational data into chunks which can be investigated in detail, the analyst is often forced to depend on intuitive notions about where one part of a conversation ends and another begins. There are, of course, points where one speaker stops and another starts speaking, but every speaker-change does not necessarily terminate a particular coherent fragment of conversation. Which point of speaker-change, among the many, could be treated as the end of one chunk of the conversation? This type of decision is typically made by appealing to an intuitive notion of topic. The conversationalists stop talking about 'money' and move onto 'sex'. A chunk of conversational discourse, then, can be treated as a unit of some kind because it is on a particular 'topic'. The notion of 'topic' is clearly an intuitively satisfactory way of describing the unifying principle which makes one stretch of discourse 'about' something and the next stretch 'about' something else, for it is appealed to very frequently in the discourse analysis literature."

(Original emphasis.)

Brown and Yule (p. 68) also insist on the principle that "it is speakers and writers who have topics, not texts", and they suggest that "formal attempts to define topics are doomed to failure". In the light of material presented in the preceding chapters in this thesis, some aspects of Brown and Yule's account of topic will have to be modified. The important insights they have are that the topic of a chunk of discourse is what that chunk is 'about' and also that it is a property of interlocutors, and from this it would follow that a motivational account of topic is required. They also stress (p. 90) that topic is negotiated by interlocutors. However, their assumption that topic change only occurs at speaker change points, together

with the related assumption that a chunk of discourse has one and only one topic, is challenged in the present work.

Topic is a category oriented to and accomplished by speakers as a way of organising their discourse into chunks for various purposes to do with coherence, for example pronominal reference. The topic of a piece of discourse and the points of topic change are negotiated by interlocutors and as such accomplished by membership categorisation. Topic negotiation is therefore a textual, micro-linguistic aspect of membership categorisation, which is analogous to the negotiation of speaker turn (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974).

The interactive nature of discourse topic makes those accounts of it which are couched simply in terms of the propositions underlying the piece of discourse, problematic, and many attempts to give a formal definition of topic fall into this category. An example of this approach is in the textlinguistics of van Dijk (1977), an extension to the discourse-semantic level of the notion that the meaning or content of a sentence resides solely in its underlying propositional or information content. Discourse analysts who view their subject as a branch of pragmatics, for example Labov and Fanshel (1977), have taken issue with approaches of this sort. Brown and Yule (1983, p.1) refer to the information transfer aspect of language as 'transactional' and the speech act aspect as 'interactional'. (A related distinction, discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis, is made by Meltzer in the Kleinian tradition). The solely transactional notion of topic exemplified in van Dijk's textlinguistics is inadequate since, as Brown and Yule point out, speakers and writers have topics, not texts.

One of the reasons for the neglect of interactional and dynamic aspects of topic is the proposal by Chomsky (1965), criticised by Hockett (1973) in his paper on the linguistic importance of slips of the tongue discussed in Chapter Seven, that the study of competence should be the

primary aim or orientation of syntactic theory, rather than the study of performance. This proposal, which has (explicitly or implicitly) been generalised to other areas of linguistic study as well as syntax, relegates human agency and motivation from being a central part of the explanatory apparatus needed to account for linguistic data, to being part of the explanatory apparatus of the more peripheral study of performance. What is being proposed here, following Hockett and others, is that such a theory of 'performance' should be seen not as peripheral, but as necessary and integral to the explanation of linguistic data, particularly with respect to topic. The linguistic investigation of lexical leakage presented in Chapter Seven illustrates how human agency and motivation is part of the explanatory apparatus needed to account for the linguistic data on topic.

One reason why the specifically emotional aspects of the dynamics of topic negotiation have been neglected is the dominant model of language simply as a function of 'cognition', one of whose manifestations is the purely propositional account of linguistic content exemplified in van Dijk's (1977) approach to topic, referred to above. Examples of the 'cognitive' account of language are the notions of mental representations (Kempson, 1988) and mental models (Johnson-Laird, 1981). These theories account for thinking about objects in the external world. Clearly I do not have my girlfriend in my mind when I am thinking about her, I have a representation of her in my mind; it is such representations which form the basis of the cognitivist account of thought. However, emotional interaction can also be, in a sense, 'direct', in that it does not necessarily have to be mediated through knowledge representations and cognition. The application of Kleinian theory to speech act theory (presented in the previous section), with its notion of the internal world, containing internal objects, as the locus of emotions, provides a way of construing 'direct' emotional interaction in terms of the interaction of internal objects, and also of

construing knowledge representations of emotions in terms of knowledge representations of internal objects.

Returning to topic, what is required then is a dynamic, person-based and dialogical notion of topic, and the account which would seem most appropriate is in a strain of thinking about discourse deriving from Sacks and Labov. However, their notion of social context needs to be extended to encompass emotional dynamics and internal world interaction.

In the present work language is seen as action and interaction, and discourse meaning is seen as negotiated, that is, as a product of membership categorisation in both the external and the internal worlds. Topic is seen as accomplished by speakers in an analogous way. Membership categorisation of the internal and the external worlds is the process by which topic and topic change are negotiated. It is through this process that interlocutors decide what to talk about and when to talk about it, that is the content and coherence of their discourse.

A 'competence' account or a purely cognitive, knowledge-based, account, of linguistic categories such as topic, precisely rules out the sort of motivational account that I have suggested is implicitly required by Brown and Yule's interactive notion of topic. Furthermore the discussion of lexical leakage and Freudian slips in Chapter Seven of this thesis demonstrates the need for such a motivational account, such as the one provided by Kleinian psychodynamics. What is required is a performance-based account of how speakers accomplish aspects of topicality which also captures the emotional-dynamic and motivational aspects of this accomplishment.

There are however two points of divergence which I have with Brown and Yule. A consideration of lexical leakage (where lexical resources are used by speakers to accomplish duotopicality at a particular point in their discourse) challenges their notion of monotopicality at all points in

discourse, and a consideration of Freudian slips challenges their notion that topic change only occurs at speaker change points (although the latter assumption seems unwarranted even when examined against some of Brown and Yule's own data). Consideration of these phenomena calls into question assumptions made in current linguistic analyses, and leads to specific proposals about the framework for talking about continuity, content and coherence in discourse which applies not just to emotional dynamics, but to discourse more generally. For example, the interaction between topic and lexical choice is central to 'collocational' (lexical semantic) accounts of discourse coherence and lies at the heart of any discussion of disambiguation. These collocational accounts will have to be elaborated further so as to explain not only how speakers and hearers use the interaction between lexical choice and topic to accomplish disambiguation, but also how they use this interaction for the accomplishment of systematic, motivated ambiguity; for example the systematic lexical ambiguity which allows for the duotopicality in lexical leakage. Furthermore, as the discourse analyst has to encompass the possibility of 'polytopicality' at any particular point in discourse, the possibility is opened for the discourse-analytic understanding of examples of manipulative language use with 'hidden topic agendas'. For example advertising slogans or different styles of news-reporting may be seen from this point of view, with the 'speakers' seeking to use lexical devices to 'orient' the audience in particular ways.

The specific proposal for discourse analysis that emerges from the foregoing discussion is that the currently available descriptive vocabulary in the area of TOPIC can be usefully enriched in the following way. The LOCAL topic of a discourse fragment is to be analysed in the context of a GLOBAL TOPIC AGENDA, the constituents of which are negotiated by the discourse participants by a process of MEMBERSHIP CATEGORISATION.

This framework allows (contrary to implicit current assumptions) for the possibility that a discourse fragment may be DUO-TOPICAL, as exemplified by the phenomenon of LEXICAL LEAKAGE, where there is both a foregrounded LOCAL topic and also a backgrounded GLOBAL topic that 'leaks through' into the locally-managed discourse semantics.

It might further be posited - as a hypothesis to guide further research - that the duo-topicality involved in lexical leakage is a limiting case of a more general discourse principle, which can be stated as follows:- The linguistic formulations used by speakers to converse about a local discourse topic are motivated, in ways that crucially involve emotional dynamics, by the penumbra of other topics on the jointly negotiated global topic agenda of the discourse participants.

ENVOI

Since the concluding chapters of this thesis have gradually narrowed their focus so as to examine one particular level of language in detail, the broader scope of the linguistic discourse analysis I am proposing can be conveniently reaffirmed by means of a literary illustration. Literary representations of dialogue include not just the locutionary (propositional), but also illocutionary and perlocutionary aspects of the particular speech acts accomplished in the discourse. In particular, they typically include the emotional-dynamic aspects of the speech acts, including accounts of these emotional-dynamics accomplished using linguistic devices at levels other than the lexical. Although fictional, literary representations of dialogue are likely to capture a level of native speaker intuition that would be part of the concern of a linguist studying real conversation. However, academic linguists would need a vocabulary, such as the Kleinian one, with which to structure and substantiate their account.

As an example of the way that discourse can be represented thus in a multi-layered fashion, consider the following not untypical snippet from a modern novel by A.N. Wilson, The Healing Art (1980, Harmondsworth: Penguin, p.32). The conversation is between George and Dorothy ['Dol'] as they leave hospital after Dorothy has been x-rayed for suspected cancer:-

'Keep you waiting, though, don't they?' she sniffed, trying to look on the bright side.

'That's my Dol.' And he regretted the reassuring tone at once for fear that it would set her off again. 'Yes', he added hastily, 'still I dare say as they're short-staffed at weekends.' He delivered the judgement as from some professional standpoint. Dorothy took it up respectfully and said, 'Short-staffed, that would be it. Though you hear that they all work very long hours in hospital.'

The representation of dialogue consists of much more than just the bare utterances contained within the quotation marks. The additional

commentary, indicating to the reader 'what is really going on' (in the sense of Labov and Fanshel) includes:-

- (1) Intonational / voice quality aspects (eg. 'sniffed', 'reassuring tone').
- (2) Emotional-dynamic strategies (eg. 'trying to look on the bright side', 'fear that it would set her off again', 'as from some professional standpoint', 'took it up respectfully').
- (3) Sequencing markers (eg. 'he added hastily').

Of particular interest, in this context, is the interaction of linguistic devices (in this case not at the lexical level but at the intonational and discourse sequencing levels) and the emotional-dynamics accomplished by these devices, an account of which, in turn, provides an explanatory account of why these particular linguistic devices were used ('...he regretted the reassuring tone at once for fear that it would set her off again. "Yes", he added hastily...').

Discourse analysis should treat texts as involving not just social interaction but also emotional interaction between speakers. The literary snippet gives an informal idea 'in a nutshell' of what the scope of such an enriched commentary would be, including the emotional-dynamic interaction and also a motivational account of the dialogue. In this thesis I have attempted to develop a vocabulary for capturing these aspects of discourse within a linguistic framework.

MEMORIAL

This thesis is a memorial to Mr. Denman Whatley who died in Oxford just after 12 noon on 6th September 1986. He was much loved and is greatly missed.

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Appendix A

THE EMPIRICAL STUDY: INTRODUCTION AND METHOD

In mid December 1984, two couples were asked to participate in a study. This study required them to have a conversation which was both video and audio tape recorded. It was always the intention to analyse only one of the conversations, but both were recorded as a precaution against the possibility that, for any reason, one of the recordings could not be used. In fact, quality of recording turned out to be the selection criterion.

The couple, whose conversation was used in the study, had been married since 1979 and had two sons. The youngest son was aged approximately 3 months, the other 3 years 5 months. They were friends of the author and agreed to participate in the study whilst on a social visit. They knew something of the author's work but not enough to cause concern about this over-affecting their conversation during the recording. They were asked to attend the Social Psychology Laboratory in the Department of Experimental Psychology, Oxford. This is an austere room designed for human experimental social psychology, containing a couch, three chairs and a white board.

The couple brought their two sons and whilst the couple was seated side by side on the long couch, facing a video camera on a tripod with a visible monitor, the baby was held by his mother and the older child played in the room. To ensure high quality, a stereo audio tape recording was made (in addition to the recording made from the microphone attached to the video camera) using microphones on stands placed by both of them.

Prior to entering the room, the couple were asked to talk during the recording about the topics that were listed on the whiteboard. When in the room the author read the topics, of which there were three, to the couple and ensured that they felt comfortable with them. These topics were listed as follows:-

- 1) Films or books or eating out or theatre (They chose to discuss films)
- 2) The way to treat other people in the family.
- 3) Discussion - what they thought of their discussion, the objectives of the exercise and so on.

They were told they could change the topics when they wanted to, but in fact asked the author's "permission", during the recording, to change topic. The author was present most of the time and another person helping out as a technician, who was not known to the family, was present some of the time. The total recording time was approximately 32 minutes.

Although the couple seemed not to be completely at ease, they were not unrelaxed; the mother had breastfed the baby in the room, prior to the recording commencing, in the presence of both the author and technician.

The couple gave their consent for unrestricted use and playing of the recording.

An orthographic transcript was prepared by the author using both the audio and video recordings, with names and personal details changed. Punctuation and "stage directions" were used to describe kinesic and paralinguistic context, but the emphasis was on the verbal interaction.

Appendix B

JENNY'S LETTER PLUS EXPLANATORY NOTE

Address

6th September, 1986

Dear Bob,

Here, as promised is the letter confirming that John and I have no objection to people having access to the material in your thesis relating to us. We understand that all names will be changed. At this present moment we do not wish to look at this material ourselves - although this may change in the future.

With all our best wishes

Jenny and John

N.B. This is a typed version of a hand-written letter with the names changed and address removed.

Appendix C

TRANSCRIPT

N.B. It was decided that the transcript should remain relatively free of post hoc punctuation marks so as to avoid adding artificial pointers to one reading rather than another.

TOPIC 1: FILMS

- 1 John Have you had a chance yet to see what er what films there are on television over Christmas?
- Jenny (stilted) No I haven't 'cos I haven't even looked at them, so you'd better tell me what they are.
- 5 John Well, they seemed to have. I haven't looked too closely but on BBC I haven't seen the ITV ones but on BBC they seemed to be having er a series of Chaplin films. You know how in the past they've done these seasons. They did that Bogart one and they did that Christmas with Cagney (laugh) it seemed a really unlikely thing to do, but this this
- 10 Jenny (laughing) not very suitable.
- John time its Christmas with Chaplin. I don't think they've got the one when Monsieur Verdin, the one where the guy kills his wife.
- Jenny laugh Oh.
- John Did you see that one?
- 15 Jenny No, I haven't seen that one.
- John Well that's the one where the guy, as I remember it, I think it its the first. I think its either the first or the only talking film he ever made so er and I don't think he says anything at all. I It's a long time since I've seen it, but I don't think he says anything at all.
- 20 Dave He said baby to me?
- John Did he? I'm telling Mummy about a film that we're going to see over Christmas.
- Dave What is it called?
- John It's called Monsieur Verdin 'n it's about a man who kills his wife.
- 25 Dave Why does Why does he kill his wife?
- John (to Dave) 'Cos he doesn't like her
- Dave What does she do to him?
- John Well what does he do to her you mean
- John He takes her out on a boat as I remember. And he puts a rock around

1 he ties around a piece of rope around (her) and put a rock on the end
 and he throws her into the water.

Jenny That's not very kind is it?

John No

5 Jenny I haven't seen, I haven't seen

John (to Jenny) And it's I think it is the its either first, or the only Chaplin
 film

Dave ? He likes

Jenny (to Dave) No, don't touch that darling

10 Jenny Isn't the Great Dictator a talkie?

John No, I don't think there's any talking in the Great Dictator, I mean I don't
 know much about Chaplin films.

Jenny (Interrupting) The only one I I have can remember seeing is the one
 where where its the flower seller hm hm the blind girl.

15 John Oh yes.

Jenny And he goes home. City City Lights?

John Hard Times (hm) it might be. No that's right City Lights. City Lights
 when . . .

Jenny It's very very good.

20 John (Interrupting) There's a boxing scene in there as well.

Jenny Is there? I don't know.

John I'll tell you what they are showing and that's this next week they're
 showing the Big Sleep.

Jenny (quickly) Oh well that'll be good ...

25 John 'Cos even though you've seen sort of it ten or fifteen times it's still
 really good.

Jenny (Interrupting) You still don't know what's going to happen. (Laughing)

John No, that's right, you still lose track of the plot half way through.

Jenny (to Kevin) Are you going to talk now too?

1 John Um yes no. I haven't had haven't had an opportunity to look at anything
til ...

Jenny Kevin's going to cry now. Which isn't really a good time to start.

Kevin (Cry)

5 John They've got on ITV they've definitely got the first of the Raiders films.

Jenny Oh yes, that'll be good. I shall enjoy watching that again.

John We had that on tape.

Jenny Yeah, yeah I mean that's one advantage of having the video really isn't
it? To be able to see films

10 John (agreeing) Yeah.

Jenny 'Cos not being able to go out and watch them.

John Have you decided what you're going to do on that yet? Are you going to
set of preset a whole series up of things on all the different channels or
are you just going to take it one by ... sort of write down the schedule
15 and then do them as they come up.

Jenny I think probably (interrupting) take it one by one because it depends how
much tape we've got for films.

John Have we done anything yet on that long play thing yet?

Jenny Yes, (I have).

20 John Have you played anything back?

Jenny Yes.

John Is the American football taped on that long play?

Jenny Yes.

John And er er have you noticed any difference in the work that you've
25 recorded on that?

Jenny I think slightly, slightly less good quality but it doesn't really make that
much difference.

John Good quality in what sense?

Jenny It's just slightly hmm fuzzy.

1 John Hmm.

 Jenny More than anything else

 Jenny No, I you know I think for us it's probably the best way to see films now
 rather than going to the cinema although I'd like to take Dave to the
5 cinema for Christmas.

 John Yeah.

 Jenny I think that'd be a good idea. I think he actually might be able to sit
 through.

 John Are there any good sort of kids' films that he can go that are his age?

10 Jenny Well I I'm hoping there's going to be a sort Walt Disney film of some
 kind. I think that'd probably be the best for him.

 John In X-town?

 Jenny In X-town, yes.

 John Have you done anything about taking him to the pantomime?

15 Jenny No, not yet no.

 John Is it too late for that now?

 Jenny No, I don't think so, it depends, it depends, it depends what day we want
 to go and whether there's any seats available.

 John It's Goldilocks and the three bears isn't it?

20 Jenny Yes. Yes.

PAUSE

 Jenny Well we see what they've got on at the cinema ...

 Jenny Yes

 John ... if they've got a Walt Disney film.

25 Jenny 'Cos Anne was saying, it's quite interesting. Anne was saying when she
 took Trevor they forgot to tell him it was going to be dark in the
 cinema, and so he couldn't quite get his head round the fact that it was
 dark, and all the lights went out and people were sort of sitting, and
 he'd say "Ooh look, there's a big television (John, Hmm) 'cos it was the

1 first time he'd actually been.

John What did they take him to see?

Jenny I think something like a Hundred and One Dalmations or something like that, one one of the cartoony ...

5 John Hmm.

Jenny ... type. Walt Disney, which I think would probably be the best for him to start with er I think he'll probably he might actually sit and watch a cartoon.

Dave Cartoons?

10 Jenny Yes. We were thinking of taking (to Dave) you to see a cartoon at Christmas at the cinema.

Dave Oh.

Jenny (to Dave) That's where when you're older you'll be able see see films. You don't just see them on the video you can go and see them in the

15 cinema and you go in, you pay the lady for your ticket and then you go you go in, and it's all dark and you and you sit and you watch on a great big screen. A screen is much bigger than that one there, see there's one (points) there and its much, much, much bigger than that, and then there's an interval when you can go and buy ice creams or drinks and

20 things and its all, its an exciting atmosphere to go in to the cinema like that.

Dave Can can I go to the cinema?

John Yes, yes we'll probably take you during the during the Christmas holidays.

25 Jenny 'Cos Daddy and Mummy

John (interrupts) When I was

Jenny used to enjoy going to

John (to Jenny) When I was small I always used to go to Saturday morning pictures. Did you used to go to Saturday morning pictures?

1 Jenny Hmm, yes, yes.

John It was really good, you used to get about five films for a tanner.

Dave (to John and Jenny) (interrupting) You, you, you are Grandma and Grandad's parents?

5 Jenny No they're

Jenny and John (together)

They're our parents.

Jenny We're your parents

John We're your parents and Grandma and Grandad and Nana and Grandad

10 are our parents

Jenny (to Dave) (briefly) D'you see? We're supposed to be talking about films we're not really supposed to be talking about parents.

Dave I I want a film for my Christmas treat.

Jenny (to Dave) You want to ... ??? Yes it will be a Christmas treat.

15 John (to Jenny) (overlapping) Yes, we'll probably ... what we could do .. another thing we could do ... maybe if it gets a bit dull for him over Christmas is hire a video for him.

Jenny Yeah, Yeah.

John Although I suppose there'll be plenty of things to do.

20 Jenny (overlapping) I think there'll probably be plenty of things that we can actually make do with over Christmas.

John I saw a trailer for that that Placido Domingo **PAUSE** hmm programme that er documentary. It looked really good, a year in the life of of of Placido Domingo (under his breath) should be quite good value

25 Jenny Yes, that will be good.

John but I don't think that certainly not on BBC they don't seem to have gone out of their way to get any real blockbusters this year.

Jenny No.

John There's nothing, there's nothing major that is really exciting. I think

1 Jenny I wonder where it's sort of changing
 John they've given up.
 Jenny Yes.
 John given that side of things up to ITV now.

5 Jenny Yes.
 John I'll tell you what I was, what I did see in the paper, is that ITV are
 giving up er er Saturday afternoon sport.
 Jenny Really?
 John What they're doing is they're having racing only which they're switching
 10 to Channel Four.
 Jenny Hmm.
 John And they're going to do something else () with the Saturday
 afternoons on the main and ITV channel.
 Jenny They're actually giving you an alternative to sport.

15 John But it'll be interesting what alternative ITV I mean I I could imagine
 what BBC might do with the time but I would've thought that ITV will
 want to get the same market, more of the same market, the sort of
 people (Jenny hmm, yeah) who watch sport in an afternoon. Presumably
 mostly men.

20 Jenny Well, I don't know, don't don't you think they're just trying, they're just
 accepting that BBC have got the monopoly of of that of that side of
 things and that they really ought to be providing an alternative?
 John No. Can't see. What I mean, all they're concerned about is market
 share, presumably, and not creating an alternative.

25 Jenny Well yes, well I know ... (quite aggressively)
 John (interrupting) for the advertisers who
 Jenny Well aren't they, by giving it up, aren't they saying that you know we
 really you there's there's two sports programmes. We might just as well
 admit defeat on that and try and aim for hmm a different, a different

1 audience, an audience who who aren't turning on to watch sport,
because if I'm on my own, I'm not going to turn the sport on am I? I
mean, I might turn the alternative programme but but I'm not going to
turn the sport on.

5 John No, I suppose that's true.

PAUSE

Jenny I think, I mean I just think that with films on television over Christmas,
they're just they're just too long for most families.

John Sorry?

10 Jenny They're too long for most families.

John What are? Films?

Jenny Films

Jenny For most people, to sit and watch for the whole of a Christmas night
for example, especially when your children are probably staying up later
15 and so on, so I think perhaps that's why they've given up and also people
are going to be playing videos anyway for films.

DAVE RUNNING ROUND IN CIRCLES

John Dave can you sit down for a minute

Jenny Dave, yes ...

20 John 'cos I'm cos I'm getting a bit giddy.

Daddy's getting a bit giddy

(Jenny laughs)

Jenny (to Dave) You're going to fall over. And will you be careful of the wires
please.

25 Dave I'm sorry.

John (to me) Do you want us to move on now on to the next thing?

Jenny Hmm yes, I think we really exhausted that one. Hm. Hm.
TOPIC 2: THE WAY TO TREAT OTHER PEOPLE IN THE FAMILY

John (to Jenny) You start this time.

Jenny (smiling) I can start this time can I? That's very kind of you, right, so

1 wha wha what's the subject? (looking at board) The way to treat other
people in the family, well I think that's probably something that's
particularly having children is particularly apposite for us 'cos the way
we behave to each other affects not only ourselves but our children as
5 well.

John When we, it's funny when the other day when when we had that row and
I over-reacted that Dave, Dave's response was so immediate and so,
sort of violent, and that I mean, I suppose that's what you'd expect but
its not until you experience it that

10 Jenny Well you see I think ...

John (over the interruption) it he was really hurt wasn't he that

Jenny Oh yeah, yes.

John He was almost in a state of panic.

Jenny Hmm. Yes.

15 John Hmm.

Jenny But I think it's better that he does see us row in public. I much prefer
the fact that he does see us row and then sees us make up because with
my parents, they used to go into another room and row. It was much
more frightening - all you could hear was sort of muffled voices and the
20 occasional thud, which (laugh) as a child you just didn't know what that
was. I mean obviously it was just perhaps somebody throwing something
'cos having adult rows yourself you know that that sort of thing goes on,
but I prefer the fact Dave sees us row although it may be disturbing to
him. I mean it obviously was disturbing to him in the way that he
25 reacted. He saw us making up, he saw that it was OK afterwards and
that we did love each other really, but I I mean I think you over-reacted
and I over-reacted / because we basically don't understand each other's way
of life, I mean I think perhaps you understand more about mine than I do
about yours because you have actually been at home on week days when

1 I'm on my own normally with the children whereas, when you go to the
office although I've been into the office building and seen you it's
actually meaningless to me and I don't really understand either the
pressures that you're under or er, you know, how tired you may be. You
5 don't understand how tired I may be but I don't understand how tired
(John agrees) how tired you may be and I think that's why we actually
both over-reacted on that occasion.

John Tell you some one thing that on the bus the other day there were two
women behind me, and they'd obviously gone out on a Christmas shoppin
10 (pause) day in Y-Town from X-Town or from I don't know if they'd
come from X-Town or from Z-Town - I can't remember if they got
off at X-Town and they were having a conversation in the seat behind
and I was listening in to what they were saying and one of the women
said something that er the bus was late. You remember that night the
15 bus when was late?

Jenny Yeah and ...(inaudible)

John and she was worried about what her husband's reaction would be to er to
her being late, and er she was saying "Well he goes down the pub every
every Saturday" or whenever, "And three evenings a week" or whatever
20 and "he goes out to darts and I wouldn't begrudge him that but he
begrudges me" er "the fact that I might go out and he shouldn't do", and
I felt that I do that sometimes. I think it's odd. It's odd. It seems odd to
me that you would want to be without the kids, (Jenny mmm) that
seems really wierd to me

25 Jenny Hmm

John that you should think and if of course you should not want to be with
the kids all the time. (Jenny yes) But it really sometimes I get really
angry and feel that you're sort of really incompetent as a mother
because you don't want to be with them every single minute of the day

1 and then when I'm with them for ten minutes I get pissed off.

Jenny (laughs)

John And and and yet I think that sometimes I I do think sometimes emotionally I think that you should somehow be totally

5 Jenny Yes. I know you imply that I am a terrible mother because I actually want you know and I feel guilty if I have if I go and have a bath or something. (John yeah) I really feel guilty because I've left you with the kids, and yet you wouldn't think twice about doing something like that.

10 John No.

Jenny So that's something but I mean that's something stemming from your mother and the way that your mother expected the people to treat her and the way that she treats people in her family.

John Yeah. Yeah.

15 Jenny So that's that we've got to really, I suppose ultimately make a break from

John But I mean when, when this woman was saying this it seemed she her husband seemed a real idiot to me. He seemed an absolute fool and yet that's exactly how I feel sometimes er if you if you want to have some

20 time to yourself as it were. I feel that it's odd that you would want to spend almost sort of, it seems almost unnatural sometimes to me that that you should want to spend (Jenny Hmm) and yet it's so perfectly it is natural and I mean, as she said, the woman was saying hmm hmmm it doesn't mean you don't love your kids just you want to spend some

25 time to yourself. Just because you're married and you've got children (Jenny Hmm) doesn't mean, doesn't mean that you that you want to be or that indeed you should be a

Jenny (interrupting) it's like that

John a a slave to to to them, but I, the thing that that struck me is that the

1 logic was all on her side and she was absolutely right and I can imagine,
I can understand exactly what she was saying, and agreed with what she
was saying but I could imagine myself in her husbands role. If I'm with
two kids and you'd gone shopping and they're getting, you know, they're
5 getting cheesed off and I'm getting more cheesed off, and then I reckon
I'd be thinking that very same thing.

Jenny But I mean, it's, it's, why are they going to^{get}/cheesed off if they're
with their father rather than their mother? I mean it isn't that
something to do with the expectations that you have of how of what you
10 should do with your children? In that you I mean you're prepared to
give hmm, Dave a bath because and presumably when Kevin's a bit
bigger. I notice you haven't volunteered to give him a bath yet, but
later you'll probably be prepared to give him a bath, and I was talking
to a girl opposite and her husband absolutely refused to give their first
15 child a bath. He wouldn't give it, and she (John Hmm) still now **PAUSE**
rushes round at nights when she is going out in the evening to her keep
fit class she must give them a bath before she goes. He does the
washing up. He's accepted that as a part of his function in the family,
but he won't accept that giving the children a bath is part of that
20 function. So I mean that's how how you perceive your role. I mean I
know that if I go out like if I go out on Saturday morning shopping I
know when I come back the house will still be in a mess that Dave will
not, he might be dressed, not necessarily, but you know there are only
certain things that you will decide are your particular task and anything
25 else is mine, and is left to me even though I've gone out shopping and
then later on you'll sort of say "Well you went out on your own" as
though it's some big favour for me to go and rush round the shops so I
think again, thats thats parts of what you perceive to be your role
within the family and I mean anything you do for the children you're

1 doing me some big favour. You know I mean you say I've I've done this
for you and I've done that for you whereas in fact you're just, you should
just be doing it because that's part of your

Dave What's a fire engine man who drives a fire engine?

5 Jenny He's called a fire man. **PAUSE** OK, you're a big fire man, are you?

Dave He's a fire man.

Jenny OK

Jenny It just seems to me but I you know, but on the other hand I can't see
how you feel I mean I know something of the sort of background of your
10 family background and how that will disrupt things but I don't really
know hmm about your work life 'cos your work life is completely
separate from our home life and whereas you can come home from work
and that's recreation, I'm never away from what is effectively my place
of work, so when you begrudge me sort of my half an hour away from
15 the kids that just my idea you know that's my holiday, that's my
relaxing time because you know it's almost impossible to relax with two
children around you and plus which I need time to think and be myself
as well and just be me as an individual as opposed to me with two
appendages who I've got to get in and out of shops and things and I you
20 know ninety-nine percent of the time I don't resent them at all but just
one percent of the time I'd like to have a bit of time free to myself and
yes, it does it irritates me enormously that you then imply that
somehow I'm an unnatural mother and that I don't love my children.
When I have in fact sort of given up a career to look after them, 'cos I
25 think that'd be the best thing for them and hmm.

John But that that was a matter of choice, wasn't it?

Jenny (angrily) yes it was a matter of choice, but I mean its it it was

John There was no need for you to give up your career if you didn't want to.

Jenny No I mean I I made a choice, a selection, so did you. I mean if you

1 hadn't wanted children we wouldn't have had children would we.

John No, well, but I'm saying the the fact that you stay at home is not not absolutely necessary, I mean admittedly now it would be difficult but you did make the choice.

5 Jenny Yes, but this no, it is I mean I could have made the choice to have a child minder or something but I decided it was be best (John Hmm) for my children not to

John (quietly) No thats fine.

Jenny But that doesn't mean I haven't sacrificed something, 'cos I have.

10 John You made, Yeah, but you made you made a sacrifice of choice.

Jenny I have I have chose. I have chose the best out of two. Best way I think for myself and our children but I I also feel

John You don't regret your career much though do you? You don't regret hmmm

15 Jenny I wish that you could combine the the two but you can't so I've I've chosen the one I wanted to do most I suppose but yes, I mean I would would like to have a career. I'm hoping eventually that I will have one. I mean obviously that depends but that's something that you (aggressively) don't understand the the feeling of not having one, you

20 are a person in your own right, I mean I wasn't even allowed to sign the Granada TV rental things or whatever they were you know 'cos you're iike some kind of non person, you know, because I don't earn money, hmm, I'm er I'm a non-person and that's something you don't understand. You don't understand things in terms of status because you have status

25 yourself. You can't understand what it feels like to be treated as through you have none.

John (quietly) hmm.

Jenny And that's you know that that is something I've given up status. I've given up a profession so hmm, you know. I'm happy with my life. I like

my life but you know there, there are times and you know all the washing needs doing and both the kids are screaming and er you're just about to come in and I haven't even started cooking the supper when I'm you know, I'm I might decide the grass would be greener on the other side even if that's only momentary.

5

John The other side being where?

Jenny The other side being, I suppose, a career without children, I don't I don't know about being married or not married. I don't think er that actually hmm affects your life in er, in er practical terms in in the same way as

10

Jenny (to Kevin) Yes, you're talking too are you, you going to tell us all about it, yes?

John The resentment, one of the things I resent if that's the right word, is I quite like d'you know that you understand that I often or sometimes want to be completely alone, hmm, that I feel that I'm more hemmed in than you are, that and you say you've had the kids all day, that's true. I feel somehow more hemmed in then you by the fact that I've got to work all day and people there and then come home and there's people there, I hmm sometime feel that I'd like to sort of just get away for a

15

20

Jenny (to Dave) Dave please don't do that you're going to fall. Now could you get down (to John) Yes, no but then you don't understand my needs. I think you've got to accept that while you've got young children you're not going to be alone are you? Because I mean because you resent the fact that I might want to go off for an hour and I resent the fact that you want to go off and that's hmm I suppose something we might come to some agreement about but not

25

John But you find it difficult because you feel that as I understand I think you find it difficult because you think well he's been away from them

1

all day and after fifteen minutes suddenly, (Jenny, yeah) he's pissed off
with them.

1 Jenny Yeah, well that's right.

John Well that's not, I don't think that's right, because they're just an additional hmm

Jenny they're not though, are they? They're your children and you should be,
5 you should be trying to find something rewarding out of them, not just thinking "Oh God, it's more, just more people to cope with", yeah, you know, yes you can be alone after they've gone to bed or whatever, you can do whatever you like, I mean you do do whatever you like basically, I mean, if you if you're going to go out for the evening, you go out for
10 the evening.

John Yeah, but that's very rare.

Jenny Admittedly very rarely, but I mean

John But that's think, out of choice too, because I just don't like going out. It's not a question of going out or doing things or being anywhere. It's
15 nothing as specific as that it's just (Pause) being on one's own or or the choice I think the one thing that if if if anything that I feel that children, the most negative thing of having kids has to me, has been (Jenny ignoring him, playing with Kevin) the fact that you can't choose when you want to be alone. (Jenny, No).

20 Jenny Oh, No, that's absolutely true but then you can't ...

John Like at the time when they're both awake. Either you if you're going to be alone hmm if I'm going to be alone then that's going to put the burden on you if you're going to be alone that's going to put the burden on me. If we're both going to be alone then the kids are going to pi?
25 you know pi... The kids are going to fall into the fire or things like that and ...

Jenny No, I just I just think that you you see you (Pause) To me you have an autonomous life and when you come home, I expect you to want to be with the children. I know you say you're in the office and you're with

1 people but you're not effectively you're you're with colleagues. But
it's not not emotionally demanding of you most of the time whereas
being with children all day, particularly perhaps if we haven't gone out,
it's extremely emotionally draining and I expect you, first of all, to to
5 want to be with them because because because you like them and you
want to be with them and secondly to support me, because I've had
them since, I don't know, half past seven or whatever time in the
morning, and hmm to me that's that's part of your, that is one of your
duties, and you know, part of your role as a father is to support me.
10 And to give me a break, I mean I hmm I know it's that's what I was
saying, I say I find it difficult to comprehend.

John (to Dave) Dave, leave the microphone alone darling.

Jenny (to Dave) Leave it alone because you're going to your going to make it
...

15 Dave What's that for? What does it do?

John (and Jenny, together) It's

Jenny It's picking up the sounds that Mummy and Daddy are making.

John (to Dave) If you look at the television over there, then you can see us.

Jenny You'll be able to see us, go and have a look.

20 John Go and see. Kevin as well

Jenny Mummy and Daddy are talking for Uncle Bob.

Jenny (to Kevin) And you're talking too, aren't you

Jenny (to John) But you see it's

Kevin (Coughs)

25 Jenny (to John) But I mean I think I I think that you know all this comes back
to for me, basically, to the fact that you expect me to be sort of like
your mother, and I'm not, and there was a sort of article in the paper
yesterday, it was Brian Robson, "Me and my Mum", or something,
and he was saying you know, if if she's not looking after our children,

1 she's cooking and dusting and how much she loves her housework, and all
this, and this seems to me to be a sort of archetypal hmm, I don't know,
working class image of what of of the function of a woman, whereas
you would be bored stiff if I was like that, but you want me to be like
5 that in one sense, because you want to come back to order, and and to
be able to you know, eat your food and do whatever you want, and be
alone if you want, but on the other hand you'd be bored stiff if I was
like that, so you know, I'm in a no win situation, in that in in in that
particular aspect. (PAUSE) because I always feel that whatever you do
10 for the children, you regard it as a very big favour to me, you're
relieving me of of my of what is essentially my duty. (John, Mmm) But
I don't actually know whether you think I'm supposed to have any time
off for good behaviour. You know, hmm, being our children are small,
and really need attention, virtually twenty four hours a day.

15 John Hmm

Jenny Seven days a week. I mean you at least have holidays from work
(PAUSE) and I don't, and so I do get really very angry when you
begrudge me and I also get very angry when things are perhaps
disorganized and you want them to be organized, and it's just you know,
20 part of you know, one of those days but but to you, you want always to
come back to this image of the home that's ordered and er you know,
the children are in bed and supper's on the table and your slippers and
pipe are by the fire (they both laugh) and I mean, life isn't like that.

John No

25 Jenny (to Kevin) Hello

Dave Hello (then something inaudible)

TOPIC 3: DISCUSSION

John (to Bob) Shall we move on to the er discussion?

Jenny (to Kevin and Dave) Oh, Oh, Oh, Oh.

John We ended up talking about ourselves rather than about others.

1 Jenny Yes, I don't think well (laughs)

John We didn't really talk about how we we treated kids (Jenny laughs) just about how we mis, how we mis how we mistreat each other.

Jenny I think that was just an occupational hazard (laughs)

5 John How the I has been mistreated by the you.

Jenny How we've suffered (laughs) Yes but I think that's almost all w ... You know yeah.

John That's all we ever talk about ... it's like when we went to the Marriage Guidance. I think at first it sort of ... just blew her mind that we just

10 ... entered into two parallel monologues.

Jenny (laughs)

John About how we were pissed off with each other.

Jenny But I do think I think that we've to a certain extent, we have worked that through to a large extent. I mean we both know what each other

15 feels, and I mean we do we have a lot of backsliding, but I mean, I think that that yes, we I mean we're both very self obsessed people. So I mean, that's almost inevitable, and and ^{everything} we perceive, mothers, fathers, children, is how they affect our lives.

John Not how we affect their's.

20 Jenny Yes

PAUSE

Jenny Well, I think we did start talking about Dave, about the effect that you know, of our rows on Dave.

John Hmm

25 Jenny Which (pause) you know, as I said, I I feel that hmm you know, I know people where a their anger and hmm hmm resentment of each other is repressed and that seems to me to be to be having a much more unhealthy effect upon their children.

John (to Dave) Dave can you put Bob's coat back please darling ... thank you.

1 John (to Jenny) Sorry, I didn't ...

Jenny I'm saying that I know people where anger and at each other is being repressed and that seems to me to be having a much more unhealthy effect on their children, than than our, than our more open expressions

5 of it. I mean that's basically what we were doing when we went to Marriage Guidance, was sort of squashing all our feelings and I think that's actually what came out of going was the the, I mean yes we were talking, we were still talking on parallel lines but we were able to say to each other, "I'm angry with you" for this, this and this reasons

10 whereas before, I (just) I just felt generally angry with everything and everybody whereas now, I think, on the whole I know what it is that makes me angry and I can say it to you.

John Suffering from non-specific anger.

Jenny Yes (laughs) I wa

15 I was, just everything you did or said made me angry (laughs)

So, whereas now I know what it is that makes me angry about you and I can say it, and you can say it to me.

John It's changed - into tertiary anger now.

20 Jenny Yes (they both laugh)

Jenny But I mean that that seems to me to be much more healthy, and and I mean in that I don't believe that we should be showing our children that, that we're always happy and that life is always wonderful.

John Oh no, Oh no.

25 Jenny I think it's better to say, yes, we're angry with each other but, you know, we'll say we're sorry later, and you know we'll, we'll be friends again.

John Yeah

Jenny It's much better. But yes, you're quite right we did end up as usual

1 talking about ourselves but then, in terms of a nuclear family, I would
have said that our relationship is central to how our children think and
feel.

Jenny (to Kevin) Oh dear, what's the matter, what's that on your face.

5 John So, yeah, I mean

Jenny I mean ...

John I think that's true.

Jenny if we're basically happy, and even if we're sort of angry with each other
at times, I I think it's made we've made a much more stable home than
10 than it was before when we were just not speaking to each other and
not saying anything to each other. We were still just as self obsessed
but we were, we weren't actually communicating with each other at all,
I mean I could, apart from saying, "what d'you want for dinner tonight,"
and "it's time to get up," we were going through sort of whole periods
15 where we actually didn't speak to each other (John: Yes) about our
feelings or I mean at least we can actually sort of scream and shout at
each other but we say what we feel and I think we're both of us
beginning to understand a little bit more about hmm the difficulties of
each others role, and what we expect of the other person. I think that's
20 even more important, because I know when, when I was expecting Dave
the thing that you know really upset me most was how I'd expected you
to be and what I'd expected you to want and what I'd expected you to
say, you know I'd wanted you to sort of feel the baby move, and all that,
and you were sort of going ohh no, and that really was the thing that
25 most deeply upset me of anything, because I'd expected something so
different. And I think we're both er probably more realistic now about
each other and about what we expect (PAUSE) hmm, and I mean, I think
we're working at it which I think is perhaps the main thing. I mean we
still moan at each other, but I think things are sort of more

1 worked out than they were and I, as far as I'm concerned to me if our
relationship our roles are not necessarily satisfactory but on that way
that affects how I perceive (PAUSE) not only how I perceive our
children and our parents and whatever but I think how they perceive us.

5 John Hmm. I dunno. It's hard to say. Maybe 'cos Dave is
Jenny What is Dave doing?

John I suppose Dave, you can't really ask Dave whether he thinks we're
happy, I suppose it's what what he does should tell us, but I don't I can
never judge.

10 Jenny I don't think he has any concept of what it would be for us to be happy
or unhappy.

John No.

Jenny We just are and we he exists you know we exist.

John That's like what Jim says about his wife, you know, although she's a
15 dingbat

Jenny (laughs)

John Erm, the kids know no different.

Jenny No, so they don't mind do they?

John So the fact she (walks) goes off and erm when she gets pissed off she
20 goes and locks herself in a room, so's not to (Jenny: hurt them) hurt the
kids.

John That's what they expect a mother to do

Jenny Yes

John Who's cheesed off with them.

25 Jenny Yeah

John Is to go in a room and lock herself in, and so

Jenny Well I mean I would

John So perhaps they're not being affected by her.

Jenny Well, I mean, I would I would say it's far better for a family to be

1 together isn't it, than as long as she long as I mean it is a bit difficult in
that situation 'cos they're so young, the children are so young but I
mean the alternatives are far less desirable than ...

John Yeah

5 Jenny than what is actually happening it's just very worrying for Jim.

John Hmm

Jenny Really, because there he has he has had to take over an almost entirely
supportive role, he's not allowed to be irresponsible or (PAUSE) slobbish
or whatever at all because he's got to you know, sort of totally take
10 over responsibility for both parents though I mean, I think that's
something that that hmm I do feel very strongly is that I'm I'm supposed
to be the responsible one and you're you, you know if there's any thing
decision that needs making then I'm supposed to make it and all the rest
of it and I suppose just sometimes, I'd like it to you know, I suppose I
15 want to be a little girl again, you know, but then again I suppose I'd
resent it if you did, so you're in a no win situation too. But that yes, I
think I think that's basically played that one out really.

John (to Bob) Shall we leave it at that Bob?

Jenny (to Bob) Is that, is that OK? is that enough (PAUSE) Will that be any
20 use? (laugh)