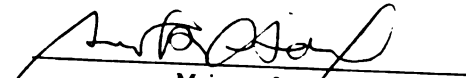This is to certify that the

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THE NEGOTIATION OF SUPPORT:
ENCODING OF FACE-THREATENING ACTS
AT CHURCH BUSINESS MEETINGS

By

Bethyl Ann Pearson

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ABSTRACT

THE NEGOTIATION OF SUPPORT:
ENCODING OF FACE-THREATENING ACTS
AT CHURCH BUSINESS MEETINGS

By

Bethyl Ann Pearson

This paper examines how people in a particular collaborative setting use language to negotiate support for their opinions. Two kinds of linguistic realizations are analyzed: (1) face-threatening speech acts which either direct people to do things or express disagreement and (2) features of negative and positive politeness which optionally co-occur with the face-threatening speech acts and mitigate their force.

The conversation of four similar administrative and programming meetings within three United Methodist churches were tape-recorded, transcribed and coded for FTA's and politeness features. The coded categories were then assigned to appropriate speaker role: minister, chair or group member. Only churches whose ministers had been judged by superordinates, peers and subordinates to be effective communicators were selected for observation.

Given that the main discourse goal of all speakers in the settings examined is to negotiate support, two related

findings are reported: (1) linguistic choices are role-dependent, with ministers displaying the greatest effort to negotiate, followed by chairs, then by group members, as measured in quality and quantity of FTA's and politeness features and (2) within each of the shared leadership roles of minister and chair, a "style of negotiating support" varies, but the ministers pattern more closely together than chairs.

The ministers set the most inclusive parameters for a support-negotiating style of language. This style demonstrates both power and accommodation. Power is evidenced in type and density of FTA as well as in a large repertoire of politeness features, especially two features of positive politeness--lexical style-shifting and, in some cases, humor. Accommodation to speakers of lower status is evident in FTA-type and in both deferential and solidarity-promoting features. Positive politeness, or using features which promote solidarity, is argued to be the more influential strategy in the negotiation and may also have certain cultural dependencies.

In light of the results of the analysis, this study claims that a model of discourse must consider discourse goal, individual role and status, situation, and culture each as partial determinants of linguistic choice, with discourse goal as primary. In this way we can further explore the potential influence of social forces on the shaping of language use.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIST OF FEATURES

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE ANALYSIS OF DISCOURSE

1.1 Introduction

This study has two general, related purposes. The first
is to identify a set of linguistic features which speakers
in collaborative social settings use to get people to follow
directives or to agree with certain of the speaker's
opinions.   These features also work to preserve or even
ameliorate the social relationship between speaker and
listener.   In particular, this study will present an
analysis of features which mitigate the force of two kinds
of "face-threatening acts" that characteristically occur in
the social situations examined.   They are giving directives
and disagreeing.   The linguistic realizations of the acts
themselves also figure in the analysis.

The second goal of this investigation is to test
certain predictions about the use of   support-negotiating
features.   This study will argue that the kinds of features
which occur and their frequency of occurrence is dependent
upon two major factors, in addition to the overall discourse
goal of negotiating support: (a) static social features of
role and status and (b) individual social identity.

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Brown and Levinson's (hereafter B & L) (1978) politeness model and attention to "face maintenance" will provide the basis for this identification of politeness features and speech act types. Both B & L's (1978) model of politeness and Scotton's (1983) markedness model will provide the framework for the study of discourse goal and role dependencies in the use of these features, including speech acts.

Identifying features is primarily a descriptive procedure. However, by arguing that these features serve social functions, I make a theoretical statement in claiming to account for the existence of certain structures, e.g., hedges, in language. Furthermore, feature analysis is a prerequisite to a discussion of "language style". This paper considers various definitions of style and demonstrates how style-switching, as a strategy of positive politeness, promotes solidarity and works to achieve support. More generally, this paper argues for the existence of a "support-promoting style" of language based upon the aggregate of features, speech acts, and strategies of negotiation identified in this analysis. People who use this "support-promoting style" are termed "negotiators of support".[1]

The social setting chosen for this investigation is a set of programming and administrative meetings held at three

United Methodist churches in Michigan. The meetings are managed by a chairperson, but the minister also attends and participates. Typically, people at the meetings work together to reach decisions about how the church may continue or improve its functioning as a social and religious institution. Inherent to this process is the performance of a certain number of face-threatening speech acts by speakers in three social roles, minister, chair or group member. These acts fall into three basic categories: (1) directives, (2) disagreements, and (3) directive/ disagreements.

The discourse goal of the majority of speakers is to seek or negotiate support for their face-threatening acts and in that way contribute to the group's overall successful operation. Based on B & L (1978), I generally hypothesized that in order to gain such support, all speakers would have to follow certain strategies which address attention to the needs and wants of other group participants. These are the two strategies of negative and positive politeness, which may be briefly described as deferential or (traditionally) polite behavior on the negative side and familiar, friendly, even joking behavior on the positive. Stated differently, negative politeness is generally distancing behavior while positive politeness displays closeness.

I also hypothesized variation in the language of participants in the meetings as a function of both role and status and of individual identity. First, in terms of role and status, I hypothesized that the greater the motivation of the speaker to negotiate support, the more politeness would be evident in his/her speech. Speakers of a higher status were judged to be more motivated and were therefore expected to put forth more effort in the negotiation by using more politeness. Politeness was to be measured in greater numbers of non-coercive FTA-types, fewer numbers of very coercive FTA-types, and in higher frequencies of politeness features.

This greater effort was also predicted to manifest itself in other ways. I predicted a greater variety of politeness feature types, higher percentages of positive politeness, and specifically, more downward style shifts, in the speech of higher status speakers. Positive politeness was hypothesized to be particularly important in achieving support because it evokes especially favorable emotional responses, especially when issued from superiors to subordinates.

Second, although ministers were expected to pattern similarly and chairs were expected to display their own patterns of usage, I still expected variation among chairs and among ministers in: (a) the realization of politeness features, both in types and in frequency of occurrence, and

(b) the amount of politeness, especially positive politeness. This variation was expected because, as suggested in Owsley and Scotton (1982:6), static situational features only partially explain code choice. An individual speaker's code choice is generally a negotiation of identity, a process which will vary from one talk exchange to another. Therefore, different speakers would be likely to have different styles of negotiating support.

In order to test these hypotheses, I tape-recorded naturally-occurring conversation of a set of twelve meetings at four United Methodist Churches. I transcribed and coded the data for face-threatening acts and co-occurring features of politeness for all speakers.

The results of the analysis generally supported all hypotheses, although some exceptions were noted. Two primary, simultaneous effects of the role and status-linked variations in the negotiation of support are hypothesized: ministers demonstrate both (a) power and (b) accommodation (with deference and solidarity) to speakers of lower status. As a result, respect, warmth and mutual support among all conversational participants is strengthened and the group is able to function effectively. Linguists should be interested in studying such variations and their effects in order to test to what extent and how language use may be shaped by social forces.

This investigation consists of six chapters. Chapter One will examine five related streams of research which

have contributed to discourse analysis. In Chapter Two, I link certain features of the social setting to a theoretical framework of "politeness" (B & L, 1978) and "negotiation" (Scotton, 1983). In this way, I will explain how the hypotheses of this study were generated and also define the terms central to the analysis. In Chapter Three, I describe the methods of data collection and coding. Chapter Four presents the results of the analysis. In Chapter Five, I discuss the implications of my findings. Finally, in Chapter Six I restate the major conclusions of this study and suggest avenues for future research.

1.2 The Linguistic Tradition

Although Chomsky (1957, 1965) had clearly separated the study of syntax from both meaning and use, by the early 70's, many linguists came to believe that they were inseparable. This new recognition led to attempts to incorporate into certain streams of transformational-generative grammar the meaning and use aspects of language. At the same time two independent influences on the study of discourse developed: (1) textgrammar and (2) philosophy of language.

The influence of the philosophy of language is more relevant to the models upon which the present study relies than that of the textgrammarians. However, reference will

later be made to certain aspects of the special approach to textual analysis of Halliday and Hasan. Therefore, Halliday and Hasan (1976) are given some attention here.

1.2.1 Text-Grammarians

Van Dijk (1972, 1977) is representative of the textlinguists. The textlinguists attempt to extend the principles typical of linguistics beyond the sentence. For example, morphological and snytactic features in written texts are found to mark discourse phenomena such as topic shift.

As long as textlinguistics dealt with the more traditional emphases of linguistics, applications of linguistic principles to discourse were appropriate. But when linguistics began to extend its interest to pragmatics and to spoken conversation, textlinguistics proved less adequate. According to Edmondson (1981), when Van Dijk (1979) tried to incorporate pragmatic elements in his work, he failed. As Edmondson (1981:16) has noted:

> as a concern with pragmatic issues has developed in textlinguistics as an <u>additional</u> or <u>additive</u> concern, conversational discourse is to be handled in a textgrammar inside a theoretical framework for linguistic data which is different in kind.... extension of the textgrammar to dialogic data is both inefficient and psychologically implausible.

To use a specific example, Edmondson (1981:17) argues that Van Dijk's proposed system of "pragmatic connectives" has no empirical base when one examines the use of the connectives

"and" and "but". Van Dijk interprets "and" as "addition" or
"continuation", while "but" is viewed as a "protest" against
the speech act of the previous speaker.   However, Edmondson
(1981:17) gives data which challenge these conceptions.

(i)   Let's all go to the pictures tomorrow night

(ii) John won't want to go

(iii) a) But
      b) And he won't want to stay here either!
      c) –

Edmondson argues that although (iii) b has an element of
"addition" and (iii) a an element of "protest", (ii) may
also be interpreted as a "protest", while (iii) c may have
either interpretation.   Edmondson (1981:18) specifies
further plausible interpretations, concluding that "an
attempt to interpret speech act sequences as a function of
"pragmatic connectives" is misguided in principle".

Edmondson's final response is that interactional,
speech-act based models of discourse can and should replace
textlinguistics.   Variations on this approach are discussed
below.

Halliday and Hasan (1976) take a more original approach
than the traditional textlinguists.   Their analysis of text
is based on semantic cohesion.   They delineate five
categories of cohesion types which operate within sentences,
between sentences or across large segments of discourse.

Their model may be extended to an analysis of conversational data, as will be shown.

Following are examples of the five cohesion types:

(1) substitution (Halliday and Hasan 1976:89)

nominal: My axe is too blunt. I must get a sharper one.

verbal: You think Joan already knows? -- I think everybody does.

In the examples "one" and "does" are both substitutes. A substitute item has the same structural function as that for which it substitutes.

(2) ellipsis, reference, and lexical cohesion (Halliday and Hasan, 1976:4)

Time flies -- You can't; they fly too quickly.

In this example, "you can't" is an elliptical form whose full form would be "you can't time flies". "They" is a reference item which refers to "flies". "Fly" represents lexical repetition of "flies", a type of lexical cohesion. The humorous interpretation results from an initial assumption that the first sentence is a complete text.

(3) Conjunction is less clearly definable than other types of cohesion. It is "a specification of the way in which what is to follow is systematically connected to what has gone before" (Halliday and Hasan, 1976:227). For example, in "They fought a battle. Previously, it had snowed", the time relation, which is partially realized in

the word "previously", is the only explicit form of connection.

The present study will discuss lexical cohesion as a feature of positive politeness. Lexical cohesion "consists in selecting the same lexical item twice or selecting two that are closely related" (Halliday and Hasan, 1976:12). The repetition of a previous speaker's lexical choice represents special attention to that speaker, i.e., it indicates a desire on the second speaker's part to move closer to or converge with the first speaker's ideas, for example. This convergence may also be viewed as accommodation, in the sense of Giles and his associates (1975, 1979).

This is not the first time that lexical cohesion has been applied to the anslysis of conversational data. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) argue that a speaker's lexical repetition of a previous speaker's vocabulary signals willingness to negotiate in his/her terms. However, if a speaker uses a synonym or a paraphrase of a previous speaker's lexical choice, it represents an unwillingness to negotiate in his/her terms. Lexical repetition may thus be one indicator of the structure of discourse.

This study will also make reference to semantic cohesion as it relates to the evoking of humor. This treatment, however, will not be a formal one.

1.2.2 Philosophy of Language

The rising interest in the inseparability of syntax and meaning after the 70's also allowed a closer relationship between philosophers of language and linguists to evolve. This was manifested in at least two new elements, each of which became influential in the study of discourse. First, linguists began to pay attention to the notion of "speech act", which was introduced by Austin (1962) and developed by Searle (1969) and many others into Speech Act theory. Secondly, Grice (1975) introduced "conversational implicature". Conversational implicature refers to the relation between the content of a sentence and the conditions under which it can be used to perform a given speech act. This is explained in 1.2.2.2 below. Linguists began to view sentences, if not conversation, as subject to different rules than could be captured by the strict formalism of a grammar isolated from use.

1.2.2.1 Speech-Act Theory.

Because the "face-threatening acts" examined in the present study are types of speech acts, a characterization of this term and a discussion of how Speech Act theory fits into discourse analysis is particularly relevant. (See 2.1.3 for definitions of speech acts used in the present analysis).

Austin (1962) observed that speakers use some sentences to perform certain acts, rather than to report on states of affairs. He identified "explicit" and "implicit"

performative verbs. According to Brown and Yule (1983) an example of an explicit performative verb is the verb "christen". An example of an implicit performative verb, (if we imagine a specific occasion of use), is in the utterance "Out!". The latter example is implicit because no performative verb is present; however, the speaker performs an act of dismissal.

After implicit performatives were recognized, it then became possible to extend the notion of performance to the uttering of any sentence. The "illocutionary force" of an utterance was viewed as central, although the force could be realized in varying direct, indirect, literal or nonliteral ways. For example, the sentence "My mouth is parched" has both a direct, literal and an indirect, nonliteral interpretation. On a direct and literal interpretation, the speaker is reporting how dry his/her mouth is. On an indirect and nonliteral interpretation, he/she is requesting a drink. In the second reading, the speaker is also indicating that the hearer is to do something. This is referred to as "perlocutionary intent".

Searle (1975b:59) distinguished between indirect and direct speech acts, and noted that:

> The simplest cases of meaning are those in which the speaker utters a sentence and means exactly and literally what he says. In such cases the speaker intends to produce a certain illocutionary effect in the hearer, and he intends to produce this effect by getting the hearer to recognize his intention to produce it, and he intends to get the hearer to recognize

this intention in virtue of the hearer's knowledge of the rules that govern the utterance of the sentence.

But there is a second class of cases "in which the speaker utters a sentence, means what he says, but also means something more" (Searle 1975b:59). In such cases, the indirect, nonliteral interpretation, Searle argues, is the normal interpretation. Therefore, a speaker may say "Could you lend me a dollar?" and literally be making a request for information. Nonetheless, the hearer will correctly first interpret it as a request for a dollar.

Many taxomonies of illocutionary acts have been proposed, such as Vendler (1972), Fraser (1973), McCawley (1973), and Schiffer (1972). One of the more recent ones, which builds on that of Searle, is that of Bach and Harnish (1984:40), who designate six main categories: effectives, verdictives, constatives, directives, commissives, and acknowledgements, each further subcategorized in principled ways. The proliferation of classifications by different speech act theorists, however, attests to one of the basic weaknesses of the theory. It also points to the difficulties involved in applying Speech Act theory to the analysis of discourse.

The primary interest of the theory for the discourse analyst is that it could provide an account of how some apparently formally unconnected utterances go together in conversational discourse to form a coherent sequence. But,

as Levinson (1980:20) notes: "If one looks even cursorily at a transcribed record of a conversation, it becomes immediately clear that we do not know how to assign speech acts in a non-arbitrary way." For example, the question "Would you like another drink?" may be viewed as both a question and an offer (Levinson, 1981:476). Corder (in press) quoted in Holmes (1983:92) even more pointedly says that "attempts to devise a universal and comprehensive set of [speech act] categories are at the stage of what has been called botanizing--the pretheoretical or natural history stage in the development of a science...we are still concerned with "ethnography of speaking"."

In spite of its "primitive state", however, Speech-Act theory has much in its favor. Most importantly, it places emphasis on language use as doing something intrinsically, rather than extrinsically conveying information only.

Out of Speech Act theory, numerous speech act models of discourse have been proposed. Although these models vary greatly in the sequencing rule terminology each proposes as well as in domain of interest, they have at least one essential property in common. Levinson (1981:473) aptly characterizes this property as the proposition that "conversations cohere or are held together not at the level of what is said, but at the level of what is <u>done</u> by what is said, by virtue of rules governing the sequencing of speech acts." The value of such models for the analysis of

discourse is thus in their pointing beyond the referential message to the social message language potentially encodes.

Representative among speech-act models of discourse are Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) who deal primarily with classroom discourse and Labov and Fanshel (1977) who analyze therapeutic discourse. Each has made significant contributions to the understanding of discourse in their respective domains, in spite of several weaknesses.

Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) identify categories of speech acts in classroom discourse. Their analysis relates three major "transaction" types at the highest level of analysis--"informing," "electing" and "directing"--to twenty-two speech acts at the lowest level of analysis. Examples of speech acts are "nominate", "evaluate" and "prompt". These acts are defined by their function in the discourse. Sinclair and Coulthard's classification, unlike those of speech-act theorists, is based on natural data and "claims to describe a spoken text exhaustively" (Coulthard 1977:25).

Labov and Fanshel (1977:30) take a slightly different approach. They distinguish between speech acts and interactional acts. For them, conversation is not a chain of speech acts, but rather "a matrix of utterances and actions bound together by a web of understandings and reactions". They emphasize the interpersonal motivation behind interactional consequences. Challenges, defenses and

retreats, for example, rather than a series of requests and assertions, bring about coherence in conversation. These acts have to do with the status of participants in the conversation, their rights and obligations. Therefore, social attributes and personal goals together determine how speakers attempt to elicit certain interactional responses by their listeners. The following is a sample block of "representations" or "interactional acts" from their much larger table (1977:61). From left to right A and B columns represent the most typical sequences of acts, that is, A speaks, B speaks, A speaks:

D-events (Disputable)

A	B	A
Assert	Deny	Contradict
Give Evaluation	Agree	Support
Give Interpretation	Support	
Give Orientation	Give Reinterpretation	

Looking specifically at "give evaluation" in column A, we note that Labov and Fanshel (1977:63) describe this act in more personal terms than most speech-act treatments would: "After presenting a series of events representing something that actually happened, the speaker will then give an evaluation of the significance of these events in emotional or socially evaluated terms."

It remains problematic, however, to what extent the proliferation of categories characteristic of each speech

act model in its particular domain can be generalized to conversation as a whole. As Sinclair and Coulthard (1975:6) acknowledge about their own model, "the system...is now able to cope with most teacher/pupil interaction inside the classroom. What it cannot handle, and was not designed to handle, is pupil/pupil interaction in project work, discussion groups, or the playground." So even within the school setting, the model is not sufficient. However, Burton (1981) has attempted to refine Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) coding scheme to make it applicable to casual conversation and mother-child discourse as well as other types of teacher-pupil talk. As for Labov and Fanshel, Edmondson's (1981:58) severe criticism of their ad hoc labeling and overlapping of sequencing categories implies that the difficulties in extending this model to other conversation would be very great.

As argued by Levinson (1981), the problems with speech-act models include not only the fact that assignment of speech acts is arbitrary, but other considerations as well. First, more than one speech act may be assigned to one utterance. For example, A's initial utterance in the following exchange is both a question and a pre-invitation (in the terminology of Atkinson and Drew) (1979).

    A. What are you doing tonight?

    B. Nothing, Why?

    A. I was thinking of going to a movie, wanna come?

Secondly, one utterance may have more than one perlocutionary intent, may, indeed, have limitless perlocutionary intents or "chains of motives" (Levinson 1981:477). To use Levinson's (1981:477) example, a certain individual is not enjoying a party he has gone to with his companion Mildred, and wishes to leave. He suggests that they both leave by saying "It's getting late, Mildred". Mildred may in turn reply with any of the following utterances:

A. It's only 11:15, darling.

B. But I'm having such a good time.

C. Do you want to go?

D. Aren't you enjoying yourself dear?

Only the first response (A) seems to respond directly to what is said, Levinson argues. The B response is addressed to the speaker's desire that they both go, C to the speaker's wish that he go, and D to the speaker's ultimate motive in saying "It's getting late".

Finally, it is hard, if not impossible, to find ill-formed sequences in actual discourse which violate sequencing rules. If there were such ill-formed sequences, we could test the validity of such rules in the same way that we use ill-formed grammatical strings to test grammatical rules. There are no ill-formed sequences of speech events because conversational participants overwhelmingly assume that every utterance can be

interpreted if only they do enough inferential work.
Levinson (1983:292) cites a conversational example from
Sacks (1968, April 17). In isolation the exchange is
bizarre, but in actual conversation, very natural:

A. I have a fourteen year old son

B. Well that's all right

A. I also have a dog

B. Oh I'm sorry

In the above example, A is raising a series of possible
disqualifications for apartment rental with the landlord B.
Levinson thus argues that the predictability of ill-formed
sequences as a basis for sequencing rules is questionable.
In normal conversation there can be no violations of
sequencing rules. This belief is predicted by Grice's
theory of implicature, discussed below.

A speech act view of discourse is insufficient, then,
in explaining discourse sequencing. However, its emphasis
on how speakers can use language to do things, as well as to
convey information, is an important insight. This insight is
consistent with the sociolinguistic model of discourse on
which the present study is based, a model which pays
attention to status differentials in conversational
negotiations.

1.2.2.2 Grice's "Cooperative Principle". As Brown and
Yule (1983:26) put it, "'Doing discourse analysis' certainly
involves 'doing syntax and semantics', but it consists of

'doing pragmatics'." In other words, an analysis of discourse must include attention to certain contextual features. Grice (1975) made this clear when he introduced his linguistic-pragmatic Cooperative Principle. Although his major contribution was explanation of generalized implicatures through which quantifiers make specific interpretations possible (e.g., by saying "Some of the students passed" a speaker implicates that not all of the students passed) he also demonstrated that the discourse analyst would have to be concerned with the relationship between the sentence or utterance and its particular occasion of use, not only with the relationship between sentences or propositions. Language was beginning to be viewed in context, however local that context might be.

Speakers, according to Grice (1975), follow a principle and several associated maxims. Grice applies these mainly to two-part exchanges. The Cooperative Principle which all conversational participants are expected to observe is stated as: "Make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged" (Grice 1975:45). To maintain the Cooperative Principle one must follow four maxims of quantity, quality, and relation and manner, most of which characterize the content of information contributed to the conversation. Understanding of these maxims gives participants the ability to recognize an utterance which in some way violates one or

more of the maxims, to arrive at "conversational implicature". A speaker may, for example, flout the maxim of Quantity by saying less than is actually meant: A student asks a professor for a recommendation for a philosophy job. The professor writes a testimonial about the candidate as follows: "Dear Sir, Mr. X's command of English is excellent, and his attendance at tutorials has been regular, Yours, etc." (Grice 1975:52). The professor is implicating that X is no good at philosophy. The recipient of the letter will be able to work out the implicature, that is, to infer the professor's intent.

In this way, Grice illustrates the importance of the maxims for understanding short, two-part exchanges. But conversation can also consist of a series of exchanges which, added up, index a speaker's overall conversational goal. At issue in the present study is how linguistic choices preserve or maintain human relationships across a series of exchanges. Dealing with such exchanges, Scotton (1983), in her model of markedness, emphasizes how speakers use code choices to negotiate relationships. Here she proposes a negotiation principle which incorporates and extends Grice's principle and maxims. According to Scotton (1983) her maxims account for (conscious or unconscious) linguistic choices by speakers who want to preserve or change their relationship with their interlocutors. This model will be introduced in section 1.4 and fully discussed in relationship to the present study in Chapter Two.

1.3   The Sociolinguistic Tradition

A much clearer break from Chomskyan linguistics than
had occurred in the marriage of philosophy and linguistics
came about under the influence of two ethnographers from
anthropology--Gumperz and Hymes (1972).

The pragmatic considerations of Grice and others (e.g.,
Davison 1975; Sadock 1974) related language to context in
new ways. But concern for context took on larger dimensions
after the work of Hymes (1964; 1972). Language, which had
been viewed primarily as a means of conveying information,
was acknowledged to have a social purpose as well. "To
recognize that language comes organized in terms of use is
to recognize that language has more ,than a referential
function, more than a single kind of meaning" (Hymes
1972:xxii). Picking up on this notion, researchers brought
attention to sociolinguistics as a discipline in its own
right.   Early studies relied on relatively static features
of the interaction to determine linguistic choice.   Later
studies acknowledged, in addition, the effect of the dynamic
character of language in use. Both ends of this spectrum
are related to discourse analysis, according to the model of
analysis developed here.

1.3.1 Situated Language Use

Hymes (1964:22) delineates a static set of ethnographic
features of context which comprise the communicative event.

Together, these features limit the range of interpretations a linguistic form can have when uttered in a specific context. At the same time, these features support the interpretation a speaker intends a linguistic form to have. So, to use a very static example, in a sportscast, we, as an unseen and unseeing audience, expect an announcer to report ongoing activity and to use particular vocabulary shared by sports fans. Specifically, both certain tense usages and technical jargon are characteristic of the sportscast, and we interpret such linguistic choices by reference to the entire event. Although the <u>participants</u>, e.g., senders and receivers, addressors and addressees, and the like, are the most important features, other features also exert an influence on linguistic choice. These are: various <u>channels</u> through which contact is being maintained, e.g., speech, writing, signing, the <u>codes</u> shared by participants, e.g., language, dialect, style, the <u>settings</u> in time and place as well as physical space between interactants, the <u>forms</u> <u>of</u> <u>messages</u> e.g., chat, sermon, debate, <u>topics</u> <u>and</u> <u>comments</u> or what the message is about, and the <u>events</u> themselves, e.g., a sermon viewed additionally as part of the larger church service. This emphasis on context as it affects choice and interpretation of linguistic forms led to Hymes' (1972) insightful coining of the term "communicative competence" to refer to the native speaker's ability, within his/her speech community, to interpret and produce language

appropriate to situations. What linguistic forms are appropriate to what situations is recognized and learned as part of the stock of common knowledge created in an ongoing way by society, specifically by the speech community. "Communicative competence" became an underpinning of most later work in the tradition.

Sociolinguistics as a discipline maintained a focus on static correlations between speaker and situation, or more narrowly, between speaker and social group membership in the early work of such people as Labov (1966:1972) and Fishman (1972). Their studies provided valuable insight into the mechanisms of language change and did much toward defining the boundaries of speech communities. They demonstrated that social meaning, e.g., age, socioeconomic status, sex, can be indexed by the presence, absence, or varying frequency of a single linguistic variable, be it phonological, syntactic, or lexical. Ervin-Tripp (1976) as well, in a study of American English directives, relied on such correlations. She found that the social features of the context in which a directive is uttered, including the rank, age, sex, familiarity and role of the speakers and features of the setting, limit the type of directive. At the same time hearers also use the information encoded in the choice of directive, including stylistic features, to interpret the speaker's view of his or her relationship to the hearer.

To illustrate, the following directives uttered by technicians in a particular university medical laboratory illustrate different styles of address directed to physicians. The speaker chooses the style of directive according to the perception of his/her social relationship with the doctor. This measurement is in terms of status and formality. The first example illustrates a high status differential and formality. The second illustrates a low status differential and informality.

(a) Oh, by the way, Doctor, could you leave that chart when you're through?

(b) Hey, Len, shoot the chart to me, willya? (Ervin-Tripp 1976:32).

Directives are thus social indicators and their interpretation depends in part on the rules governing social relationships.

Since a primary focus of the present study is on directives, Ervin-Tripp's classification will be exemplified in Chapter Two. A general description of the directives of the present study is also given there. Chapter Three outlines the specific, defining features of the directives in the social setting examined in the present study. These are based, in part, on those of Ervin-Tripp (1976).

1.3.2 Interactional Language Use

Although Ervin-Tripp's (1976) classification revealed correlations between certain static features, e.g., status,

and linguistic choice, it neglected the more fluid
determinants that later researchers began to explore.

A dynamic view of code choice and interpretation is
evidenced in the work of the "interactional sociolinguists",
especially (1) Gumperz (1982), Erickson (1982), Erickson and
Shultz (1981; 1982) and (2) Scotton (1983; 1984). The
former are practically oriented, dealing primarily with
topics in cross-cultural communication and in education.
Scotton, having devoted much attention to code-switching,
between languages, dialects and styles (Scotton 1976;
Scotton and Ury 1977), offers a comprehensive theoretical
explanation of linguistic variance in a "markedness model"
(Scotton 1983). Both agree, however, that there is an
interlocking of social norms and individual intent in face-
to-face interaction such that individuals negotiate both
social and individual identity.

More particularly, a major portion of the work of
Gumperz, Erickson and Shultz seeks to explain the causes of
interethnic miscommunication using the general American
English speech community and its norms, i.e., speakers'
communicative competence, as the baseline of comparison. The
explanation rests on a finely-tuned analysis of both
linguistic and non-linguistic features.

The tendency in most linguistic-based analyses of
conversation has been to exclude the phonological and
prosodic level of linguistic variance. However, these

researchers pay special attention to phonological, prosodic, and paralinguistic variance. They also study features of non-verbal behavior, such as proxemics, (observing when speakers move farther away from or closer to each other), gaze and rhythm. By including study of non-verbal behavior, they are linked to the context analysts out of anthropology, such as Kendon (1982), Birdwhistell (1952) and Scheflen (1964), who also analyze the study of physical cues such as gaze or head movements. Gumperz (1982) and Erickson (1982) link the use of physical features to social features, such as ethnic group membership. They argue that misjudgments about speaker intent often arise when the "notions of normality" (Gumperz 1982:132) for the use of both verbal and non-verbal features differ between interactants from different speech communities.

For the interactional sociolinguists of the first group, then, conversation is an ongoing, moment-by-moment, structured event that operates on many simultaneous levels of varying degrees of abstraction. Kinesic cues as well as interruptions, topic shifts, floor management and the like, in addition to linguistic and paralinguistic variances, all guide participants in their creation of conversation. These operate, however, through the higher-order, governing "social norms which specify participant roles, rights and duties" (Gumperz 1982:165). They thus view conversation as determined by both "macro" and "micro" forces.

One of the main values of this work is in its descriptively accurate account of the linguistic and non-linguistic bases of interethnic misunderstandings in the school setting (Erickson 1976; 1979; Gumperz 1982) and in doctor-patient interviews (Erickson and Rittenberg 1985). Gumperz (1982:147) gives an example of a classroom situation in which the conversation is disrupted. Although he does not indicate whether the interactants are black or white, presumably the teacher is white, the student, black. "In a taped elementary school classroom session, the teacher told a student to read. The student responded, 'I don't wanna read'." When the exchange was played to a group of whites, they interpreted the child's statement as refusal. When it was played to a group of blacks, they interpreted the statement as indicating the child wanted encouragement. The latter interpretation was based on the child's rising intonation. Furthermore, the blacks noted that if the child had intended to refuse, he would have stressed "want". Gumperz concludes that these two intonation contours seem to form a contrast set for blacks, but not for whites. Therefore, miscommunication between members of the two groups is likely to occur.

Erickson and Rittenberg (1985) argue that in their work with foreign medical graduates, the graduates often have different norms for topic control than Americans who practice medicine in the United States. For example, the

foreign graduates, who do not have the same sense as Americans of what constitutes appropriate language use, i.e., communicative competence, tend to avoid giving patients opportunities to voice their concerns. They also typically close off patients rather abruptly once the patients have begun to tell their story. This is often perceived by patients as arrogance on the part of the physician.

Descriptions such as these have also contributed much toward a definition of styles of English associated with particular ethnic groups. Such studies heighten awareness of interethnic linguistic differences and give students of discourse information on the range of possible conversational strategies.

The present study will not deal formally with paralinguistic or kinesic features of conversational structure. However, Chapter Five will discuss some notable occurrences of certain of these features which fall under marked strategies of positive politeness that evoke humor.

Scotton (1983), takes a more theoretical approach to the analysis of discourse in that she attempts to explain code variation. She argues that the linguistic code choices which conversational participants make, whether choices between (1) styles or (2) between dialects within a single language or (3) between languages, reflect the speaker's rational intent, either conscious or subconscious. Speakers

want to index a particular social identity and establish a particular relationship of rights and obligations (a rights-and-obligations set, hereafter RO set) with hearers.

As Scotton (1983:115) notes, "while code choices are always situated, they are not a function of situation, but of negotiation". As negotiations, all linguistic choices require reciprocity from the addressee(s). Therefore, the construction of any speech event is an ultimately cooperative enterprise (Scotton, forthcoming). The RO set represents a set of social features which speakers choose from the many salient features characteristic of both participants and settings for a particular conversation. Features of participants include occupational status, age, and social group membership, for example. Features of the setting include those which Hymes (1964) delineated, e.g., topic, channel, code.

Speakers convey social meaning (and shape the interaction) by using either marked or unmarked strategies. Using an unmarked choice means the speaker wishes to maintain the expected relationship, while using a marked choice is an attempt to change the expected relationship. People are able to interpret both marked and unmarked strategies because they can measure the strategies against what they know to have occurred in similar encounters.

So, for Scotton, (1986:3) norms do not determine choices. Rather, norms determine the relative markedness of

a linguistic choice for a particular conversation. What the norms do is provide a "grammar of interactional consequences". Speakers are free to make choices, but how their choices will be interpreted is not free.

More specifically, the reason that hearers are able to interpret the intended meaning of code choices, that is, of what RO set a particular code choice is the negotiation, is because they possess tacit knowledge of speech community norms and communicative competence (Hymes 1972). Specifically, for Scotton (1983:115), this knowledge entails a natural theory of markedness such that "community norms designate specific linguistic choices as the unmarked realization of a specific set of rights and obligations holding between a speaker and addressee". Therefore, if a speaker makes a marked linguistic choice, an addressee is able to infer the intended negotiation of a new RO set much in the same way that Grice suggests hearers arrive at conversational implicature.

In fact, Scotton argues for a negotiation principle patterned on Grice's Cooperative Principle, but not designed to replace his. She expands it in two ways. First, she views linguistic register, not only content, as a determinant of implicature. Second, she views speakers as signaling intent to maintain or change a relationship through code choice, an issue which did not concern Grice.

Scotton (1983:117) explains negotiation as a process with four possible objectives: to establish for the first time an RO set, or to affirm, readjust, or alter radically a previously negotiated RO set. As noted above, the ability of hearers to interpret a speaker's negotiative goals depends on their communicative competence. In other words, they know what the unmarked expression of an RO set is because they have social experience which indicates what code choices have been used in the majority of similar exchanges. Such exchanges Scotton labels "conventionalized." Of course, there are also exchanges for which there is no general societal agreement, as to what is marked or unmarked. These are called "nonconventionalized". But even in these exchanges, hearers eventually assign linguistic code choices to the negotiation of a particular RO set.

Certain maxims follow from the negotiation principle. Conversational participants use these maxims to arrive at the intended RO set speakers wish to encode. The two which are relevant to the present study may be stated as follows:

(1) the "unmarked-choice maxim": "Make the unmarked code choice when you wish to establish or affirm the unmarked RO set associated with a conventionalized exchange" (Scotton 1983:120).

(2) the "deference maxim": "Show deference in your code choice to those from whom you desire something" (Scotton 1983:123).

Three other maxims are the "virtuosity maxim", the "exploratory-choice maxim" and "the multiple-identities maxim"[2].

In addition, speakers may "flout the maxim" or violate a maxim's use. In "flouting the maxim", speakers may make marked choices in cases other than those covered by the deference or virtuosity maxims. Then two implications arise: the speaker is disidentifying himself/herself with the unmarked RO set and is, therefore, negotiating the establishment of a different RO set as unmarked (1983:127). These choices usually provoke affective responses such as humor, warmth or insult.

The present study is concerned with a particular type of conventionalized exchange in which certain unmarked and marked code choices occur. Special reference will be made to the above maxims and flouting of the maxim in following chapters. It will be demonstrated that Scotton's markedness model can explain the occurrence and interpretation of particular code choices in the settings examined.

This study will identify a "support-promoting style" of language as a combination of code choices which realize certain RO sets. It will also discuss "style-switching" as a strategy of support-negotiation. Therefore, the next section is devoted to a survey of various designations of style.

1.3.2.1 _Style_. "Style" is the general term preferred by American linguists for sub-dialectal variation, although "register" and "code" have been used as well for the same phenomenon. "Register" and "code" arose among British linguists (e.g., Halliday and Hasan 1976; Bernstein 1958) who associate "register" and "code" with situation. "Register" also appears among some American linguists who are concerned with linguistic features of specific tasks (e.g., Ferguson's 1983 "register of sports announcer talk".)

Joos (1961; 1959) is the best-known classification for American English, however, and his treatment of style is highlighted here as a preliminary to the specific feature designations of Chapter Three.

Joos identifies five styles along a continuum of formality. Although specific defining features of each style are scarce, the following observations are noted:

(1) _intimate_: marked by extraction and jargon; "Both are stable, once the intimate group (normally a pair) has been formed" (Joos 1961:30).

(2) _casual_: marked by ellipsis, slang and certain code-labels, e.g., _Come on!_; background information is assumed.

(3) _consultative_: marked by participation cues which indicate the listener's attention, e.g., _that's right, yes I know_, as well as items which protect fluency, e.g., the all-purpose noun _thing_. Background information is supplied;

"the norm for conversations between strangers" (Joos 1959:110).

(4) _formal_: marked by the absence of the features of participation of consultative style; "restricted to the imparting of information, a rather anti-social act" (Joos 1959:112).

(5) _frozen_: in written form; "for people who are to remain strangers" (Joos 1961:41).

In addition to Joos' familiar account, other treatments of style also exist. Labov (1972) offers what he says is a more empirical classification. He measures style in terms of how much attention is paid to an utterance. In data collected in interview situations, he names four styles: careful, reading, word list and casual speech. His evidence consists primarily of frequency distributions of five phonological variables in New York City English.

But as Bell (1984:148) counters, "empirical foundation for the attention variable is notably lacking". In a review of literature on the use of attention as a main correlative of style shift, he convincingly lays Labov's argument to rest. A particularly persuasive example is in research Bell (1977) conducted on news language in New Zealand, reported in Bell (1984). He found that there were considerable style differences among news recorded by the same newscasters on different news stations. In other words, the newscasters paid the same amounts of attention to their reading in a

"reading style", as Labov would characterize it, but they produced consistently different styles when reading news for the different stations.

Bell (1984) accounts for this variation in a new model of style. This model looks to the audience as the major determinant of a speaker's style. In this model Bell is less concerned with defining a continuum of styles than other studies are. His model is explained below.

Other studies treat variation in style, as measured in lexicon, syntax and phonology, in specific domains only, such as the interethnic studies of Gumperz (1982) and Erickson and Shultz (1981) and Ervin-Tripp's study of directives, mentioned above.

The main difficulty in defining different styles is summarized by Zwicky (1981:78), who defines formal, neutral, casual and intimate styles along the lines of Joos (1961): "No matter how you name your levels, they are not really separate categories, and they overlap in unexpected ways. A very large segment of our vocabulary is neutral in feeling and can be used appropriately in any style."

However, in spite of this "fuzziness", Zwicky (1981), Scotton (1985) and Bell (1984) argue that we deliberately change styles and deliberately mix styles. More importantly, these stylistic shifts or "clashes" (Zwicky 1981:79) are highly observable. Silva and Zwicky (1975) even propose a system where degrees of discord between

styles in one utterance could be measured by assigning numerical values to formal and casual elements. However problematic a fine numerical analysis of this sort might prove, Zwicky (1981:80) argues that "it is possible to assign discord values to sentences that present stylistic clashes, precisely because the sense of clash illuminates the difference between the elements that characterize various styles." For example, clashes are evident in the following sentences. The underlined items of casual speech "clash" with the preceding consultative style (Zwicky 1981:82).

(a) What is going down?

(b) Speaking as a psychiatrist, I would diagnose him as nuttier than a fruitcake.

Code choices are made to index social meaning. Speakers select the style that will best accomplish their conversational goal. As Zwicky (1981:80) observes: "The appropriate style for anything a speaker says--any speech act--always depends on the interaction of the setting, the participants involved, and the speaker's intention. Of these, the speaker's intention is generally the most important element.... In some cases a speaker may use language that seems inappropriate to the setting of the conversation and to his role in it, yet which fulfills his intentions perfectly". Here is an example to illustrate this point. When a professor wanted to get the attention of

the class, she intentionally said "if you are <u>pissed</u> <u>off</u> at your roommate" as opposed to "if you are angry with your roommate". She effectively accomplished her aim: every head in the undergraduate class came up. It therefore seems very. likely that the assignment of a given expression to a particular style is relative to the factors of the setting, the participants and the speaker's intention.

Bell (1984) attributes variation in style to one major factor, the audience. Style, he argues, is essentially speakers' response to their audience. He calls his framework <u>audience</u> <u>design</u>. Audience design assumes that "persons respond mainly to other persons, that speakers take most account of hearers in designing their talk" (Bell 1984:159), i.e., speakers design their style for their audience.

He finds major support for his model in the work on "accommodation" by Giles and his associates. The accommodation model hypothesizes that speakers accommodate their speech style to their addressee(s) in order to win approval (Giles and Powesland 1975; Giles and Smith 1979). The most usual form of accommodation is "convergence", by which a speaker shifts style to become more like the addressee. However, speakers may also either maintain their style of speech or diverge rather than converge. Reasons for "maintenance" or "divergence" are suggested in social

psychological theory (Giles 1980), although such discussion is beyond the scope of the present analysis.[3]

There are reformulations of accommodation theory by other researchers who point up exceptions to simple convergence or divergence. For example, Thakerar, Giles and Cheshire (1982) suggest that a speaker may subjectively converge, but objectively diverge from the addressee. Also, Giles and Smith (1979) find that speakers can converge too much. In such a case addressees interpret convergence as patronization. However, the basic insight of the theory is unchallenged. Most evidence points to the fact that speakers accommodate their style to the audience.

Bell (1984) finds additional support for his model in studies which report consistent shifts in the style of speakers toward their addressees. These studies are more linguistically-oriented than the accommodation studies within social psychology. The latter have traditionally used limited linguistic parameters such as speech rate and utterance length to measure accommodation. But more recent studies quantify shifts according to linguistic variables, e.g., phonological and syntactic features.

Some of these studies (Douglas-Cowie 1978; Thelander 1982; Russell 1982) compare speakers' language when addressees are strangers to language speakers use when the addressees are peers of some sort. They find that speakers produce consistent shifts across a number of linguistic

variables.   More standard variants are used with strangers.
Another study (Coupland 1981), cited in Bell (1984), reports
clear accommodation in a travel agent's speech according to
the occupational status of her clients.

Bell (1984) therefore argues that choice of style is
primarily speakers' response to their audience, a type of
accommodation, or "responsive shift".   However, he also
acknowledges "initiative style shift".   Bell (1984:184)
views   responsive and initiative shift as part of a
continuum, rather than a dichotomy. But in initiative shift
the speaker redefines the relationship between the speaker
and the addressee.   This view is consistent with Scotton
(1983; forthcoming) who argues that speakers have freedom to
make relatively marked or unmarked choices, depending upon
the RO set they wish to be in effect for the conversation.
Bell further notes that initiative style shifts are not
predictable, but they are interpretable. Speakers interpret
style shift by comparing the shift against the norm.   This
view, of course, echoes Scotton (in press) who argues that
how linguistic choices are interpreted is a function of
norms.

Gumperz (1982) illustrates how initiative style shift
is used strategically by a black minister.   He analyzes the
dramatic interchange between minister and audience in a
black worship service during the preaching of a typical
sermon.   The minister uses certain features of rhythm,
pause, intonation and dialect-switching to systematically

shift among three styles. The shifts mark stages in the sermon: (1) declamatory style, used to announce the theme of the sermon, (2) expository style, and (3) folk style. The minister switches between expository and folk style throughout the sermon. Informants who heard a tape of the service consistently identified the down-shifted sections as "talking black". They believed that the reason the minister shifted styles was in order to personalize his message and increase audience involvement. Here is further evidence that people perceive style shift. It is also evidence that hearers interpret style-switching as a strategy that speakers use to obtain certain goals.

According to Bell (1984) initiative shifts are compared to the style a speaker normally uses to a particular kind of addressee. Therefore, the style usually addressed to intimates can create intimacy with a stranger and the language usually addressed to strangers can distance an intimate. He labels these two kinds of shifts convergent and divergent respectively. Both may be used by speakers to persuade their addressees. Although Bell (1984:185) notes that there is little hard evidence on initiative shift, he does suggest a pattern. This pattern is important for the present study. "A speaker can persuade intimate addressees by shifting to the style or language one would normally address to strangers. With strangers the reverse tactic achieves the same effect: Speakers can persuade a stranger by shifting to the style normally reserved for intimates.

Such shifts appear to be powerful just because they treat addressees as if they were someone else."

Scotton (1985) also discusses style-shifting as a powerful strategy. In a study of TV interviewing, she finds that the interviewers do much more style-shifting than their interviewees. Her conclusion is that style-shifting may be a marked choice speakers use to enhance their power over their addressees. Specifically, style-shifting increases a speaker's power in three ways: (a) by increasing uncertainty about the speaker's aims, thereby "throwing off" the addressee; (b) by establishing multiple identities for the speaker by displaying a range of styles, thereby presenting an intimidating and hence powerful image; and (c) by assuming the role of a superior by initiating the use of socially-significant variants encoding solidarity.

The normal style for TV interviews is consultative style because, according to the classification of Joos (1961), this style is the style used between strangers. Style shifts may be either upward to a more formal style, or downward to a more casual style. Shifts upward imply more social distance than would be unmarked for the situation; shifts downward imply more intimacy than would be usual. An example of an upward shift is in Jane Pauley's use of disengage:

> Pauley (talking about embarrassing moments for teenagers)... how do you <u>disengage</u> the straw from

the coke you've been drinking from your nose?
(Jane Pauley 9/21/81) (Scotton 1985:112)

Downward shifts are exemplified in Phil Donahue's comments to one of his guests (they are underlined):

Donahue: Ah why-why is it-why is it important to beat up a guy who's handcuffed?   Wh-I don't understand the--sociological explanation for that kind of behavior.

Interviewee: Ahm, I believe that the--that they did not recognize it as brutality (2 second pause)   That it's just their way of doing their job...

Donahue: And if you don't get the upper hand "right now, buddy"...

Interviewee: That's right.

Donahue: This guy is gonna take you (Phil Donahue 5/24/81 (Scotton 1985:111)

The present paper treats initiative downward style-switches as invoking solidarity, a strategy of positive politeness.   These terms are defined in Chapter Two.   This paper also argues that such switches are ambiguously powerful, especially when initiated by superiors, i.e., the ministers in this study.

Taken to its natural end, initiative style shifts, Bell (1984) argues, become predictable if they are frequently used.   Overuse thus may establish a new institutionalized

norm: a responsive shift. In the present study, the initiative, marked shifts under investigation will be treated as nominations for temporarily unmarked choices, as suggested by Scotton (1985). However, it may also be possible to view such choices as becoming, at some time in the history of similar, repeated communicative events, permanently unmarked for similar speakers in similar social settings.

   1.3.2.2 <u>Powerful</u> <u>and</u> <u>Polite</u> <u>Language</u> <u>Styles</u>. One of the stated goals of this study is to define certain features of a "support-negotiating style" of language use. I will argue that "stategies of politeness" and their linguistic realizations aptly characterize main features of this style within the parameters of this study.[4] These features are based mainly on designations within the model of B & L (1978). (See Section 1.5 below and Chapter Two).

   However, the features to be identified in this study are also based on features of "polite" styles defined in other studies. Therefore, a brief background treatment of the findings of such studies is in order.

   "Politeness" was given prominence in Lakoff's (1973a) discussion of "minding your p's and q's". Here she lists three rules of politeness as "Don't impose", "Give options" and "Make the addressee feel good by being friendly". Lakoff (1973b) provides a polemic discussion of politeness, a traditional stereotypic characteristic of women's speech,

in her treatment of the differences between male and female speech. Here she identifies certain structural features which contribute to the evaluation of women as not only "polite", but also "powerless". These features include tags, certain adjectives and particles, and rising intonation in declarative answers to questions. (These are discussed in greater detail in Chapter Two).

A main insight of subsequent studies is that "powerless speech" is not a function of gender, but rather of social position. Erickson, Lind, Johnson, and O'Barr (1978), and Bradac, Hemphill and Tardy (1981), for example, expanded on the features defined in Lakoff's (1973b) study. In courtroom studies, they compared evaluations of witnesses in "powerful" vs. "powerless" speech styles. Features which tended to co-occur with frequency in the speech of low-power witnesses, both male and female, and which thus defined "powerless speech" were <u>intensifiers</u>, e.g., so, very, <u>hedges</u>, e.g., kinda, I think, especially <u>formal grammar</u>, e.g., complete sentences as opposed to one-word replies <u>hesitation forms</u>, e.g., uh, well, <u>gestures, questioning forms</u>, e.g., please, thank you. "Powerful style", on the other hand, was negatively characterized by an absence of these features.

Recent attention to questions of "power" and "politeness" has taken two directions, one with more interest in "politeness', the other in "power". Brown and

Levinson (1978) offer a universal theory of politeness, universal because they establish a taxonomy of politeness strategies which cross several cultures (B & L 1978; (This theory is discussed in 1.5 below). Owsley and Scotton (1982; 1984) and Scotton (1985), working within Scotton's (1983) markedness model, supply a more comprehensive definition of "powerful language" than earlier studies have done. In an analysis of the language of six TV interviewers, they describe more than forty interactional and turn-specific features which together "negotiate the position of 'taking charge' in a talk exchange" (Owsley and Scotton 1982:1). Among these features is "style-shifting", which is also a feature of "support-negotiating language".

The politeness features of this study are derived mainly from Brown and Levinson (1978). However, they are also structurally similar to certain features of both "polite" and "powerful" styles. This similarity will be discussed in later chapters.

1.4 The Ethnomethodologists

Perhaps the most controversial approach to the study of discourse is found in the work of a group of sociologists who broke dramatically from mainstream American sociology in the 70's (Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson 1978; Schegloff 1968; Jefferson 1972). What is viewed as their strength by some is also their weakness, according to many. This

controversy concerns both their goals and the methods they use to achieve them.

These researchers are most commonly labeled conversation analysts because their data consist of tape-recordings and transcripts of naturally-occurring conversation. Their goal is finding the recurrent patterns that participants use in making sense of interaction. According to Levinson (1983:295), a main advantage of this approach is thought to be an avoidance of premature theorizing and intuition-based-only analysis. This is the case because they analyze the data before they theorize about what patterns may occur. Certainly, much of the complexity of spoken conversation is evident only in written transcriptions, such things as: false starts, hesitation, self-corrections, overlapping utterances, and so on. Thus, transcribed conversation makes features which participants themselves may not consciously observe open to analysis. In this way, the ethnomethodologists demonstrate that the structure of conversation is at once abstract and also concrete. It is abstract because many of its structural features are not explicitly obvious. It is concrete because very fine, unconscious details, such as timing between turns, follow consistent patterns.

The ethnomethodologists have been criticized for the methods they employ in transcribing the recorded data. Stubbs (1983:228) points out two such criticisms. In the

first place, "the presentation of spoken interaction in the form of a close transcription has an estrangement effect" because "listeners listen selectively to conversation" and do not hear many things such as false starts and overlaps. Rather, he suggests, coherence is achieved through interpretation. Transcriptions, therefore, may be perceptually unreal: "A very general danger of discourse analysis is that it focuses unwarranted attention on details of interaction which had no reality for the conversationalists at the time" (Stubb 1983:229). Secondly, the conventions of transcription used in much published work of the ethnomethodologists have been developed to show such features as simultaneous utterances, stressed syllables, and voice quality. However, phonological features are treated subjectively. No objective measures of stress, intonation or voice quality are employed (Stubbs 1983:229).

Apart from questions of transcribing methods, another concern is that the conversation analysts pay little attention to the nature of the context. They exclude such factors as role relationships, (e.g., whether the participants are friends or distant acquaintances), social group membership, formality of the situation, and the like. These, of course, are important traditional considerations for those working within sociolinguistic theory.

The major claim of the ethnomethodologists is that conversation is a locally organized system. Local

organization refers to organization according to turns, both by turn order and by turn size. Conversation is a "party-administered" system (Sacks et al 1978:41) of turn-allocation and management. This system is outlined in Sacks et al (1974) and often cited in other places.[5] The turn-taking system inherent to the social settings of this study will be noted, but not emphasized because turn-taking is largely conventionalized, with speakers being recognized by the chairperson in order to speak. A conventionalized system is quite unlike the systems of natural conversation which the model of Sacks et al (1974) is designed to explain.

Although the turn-taking rules of their system have been heavily criticized recently,[6] there has nonetheless been continued research interest in local management devices (Atkinson and Heritage 1984). In particular, there is one structural claim of the ethnomethodologists which has led to a related, but new area of research. The claim is that there is a set of utterance-types called adjacency pair first parts that speakers use to select a succeeding speaker, i.e., to allocate turns. Examples of adjacency pairs are as follows:

        (1) question-answer

first part   (a) What time is it?

second part   (b) Five o'clock.

(2) Offer-acceptance

first part (a) Would you like some more coffee?

second part (b) Why, yes, I think I would.

As originally conceived, adjacency pairs met several criteria; they had to be (1) adjacent, (2) produced by different speakers, (3) ordered as a first part and a second part and (4) structured so that a certain first part requires a certain second, e.g., an offer requires acceptance or rejection (Levinson 1983:303).

It was eventually noted, however, that the original concept of adjacency was too narrow. For example, "insertion sequences" allowed the embedding of a question-answer pair inside another. In the following exchange the answer to the first question is the fourth turn. In between, in turns two and three, is a second adacency-pair.

1 A: May I have a bottle of wine? (Q 1)

2 B: Are you twenty-one? (Q 2)

3 A: No (A 2)

4 B: No (A 1)

In order to account for this exception and yet preserve the notion of adjacency, Schegloff (1968) replaced "adjacency" with "conditional relevance". Conditional relevance states that the occurrence of a first-pair part makes the occurrence of second-pair part expectable. It does not require strict adjacency.

Yet even this modification does not account for a second problem. Some first-pair parts have unique seconds, but there are several possible second-pair parts for some first-pair parts. For example, a question may have several responses, e.g., protesting ignorance, re-routing (like "Better ask John"), or refusal to answer.[7]

This problem, however, has been partially addressed in the recent work of such people as Pomerantz (1984). Her claim is that there is a "preference organization" in conversation. In preference organization there is a ranking in the second-pair options such that some are "preferred", others "dispreferred". Preference is not intended to reference personal, subjective or psychological desires. Rather it is a structural concept that has been compared to markedness in linguistic theory (Levinson 1983:307). Preferred seconds are unmarked, i.e., they are structurally simpler than dispreferred seconds. Dispreferred seconds are marked by many features such as delays, e.g., pause, prefaces, e.g., uh, accounts, i.e., why the dispreferred act is being done, and declination components, e.g., indirect or mitigated forms.

Preference organization has a place in this study because this study looks at "disagreements", a dispreferred second. However, this paper will argue that the psychological as well as the structural implications of "preference" are necessary. This study counts certain

features (which are a structural part of a disagreement for preference theorists) as mitigations on the force of the speech act, e.g., I agree, but we shouldn't do that. Therefore, it is not enough to say that disagreement is marked structurally. We need to note what socio-psychological purpose the marking achieves, i.e., how it pays attention to the needs and wants of other conversational participants. This is more fully discussed in Chapter Two.

1.5 The Anthropological Linguists

B & L (1978), argue that a general condition of most conversation is "face-preservation". The present study argues that "face-preservation" is a special strategy in the negotiation of support. This argument will be fully outlined in Chapter Two after a presentation of B & L's model.

"Face", according to B & L, stems both from Goffman (1967) and from the English folk-term which links "face" to "embarrassment" or "losing face".[8] For Goffman (1967:5) "face may be defined as the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular contact. Face is an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes..." It is "self-respect", which has a counterpart in "considerateness". "Just as the member of any group is

expected to have self-respect, so also he is expected to sustain a standard of considerateness: he is expected to go to certain lengths to save the feelings and the face of others present..." (Goffman 1967:10). The result of this two-sided image is that "the person tends to conduct himself during an encounter so as to maintain both his own face and the face of other participants" (Goffman 1967:11).

In a devriative notion, B & L (1978:67) propose two components of face, two universal "face wants" characteristic of every adult member of a society: (1) negative face want: the desire that our actions be unimpeded by others and (2) positive face want: the desire that our wants be desirable to at least some others. From these two wants, two aspects of face-preserving behavior are defined in the use of two politeness strategies. We use these strategies either to (a) avoid imposing on others through "self-effacement, formality and restraint" (B & L 1978:75)-- negative politeness, or to (b) "anoint" the face of others through treating them as "members of an in-group, a friend, a person whose wants and personality traits are known and liked (B & L 1978:75)---positive politeness.

Through a rational manipulation of the two basic politeness strategies, conversational participants maintain a "balance principle": "if a breach of face respect occurs, this constitutes a kind of debt that must be made up by positive reparation if the original level of face respect is

to be maintained" (B & L 1978:241). The focus of the monograph is the "breach of face respect" that potentially occurs in the commission of certain "face-threatening acts" (hereafter FTA's) which arise in the course of ordinary interaction, e.g., suggesting, criticizing, requesting.

Central to the model is a set of strategies which actors employ to minimize the threat of a particular act. In choosing what type of strategy to use in the commission of an FTA the relative weighting of three wants is necessary: (1) the want to communicate the content of the FTA, (2) the want to be efficient or urgent, and (3) the want to maintain the hearer's face. Unless (2) is greater than (3), speakers will want to minimize the threat of their FTA's (B & L 1978:73).

Circumstances determining choice of strategy are illustrated below (See Figure 1). Estimation of risk of face loss increases with the numbers.

These strategies may be explicated in the following way. From the left of Figure 1, speakers may first choose to do or not do the FTA. If they choose to commit it, they may then make it either off record or on record. Off record acts are those which are done in such a way as to be subject to more than one interpretation. These are characterized by indirect strategies such as hinting or vagueness, e.g., "Sure is cold in here", meaning "Close the window". If FTA's are performed on record, only one clear interpretation

Lesser

1. Without redressive action, baldly

on record

2. positive politeness

Estimation of Risk of face loss

Do the FTA

with redressive action

4. off record

3. negative politeness

5. Don't do the FTA

Greater
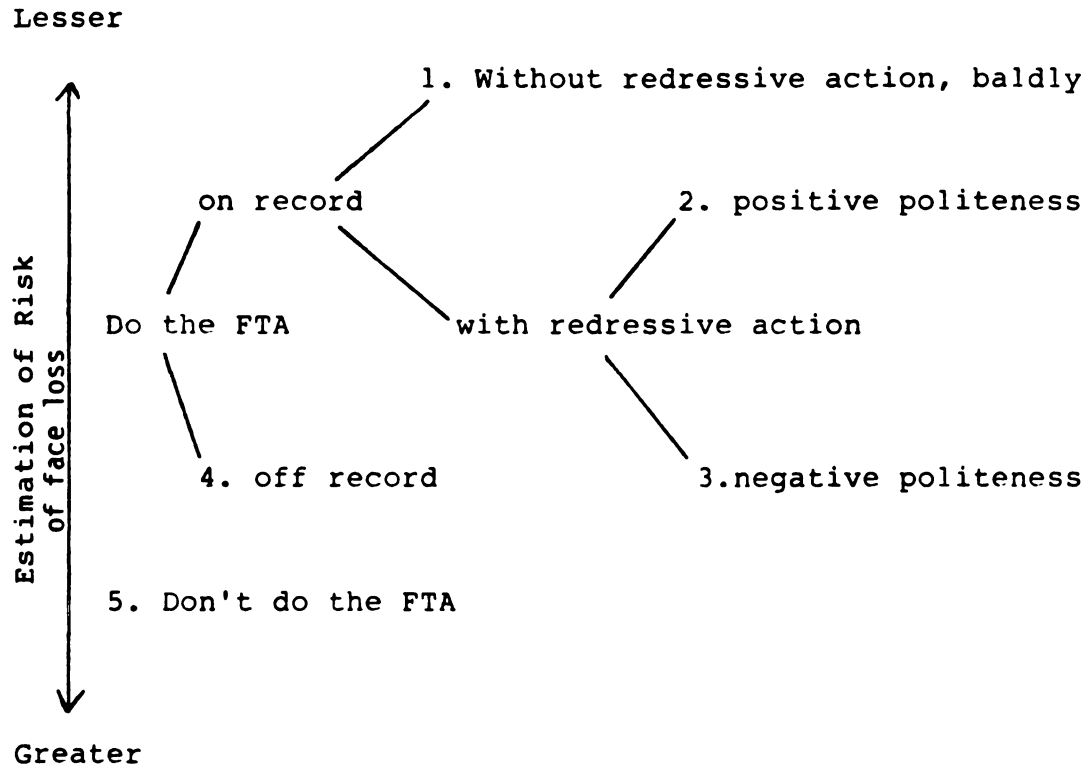
Figure 1:   Determinants of Strategies for Performing FTA's
            (B & L 1978:65)

is possible. On record FTA's may be performed either baldly or with redressive action. Committing an act baldly means doing it in a direct, clear way, e.g., "Do it"! Usually, an FTA will be bald in circumstances of urgency, or when the acts are inherently in the hearer's interest, e.g., "Do sit down", or where the speaker is vastly more powerful than the addressee. However, FTA's may also be bald between familiar equals, as pointed out by Ervin-Tripp (1976). Redressive action is action that attempts to counteract the potential face damage of the FTA by the use of negative or positive politeness. Acts that are performed with redressive action thus pay special attention to the hearer's face wants.

This politeness model also argues that conversational participants consider certain socio-psychological factors in assessing the seriousness of an FTA. These are social distance between speaker and hearer, relative power that the hearer has over the speaker, and the ranking of impositions in the particular culture. The higher the summative weight of these factors, the higher-numbered the strategy chosen to perform an FTA.

To argue, as B & L do, that all conversation is motivated by the desire to preserve human relationships through attention to face, however, may be to downplay other intentional determinants of linguistic choice. Specifically, each individual, within certain social parameters, has his/her agenda or conversational goals.

These may or may not include face maintenance. Even if they do, the preservation of face may be a secondary force.

At the same time, however, their model successfully accounts for many linguistic choices, both in English and in languages across several cultures. This generalizability points to a very important principle which is the main attraction of their work. They note the number of similarities across the structures of several languages for those linguistic features which serve the social function of face redress. This is a convincing argument for the fact that social pressures are determinants of language structure.

The present study examines the features of negative and positive politeness which occur in the commission of certain FTA's to be defined in Chapter Two. However, this paper argues that conversational participants use politeness strategies not only in order to maintain face, but to work toward another, higher-level individual goal, the negotiation of support.

Focus on this type of higher-level consideration is in line with Levinson (1981:487). In his search for adequate models to replace the speech-act models of discourse which he has highly criticized, he speculates:

> ...my own hunch is that the correct approach [to the analysis of discourse] is to be found within some general theory about the nature of interpersonal interaction. For interaction,

> verbal and otherwise, is based on an interlocking
> of goals or objectives... Crucial to such a
> theory would be the ability of interactants to
> reconstruct the hierarchical plans or goals of
> other interactants. Then the multiplicity of
> acts (or perlocutionary intents) that can be
> achieved by a single utterance, the indefinite
> nature of utterance units, the context-
> sensitivity of act (or goal) assignment, and the
> strategy-based rather than rule-based nature of
> sequencing constraints, the nature of topic, can
> all be given some natural characterization along
> these lines.

He further notes that in the analysis of conversation "it does not look as if we can make [a] basic methodological banishment of motives, goals and intents" (Levinson 1981:488).

The present study also argues that conversation is structured on many levels, the most important being that of goal or intent. With Scotton (1983), I will argue that we are able to interpret even a lower-level phonological code choice as a speaker's negotiation of a higher meaning[9] because we operate within a general theory of markedness. Our sense of what is the norm for particular conversational exchanges gives us both interpretive and productive capabilities. These capabilities allow us to communicate what we intend and to interpret what others intend. That is why the speakers in the data of this study are able to negotiate support successfully.

Chapter One Endnotes

1

The "negotiation of support" may be likened to persuasion. However, persuasion has taken on negative connotations as a result of its treatment in speech communication literature. Therefore, the word is avoided here. As Diez (1983:16) notes, "Persuasion studies began to get 'bad press' in the 60's, with people responding negatively to connotations of 'manipulation'." For a review of this literature see Miller, G.R. and Burgoon, M. (1978).

2

The "virtuosity maxim" states: "Make an otherwise marked choice whenever the linguistic ability of either speaker or addressee makes the unmarked choice for the unmarked RO set in a conventionalized exchange infelicitous" (Scotton 1983:125). This situation is typical of exchanges between native and non-native speakers of a particular language. Following this maxim gives rise to "foreigner talk", for example, a marked, but necessary code choice.

The "exploratory-choice maxim" states: "Make an exploratory choice as a candidate for an unmarked choice in a nonconventionalized exchange" (Scotton 1983:125).

The "multiple-identities maxim" states: "Optionally make more than an exploratory choice as metaphors for multiple RO sets, thereby implicating multiple identities for oneself" (Scotton 1983:126). In addition to implicating more than one identity for the speaker, following this maxim also offers hearers options in selecting the RO set they wish to be salient. This is also typical of nonconventionalized exchanges.

3

According to Giles and Smith (1979) non-convergence may act as a powerful symbol whereby members of an ethnic group may display their intention of maintaining their identity and cultural distinctiveness. He cites an example of this in the Arab nations' issuing an oil communique to the world not in English, but in Arabic.

In situations when group membership is a salient issue, speech divergence may be an important strategy for making oneself psychologically and favorably distinct from outgroup members. Giles (1977b) examined divergence in a language laboratory setting where people who valued their national group membership and its language highly were learning Welsh. During one of their weekly sessions, Welshmen were asked to help in a survey concerned with second language learning techniques. The questions in the survey were verbally presented to them in their individual booths by an English (RP-sounding) speaker who at one point arrogantly

challenged the students' reasons for learning what he called a "dying language which had a dismal future". Divergence ensued: the informants significantly broadened their Welsh accents to him in reply.

4

I am focusing only on linguistic features. This means the exclusion of interactional features such as features of turn-taking, e.g., timing or pause, which could also be counted in various ways as features of politeness.

5

Rules governing turn construction from Sacks et al (1978:13):

1. At initial turn-constructional unit's initial transition-relevance place:

    (a). If the turn-so-far is so constructed as to involve the use of "current speaker selects next" technique, then the party so selected has rights, and is obliged, to take next turn to speak, and no others have such rights or obligations, transfer occurring at that place.

    (b) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, self-selection for next speakership may, but need not, be instituted, with first starter acquiring rights to a turn, transfer occurring at that place.

    (c) If the turn-so-far is so constructed as not to involve the use of a "current speaker selects next" technique, then current speaker may, but need not, continue, unless another self-selects.

2. If, at initial turn-constructional unit's initial transition-relevance place, neither 1(a) nor 1(b) has operated, and, following the provision of 1(c), current speaker has continued, then the Rule-set (1)-(c) reapplies at next transition-relevance place, and recursively at each next transition-relevance place, until transfer is affected.

6

Edmondson (1981:39) argues that their rules are far too subject to interpretation, that, in fact, "the proposed rules say little more than

---if I give you the turn, you must take it,
---if I show willingness to relinquish my turn, you speak,
---if you don't, I'll carry on."

This weakness could be remedied, he suggests, by specification of presently unclear terminology. Until that is accomplished, however, many agree with Coulthard (1977:92) that "the analytic methodology and categories of Sacks et al (1974) remain so informal and imprecise that they are difficult for others to use in any practical way."

7
    See also Longacre, Robert (1983), "A Framework for Discourse Analysis" in The Grammar of Discourse, New York: Plenum Press, pp. 269-336 for related discussion. Here Longacre illustrates the concept of hierarchy and levels as they operate in discourse. For him, discourse within discourse is the rule rather than the exception. In this way, the same structural item may fulfill purposes on several levels simultaneously. In Chapter Two ("Repartee") he also discusses the matter of one question having several responses.

8
    Owen (1983) explains that Goffman (1967) adopted "face" from the Asian concept of "losing face".

9
    The general notion of markedness is in line with that of ethnographers of communication. They adopted the concept of marked and unmarked language forms first developed within the Prague School of Linguistics. According to Saville-Troike (1982:71) this distinction between marked and unmarked may be applied to all aspects of communicative behavior for more general descriptive and explanatory purposes than was originally intended. The basic conception, she argues, is that behavior can be distinguished as marked or unmarked according to certain component features, that the unmarked is more neutral, more normal or more expected. It is acknowledged that some linguists are uncomfortable, however, with this extension of the original, overt linguistic marking on which the present notion is based.

CHAPTER TWO

FORMULATION OF HYPOTHESES FOR THIS STUDY:
SOCIAL SETTING AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study aims to extend research done within and related to the politeness model of B & L (1978). I will argue that because B & L's focus is both local and static, it is insufficient by itself to explain linguistic code choices throughout a communicative event. However, when B & L's model is linked with Scotton's (1983) markedness model, which allows more flexibility in how speakers attempt to realize their discourse goals, explanation is possible.

In this chapter I will briefly define the discourse goal of "working to gain others' support", and then characterize the social setting which was chosen for this investigation. After laying that necessary groundwork, I will give the hypotheses of this study, and discuss how they were formulated, in light of previous research and the constraints of the social setting.

2.1 The Negotiation of Support

The "negotiation of support" is derived from an integration of B & L's model of negative and positive

politeness and Scotton's (1983) markedness model. The negotiation of support refers to a particular conversational or communicative goal of a speaker. Speakers who are negotiating support work to influence the behavior of their addressees to act in accordance with the speakers' desires. In the present study there are two types of behaviors which speakers wish their addressees to exhibit: following a directive which the speaker has issued, or changing his/her opinion on a particular issue to agree with the speaker.

However, these behavioral outcomes on the part of the addressee(s) are secondary to the focus of this study. Rather, this study aims to analyze the linguistic realizations of strategies speakers employ to negotiate, i.e., work to achieve, (as opposed to overtly demanding), these behavioral outcomes. The linguistic realizations of these strategies thus represent negotiations or effort expended toward the end of compliance on the part of the listener. A detailed discussion of whether compliance, i.e., support, is in fact achieved as a result of the negotiation, however, goes beyond the boundaries of this study.

It is hypothesized that in performing directives and disagreements, when speakers are negotiating the support of their interlocutors, they will use two complementary strategies: (1) negative politeness, and (2) positive politeness. These strategies convert into a general

strategy: When you want the willing support of others, don't impose; treat others as your equal. Negative politeness is realized in special types of features, e.g., mitigated language features, deferential features, and hesitation features. Positive politeness is realized in features which promote solidarity. They include, for example, first names, contractions, and downward lexical style shifts. Both types of politeness are characterized broadly below and in detail in Chapter Three.

In addition to using politenesss features, speakers negotiating support exercise options in the types of face-threatening acts they will use, from relatively non-coercive to relatively coercive types. This study will focus primarily on directives, which occur in both non-coercive and coercive forms and with the greatest frequency of all FTA-types. Disagreements and disagreement/directives, more assertive types of FTA, will also receive some attention. The range of types and sub-types of FTA's which characterize the negotiation of support will be detailed in Chapter Three.

2.2 Social Setting

The predictions made here about the linguistic choices of speakers who are negotiating support arise, in part, from certain features of the social setting. In this section, I examine those features.

Support-negotiating language may be found in any
conversational exchange, but it is more likely in some
conversations than in others. It is not likely to occur
where all speakers are of equal status and few issues which
require decision-making arise, such as ordinary, casual
conversation between friends. It is more likely to occur in
conversations where there are power asymmetries, either
subvert or overt. In such cases, either the speaker in the
subordinate position may want to influence his/her superior,
or the superior may want to influence the subordinate
without using powerful, direct language. Exchanges between
boss and employee or professor and student typify
conversation with overt power asymmetries between the
speakers. For this study, however, I chose a conversational
situation in which power asymmetries are not overt. I
observed how support was negotiated in meetings conducted
within the structure of the United Methodist Church (UMC).
I wanted to compare how the minister (superior), chair (of
intermediate rank) and group members (subordinates), would
negotiate support.

The reason why differences in power among speakers in
this situation are not overt is, in part, a function of
three constraints, the first, occupational, the second,
philosophical-religious and the third, cultural. In the
UMC, meetings are generally conducted through a special kind
of shared leadership between the minister of the church[1] and

a chairperson who either volunteers for or submits
voluntarily to nomination and election to the position by
representatives of the congregation. General responsibility
for the conduct of the meeting falls on the chair, but the
minister is in a position of greater power and prestige.
He/she[2] is powerful in the sense that he is the appointed
leader of the church. By virtue of this position, he is
chiefly responsible for the church's overall management and
well-being. In addition, he has the occupational prestige
still generally accorded to ministers in mainstream
religious denominations in American society.

In general, in order to keep his finger on the pulse of
the church, the minister is expected to attend as many
meetings as time will allow. At the meetings, he should
ensure that each group is functioning to the best of its
ability. Therefore, it is up to the minister to steer
groups away from potentially disastrous decisions as well as
to promote decisions which are in the church's best
interests.

However, this steering is done under certain
occupational constraints. First, ministers are generally
trained in seminary to avoid overt supervision. Rather,
they are taught to promote the groups' self-governing and
are encouraged to use indirect strategies such as asking
questions, for example.[3] Furthermore, although the minister
is responsible for directing the overall functioning of the

church, he must exercise power cautiously because his success in his job depends upon the personal and economic support of the church members. In certain extreme cases, although the UMC operates on an appointive system, if a congregation is extremely dissatisfied with a minister, they can ask to have him appointed to another church. This factor suggests another possible reason why ministers may negotiate support. Even though the minister is inherently powerful, he may feel the need to negotiate support because he cannot universally rely on his superior power being acknowledged by all group participants. That is, others may not see the minister's power as a basis for their agreement with him, considering that they, as church members, constitute the religious organization and without their existence, the minister has no purpose.

Another constraint under which not only the minister, but all church members as well, operate, is the built-in philosophical-religious tenet that Christians, (however differently each person may define the term "Christian"), should conduct themselves in a manner consistent with Christian doctrine. Christian behavior entails the belief that all people are equal in the sight of God. The implication is that no one person should be more powerful than any other.

However, interpretation of this rule is not uniformly clear. Especially for Christians in powerful positions,

e.g., ministers, this rule may be an admonishment to avoid imposing on others, i.e., to use negative politeness. On the other hand, the rule may also admonish all Christians to be solidary or to display a certain camaraderie by virtue of their common belief, i.e., to use positive politeness. This probable natural tension between not wanting to impose and wanting to display friendliness is precisely what B & L (1978) capture in their two face-wants. The general use of the two strategies of politeness thus may be a function of both occupational and philosophical factors.

A final constraint is cultural and reflects a general American norm. It, too, may be a partial determinant of linguistic choice. Erickson and Rittenberg (1985:1) describe it as follows:

> [There] is an American normative concern for maintaining at least the appearance of equality and cordiality in encounters that, in fact, are characterized by considerable asymmetry in terms of power and rank. The distinctive American discomfort over superordination, and the attendant concern for equality, has been noted from at least the time of de Tocqueville, who visited the United States in the 1820's. (See also Good 1979).

This cultural constraint may partially explain why ministers choose to negotiate support rather than to demonstrate power overtly. Both this constraint and the philosophical-religious constraint are real. But it is difficult to measure how strong these constraints are or in what manner they are interpreted by individuals. I did try,

however, to minimize the effect of the remaining constraint, the occupational constraint of the potential power which parishioners see themselves as having over the minister. Only churches in which the ministers seemed to be very secure and effective in their jobs were chosen for study. Effectiveness was validated by the most objective measures available. Each minister has been awarded an honorary doctorate for excellence in his career. The fact that each has been appointed to a large, metropolitan church attests to the bishop's confidence in his ability. In addition, each has been evaluated by his superordinates, peers, and subordinates as an "effective communicator". Reports are submitted annually to each local geographical district by each church's Pastor-Parish Relations Committee. In the report, each minister is rated for a number of capabilities. One category is "effective communicator". Each of the ministers of the study has been consistently highly evaluated in that category. I hoped that because the ministers had experienced continued success in their chosen career, they would therefore feel minimal personal threat or threat to their jobs from their parishioners. As a consequence, I expected that they would feel relatively free to disagree with and give directives to their parishioners. I also hoped that for the same reasons they would feel minimal threat from being tape-recorded.

Focusing on occupational factors, we note that effectiveness in the ministry entails the ability to negotiate support for one's opinions so the church may be well-managed. Ministers have a greater vested interest, i.e., more to gain, by achieving agreement than do other church members. Therefore, they may be willing to invest more effort in a variety of ways in order to produce the outcomes they desire. I predicted that, by virtue of their occupation, ministers would show more effort in the negotiation and less confrontation by using more and a greater variety of linguistic choices which realize the negotiation of support than would either chairs or committee members.

Occupational reasons are also possibly linked to personal motivations, however. It should be acknowledged that certain people may choose to enter the ministry just because they are naturally better at or more interested in subtle managerial skills and the preservation of positive human relationships. Both factors may also contribute to why ministers negotiate support instead of using overt power and why they would be more motivated to negotiate support than either chairs or ordinary group members.

The chairpersons of this study have not been assessed as to effectiveness, nor does their position as chairs depend upon their successful functioning in the group. Rather, they volunteered for or voluntarily accepted the

office. They are likely to have less motivation to negotiate support than the ministers since their position of leadership is rather incidental to their occupational roles. However, relative to other committee members, chairpersons do have reason to negotiate support. That is, because they are in leadership roles which they accepted or even chose, they should want their ability to carry out these roles validated by being able to maintain a supportive atmosphere.

The other people present at the meetings are not in leadership positions. They have less motivation than either the ministers or the chairs to negotiate support. However, they, too, chose to participate in the group and must want to achieve the same goals as the minister and the chair in terms of improving the functioning of the church. They, too, then, are negotiators of support.

These social constraints go far in predicting why and to what degree, relative to role, speakers will attempt to negotiate support. However, they cannot predict how speakers will achieve this conversational goal. Answers to these questions are suggested by reference to the two models which comprise the primary theoretical framework for this study: B & L's (1978) model of politeness and Scotton's (1983) markedness model.

To begin this theoretical discussion, I will present the hypotheses which underlie this investigation. They stem not only from the two above models, but also from the

constraints of the social setting and findings of other related research. On these bases, then, two major hypotheses and several sub-hypotheses were formulated. The sub-hypothesis involving directives (Hypothesis One, part one) is discussed more fully in Chapter Three.

2.3 Hypotheses

2.3.1 Hypothesis One

Ministers will make linguistic choices in the negotiation of support which are more marked (unusual, unexpected) than those of the chairs, who, in turn, will make choices which are more marked than those of ordinary group members.

Markedness in linguistic choice, a signal of a certain desired relationship of rights and obligations between speaker and addressee, will be measured in kinds and frequencies of occurrences of the features listed in six sub-hypotheses below.

Combining the three types of FTA's into one group, I expect that each of the following kinds of occurrences will be more frequent in the FTA-related language of the ministers than in that of chairpersons as a whole. In turn, the occurrences will be more frequent in the FTA-related language of the chairpersons than in that of other group members as a whole. This predicted outcome, stated specifically, is as follows:

(1) Ministers will use a higher percentage of non-coercive structural types of directives (later, Categories A and B) and a lower percentage of coercive types of directives (later, Categories C and D) than will chairs. Chairs will use a higher percentage of non-coercive types and a lower percentage of coercive types of directives than will group members.

(2) Ministers will mitigate a higher percentage of their FTA's with positive and/or negative politeness features than will chairs, i.e., fewer FTA's will be unmitigated. Chairs will mitigate a higher percentage of FTA's than will other group members.

(3) Ministers will exhibit higher frequencies of positive and negative politeness features per FTA committed than will chairs. Chairs will exhibit higher frequencies of politeness features per FTA than will other group members.

(4) Ministers will use more different types of features of positive and negative politeness in the commission of FTA's than will chairs. Chairs will use more different types than will other group members.

(5) Ministers will exhibit a higher overall percentage of positive politeness features relative to features of negative politeness in the commission of FTA's than will chairs (although negative politeness features will dominate for all speakers). Chairs will exhibit a higher percentage of positive politeness than will ordinary group members.

(6) Ministers will do more downward lexical style-shifting from a more consultative to a more casual style in the commission of FTA's than will chairs. Chairs will do more than will other group members.

2.3.2 Hypothesis Two

The three ministers of this study have similar status (Cicourel 1973), and it is agreed that status of speakers affects speech style (Alkire et al 1968; Thakerar et al 1982). However, this paper argues that linguistic choice is also a reflection of the negotiation of individual identities for each conversational exchange (Scotton 1983; Owsley and Scotton 1982). The support-negotiating language used by these three ministers constitutes, in each situation, realizations of the same two basic politeness strategies, positive and negative politeness. However, it is hypothesized that these realizations will differ in types of features and in their frequency of occurrence across the three speakers. Similarly, variability is also hypothesized in the average number of mitigations per FTA and in the overall percentage of positive politeness features. These features together are hypothesized to reflect differences in personal style.

Furthermore, although it is hypothesized that the twelve chairpersons will use features of positive and negative politeness, it is also hypothesized that there will

be individual differences in types of features and in their frequency of occurrence for each chair. The average number of mitigations per FTA will also vary for each chair as well as the overall percentage of positive politeness features, again, as a reflection of personal style.

In addition, I expect the ministers to pattern more closely than the chairs, given the ministers' greater inherent motivation to negotiate support.

Stated concisely, Hypothesis Two is as follows: The language of the individual ministers and individual chairs will exhibit variability in occurrences of types and frequencies of features of politeness, average number of mitigations per FTA, and in percentages of positive politeness features, but the ministers will exhibit less variability than the chairs.

2.4 Integration of Models

2.4.1 B & L's (1978) Politeness Model

B & L's (1978) main argument is that face preservation is the most usual goal of conversation. As explained in Chapter One, all rational beings, according to the politeness model, possess two kinds of face wants. One is a negative face want for freedom of action. Specifically, we do not, in general, want to be imposed upon by others making requests of us or criticizing our actions. For example, asking someone "Could you lend me your car

Saturday?" is an imposition upon that person's freedom of action. Another want is a positive face want of approval from others. Specifically, we want to have a positive self-image and to be accepted by others. One way to indicate acceptance of a person, when making a request, is to use terms which include that person in the speaker's in- group, such as using a first name and a casual style of speech: "Look, Bob, you're a friend, so why don't ya lend me your wheels Saturday?" These two face wants underlie most conversation and most human interaction in general, B & L argue.[4]

FTA's are inherent to much conversation. However, because of speakers' two face wants, as rational beings they will aim to reduce the force of an FTA's threat. This they do by using certain features of positive and negative politeness. These features pay attention to the hearer's face wants and thereby mitigate the force of the act.

According to B & L's model, in computing which strategy of polite redress to use, speakers take several factors into consideration. They recognize that FTA's of relatively greater face threat call for negative politeness and that FTA's of relatively less face threat call for positive politeness. This is indicated in Figure 2 below, where negative politeness co-occurs with higher-risk FTA's (3) and positive politeness co-ocurs with lower-risk FTA's (2). Speakers gauge the degree of face threat according to an

estimation of the static features of <u>power</u> of the addressee over the speaker, <u>social distance</u> between the speaker and the addressee and the <u>culturally defined imposition</u> of the particular FTA, as discussed in Chapter One. The greater the summative weight of these three features, the greater the potential threat to face and the higher the number of the strategy in Figure Two. In this way, estimation of risk of face loss increases as the numbers in Figure 2 increase.

Apart from the cases where polite redress is used, FTA's can be committed either baldly, with direct imperatives, or off record, as in a hint. Hypothesis One, part one was partially generated by reference to these two strategies. Part of this hypothesis predicts fewer imperatives and more hints in the ministers' speech than in that of the chairs, whose speech would have fewer imperatives and more hints than those of group members.

According to the chart of strategies for the performance of FTA's (see Figure 2), bald imperatives are issued when the estimation of face loss is very low, (1). In terms of the present study, when the speaker has greater power than the hearer, as in the case of ministers relative to other conversational participants in the meetings of this investigation, bald imperatives would be more threatening. Similarly, when social distance between speakers is also greater, as between ministers and other participants, a bald imperative again would be more threatening.

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Lesser

1. Without redressive action, baldly

on record

2. positive politeness

Do the FTA

With redressive action

4. off record

3. negative politeness

5. Don't do the FTA

Greater

Estimation of risk of face loss
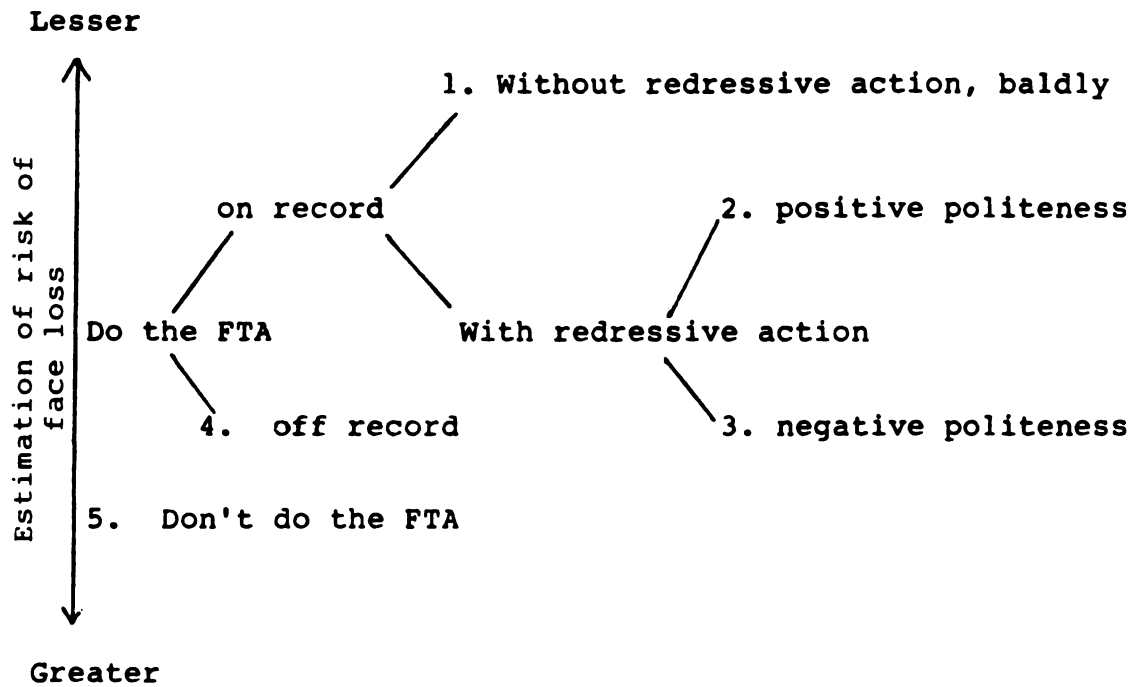
Figure 2: Determinants of Strategies for Performing FTA's
(B & L 1978:65)

Therefore, more powerful and socially distant speakers, i.e., ministers, would recognize the higher threat to face in their use of direct imperatives, and avoid them, accordingly. Less powerful or subordinate speakers, who have an equal amount of both power and social distance relative to each other, and who also direct FTA's primarily to each other, not to the minister, would be expected to use imperatives more freely.

B & L note that direct imperatives do not entail face loss in two cases: in the interests of efficiency or urgent cooperation. An example of efficiency is <u>Give me the nails.</u>[5] An example of urgent cooperation is <u>Help</u>. These are allowable cases of "non-minimization of face threat". So, we might expect imperatives of this sort in any person's speech, in the appropriate situation. In addition, however, I argue that there are two other cases in which imperatives are allowed to occur in unmitigated form without loss of face: when power is relatively equally distributed and when social distance is low. These points are supported by Ervin-Tripp (1976) as well, who argues that imperatives occur freely among family members, for example. The rules for what counts as threatening seem to be dispensed with in such cases as well. I will return to this point in Chapter Three.

Hints, an off-record strategy, would be issued only when estimation of face loss was relatively great.

Therefore, we would expect relatively powerful and socially distant speakers to issue more hints to their subordinates than subordinates would issue to each other. In using hints, the powerful and more distant speakers would minimize risk of face loss on the part of their subordinates. However, there would be less reason for speakers in positions of equal power and less social distance to issue hints to each other.

The other two strategies (excluding 5. Don't do the FTA) involve polite redress. The model states that a negative politeness strategy, which indicates that a speaker wants to avoid imposing on the addressee, encodes the speaker's view of his/her request as entailing a relatively high estimated danger of face loss, e.g., "I'm awfully sorry to bother you, and I wouldn't but I'm in an awful fix, so I wondered if by any chance..." (B & L 1978:86). On the other hand, a positive politeness strategy, which represents the speaker's desire to treat the addressee as an intimate, encodes a relatively low danger of face loss, e.g., "Look, Harry, you're a friend, so..." (p.87). Presumably, in the first example at least one of the three features of power, social distance or imposition in the culture is great. Or all three may be great. In the second example, the reverse is true. Either the power differential is low, there is close social distance or the imposition is small. Or all three may be low.[6]

B & L (1978:85) offer specific examples of the independence of these features. I have chosen an example which illustrates social distance as a primary consideration in a speaker's estimation of face threat and subsequent choice of strategy to encode an FTA. B & L argue that with power and rating of the imposition in the culture held constant, only distance varies in the two sentences below. In (1), which encodes negative politeness, the speakers are likely to be strangers. In (2), which encodes positive politeness, the speakers are either "known to each other" or "perceptibily similar":

(1) Excuse me, would you by any chance have the time?

(b) Got the time, mate?

[Distance], then, is the only variable...that changes from (1) to (2), and in doing so lessens [the weight] which provides the motive for the particular linguistic encoding of the FTA (B & L 1978:85). Threat is greater with greater social distance; hence, the higher-numbered strategy of negative politeness in (1). Threat is less with less social distance; hence, the strategy of positive politeness in (2).

The model thus predicts that because ministers, especially, and, chairs, to some extent, are more powerful than and socially distant from their addressees, the risk of their addressees' face loss is greater. Ministers and chairs would therefore use more strategies of negative than positive politeness.

However, at this point the model runs into trouble because FTA's in larger segments of naturally-occurring discourse are generally the product of a <u>mixing</u> of strategies of negative and positive politeness. That is, one FTA may be mitigated by both negative and positive politeness, and identifying which strategy is the major strategy becomes an arbitrary decision. An example of strategy-mixing is "You wouldn't happen to have a pen I could possibly borrow, by any chance, would you ol' buddy" (B & L 1978:236). The request is negatively polite until the last positively polite term of address. This example from B & L indicates that they do acknowledge the use of a mixture of strategies. They agree that speakers may use both positive and negative politeness either as an unclear, hybrid strategy or to move back and forth between approaching and distancing interaction. The moves back and forth are necessary, they argue, to allow speakers to make minute adjustments to the actions of their conversational partners. In the given example, the speaker felt his/her request to be overly cautious, so softened it up with an endearment. B & L suggest that the major strategy was nonetheless one of negative politeness.

But this explanation of strategy-mixing in the commission of individual FTA's is less satisfactory when taken to the level of discourse. For example, Nash (1983) conducted experimental research comparing politeness

strategies which Chinese and Americans used to persuade their listeners to stop a given behavior, coming home late at night. He found a mixture of positive and negative politeness strategies over many turns in the majority of conversations he recorded. He finally coded major strategies as either positive or negative according to which strategy led the hearer to comprehend the FTA or the one which was used most often through the discourse, i.e., which set "the tone of the conversation" (Nash 1983:31).

In the naturally-occurring data of my investigation, the addressees' comprehension of the FTA was immediate. That is, unlike in Nash's study, there was no experimental persuasive situation. So I could not rely on his coding method. Furthermore, I felt it would be unnecessary to determine the major strategy in the commission of individual FTA's if I could still count features of politeness and code them individually as either positive or negative. Given that the mixture of strategies was linked to the larger discourse goal of negotiating support throughout the communicative event, this procedure seemed appropriate. In this way, the combined total of types of features across many FTA's could indicate the major patterns of use, the "tone". This approach was similar to that of Lim (1986), who also calculated major politeness strategies by totaling the number of features of both negative and positive politeness, although his data base for determining

politeness strategies included all turns in the segments of conversation he analyzed, not just the FTA's embedded in it. For these reasons, I hypothesized a combination of feature types in the speech of all participants, and decided upon a coding method for politeness.

As suggested, B & L's model predicts more negative politeness in the FTA-related speech of the more powerful to their socially-distant subordinates and more positive politeness in the FTA-related speech of the subordinates, who are of equal rank and are directing their FTA's to each other (B & L 1978:81ff). However, I did not hypothesize that distribution of politeness as an outcome due to a second weakness in the model, one which also relates to the model's neglect of certain other discourse goals.

The most usual discourse goal speakers have, according to B & L, is the goal of face maintenance. That is, conversation is overwhelmingly characterized by linguistic choices which pay attention to the face wants of conversational participants. Together, these choices maintain what B & L call the "balance principle" of conversation. Unless speakers appropriately mitigate their FTA's, the balance principle is destroyed. This concept is too static and formulaic, however, when we consider that speakers may have other goals. If maintaining balance in conversation is the main goal or unmarked goal of most speakers, then this implies that conversation in which support is being negotiated is a kind of status quo

conversation. But status quo implies neutrality of intent. That is, speakers have desire to promote neither overly negative nor overly positive relationships with each other. It is only required that no one's face be damaged. Therefore, if speakers appropriately mitigate their FTA's with either negative or positive politeness, they fulfill their main conversational goal. Conversely, if they do not appropriately mitigate their FTA's, they violate the balance principle. Someone's face is damaged and the social relationship between speakers is temporarily threatened.

However, maintaining a balance principle or neutrality is not the goal of all cooperative conversation. In the negotiation of support, it is argued, one of the speaker's goals is to positively weight the conversational balance toward good feelings between speaker and addressee(s). This weighting in the direction of good feelings is argued to be a crucial element in gaining the support of others. For this reason, I hypothesized that even certain speakers in relatively powerful and socially distant positions (ministers to parishioners in this case) would make moves toward solidarity, in addition to using features of negative politeness. For the same reason I hypothesized that they would use even higher percentages of positive politeness than other people in the group.

This hypothesis also stems from research conducted by Lim (1986). He argues that B & L's relative neglect of certain discourse goals makes inaccurate predictions. To

use his terminology, he found that speakers may have reasons to be "impolite". Impoliteness is defined as a speaker choosing positively polite strategies when negative politeness would be rational behavior and negatively polite expressions when positive politeness would be rational behavior.[7] The reason people make such "irrational" choices, he argues, is that they may have discourse goals beyond the individual FTA.

In a comparison study of segments of two exchanges involving divorce mediation, he finds that a successful divorce mediator uses many more features of positive politeness than of negative politeness. This preponderance of positive politeness is not predicted by B & L's model. Rather, the social distance between speaker, (the divorce mediator), and addressees, (the couple), is high and negative politeness strategies would therefore be polite or unmarked. The mediator uses more positive politeness, Lim argues, because he/she judges that trying to decrease the social distance is more helpful in completing successful mediation than is using the unmarked strategy of negative politeness, which would simply maintain status quo neutrality.

This outcome supports the importance I attribute to positive politeness in my study. The conversation of Lim's study may be likened to the conversation of the present study in one way. There is a higher-ranking speaker, the divorce mediator, (higher-ranking because he/she is the

advice-giver or person in charge) who uses positive politeness to achieve a discourse goal. The mediator's use of positive politeness, therefore, contributed to my hypothesizing that the ministers would use a higher percentage of positive politeness than other speakers, even though ordinary group members are of equal rank with each other and would be expected to use more positive politeness in FTA's issued to each other. Furthermore, other studies (Brown and Gilman 1960; Bell 1984) also note the importance of positive politeness features in the speech of a higher-ranking speaker to a lower-status speaker. In all of these cases, positive politeness represents an attempt to include the lower-status speaker in his/her own in-group (Joos 1961), evoking an emotional response of warmth in the subordinate. In this way strategies of positive politeness are more important in the negotiation of support than the more usual strategies of negative politeness, which do not generally evoke such emotional responses. This issue is discussed below and in Chapter Five.

I especially hypothesized more lexical downward style-shifting in the speech of the ministers for two reasons. This strategy often evokes an emotional response of warmth, and, in some cases, of humor. In addition, it is ambiguous between a powerful and a solidarity-promoting strategy because shifting styles reflects multiple identities of the speaker (Scotton 1985). Therefore, by style-shifting,

speakers in higher-status roles can implicate power while promoting solidarity. (See Chapter One).

However, I did not predict more positive politeness in the ministers' or chairs' language relative to negative politeness because negative politeness is overwhelmingly unmarked in conversation in general. That is, features of negative politeness, e.g., hedges such as I guess, I think, well or maybe, occur with much greater frequency than features of positive politeness. This issue is addressed in the following section and especially in Chapter Five, where I discuss the broader notion of positive and negative politeness cultures.

A final concern was how to measure amount of politeness. B & L's model makes no prediction about the relative amount of politeness speakers will use. They only predict type of strategy. My hypotheses, however, rest considerably on the ability to attribute greater and lesser amounts of politeness to speakers. Although B & L do not predict amount, at least in terms of negative politeness, they do suggest that degrees of politeness can be measured. They offer a general principle to follow in rating how polite negatively polite expressions are: "the more effort a speaker expends in face-preserving work, the more he will be seen as trying to satisfy H's face wants...some simple compounding of hedges and indirectness, particles, and so on, increases the relative politeness of expressions" (B & L 1978:148). A "maximally negatively polite" expression would

be, for example, "There wouldn't I suppose be any chance of your being able to lend me your car for just a few minutes, would there"? as opposed to the more direct, "Lend me your car". However, due to the characteristic mixing of strategies throughout the conversation in the data of my study, I totaled negative and positive politeness features both within and across FTA's as a basis of determining amount of politeness. I hypothesized that there would be more mitigations per FTA for the higher-status speakers and that fewer of their FTA's would go unmitigated, relative to ordinary group members for reasons stated above.

2.4.1.2 Summary In sum, I found that B & L's model is most explanatory when an FTA is viewed as one isolated communicative goal. Then the model accurately explains a number of linguistic choices in the commission and mitigation of FTA's, e.g., that by hedging a speaker can minimize an imposition: "I wonder if you could help me" or by first-naming someone an imposition is reduced: "Bill, would you step up here?"

However, B & L's monograph narrows its discussion to a local concern, thereby allowing certain incorrect predictions for discourse. The focus is local in the sense that it emphasizes inter- and intra-sentence content and structure, at the expense of the overall discourse goal(s) of conversational participants. This runs contrary to the opinion of many discourse analysts who argue that there are at least two levels of discourse goals. One is local, as

can be seen in the work of the ethnomethodologists, who analyze the organization of turns, for example. (See Chapter One) The other level is pragmatic. On this level, attention is paid to such concerns as intentionally preserving or changing the relationship between conversational participants. Of the two levels, it may be the pragmatic level which is the greater determinant of linguistic choice. It is on this level that "negotiation" of the set of rights and obligations between speakers occurs (Scotton 1983). In the negotiation of support, the desire of speakers to mitigate individual FTA's is embedded in their desire to have the continued support of other people in the group by promoting positive relationships between conversational participants.

Therefore, B & L's model of politeness was insufficient in making predictions on the discourse level. However, when the insights of the model are linked with Scotton's (1983) markedness model, certain marked usages of politeness such as Lim (1986) found can be predicted.

2.4.2 Scotton's (1983) Markedness Model

In the negotiation of support, it is hypothesized that features of negative and positive politeness occur in degrees of markedness. That is, speakers of lower status use more politeness features than they would in ordinary conversation, but there is a higher frequency of politeness features in the speech of people of relatively higher

status. This marked use may be compared to two ways in which unmarked choices are flouted in order to achieve a particular discourse goal (Scotton 1983).

Because they possess a theory of markedness, members of a speech community recognize the unmarked linguistic choices characteristic of certain social situations. That is, the faculty to develop such a theory is possibly universally innate. Details of the theory are specific to the culture and to the speech-community (Hymes 1972; Saville-Troike 1982). If speakers make marked choices, they trigger conversational implicature in the minds of the addressees. Then the addressees figure out what the speaker is negotiating in flouting the unmarked choice and decide whether or not to accept the negotiation, and, finally, in the present case, whether to give the speaker support. In effect, when a speaker makes a marked choice, he/she is proposing that his/her choice become the unmarked choice (Scotton 1983:123), i.e., that a new social relationship be accepted.

The markedness model attributes much more dynamic control of the course of an interaction to speakers than does B & L's model. Accordingly, when powerful speakers make a marked choice of positive politeness, they should not be viewed as "making a mistake". Rather, they are intentionally attempting to renegotiate the rights and obligations (RO) set holding beween speaker and addressee. This negotiation is toward a decrease in social distance,

not merely in order to maintain face, but in order to gain support. Likewise, when powerful speakers use more features of negative politeness than other less powerful conversational participants, they may be viewed as renegotiating the RO set so that they signal less power over their addressees than is inherently the case. As with positive politeness, their goal is not merely face maintenance, as B & L would have us believe. Rather, it is the higher discourse goal of gaining the support of their interlocutors.

In the present study, when ministers and some chairs "overuse" politeness, especially positive politeness, they are proposing that their marked choices become the unmarked choices in the negotiation of support. As I will argue in Chapter Five, and, as Scotton (1983:123) suggests, this type of negotiation is the same one that accommodation theory refers to (Giles and Powesland 1975). Specifically, in this study, we expect most speakers to accommodate to each other in their general use of politeness features. It is just that other group members are predicted to use less marked strategies of politeness due to the factors of the social situation: (a) they have less at stake and less to gain in the negotiation by getting others' support because their occupation/role is not dependent on their achieving that support, and (b) they are closer to each other socially than they are to the ministers, and their FTA's are generally directed to each other rather than to the

minister. These social facts give rise to an overall dispensation of especially marked strategies of politeness. (However, if their FTA's were directed primarily to the minister, negative politeness would be the unmarked expectation. Positive politeness from a subordinate to a superior would not be expected because this marked usage of positive politeness to decrease the social distance might also be viewed as assuming too much intimacy. It might even be viewed as an attempt to demonstrate or increase the speaker's power over the hearer .

Two of Scotton's (1983) maxims are in some ways parallel to the strategies of negative and positive politeness, respectively. They account for the marked politeness strategies hypothesized here. The first is deference, which I view as a sub-category of negative politeness. The second is promoting solidarity, which is equivalent to positive politeness. By broadening the first maxim, deference, and combining it with the second, promoting solidarity, I arrive at one marked-choice maxim, which I call the "support-seeking strategy" of conversation: When you want the willing support of others, (1) don't im-[8]pose: be uncertain, impersonalize, and show deference: (2) be personable: be informal and make listeners feel they are part of your in-group. Although there appears to be a contradiction in simultaneous distancing and friendly behavior, I argue that the combination is an integral requirement in the negotiation of support. I also note, in

Chapter Five, that a certain demonstration of power is necessary.

Turning to Scotton (1983), we see her view of deference as one kind of marked use or flouting of the unmarked maxim. Scotton (1983:123) defines deference as the speaker elevating the addressee in some way: either the speaker and hearer appear more equal or the speaker appears lower than the addressee (when S is really the superior). Although the examples in her article involve code-switching, i.e., switching from one language to another in one turn, deference within one language may be realized in specific features such as using formal titles, e.g., "sir," "Dr. Smith", or honorific verb forms in languages which have such structures. Deference may also mean humbling one's self, one's capacities and possessions, e.g., in serving a meal the host may say, "It's not much, I'm afraid, but it'll fill our stomachs" (B & L 1978:190). In the data of my investigation, deference is seen in the title "Madame Chairman", in statements such as "with all that you people have on your minds" [I hate to ask this small favor], and in self-effacements such as "I'm the worst procrastinator you ever saw". Scotton (1983:123) specifically states that speakers show deference to those from whom they desire something. She illustrates this point with an example of a telephone conversation in Kenya.

In that example an accountant is addressing a client. He displays deference by switching from the unmarked use of

English typical of business encounters, to the marked use of Swahili. The accountant, in switching to Swahili, is lowering himself in status relative to the client. The switch is viewed as lowering because Swahili encodes lower socio-economic status.[9] He switches to a lower-status code to further his own goal of keeping the client's business.

I suggest that Scotton's deference may be taken as a sub-type of negative politeness, which represents, in turn, the distancing first half of the "support-seeking strategy": don't impose: be uncertain, impersonalize, and show deference. Negative politeness, as I define it, includes not only deference, but such tactics as expressing uncertainty by hedging, e.g., "I suppose", by hesitating, e.g., "um", "well", or by using verbs which are weaker assertions of force in the commission of a directive, such as "encourage" or "consider" in "I encourage you to vote", for example. Also, a speaker may impersonalize by distancing him/herself from performing a directive by using passive voice, among certain other features.

According to Scotton (1983), the unmarked choice may be flouted not only to display deference, but in order to decrease the social distance, i.e., to increase solidarity. This flouting represents positive politeness. I suggest that this is the second half of the "support-seeking strategy": be personable: be informal and make listeners feel they are part of your in-group. Scotton (1983:129) uses an example from Stewart (1968:469) to illustrate a move

toward solidarity. A Haitian businessman switches from the unmarked use of French typical of business encounters to the marked and more familiar Haitian Creole when he addresses a client who wants to borrow money. In the data of the present investigation, moves toward solidarity are evidenced in such features as informal address terms, e.g., "folks", certain lexical items which imply close cooperation, e.g., "share", "let's be mutually responsible" and in first person plural pronouns, e.g., "We'll let you look at the minutes".

The two following sections will relate negative and positive politeness to other research on mitigated language features (the set of negative politeness features which index the speaker's uncertainty) and to research on linguistic features which promote solidarity, respectively. I will further show that although the two politeness strategies have unmarked usages, they may also be used in marked ways to negotiate support.

2.5 Negative Politeness

The first important argument of this study is that the use of mitigating language features and other features of negative politeness is a strategy which speakers use to negotiate support. The strategy has been divided into the three sub-strategies of be uncertain, impersonalize, and show deference, as exemplified above and further illustrated in Chapter Three.

Expressing uncertainty is the most common sub-strategy of negative politeness. It may be equated, generally, with mitigated language, a subject of much research. In the literature, mitigated language has been treated as having both more general and more specific purposes than to negotiate support. In a more general sense, some argue that it is characteristic of much, if not all, usual conversation. In a more specific sense, certain groups of researchers have noted the occurrence of mitigating language features primarily in the speech of women. What these treatments have in common is that they link the use of mitigated language to politeness. There is thus agreement that mitigated language serves primarily social functions.

Slade (personal communication) says that mitigated language typifies casual conversation. She bases a textbook for learners of English as a Second Language (ESL) on that principle (Slade, in press). International students must be taught how to use mitigation to avoid offending their conversational partners, even if they are addressing their social equals.

Wardhaugh (1985:182) humorously concurs. As he notes, "Direct, frank, unambiguous utterances have a place in what we say, but they do not comprise the majority of our statements. People who insist on making them the preponderant majority may often have difficulty in finding others on whom to practice their conversational act a second time." In other words, when FTA's are committed in

conversation between unfamiliar equals, direct language, (unless it is used sparingly, or in the hearer's interest or in the interest of efficiency, as in "Do come in" or "Don't burn yourself"), is considered impolite. (However, direct language between equals would be more polite than direct language from a lower-ranking speaker to a higher-ranking speaker, for example).

For Labov and Fanshel (1977:84), "mitigation is a basic interactive dimension". They argue that "stripped to its logical and semantic content, interaction would appear much more aggressive than the original" (p. 352-3). Speakers veil their intent in order to be polite.

Lakoff (1979:63) claims that "the reason that people do not communicate directly and forcefully is that they do not choose to; such a mode of expression is no longer viewed as indicative of our culture's good human being". According to her, then, using mitigated language can even reflect appropriate moral conduct.

Edmondson (1981) speaks of "strategic indeterminacy". Stategic indeterminacy means speakers are intentionally ambiguous or indirect. The purpose of indirect language, according to him, is to display tact or politeness, to preserve the face of other conversational participants.

Leech (1977), quoted in Holmes (1983) has even added a maxim of Tact to Grice's original maxims. Presumably, for him tact is an essential ingredient of cooperative conversational conduct.

Undeniably, mitigated language is pervasively viewed as an unmarked characteristic of neutral conversation. Arguing, therefore, for its existence and increased use in the negotiation of support is only logical. But the present study hypothesizes that not only are mitigating language features used in the negotiation of support, but they are used profusely.

What specifically, then, constitutes mitigated language? This question was first answered in a more narrow treatment of mitigation than in the references just cited. Certain researchers have viewed mitigated language as more characteristic of women's speech than of men's.

Lakoff (1973b) noted specific features of mitigated language in the speech of women. These were mentioned briefly above in Chapter One, but are detailed here, as follows:

(1) <u>tags</u> <u>with</u> <u>rising</u> <u>intonation</u>, as in "Sure is hot here,<u>isn't</u> <u>it?"</u> According to Lakoff, a tag question of this sort is used "when the speaker is stating a claim, but lacks full confidence in the truth of that claim" (p.54),[10]

(2) <u>weak</u> <u>particles</u>, e.g., <u>"Oh</u> <u>dear,</u> you've put the peanut butter in the refrigerator again," (p.50)

(3) <u>questioning</u> <u>intonation</u>, which is simply rising intonation in a declarative statement. For example, in response to "When will dinner be ready?" a speaker says "Oh...around <u>six</u> <u>o'clock...</u> (p.56) and

(4) <u>politeness</u>, as measured in increasing numbers of particles, e.g., "<u>Will</u> <u>you</u> <u>please</u> close the door?" as opposed to just "Close the door". (p.56)

Lakoff characterizes politeness as "an absence of strong statement" (p.57). All four of the above mitigating features can be considered features of politeness. Because women use more of these features than men do, women, she concludes, are more polite.

Later studies used Lakoff's features to test the claim that such features were characteristic only of women's language. The results indicate that they are characteristic of men's language as well. Use of these politeness features, it was argued, depended not on gender, but on the speaker's powerless social position relative to the addressee(s). For example, in examining court transcripts O'Barr and Atkins (1980) found that while some women spoke in the way Lakoff describes, so did some men. Frequent use of the so-called "women's language" was most characteristic of those people who held subordinate, lower-status jobs or were unemployed. In another study, Newcombe and Arnkoff (1979) found that tags and polite requests were viewed as decreasing the assertiveness of speakers whether female or male. Mitigated language was believed to correlate most highly with relatively powerless social position.

Kanter (1977), in a more revealing study, probes the underlying determinants of mitigated linguistic choices. She compares the use of mitigating language features in the

speech of secretaries and managers. She argues that the secretaries turn to the use of mitigating language as a traditional way for subordinates to gain what they want and need from the more powerful. Assuming helplessness or uncertainty is thus a conversational strategy. She points out that the asymmetrical authority relationship between manager and secretary means that many secretaries have "few weapons at their disposal to use in negotiating and bargaining with their boss" (Kanter 1977:96). They must resort to "powerless" language. Furthermore, even women in powerful positions in her study used mitigated language because they found it "easier to accept stereotyped roles than to fight them, even if their acceptance meant limiting the tokens' range of expressions or demonstrations of task competence, because they offered a comfortable and certain position" (Kanter 1977:236). In other words, using mitigated language may be a marked strategy even women in positions of power employ.

This final observation leads to a second important claim of the present study which both supports and challenges the results of these studies on women's language. This paper argues that the use of mitigated language is dependent neither on gender nor on low or powerless social position. Rather it is dependent on the conversational goal of the speaker. If the use of mitigated language will help the speaker achieve a conversational end, in this case, of

gaining the support of others, it will be employed, even by relatively powerful males.

However, as Wardhaugh (1985:183) notes, "Carried to extremes, equivocation must prove unsatisfactory, because it is not ultimately cooperative behavior." Reluctance and hesitation, e.g., I guess [wonder, suppose, etc.], it may, perhaps, and so on, carried to extremes indicate that the speaker "has nothing of substance to say". Thus, although compounded mitigating language features may be used by males in powerful positions, other features are also necessary. That is, powerful speakers must also use powerful and/or positively polite features, in order to offset their excessive use of mitigation. While the present study does not examine powerful language features, per se, it does argue that a certain amount of power in addition to the power of the FTA itself, is evident in the language of speakers who are negotiating support, especially when the speaker is of a higher status. For example, style-shifting is viewed as a powerful strategy, the most marked of the strategies which invoke solidarity. Therefore, using excessive mitigation alone is not believed to negotiate support.

The features of negative politeness for the present study are based, for the most part, on those of B & L (1978), but those which express uncertainty overlap with those in the above studies. These and other features of

negative politeness will be presented in detail in Chapter Three.

2.6 Positive Politeness

The third important argument of this study is that speakers use positive politeness to negotiate support. Positive politeness encodes solidarity. Using terms which index solidarity may express intention to either maintain an already established solidary relationship or to change a relatively distant relationship to one of greater intimacy (Brown and Gilman 1960; Bell 1984; Scotton 1985). In the present study, speakers have a number of solidary ties, but there is still room for increased solidarity. In order to clarify this concept, I will give a brief review of how the term "solidarity" and "moves toward solidarity" have been defined in the literature. In the process I will discuss the linguistic realizations of related politeness features in this study.

Early use of "solidarity" in sociolinguistic research can be traced to Brown and Gilman (1972), who examine pronoun address forms in several European languages. They demonstrate how speakers index social relationships by code choices of either a familiar or a formal pronoun form. For example, in French, in past centuries, speakers signaled the social relationship which was in effect between them by the use of either "tu" or "vous". Where power was salient, as between a master and servant, pronoun usage was

asymmetrical: the master used "tu" (T) to the servant; the servant used "vous" (V) to the master.   In relationships where solidarity and informality were salient, usage was symmetrical: friends used reciprocal T.   In relationships where distance and formality were salient, usage was also symmetrical.   In this case reciprocal V was used.   Over time,   the asymmetrical usage where power was salient was lost, leaving only the two symmetrical usages.

Pronoun choice was also dependent on more dynamic factors.   Friedrich (1972) documents how constant switching between Russian "ty" and "vy" marks complex shifts of relationships among characters in nineteenth-century novels. In Gorki's Mother, the son in a proletariat family seeks education after his father dies.   As Friedrich (1972:289) notes,   "To signal his growing cultivation," he said vy to [his mother] and called her mamasha, but sometimes, suddenly, he would address her tenderly:

"Ty, mother, please don't worry, I will be coming home late..." (Gorki 1946:113).   And later:

"He said 'mother' and 'ty' to her, as was his wont only when he drew closer to her..."

In this way, shifting to familiar pronouns of address reflects shifts in relationship.

Although English does not have such a two-choice pronoun system of address, there are ways to index relative social distance in certain English address forms.   Ervin-Tripp (1972) shows how deference, familiarity or even insult

can be implicated by the use of certain forms. The potency of insult is exemplified in a white policeman's addressing a black physician as "boy". On the other hand, first-naming may index a desire to become more familiar, while using a formal title, e.g., "Dr. Park", indexes deference. However, moves toward solidarity are not necessarily universally accepted by listeners. When moves toward solidarity are not accepted, it is because the addressee feels the speaker has assumed too much intimacy, and insult may result. For example, Ervin-Tripp (1976) notes the offense she took at a car salesman's addressing her by her first name.

Definitions of solidarity include common, undeniable features such as age or sex, and common voluntary associations such as institutionalized memberships. For Brown and Gilman (1972:258), solidarity indexes a set of symmetrical relations that "make for likemindedness or similar behavior dispositions." This set generally includes such static attributes as belonging to the same sex and having the same parents, as well as voluntary associations such as practicing the same profession, having similar religious or political ties, or attending the same school.

They argue that the number of solidary ties determines pronoun choice. Increasing numbers of ties increases the likelihood that speakers will be solidary enough to use mutual T. Therefore, as the number of solidarity-producing attributes shared by two people increases over time, T becomes increasingly probable as a term of address.

Similarly, Scotton and Zhu (1983:183), studying certain address forms in Chinese, discuss power, solidarity and familiarity as the bases for conversational strategies. Solidarity exists between persons "when they possess a common feature that cannot be denied, such as kinship, nationality, or party membership". Familiarity "generally presupposes solidarity", but in addition "may be salient between persons who have a common share of voluntary encounters". The use of certain forms of address in Chinese indexes a negotiation of each of the three conversational bases given above.

Erickson and Shultz (1982:17) speak in a related way of "comembership" as "an aspect of performed social identity that involves particularistic attributes of status shared by [conversational participants]--for example, race and ethnicity, sex...acquaintance with the same individual". Use of "solidarity" appears interchangeable with "comembership". The research base is a series of intra- and inter-ethnic encounters. These encounters display higher communicative success when attributes of solidarity or comembership between speakers are high. For example, when students and counselors at a particular high school come from culturally similar social groups, interactional timing and rhythm of their conservation during an interview is stable. In the reverse situation, rhythmic asymmetry is salient at various points throughout the encounter. Communication is less successful in this exchange.

In the present investigation solidarity entails common possession of at least one undeniable, static feature such as race or gender. It also entails changeable features of common voluntary association such as institutional membership. The people in attendance at the meetings of this study are solidary in both race and religious-institutional membership.

But solidarity furthermore includes a familiar or close social relationship in which people treat each other as friends or intimates. Lakoff's (1979:65) description of camaraderie captures part of this meaning. She argues that "camaraderie explicitly acknowledges that a relationship exists and is important, whether one of friendliness or of hostility. Camaraderie is the level of direct expression of orders and desires, colloquialism and slang, first names and nicknames--much that is considered good and typical contemporary American behavior."

In the present study, speakers have some degree of familiarity with each other, i.e., they are not social strangers because they belong to the same church and have worked together on the various committees and boards for a certain period of time. However, there is some social distance between them. For this reason, the generally unmarked style of these meetings is hypothesized to fall somewhere between consultative and casual style, but closer to consultative, as defined by Joos (1961). From this

style, ministers and other speakers initiate moves toward greater solidarity or camaraderie. The moves probably do not index a desire on the speakers part to be permanently close. Rather, the moves are marked nominations to become temporarily unmarked choices for the duration of the meeting. Furthermore, solidarity does not go so far as to include hostility. Allowable hostility implies a closer relationship between speakers than is characteristic of speakers in the social setting under analysis. Hostility in this instance would violate the politeness principle of face preservation. And face preservation is evident in the social gatherings which provide the data for this analysis.

The linguistic markers of solidarity in the present study include certain familiar address forms and other markers of informal style as well as lexical expressions which imply that the speaker and listener are cooperators. These are exemplified in Chapter Three. Although first-naming represents generally unmarked usage between speakers of this study, the use of first names and other familiar terms of address, e.g., "folks", is generally optional in the performance of FTA's, so was felt to be important.

Moves toward solidarity issued by speakers of higher rank are viewed favorably, it has been argued. It is also argued that speakers in this study will accept indications of (increased) solidarity from speakers of equal rank because participants know and trust the intent of other

speakers. They have every reason to expect honorable and unselfish motivation of all speakers, given that successful management of the meeting translates as greater good for all. (In two-party conversations, acceptance of such moves could be measured by responsive moves, but meetings make this difficult for two reasons. First, many speakers often constitute one combined addressee, so no response is immediately forthcoming. Second, several FTA's may be committed in succession as part of a report with no response expected at each FTA boundary. Therefore, acceptance is measured only by subjective interpretation).

Certain additional marked occurrences of positive politeness are informally hypothesized in the ministers' language. These are based on research by Goffman (1961). He explains moves toward solidarity in a discussion of "role-distancing". In role-distancing, a socially higher-ranking speaker assumes certain linguistic liberties uncharacteristic of his/her particular social role in order to manage a certain social situation effectively. In Scotton's terminology, role-distancing would be a speaker's use of marked linguistic choices in order to negotiate a certain conversational goal. That is, such powerful persons distance themselves intentionally from their unmarked roles. He/she nominates a new RO set to become the temporarily unmarked RO set for a particular conversation. The marked choice which Goffman (1961) speaks of is joking, which may

also be considered a strategy of positive politeness (B & L 1978:234).

Role-distancing is characteristic of situations in which there are rather clearly defined occupational and social roles with certain rights and obligations in effect for speakers. Goffman (1961) illustrates role-distancing in a discussion of a surgical operation, where there are clearly defined roles both for the surgeons and for other surgical team members. In the surgical setting, the chief surgeon is the socially highest-ranking speaker. He/she is the one most responsible for the successful outcome of the operation. In order to maintain positive relationships with the other members of the team, the surgeon demonstrates role-distancing by joking with the team during the operation. By joking, the surgeon is invoking a move toward solidarity. Joking is a strategy of positive politeness which the surgeon uses to momentarily decrease the social distance between him/her and his/her colleagues for a higher purpose. For example, a surgeon's assistant stabbed the surgeon accidentally in the finger with an electric scalpel. The surgeon responded, "If I get syphilis I'll know where I got it from, and I'll have witnesses" (Goffman 1961:122). The joking, according to Goffman, erased the tension that the assistant's mistake had aroused and the operation could proceed smoothly.

Goffman therefore argues that it is speakers in socially-higher positions who display role-distancing. If

that is true, then the ministers in the present study should display more of such marked behavior, i.e., evoking humorous audience responses, than other members of the groups, especially to save the face of other conversational participants. I will return to this point in Chapter Five.

2.7 "Face-threatening Act" (FTA)

The purpose of the remainder of this chapter is to define the three categories of face-threatening acts which comprise the major portion of the data of this study. The definitions are derived primarily from B & L, but also stem from speech act theory, sociolinguistic theory, and ethnomethodology.

Brown and Levinson (1978:70) argue that all persons possess two kinds of face, a negative face which seeks freedom of action and a positive face which seeks approval from others. Furthermore, due to the nature of human interaction, "it is intuitively the case that certain kinds of acts intrinsically threaten face, namely those acts that by their nature run contrary to the face wants of the addressee and/or of the speaker". They define "act" broadly as "what is intended to be done by a verbal or non-verbal communication, just as one or more "speech acts" can be assigned to an utterance" (B & L 1978:70). They specifically allude to Grice (1971) who defines a communicative act as "a chunk of behavior B which is produced by S (speaker) with a specific intention, which S

intends H (hearer) to recognize, this recognition being the communicative point of S's doing B" (B & L 1978:26). These definitions are generally accepted in this study. However, verbal communication is my primary focus, although one nonverbal FTA will be considered in Chapter Five.

In an extensive, but general, classification, B & L distinguish between acts which threaten the hearer's (H's) negative face by imposing on his/her freedom of action, e.g., orders, advice, remindings, and those which threaten H's positive face, by showing S does not care about H's feelings, e.g., criticisms, insults, challenges. They note that certain acts intrinsically threaten both kinds of face, e.g., complaints, threats. They also argue that certain types of FTA's threaten S's face. A threat to S's negative face would be expressing thanks, and to S's positive face, confessing.

The present study deals only with threats to H's face. These include three general kinds of FTA's: (1) directives, which impinge on H's freedom of action, i.e., are threats to negative face, (2) disagreements, which represent a negative evaluation by S of one of H's ideas or beliefs, i.e., are threats to positive face, and (3) overlapping directives/ disagreements, which threaten both types of face.

It will be shown that all previous definitions of face-threatening speech acts limit each act to one sentence. While this study accepts this limitation, there is one additional consideration which requires examination of

structures beyond the sentence of the FTA. A primary purpose of this investigation is to examine what linguistic features reduce the force of the FTA. That is, several consecutive sentences may topically relate to one FTA and contain features which mitigate the force of the FTA. These sentences give background reasoning or explanation of the merits of either performing (or not performing) a certain act (in the case of directives) or agreeing with the speaker (in the case of disagreements). Secondly, all previous definitions imply one hearer as recipient of the directive or disagreement. However, the nature of the social setting, i.e., meetings, means that FTA's are issued more often to the group than to individuals.

Definitions of the directive-types of this study are operationalized in Chapter Three. What counts as a disagreement, admittedly, is more subject to interpretation. However, many disagreements have the structural features pointed out by the ethnomethodologists, who are discussed below. The overlapping directive/disagreements can be structurally defined as directives, although simultaneous intent to disagree is not always realized structually. Rather, it must occasionally be inferred in relation to preceding discourse.

2.7.1 Directives

A directive is first and foremost viewed in B & L's (1978) terminology as a threat to H's negative-

face want. It is a face-threatening act which indicates that S does not intend to avoid impeding H's freedom of action. A directive predicates some future act of H, and in so doing puts some pressure on H to do (or refrain from doing) the act. In this study, acts range from those which can be performed immediately, e.g., turning a page, to those which will be performed in the future, e.g., voting in favor of an issue.

Directives have been studied by both speech-acct theorists and sociolinguists, whose treatments may be compared.

2.7.1.2 Speech-Act Treatments. Speech-act theorists concur in the delineation of "directives" as one class of illocutionary act. According to Searle (1976:11), "they are attempts...by the speaker to get the hearer to do something. They may be very modest "attempts" as when I invite you to do it or suggest that you do it, or they may be very fierce attempts as when I insist that you do it." Bach and Harnish (1984:41), like Searle, classify directives as expressing "the speaker's attitude toward some prospective action by the hearer and his intention that his utterance, or the attitude it expresses, be taken as a reason for the hearer's action." Fraser (1983:39) says that in issuing a directive the speaker "expresses an attitude towards a prospective action by the hearer". In all of these definitions, socio-psychological concerns are notably absent.

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Speech-act theory is sentence based and intentionally divorced from issues of social context. But speech-act theorists laid the groundwork for examining how language can be understood as the performance of certain acts, especially how listeners interpret indirect requests, i.e., the "indirect directives" of Searle (1975b).

Searle (1975b) studied various surface realizations of indirect requests.[11] Certain lexical items in these realizations are the same features which B & L, and this study, too, include as features of negative politeness. They are underlined in the following examples: "<u>Could</u> you be <u>a</u> <u>little</u> more quiet?" "<u>I</u> <u>hope</u> you'll do it". "<u>Would</u> <u>you</u> <u>mind</u> not making so much noise?" "<u>Would</u> <u>you</u> <u>mind</u> <u>awfully</u> <u>if</u> <u>I</u> <u>asked</u> <u>you</u> <u>if</u> <u>you</u> <u>could</u> write me a letter of recommendation?" Furthermore, Searle did not entirely overlook sociolinguistic factors. As he notes, "in direct speech acts the speaker communicates to the hearer more than he actually says by way of relying on their mutually shared background information, both linguistic and nonlinguistic, together with the general powers of rationality and inference on the part of the hearer" (1975:60).

However, the purely sociolinguistic approaches to the analysis of directives have goals most similar to those of the present study.

2.7.1.3 <u>Sociolinguistic Treatments</u> Sociolinguists are interested in describing the surface forms of directives and analyzing their systematic variance in usage according to

social factors such as age, familarity, rank, location, difficulty of task, whether it is a duty, and so on. Representative researchers with these goals are Ervin-Tripp (1976:1977), Mitchell-Kernan and Kernan (1977), and Holmes (1983). Their analyses differ from those of the speech-act theorists in at least one significant way. They are data-based, situated in specific social contexts which allow empirical observations.

Ervin-Tripp (1976:29) identifies six different types of directives and their social distributions. She orders them "approximately according to the relative power of speaker and addressee in conventional usage and the obviousness of the directive". According to her, the following list exemplifies these forms, from the most coercive, (1), to the least coercive, (6). The social relationship she suggests between speaker and addressee is also listed.

(1) Personal need and want statements: e.g., "I need a match". Usually issued by a superior to a subordinate.

(2) Imperatives e.g., "Gimme a match", "a match". Issued to subordinates or familiar equals.

(3) Embedded imperatives e.g., "Could you give me a match?" Usually issued to unfamiliar people, or those differing in rank.

(4) Permission directives e.g., "May I have a match?" Rare. Maybe issued to superiors more than to subordinates.

(5) <u>Question directives</u>, e.g., "Have you gotta match?" Issued when wanting to allow non-compliance by the listener, who can treat it as an information question.

(6) <u>Hints</u> e.g., "The matches are all gone." Issued when a service is special and the speaker is reluctant to be explicit, or in transactional settings such as office where there are shared understandings.

Ervin-Tripp's classification relies primarily on social distribution and directness, but she provides some structural bases of differentiation as well. For example, "imperatives normally include a verb and, if it is transitive, an object, and sometimes a beneficiary" (1976:30). She also details four structural variants of imperatives: (a) you + imperative, (b) attention-getters (e.g., Please!), (c) post-posed tags, and (d) rising pitch. In the present study, imperatives were all the (a) type. Embedded imperatives are the most common in her data. She defines them as instances in which "agent and object are explicit, so that the forms preceding them are a kind of formal addition" (1976:33), although she explains that many embedded imperatives are of the form characterized by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) in their study of classroom discourse:

"An interrogative clause is to be interpreted as a <u>command to do</u> if it fulfills all the following conditions: (i) it contains one of the modals <u>can, could, will, would</u> (and sometimes <u>going to</u>; (ii) the subject of the clause is

also an addressee; (iii) the predicate describes an action

which is physically possible at the time of utterance"

(quoted in Ervin-Tripp, 1976:33). The embedded imperatives

of the present investigation all fulfill these criteria.

Elsewhere, on the basis of her data, Ervin-Tripp

(1977:169) proposes a very general rule for the

interpretation of directive utterances which avoids

reference to linguistic form:

> Those utterances will be interpreted as
> directives which break topical continuity in
> discourse, and which refer to acts prohibited to
> or obligatory for addressees, mention referents
> central to such acts, or give examples of the
> core arguments of understood social rules.
> Examples would be "Somebody's talking", "I see
> chewing gum", and "Where does your dish go?"
> (quoted in Holmes 1983:96)

This rule is also the basis of Holmes' (1983) analysis of

directives by elementary school teachers, although she does

rely on the structural characterizations of imperatives,

interrogatives, and declaratives. These directives are

between children and adults, however, and are inapplicable

to the present study.

Of the directive types between adults, all but

permission directives will be shown to occur in the data of

this investigation. Other additional types were generated

on the basis of the data, which Chapter Three specifies.

Sociolinguists, then, attend to features of social

distribution and surface realization of linguistic variables

rather than to underlying syntactic representations and formal patterns of inference characteristic of the concerns of speech-act theory. Like the sociolinguists, I will take account of social factors such as the relative status of participants, their role-relationships and corresponding rights and duties, in assigning a directive interpretation to an utterance. The classification of directive-types in Chapter Three is based both on structure and on the degree of coercive force of the directive. Surface realizations of directives issued by speakers in the three specific social roles of this study will be compared to each other, as is characteristic of other similar studies. However, this study will, in addition, pay attention to the linguistic features which mitigate the force of the directive.

Hypothesis One, part one, then, is based not only on B & L's treatment of the two directive types, hints and imperatives, but on Ervin-Tripp's directive classification as well. These are explicated in Chapter Three.

2.7.2 Disagreements

As with directives, disagreements are first to be viewed in B & L's terminology as threats to face. They are threats to H's positive-face want. A disagreement is a face-threatening act which shows that S has a negative evaluation of some aspect of H's positive face. A disagreement indicates that in some important respect S doesn't want H's wants or thinks H is wrong or misguided

about some issue. Unlike directives, disagreements have never been viewed in speech-act theory as a separate class of illocutionary act. Rather, they are part of a much larger class known variously as "representatives" (Searle 1976; Fraser 1983) or "constatives" (Bach and Harnish 1984). Searle (1976:10) says that "the point or purpose of the members of the representative class is to commit the speaker (in varying degrees) to something's being the case, to the truth of the expressed proposition". Fraser (1983) concurs. For Bach and Harnish (1984:41): "constatives express the speaker's belief and his intention or desire that the hearer have or form a like belief." This study assumes general agreement with these definitions.

Sociolinguists have not examined disagreements as a special class, but within ethnomethodology disagreements have been given attention as part of "preference organization" (Atkinson and Drew 1979; Pomerantz 1984). Although the preference concept of disagreement is considerably different from that of the present study, there is some overlap, as will be shown after the following discussion.

As presented in Chapter One, "preference theory" assumes an abstract level of structural organization in conversation. Researchers in preference organization have extended the adjacency-pair concept of Sacks et al (1974). They argue that conversation is organized not only in turn-response pairs, but according to type of response.

Specifically, certain responses to a first turn are more preferred or unmarked, then other, dispreferred, or marked, replies.

Disagreements are a category of dispreferred seconds in response to a first-pair part of "assessment". Assessments (Pomerantz 1984) are a routine part of social activities. An example of an assessment from Pomerantz (1984:59) is "Adeline's such a swell gal". According to the theory, this initial assessment may be followed by a second assessment in which a second speaker either agrees or disagrees with the initial speaker's assessment. Succeeding the example above, an agreement or a preferred response, occurred: "Oh, God, what a gal!"

However, initial assessments may be followed by second assessments which express a dispreferred turn shape, a disagreement, as the following example illustrates:

(1) W: I sew by hand ( ), -- (uh huh), I'm

(2)   fantastic (you never saw anything like it)

(3) L: I know but I, I-I still say
                                          12
(4)   that the sewing machine's quicker,

The dispreferred turn in this case, and in many others from her data as well, is marked by partial agreement ("I know") and hesitation, as evidenced in the repeated pronoun, "I" in (3).

It should be noted that Pomerantz identifies another class of assessments in which agreement is dispreferred, although these are not relevant to the present study.

Disagreement would be a preferred response to a speaker's self-deprecating remark, e.g., one says, "I'm too fat." A preferred response is a disagreement, e.g., "Oh, no you're not." The present study views disagreement as inseparable from speaker intent, i.e., disagreement is not merely a structurally marked occurrence as it is in preference theory. Rather, it is a speech act driven by the speaker's desire to express a certain meaning. Therefore, the disagreement "Oh, no you're not" would not count as a disagreement in the present study. There could never be a case of preferred disagreement in the negotiation of support. However, there are overlapping features of disagreements important both to preference theory and to the negotiation of support. These are noted below and fully exemplified in Chapter Three.

As noted, the "disagreements" of preference organization have nothing to do with speaker intent or states of mind. They are structural components of assessments. Disagreements in the present study, however, are viewed as dispreferred actions only in the sense that they are threats to face. The structural features of disagreements, according to the preference theorists, such as partial agreement and hesitation, will here count as features which mitigate the force of the FTA. However, certain other structural features such as the conjunction but do define disagreements.

2.7.3 "Directive/Disagreement"

In a few instances, the two FTA-types considered in this study overlap in one utterance. These are in cases in which threat to both positive and negative face wants seems apparent. Examples would be directing someone to either stop performing an act or start doing something of which the speaker knows the hearer disapproves. These, however, are relatively rare in the data.

2.8 Summary

This chapter has defined "the negotiation of support" by reference to the models of Brown and Levinson (1978) and Scotton (1983). It has also defined the terms essential to this negotiation, within the parameters of FTA-related language, by reference to previous research. It has been argued that Brown and Levinson's model is inadequate as a model of language use on the level of discourse because it is both too static in its predictions and it assumes that conversation is more neutral in intent than it actually is, that its only purpose is to maintain conversational balance. Scotton, on the other hand, emphasizes how speakers imply diverse intents by making sometimes unmarked and sometimes marked choices, thereby achieving their discourse goal. Speakers who negotiate support, rather than merely maintaining status quo face preservation, follow a two-part marked-choice maxim: Don't impose and be personable when you want the willing support of others, although a

demonstration of some power is also required. It was also shown that regardless of gender or powerful position, when a speaker has the discourse goal of negotiating support, he/she will use mitigated language. At the same time, however, he/she must use positive politeness. It is positive politeness which is the more marked and influential in the negotiation of support, especially when issued from superior to subordinate.

Chapter Two Endnotes

1
. The UMC has an episcopal, as opposed to congregational, system of administration. In an episcopal system, all churches are under the administration of a local bishop. For purposes of administration, the United States is divided into five major jurisdictional areas and further subdivided into fifty Annual Conferences. A bishop is elected by members of the jurisdictional conference to preside over each Annual Conference. Each bishop, in consultation with a cabinet composed of ministers appointed to the position, appoints a minister to serve a particular church. Each church follows the same discipline for its conduct. Each operates through various committees and boards created and managed according to guidelines in the church discipline.

2
Hereafter I will use the masculine pronoun for convenience and because the three minsters observed in this study were all male.

3
This was explained to me by a seminary professor at United Theological Seminary, Dayton, Ohio, Dr. Kenneth H. Pohly.

4
This is not an uncommon view. As Lakoff (1973:303) notes: "the rules of language and the rules for other types of cooperative human transactions are all parts of the same system; it is futile to set linguistic behavior apart from other forms of human behavior."

5
It is acknowledged that intonation might have an effect on degree of face threat perceived in such a command or in FTA's in general e.g., a high intonation may encode much less face threat than a lower one. This paper did not code for intonation. Future studies are necessary on this count.

6
B & L (1978:181) note, "the choice of a strategy encodes the perceived danger of the FTA..., but does not of itself indicate which of the social factors, [distance, power or imposition in the culture] is most responsible in determining the [overall weight]".

7
B & L (1978) argue that as rational beings we follow the rules of politeness, outlined in Figure 2.

8
This is similar to one of Lakoff's (1973) rules of politeness.

9

Scotton (1983:124) notes that independent evidence has established that English is the unmarked choice for conventionalized business exchanges between educated peers of differing ethnic groups, while Swahili in this area of Kenya symbolizes lower social status because it is the unmarked choice for interethnic exchanges between the lesser educated (Scotton 1982).

10

Owsley and Scotton (1982) note that some tags are compelling tags. They are downwardly intoned and considered to be markers of powerful language.

11

Bach and Harnish (1984:173) also devote special attention to "certain illocutionary acts which do not seem to fit [their schema]"---indirect acts. They point out that in the case of indirect directives, as well as of certain other acts which it is beyond the purposes of this paper to discuss, listeners do not have to go through the same process of inference as with literal acts. "The process of inference spelled out in the SAS (speech act schema) is short-circuited: instead of having to rule out the literal intent as primary and infer S's direct intent, H can identify the indirect intent without having to search for it". They explain this phenomenon by a standardization thesis which pays attention to mutual beliefs and local context. "The utterance and the context activate the mutual belief that the speaker and the hearer share, so that the speaker can reasonably intend, and the hearer can recognize him as intending, to be [performing a specific speech act]" (B & H 195).

12

In this transcription system, parentheses indicate either unclear portions of data or what the transcriber thinks he/she heard.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Data Collection

Chapter Two specified the participant structure of the church meetings which were tape-recorded for this investigation. It also explained that only churches which were headed by ministers successful in their careers were part of this study. This section expands on other situational factors which constrained the collection of data.

In the initial phase of selecting the data for this study, I attended and tape-recorded more than twenty meetings at seven churches over a six-month period. My goal was to obtain a set of at least three similar meeting -types for three similar churches. Three of the churches had small memberships and were in rural geographical areas. Four others were large, metropolitan churches with memberships approximating between 700 and 900 members.

I eliminated a set of meetings from one of the larger churches because the minister was the only woman for whom data could be obtained. Furthermore, both her language and certain other social features were considerably different from those of the male ministers of the study. She used more direct language than did the males. She also used a rising intonation pattern on statements that none of the males displayed. In addition, she was much younger and less experienced than the male ministers, although she had recently received an appointment to a large church. I felt that unless at least one other woman were included in this study, this minister's language could not be argued to represent the language of female ministers in general. No sound comparison with the males could be made.

Other sets of meetings from smaller churches were eliminated because the churches were too small to conduct all meetings on a regular basis. This irregularity made it impossible to collect comparable data within the time constraints allowed by the study. For example, one smaller church held a trustees meeting once a month, another every three months, a third, unpredictably, as the need would arise. In addition, in the larger churches there is both an Administrative Board and a Council on Ministries. These are combined in one structure called the Administrative Council in the smaller churches. This difference meant other, more comparable meetings were a necessity. I soon realized that I could not obtain enough comparable meetings for the

smaller churches within the allotted time. Therefore, I focused on the three larger churches, determining to collect data from four, rather than three, meeting-types.

Scheduling problems, including cancellations due to bad weather conditions and absence of ministers due to vacations, conferences, and the like, impeded data collection. Nonetheless, I was able to obtain the desired twelve tape-recordings of four similar meetings at the three large, metropolitan churches.

Table 1 illustrates the length of each meeting in hours (L) and the numbers of people in attendance (P). An asterisk (*) denotes meetings in which the chair was female.

Table 1: Length of Meetings and Numbers of People Attending

	Ad. Bd.		Com.		Trustees		Outreach	
	L	P	L	P	L	P	L	P
Church No. 1	1.5	30	1.5	11	1.5	7	*1.50	8
Church No. 2	*2.0	23	*1.5	13	*2.0	7	.75	6
Church No. 3	1.5	20	*1.0	15	2.0	9	1.50	12

Note: Ad. Bd - Administrative Board
       COM - Council on Ministries

As we can note, the length of the meetings and numbers of people in attendance varied somewhat. However, the total amount of time across each set of four meetings was approximately six hours. Five chairpersons were female; seven were male. However, there were approximately equal numbers of males and females at each meeting.

3.1.1 The Four Meeting Types

A characterization of the four meeting-types which provide the basis for this study follows:

1. <u>Administrative</u> <u>Board</u>

This board oversees the general administration and program of the local church. It meets quarterly and is composed primarily of the pastor, who is the administrative officer, the chairperson of the trustees, the church business manager, the finance chairperson, a chairperson or representative of the pastor-parish relations committee, the church treasurer, the financial secretary, the director of Christian education, the director of evangelism, the music director or assistant, the chairperson of the Council on Ministries, the work area chairpersons, the church school superintendent, the membership secretary, the presidents of the men's and women's and youth groups, as well as various members at large.

Major duties of the board are to:

(a) initiate planning, establish objectives, adopt goals and program plans for the ministries and the mission of the local church and evaluate their effectiveness.

(b) review the membership of the local church by reviewing reports on membership enlistment, training, and so on.

(c) upon nomination, fill vacancies occurring among lay officers,

(d) establish the budget on recommendation of the finance committee,

(e) recommend the salary and other remuneration for the pastor after receiving recommendations from the pastor-parish relations committee,

(f) review recommendations regarding the provision of adequate housing for the pastor,

(g) make proper and adequate provision for the financial needs of the church, including ministerial support, local expenses and benevolences for world service.

2. Council on Ministries (COM)

This is the programming arm of the church. It meets once a month and is composed primarily of the pastor and other staff persons who are engaged in program work, the chairperson of the Administrative Board, the president of the men's and women's groups, the coordinators of family ministry and the chairperson of each work area. The numbers and types of work areas vary according to the needs and

desires of each church. They may include church and society, education, missions, evangelism, religion and race, higher education and campus ministry, stewardship, worship and so on.

Major duties of the COM are to:

(a) elect teachers, counselors and officers for the church school,

(b) make recommendations to the finance committee requesting the financial resources needed to undergird the ministries which it has developed,

(c) recommend professional and other staff positions needed to carry out the program projected by the council,

(d) expand the structure of the council as needed to include councils, commissions, task groups, committees, and so on.

3. Outreach Programs

The following two work areas are subgroups of the COM. For two churches, the missions meeting was tape-recorded. For the third, the evangelism meeting was used, as the third church does not have a missions work area. Both work areas are composed of volunteer members; each meets monthly, as a general rule.

(a) Missions Work Area

The purpose of the missions work area is to survey the needs of the local community and to recommend to the COM plans for: (1) local mission and service projects and (2) participation in enterprises related to the National

Division or the Health and Welfare Ministries Department of the General Board of Global Ministries.

(b) Evangelism Work Area

The purpose of the evangelism work area is to win people into the faith, including people who are not members in any local church and the church's own inactive members. Responsibilities may include identifying persons who are neither members nor active in the community, keeping an updated prospect file, providing for visitation programs, setting growth goals, and planning evangelism events.

4. Trustees

The Board of Trustees is responsible for any matters related to the personal property of the local church. Duties include receiving and administering all bequests made to the local church, supervising the care of all church property and equipment, exercising responsibility for the use of the church building, providing for adequate insurance coverage on all church property, and submitting annual budget requests for property maintenance, improvement and new property purchases.

From the above descriptions, it is clear that although this study sought to control for topic in tape-recording similar meetings, in fact, depending on the concerns of each church, some variability was inevitable. Nonetheless, the major types of concerns which arose were often equivalent, relating in some way to finances, programming, and building maintenance.

3.1.2 Tape-Recording and Transcription

For tape-recording the meetings I used one or two tape recorders, depending upon the size of the room and the number of participants. This proved adequate because even at the large meetings with thirty people in attendance, usually very few speakers participated in open discussion. Others were assigned turns and were then involved in exchanges with a few speakers. As a supplement to the recordings, I also took profuse notes which aided my later transcription.

Transcribing the tapes was an extremely arduous task, as I did not have access to a transcribing machine. However, the general quality of the recordings was surprisingly good, and even a majority of the talk-overs and back-channels (e.g., mm-hmm's) were decipherable. Even so, each tape had to be played numerous times, and some speakers were only identifiable as members of the group, distinct from chair and minister, but, otherwise, undefined.

In the end, I obtained fairly complete tape-recordings and transcriptions of the desired twelve meetings. Only an occasional lengthy report which contained no FTA's was excluded from transcription. This procedure produced over 300 pages of transcribed data.

3.2 Coding the Data

All directives, disagreements and directive/ disagreements were extrapolated for speakers in the three

roles examined, minister, chair and group member, for a total of 807 FTA's. (At one meeting, no group member performed any FTA's. All other meetings include FTA's performed by speakers in each of the three roles examined). Of the 807 FTA's, 202 were disagreements and 47 were disagreement/directives. The majority, 558, were directives. The 558 directives were then individually coded for structural sub- type. All FTA's were coded for co-occurring features of positive and negative politeness. Features of politeness in many cases extended beyond the sentence in which the FTA was performed. In rare cases, such features extended into a succeeding turn. These boundaries were determined by topic adherence.

3.2.1 Preliminary Coding for Directives

The coding categories for directive types were generated by combining insight from the study on directives by Ervin-Tripp (1976) with the results of a questionnaire.

3.2.1.1 Background: Hypotheses and General Directive Categories Based on Ervin-Tripp (1976).

Ervin-Tripp (1976) analyzed American directives which primarily occurred in professional, transactional settings or among families. As illustrated in Chapter Two, she coded these directives according to structural type, degree of coerciveness and rank of the speaker and addressee.

As a first general rule, she argued that three syntactic forms realize different degrees of coerciveness:

(1) Inexplicit statements are least coercive in that they are formally identical to utterances which are not requests, e.g., "It's cold in here" [meaning "Close the window"]. (2) Interrogatives are more coercive than statements in general dialogue between adults because they demand a response. However, they have the same structure as an information question, even though the context makes it clear that they are to be interpreted as intending the illocutionary force of a directive. For this reason, a non-compliant listener may exercise the option of reinterpreting the directive as a mere information question. An example of a question directive is "Are we out of coffee?" [meaning Go get some coffee]. (3) Direct imperatives are the most coercive. The intended agent is understood and the action explicit, e.g., "Mail this letter".

A fourth category constitutes a special type of imperative, the embedded imperative, which appears in interrogative form. It is less coercive than a bald imperative, but more coercive than other interrogatives because there is no room for misinterpretation as anything other than a directive. The imperative is embedded between certain forms such as "Would you" and "Please" in "Would you open the window, please?" Ervin-Tripp (1976:33) calls these "a formal kind of addition" to the essentially direct imperative.

As a second general rule, but this time concerning ranks of conversational participants, Ervin-Tripp (1976)

found that hint statements, question directives, and embedded imperatives occurred between speakers differing in rank, while imperatives were the normal form between those equal in rank.

In order to use these findings to generate hypotheses for my study, I had to compare the predictions of Ervin-Tripp to those of the politeness model (B & L 1978) and the markedness model (Scotton 1983). As described in Chapter Two, two strategies for performing FTA's which do not involve polite redress are hints, an off-record strategy and bald imperatives, an on-record strategy. B & L argue that hints occur when risk of face threat is relatively high, while imperatives occur when risk is relatively low. I therefore hypothesized that ministers would use more hints and fewer imperatives relative to chairs and group members because the ministers' higher rank and greater social distance from other conversational participants, meant that their FTA's were inherently more powerful than those of other speakers. In the negotiation of support, they would want to avoid the overt use of power. The FTA's of other speakers were directed primarily to hearers of equal rank and social proximity, so fewer hints and more imperatives would be expected.[1]

However, I also hypothesized that positive politeness features would occur in greater percentages in the speech of the ministers, followed by chairs and group members. This was expected to be a marked strategy for higher-status

speakers in the negotiation of support. On this count, it might be expected that ministers would use more bald imperatives as marked moves toward solidarity, to change the RO set holding between speakers to one of less social distance, in Scotton's (1983) terminology. However, direct imperatives are the most coercive type of directive, and I hypothesized that they would be too marked, that is, too overtly powerful, for the ministers to use with any frequency.

Hints, on the other hand, as the least coercive directive type, i.e., the most off-record strategy, were hypothesized to occur with greater frequency in the speech of the ministers, followed by chairs, then by group members, because hints provide a way of performing an FTA, a powerful act, without using power directly. I felt that both hints and question-directives, when issued from higher-ranking speakers, would almost uniformly be interpreted as directives. As Goody (1978) suggests, information questions from speakers of higher rank are generally interpreted as exercising control. So hints and question directives as well could implicate both power and a desire to refrain from using power. Therefore, I hypothesized their frequency of occurrence to increase as the speaker's status and effort to negotiate increased.

3.2.1.2 Questionnaire. Having arrived at general hypotheses and an initial, broad coding scheme for directives by degree of coerciveness, I turned to the data

of my study. In the process of coding, I found that while the general types of directives were similar to those of Ervin-Tripp (1976), several additional subcategories occurred with some frequency. Also, on several counts, I disagreed with Ervin-Tripp's classifications. After this comparison procedure, I believed that I had arrived at the final coding categories. (The actual final coding categories are delineated in the next section). I then designed a brief questionnaire in order to obtain further objective judgment on the coding scheme for degree of coerciveness or force of the directive-type. The questionnaire was administered to members of the general American speech community, persons whose norms should be similar to those of church members. This population consisted of 44 subjects who were Michigan State University students in an introductory linguistics course which had not dealt with the sociolinguistic and structural issues relevant to the questionnaire. This questionnaire may be found in Appendix A and is further discussed below.

The questionnaire was designed to measure how coercive the force of a directive is. This phenomenon depends greatly upon the surface structure of the directive. That is, certain inherent structural features of some directive-types serve to mitigate the directive's force, e.g., Why don't in a why don't directive: "Why don't we look at the minutes now?" However, other mitigating features optionally occur with several directive-types, e.g., first names in (a)

an embedded imperative: "Sue, would you make those arrangements?" or (b) a bald imperative: "Pass those around, Bill". These less inherent features, such as first names, are not structural mitigations. In establishing criteria for directive categorization, I only included structural mitigations, such as why don't. So, in designing a questionnaire to delimit relative degrees of coercion for directive-types, I wanted to exclude the non-structural mitigating politeness features. (These features will be delineated in a later section).

However, I did include the mitigating first person plural pronoun forms because they were ambiguous in usage in the data. They can be either a mitigating politeness feature or a naturally-occurring pronoun. For example, "we" is a politeness feature when the speaker includes the addressee in the activity when he or she really means "you" or "I", e.g.,"Why don't we change the requirements?" instead of "Why don't you change the requirements?" In this case, "we" would be considered a (structural) mitigation. But in some instances in the data it was possible that the speaker would actually be included in carrying out the request, as when the speaker would ask the group to perform a certain action and the speaker him/herself would be able to perform the action, too, e.g., "Maybe we can put our heads together, several of us," where the speaker might actually be one of the people involved in the thinking and the pronoun may not be a mitigating feature at all.

In this study, for ease of coding, I eventually decided to count all instances of the first person plural as mitigations regardless of usage, so if a speaker says, "Why don't you change the requirements?", that directive is a separate, more coercive directive sub-type than the same example with "we" as the subject. Therefore, "we" should not have been included in the same sentences of the questionnaire. But I did include the first person plural "let's" in the questionnaire as a separate directive-type, e.g., "Let's look at the minutes now". This pronoun politeness feature is treated more fully below.

The questionnaire controlled for topic and asked people for numerical evaluations of the amount of coercion they would feel as potential addressee if they were issued each of ten sample directives. The results generally supported the four divisions of Ervin-Tripp (1976). Hints were least coercive, followed by question directives, then embedded imperatives and direct imperatives. However, a number of other types were also included in the questionnaire because they occurred in the data. They are shown in Table 2 with their frequencies, and fully explained in the next section.

Degrees of coercion from one through seven are shown across the top. The heaviest concentrations of responses are underlined, and the types are listed from least to most coercive. The number of the sentence on the questionnaire is in parentheses.

Table 2:   Degrees of Coerciveness Based on Questionnaire
           Responses

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
AH (6)	16	12	6	5	1	3	1
DW (5)	17	6	6	8	4	2	1
NM (7)	6	18	4	12	3	2	-
WH (3)	6	4	17	11	5	1	-
E (8)	4	6	8	11	11	3	-
L (2)	2	4	7	15	10	4	2
NE (1)	1	5	9	10	11	7	1
S (10)	1	3	6	15	13	6	-
ST (9)	3	5	9	7	12	8	-
I (10)	3	2	4	4	10	8	13

NOTE: AH-agentless hints;   DW- Do you wanna   question
directives;   NM-non-coercive modal;   WH- why don't   question
directives;   E-embedded imperatives;   L- let's statements;
NE-need statements; S-strong modal statements; ST-statements
thatwere later disregarded for reasons explained below; I-
imperative.

As Table 2 shows, agentless hints were the least
coercive forms, with 16 subjects categorizing them as 1 and
twelve as 2,   followed by Do you wanna questions,   with 17
subjects categorizing them as 1.   However, due to the
problem with the pronoun "we", I did not rely exclusively on
this questionnaire to determine placement of do you wanna
directives. The results of the questionnaire indicated that

hint statements, e.g., "Our finances are in very good shape" (later to become Category A) and do you wanna question directives, e.g, "Do we wanna give more money to the United Way?" were equally least coercive. However, I moved this type of question to the next most coercive category, question directives (later to become Catgory B). I did this because upon closer inspection of the data I found that only the pronoun "you" occurred with this particular question type, e.g., "Ok, Bob, do you wanna give the report of the UMC youth fellowship?" It seemed likely, therefore, that if the pronoun "you" had been in the example, the subjects would have evaluated the interrogative as more coercive than they did with "we". Non-coercive modal hints were next most coercive   with 18 subjects placing them under

2, followed by why don't directives, with 17 subjects placing them under 3.

The next four directive types, embedded imperatives, let's statements, need statements, and strong modal statements (later to become Category C), were especially more coercive than question directives. Eleven subjects classed embedded imperatives as 4; eleven classed them as 5. For let's types, fifteen subjects classed them as 4; 10 as 5. Ten subjects classed need statements as 4; eleven as 5 and seven as 6. Fifteen subjects classed strong modal statements as 4; thirteen as 5. Statements, (number nine), were incorrectly structurally defined at the time of

administration of the questionnaire. They should have included a mitigating clause, e.g., a hedge such as "I'm not sure." Responses to that type were therefore ignored. Imperatives (later to become Category D), were found to be the most coercive. Thirteen subjects classed them as 7.

3.2.2 Final Coding Catgories for Directives

The data, Ervin-Tripp's (1976) findings, and responses to the questionnaire together prompted the formation of the following four categories (A, B, C, D according to increasing degrees of coerciveness) and various subcategories of directives. All data were coded for occurrence of these categories. In this section each of these categories is now further justified, defined, and exemplified with data from this study.

3.2.2.1 <u>Hints (Category A)</u>. Hints, Category A, are the least coercive category. As Ervin-Tripp (1976) and B & L (1978) both argue, hints are an "off-record" means of performing a directive. Ervin-Tripp (1976:44) quotes B & L (1974): "Conventional indirectnesses satisfy two conflicting wants simultaneously to some degree. They are a compromise solution to the desire to go 'off-record' and avoid imposing, and the desire to go 'on-record' in a businesslike manner allowing explicit redress." The hints in this study may be subcategorized into five roughly equally non-coercive types. Two of these types may be further subcategorized

according to whether "we" or "you" occurs, "you" types being more coercive.

3.2.2.1.1 Agentless Hints.

Structurally, some hint statements are less obvious than others because no agent is directly expressed as performer of an action. The first and least coercive of the hints are named agentless hints. In addition, they contain no verb which references the action to be performed. Examples:

(a) "It might be a good subject for the worship committee".

(b) "Tom, I was in the sanctuary today, and uh the very front pew on the left as you look toward the altar it's off, the one [the Bible and hymnal rack] in that front pew is off."

3.2.2.1.2 Premitigated Hints.

Premitigated hints begin either with a mitigating clause, e.g., "I'm not sure" or the mitigating form "maybe if". When an infinitive is present, the agent is optional. When there is no infinitive, the agent may be realized as either "we" or "you". A factor which distinguishes the agentless premitigated hints from the agentless forms in the previous section is the presence of the verb which refers to the action to be performed.

Ervin-Tripp (1976) describes agentless and "we" types as cases of "agent indirection". They imply less force than types in which an agent is expressed as "you". Directives of these types in my data are thus hypothesized to be less coercive than the type which contains "you". (This type

was mistakenly defined in the questionnaire, as noted above, so no objective evaluation for this type was obtained). Examples:

(a) "It might be helpful (for us) to think about a special name for that".

(b) "I'm not sure that we're overcommitting overly committing ourselves by naming someone who would just be the receiver of information".

3.2.2.1.3 Non-coercive modal statements. Non-coercive modal statements always contain an agent, either "you" or "we". As in the other examples, the hint is more obvious and therefore more coercive, when the agent is in "you" form. This directive type contains one of the following modals in the clause which contains the agent: might, could, would, will, may or can. Examples:

(a) "I think it'd be appropriate if you would share that".

(b) "You might identify just outside the pastor's study".

3.2.2.1.4 Wanna Hints. Wanna hints always contain the hedge "maybe", the pronoun "you" and the contracted form "wanna". Since the questionnaire did not include this type, no objective evaluation of coerciveness was obtained. However, even though it contains "you" it was hypothesized to be no more coercive than other hints because both "wanna" and "maybe" are politeness features which mitigate the force of a directive, according to B & L (1978). Examples:

(a) "Maybe you wanna touch base with them even tonight while they're still up there".

(b) "Maybe you do wanna just briefly, if you can, consider programming for the coming year".

3.2.2.1.5 Turn-assigning statements.

The fifth and last subcategory of hint directives consists of turn-assigning statements. They are one way in which chairpersons at the meetings assign turns for the purpose of eliciting reports at the meetings. (A few turn assignments were also made with embedded imperatives and question directives). These were of three types, one in which "is going to" occurs, one where both agent and action were absent, and one where first names only were used. (These were not included in the questionnaire because the topic of all other directives was giving money). These statements were uniformly interpreted as direct commands to act. For this reason, they might be categorized as more coercive than a hint. However, because they do not contain direct expression of both subject and verb such as would be the case in "Sue, give us a report", I counted them as hints. Examples:

(a) "Sue is going to report for us on the task force".

(b) "Evangelism and Membership".

(c) "Mary".

3.2.2.2 Question Directives (Category B).

Question directives, Category B, are slightly more coercive than hints. They demand a response, but also offer options. As

noted above, they give the listener who does not want to comply an escape route, in treating the question directive as if it were an information question. In this study, question directives are subcategorized into three types, do wanna question directives, why don't directives and ordinary questions which are mostly yes-no questions. Why don't directives may be subcategorized into "we" and "you" pronoun agent types. With the possible exception of "you" types, all question directives are hypothesized to be equally coercive. I hypothesized that the total percentage of question directive types would be higher for ministers, followed by chairs and group members, but made no prediction about the individual types.

3.2.2.2.1 Do-wanna Question Directives.

Do-wanna question directives are mostly of the type which contain "do" plus "you" plus "wanna". Two questions containing "what about" were categorized here as well as one with "how about". In the latter types, no agent is present, [(b) below], so they actually may be less coercive than the do-wanna type. Examples:

(a) "Do you and Jack wanna work together?"

(b) "What about offering the opportunity of of of the few people like Ann who would like that?"

3.2.2.2.2 Why Don't Question Directives.

"Why don't" directives all contain "why don't". They are realized with either "you" or "we" agents. Ervin-Tripp (1976) classifies this type as an embedded imperative, but a "why don't"

question, unlike other embedded imperatives, may be answered by giving reasons, e.g., "Why don't you come with me?--" "Because I don't have time". Furthermore, according to B & L (1978:132) <u>why</u> <u>don't</u> questions are positively polite expressions which treat the addressee as if he/she were a familiar equal in asking for reasons for the hearer's not performing a certain act. Examples:

(a) "Why don't you just run through it and we could take notes?"

(b) "Why don't you first, maybe, before you appeal it, and spend a hundred and fifty dollars is get an idea of how big that one looks?"

3.2.2.2.3 <u>Ordinary</u> <u>Question</u> <u>Directives</u>. Ordinary question directivs are the broadest category, including all other structures which are both interrogative and convey the force of a directive. The majority are yes-no questions. I relied on the discourse preceding and following the directive to determine whether the question seemed to be doing more than simply asking for information. I also considered the fact that when issued by superior to subordinate, information questions were much more likely to be interpreted as directives (Goody 1978:42). Examples:

(a) "Will there be a railing on the ramp, Jim?"

(b) "You haven't been to West Side Mission, have you?"

3.2.2.3 <u>Embedded</u> <u>Imperatives</u>, <u>let's</u> <u>statements</u>, <u>need</u> <u>statements</u> <u>and</u> <u>strong</u> <u>modal</u> <u>statements</u> <u>(Category</u> <u>C)</u>. This category includes four equally coercive types of directives:

(1) embedded imperatives, (2) let's statements, (3) need statements, and (4) strong modal statements. Interrogatives, (1), call for a response whereas statements, (2, 3, and 4) do not. For this reason embedded imperatives would seem to be more coercive than any statement directives, and would, presumably, fall into a separate category. However, Ervin-Tripp (1976), counts need statements and strong modal statements as more coercive types than embedded imperatives. She also claims that let's statements are "very direct and explicit". (p.48) Furthermore, the students who responded to my questionnaire judged all four of these types of directives to be equally coercive. For these reasons, I grouped all four into one category.

Three of the types may be subcatgorized into "we" and "you" agent types. I hypothesized that ministers would use lower percentages of Category C directives than would chairs or group members because of this type's on-record coerciveness. The results will indicate only partial support of this hypothesis because certain sub-types were found to be more characteristic of speakers in certain roles.

3.2.2.3.1 Embedded Imperatives. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), quoted in Ervin-Tripp (1976:33), propose a rule for a modal directive. This definition was given in Chapter Two and is repeated here because it also defines the embedded imperatives of this study. An interrogative clause

is to be interpreted as a command to do if it fulfills all the following conditions: (i) it contains one of the modals can, could, will, would (and sometimes going to); (ii) the subject of the clause is also an addressee; (iii) the predicate describes an action which is physically possible at the time of utterance. In terms of use, Ervin-Tripp finds that embedded imperatives generally are used to addressees of a higher rank. It will be shown that in this study, however, embedded imperatives were generally confined to use by chairpersons in assigning individual responsibilities to members of the group. These directives have "you" agents for the most part, but in certain cases "we" occurs. Examples:

(a) "Would you call him, Bill?"

(b) "Beth, could you speak to that?"

(c) "Shall we put it in the form of a motion?"

(d) "Can we change that March the 12th to March the 16th?"

3.2.2.3.2. Let's Statements. Let's statements are described as "we" statements by Ervin-Tripp. They are relatively coercive because they allow "a very direct and explicit statement of the act required" (Ervin-Tripp (1976:48). She found that they occurred mainly downward in rank. The first person plural form, she argues, implies a pseudo-participation, as in the cases of other directive types which employ "we". Examples:

(a) "Let's refer to the front page of our bulletin this past Sunday".

(b) "Let's ask Marsha if she would work at that".

3.2.2.3.3. <u>Need Statements</u>. Need statements, in Ervin-Tripp's (1976) study, occurred mainly downward in rank. They were used either in a transactional setting where what was wanted was "as baldly stated as in an imperative", e.g., "I'll need a 19 gauge needle" or in families, "when solicitude on the part of the hearer could be assumed" (p.29). The need statements of my investigation, with minor exception, contain "we" plus "need". They refer to future activities of the group and, like Ervin-Tripp's, will be shown to occur almost exclusively downward in rank. Examples:

(a) "We need to provide the stimulation to the staff-parish committee."

(b) "We need to start pursuing getting the money now because we have probably got two, two and a half weeks to pay it."

3.2.2.3.4 <u>Strong Modal Statements</u>. The final subcategory of Category C is the strong modal statement. This type includes one of the following modals in the clause which contains the agent: <u>have to/hafta, should, must, ought to/oughta, got to/gotta</u>. As with other types, the agent may be realized as "you" or "we", where the "we"-type is less coercive than the "you"-type. Ervin-Tripp (1976) counts this type as an imperative form, so, for her,

presumably, strong modal statements would have the same distribution as other imperatives, i.e., downward in rank in transactional settings or between equals. I argue, however, that they are not as direct as imperatives which contain no modal, and are therefore less coercive. Questionnaire responses also support this. Furthermore, the contracted verb forms count as mitigating features of positive politeness. Types with these contractions could even have been classified as a less coercive type. Examples:

(a) "You oughta get more information."

(b) "We have to protect these things."

3.2.2.4   Imperatives (Category D).   Imperatives, Category D, are the most coercive forms.   In this study, imperatives are all of the form (you) verb (indirect object) (object), one of several realizations presented by Ervin-Tripp (1976:30-1). Imperatives, as noted, are the most explicit type of directive, and, therefore, the most powerful and controlling when issued downward in rank. Between equals, however, they represent familiarity. Upward in rank, they may insult if the hearer thinks the speaker is assuming too much familiarity or attempting to increase his/her power. Examples:

(a) "You go on with other business."

(b) "Tell us about it."

3.2.3 Coding for Disagreements and Disagreement/Directives

Disagreements were only subcategorized according to whether they were interrogatives or statements. No formal hypothesis was generated, but interrogative disagreements were generally hypothesized to occur less frequently in the speech of the minister. This was expected because like other questions, they demand a response and may appear more controlling in the speech of higher-status speakers (Goody 1978).

Many of the statement disagreements were expected to be structurally similar to those studied by the ethnomethodologists and discussed in Chapter Two. For the ethnomethodologists, disagreements often begin with hesitation or partial agreement, followed by the contrastive conjuctions but or except. In this study, such hesitations and partial agreements count as mitigating features of politeness. (These features will be discussed in a later section).

Examples of disagreements of this type are (1) "Yes,but it's not it's not a reason to be unproud of ourselves or our whole congregation or anything like that." (2) "I think that would be great, Bob, except that during Lent my feeling is that we don't want to fractionalize our congregation and we wanna ask them to support [the hunger program]." Other disagreements were not confined to a certain structure, but were identified by attribution of speaker intent, e.g.,"Now, I'm getting very tired of listening to number the numbers

game" [a chair complaining about a group member's negative attitude about the congregation's lack of interest in a special program].

Disagreement/directives are a combination of a disagreement and a directive. They may be exemplified as follows: (1) "But as we finish things, let that list grow;" (2) "We can we can do that, but a quicker way would be to co-opt and do it here and then he could be replaced."

Disagreements are threats to positive face. They represent a negative evaluation by the speaker of one of the hearer's ideas or beliefs. Disagreement/directives are threats to both positive and negative face. Although this study makes no claim as to which kind of threat is stronger, it suggests that there is a tendency for threats to positive face to be stronger than threats to negative face. This conclusion is based on a questionnaire administered to a group of MSU students prior to this study. All 50 students who answered the questionnaire indicated that criticisms and the like (which are in the disagreement category) were more threatening than orders or requests to perform some action. This questionnaire and the results are in Appendix B.

3.2.4 Coding Categories for Politeness

The coding categories for positive and negative politeness were generally adopted from B & L (1978) and supported by the results of other studies. A total of eleven positive politeness features and twelve features of

negative politeness were designated. Thus, all together, the coding categories consisted of twenty-three different politeness features. In this section, these are justified, defined and exemplified with the data of this study. The last section of this chapter provides examples within larger segments of discourse, also from the data of this study. Following is a summary list of the twenty-three positive and negative politeness features.

1. Positive politeness

   A. Markers of in-group membership

      1. Familiar terms of address

      2. Elliptical forms

      3. Contracted forms

      4. Marked lexical items

   B. Markers of cooperation

      1. <u>You know</u>

      2. Lexical repetition

      3. Terms of partial agreement

      4. Terms which imply reciprocity and mutual concern

      5. <u>Why don't</u>

      6. Inclusive first person plural pronouns

      7. Terms which defend other speakers

2. Negative politeness

   A. Hedges

      1. Hesitation markers

      2. Lexical content items

      3. Lexical quasi-content items

      4. if-clauses

      5. Sub-class of modal verbs

      6. Non-compelling tags

      7. Please

   B. Deferential terms

      1. Self-effacements

      2. Compliments

      3. Apologies

      4. Deferential forms, especially address forms

   C. Distancing mechanisms

    3.2.4.1 Positive Politeness Features. As B & L
(1978:108) note, "positive-politeness utterances are used as
a kind of metaphorical extension of intimacy, to imply
common ground or sharing of wants to a limited extent even
between strangers who perceive themselves, for the purposes
of the interaction, as somehow similar. [They are] a kind of
social accelerator, where the speaker, in using them,
indicates that he wants to 'come closer' to the hearer".

    In the present study, speakers in the three roles
characteristic of the church meetings are all hypothesized
to use positive politeness features in the commission of
FTA's. However, these features are more marked in the
speech directed to subordinates by higher-ranking speakers,
i.e., ministers and chairs, than the same features are in
speech directed to ordinary group members by each other.

That is the case because the group members are already more solidary with each other by virtue of being of the same rank than they are with the chairs or ministers. So while positive politeness features negotiate solidarity for all speakers, they negotiate over greater or lesser social distances.

3.2.4.1.1 **Markers** **of** **In-Group** **Membership.** The first general category of positive politeness may be described as using features which convey in-group membership. In this study, four such features were counted: (1) address forms, (2) ellipsis, (3) contraction, and (4) marked lexical items.

(1) First names and familiar address forms may be likened to the use of "tu" versus "vous" in languages with that system (Brown and Gilman 1972). As Ervin-Tripp (1972) noted as well, use of familiar terms of address to a non-familiar can claim solidarity. In the present study, first names and expressions such as "you folks" were counted as features of positive politeness.

(2) Ellipsis relies on shared knowledge for interpretation, so there is an inevitable association between ellipsis and in-group shared knowledge (B & L 1978). Ellipsis marks the absence of subject and/or verb when they are not necessary for comprehension. Examples: (1) "Richard, trustees" [in turn-assignment by a chair]; the verb is deleted (2) "Could call 'em a facilitator" [a suggestion from a group member]; the subject is deleted. It does not include the deletion of subject in normal imperative forms.

However, ellipsis was counted in imperatives which were uttered for the hearer's benefit, e.g., (3) "Stay with me a minute more."

(3) According to B & L (1978:117), "to contract is to endear, perhaps because of the association with smallness." They note this is especially the case with nicknames, which are contracted forms. Other forms which they include as positively polite contractions and which are counted in this study are wanna, oughta, hafta, gonna and gotta.

(4) The three categories given so far all indicate a style shift from a more consultative style to a more casual one. However, marked lexical items represent the most marked shifts in style, and, for that reason, they were the only items counted as downward style shifts for hypothesis one, part six. They are downward code-switches similar to the downward style switches of black ministers in the work of Gumperz (1982) or the switches in the language of the TV interviewers of Owsley and Scotton (1982). B & L (1978:116) call jargon and slang in-group terminology. They note that "by referring to an object with a slang term, [the speaker] may evoke all the shared associations and attitudes that he and [the hearer] both have toward that object." In the present data the majority of these shifts are represented by slang forms, e.g, "blitz," "paunchers," "gee." However, certain other expressions were also included, such as exaggerations in numbers, e.g., "97 things we have to do",

or impersonations, e.g., "Look at little Billy, isn't he sweet?" [referring to outdated film of church members].

3.2.4.1.2 Markers of Cooperation. The second general category of positive politeness includes seven ways of indicating that the speaker and hearers are cooperators.

(1) Using you know, as you all know, or as you well know implies that the speaker assumes that the hearer's knowledge is equal to the speaker's, and that S and H agree. B & L (1978:125) call it a "point-of-view flip".

(2) Repetition is a way to stress agreement (B & L 1978:117). Halliday and Hasan (1976) have defined lexical repetition as repeating part or all of what the preceding speaker has said. Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) have argued that this kind of repetition signals a willingness to negotiate in the previous speaker's terms. B & L also suggest that repetition demonstrates that one has heard correctly what was said, e.g., "John went to London this weekend!---To London!" Therefore, lexical repetition in the performance of FTA's was counted as a feature of positive politeness.

(3) Terms of partial agreement or token agreements come from the desire to agree or appear to agree with the hearer (B & L 1978). These forms were also noted in the ethnomethodological work of Pomerantz (1984) with disagreements. In the present data, these forms preceded disagreements and were realized in such expressions as "Yes, but...," "we can we can do that, but..." and so on.

(4) Terms which imply reciprocity and mutual concern include such items as "share," "I want you to understand why," "help each other," "be mutually responsible," or "all of us." According to B & L (1978:133), in using such expressions, the speaker gives evidence of reciprocal rights and obligations between the speaker and hearer.

(5) "Why don't" was discussed in an earlier part of this chapter. In using "why don't," a speaker treats an addressee as if he/she were a familiar equal (B & L 1978:133). Several negative question markers were also counted in this category because in using a negative question, e.g., "Couldn't we do it this way?" a speaker also assumes a certain amount of familiarity. He/she also expects that the response will be cooperative. (Only two group members used this form, no minister, no chair).

(6) Inclusive first person plural forms include both the speaker and the hearer in the activity when the speaker really means "you" or "I" (B & L 1978:132). In the present data, as noted above, it was not always possible to determine whether the speaker would really be involved in carrying out a prospective action. Therefore, in some cases the "we" pronouns could be occurring naturally instead of replacing "you".

However, when ministers used first person plural pronouns, in the majority of cases it was possible to determine that they used it to replace you. They would not be involved in carrying out most of the actions of which

they were speaking. In a few cases, however, they might actually be involved in carrying out a prospective action, so using we pronouns was less marked. For chairs, it was more likely that they would be involved in the actions they were suggesting than were the ministers. In this way, this strategy is less marked for chairs than for ministers. Also, we forms were used several times by chairs to replace first person singular, I, e.g., "I think we'll I think we'll let you look at your minutes," but only once by a minister.

When used by ordinary group members, we forms are least marked. The chances were greater that they would be involved in carrying out the actions they were suggesting than if they were either minister or chair, e.g., "I really would like us to aim for the whole amount." All occurrences of the pronouns we, us, our, ours, let's and ourselves were counted for speakers in all roles.

(7) The last feature of positive politeness is the performance of an FTA which is issued in order to defend (or pay attention to the face wants of) a previous speaker. These were rare and will be exemplified in the results chapter.

3.2.4.2 Negative Politeness Features Negative politeness is "the heart of respect behavior", "forms useful in general for social distancing. They are likely to be used whenever a speaker wants to put a social brake on the course of his interaction" (B & L 1978:135).

In this study, negative politeness forms represent ways speakers in all roles indicate their desire to avoid imposing on their interlocutors.

3.2.4.2.1 <u>Hedges</u>. Hedges comprise the first and largest category of these forms. According to B & L (1978:150), "a hedge is a particle, word, or phrase that modifies the degree of membership of a predicate or noun phrase, in a set; it says of that membership that it is partial, or true only in certain respects, or that it is more true and complete than perhaps might be expected." In my study, I counted seven sub-categories as hedges:

(1) Hesitation markers, including (a) hesitation morphemes such as <u>um</u>, <u>uh</u>, <u>well</u> which Erickson et al (1978) counted as features of a powerless style of language; (b) clutter, repetition of some sentence element when a speaker begins talking, e.g., "Well, what's supposed to what what what's supposed to..." and (c) false starts: a phrase begun and dropped, e.g., "to see--to let these people know." The latter two categories are taken from Owsley and Scotton (1982), who define these features as non-powerful. (However, it should be acknowledged that false starts are not uniformly interpreted as non-powerful. Brend (personal communication) suggests that such occurrences often show self-assuredness, that the speaker is willing to make such a change audibly).

(2) Lexical content items are lexical items which are a more integral part of propositional content than other hedges. Other hedges, such as I think, for example, could be deleted with less change in meaning than if lexical content hedges such as I hope were deleted. Some lexical content hedges, such as verbs in the main clause, e.g., encourage, consider, could not be deleted at all. I include an alphabetical list of the expressions I counted in this category, and will illustrate them in discourse in a later section. B & L (1978) include some of these items, e.g., I wonder if, certainly, really, a little bit, approximately, what I meant was, in the hedging category (3), but I felt these were different for the reasons stated above.

```
about
(a) couple of
a kind of
a little (bit)
a minute or two
approximately
a quick word
at all (adj)
at least
at times
at the moment
certainly
conceivable
consider
encourage
evidently
explore
facilitate
feeling
for example
hardly
helpful
hesitant
hopefully
I don't know
I feel
I hope
```

I'm not sure
inclination
indication
I suspect
I thought
I understand
I understood
in some way
in terms of
I wonder if
kind(s) of [noun]
like
little
necessarily
of some kind
particularly
periodically
possibility
possibly
pretty soon
really
quite
see how
seems
some of
something like that
sometimes
somewhere
sort of
try
type of
what I meant was
what I'm thinking
you see

(3) Some lexical items are less clearly required in order for the main propositional content to be expressed than are the items in category (2), above. Here I include such expressions as: I think, maybe, perhaps, kind of, I guess, I mean, just, that is to say, I suppose, do you suppose, fairly, in a sense, actually and so on. These hedges on illocutionary force have been identified by B & L (1978), Wardhaugh (1985), Erickson et al (1978) and others. I call them lexical quasi-content items.

(4) All "if" clauses were counted as hedges, not simply the adverbial-clause hedges on illocutionary force of B & L (1978:167), e.g., "Close the window, if that's possible" (although these are the majority).

(5) Members of a sub-class of modal verbs were counted as hedges, as suggested by B & L (1978): <u>can</u>, <u>could</u>, <u>may</u>, <u>might</u>, <u>will</u> and <u>would</u>.

(6) Non-compelling tags, as identified by Owsley and Scotton (1982), as well as tag-type questions, e.g.,"is that agreeable with everyone?" were a sixth category. Tags have been discussed as hedges by Lakoff (1973), Erickson et al (1978), B & L (1978) and others.

(7) <u>Please</u> has also been recognized in the literature as a polite form (e.g., B & L 1978; Erickson et al 1978; Ervin-Tripp 1976).

3.2.4.2.2. <u>Deferential Terms</u> The second general category of negative politeness includes four features which convey deference: (1) self-effacements, (2) compliments (3) apologies and (4) certain deferential forms, including address forms and special expressions.

(1) Self-effacements, according to B & L (1978), are attempts by the speaker to lower his/her status, thereby giving deference to the hearer. They also represent threats to the speaker's face. Examples are "I'm not saying I'm a good counselor," and "I'm the worst procrastinator you ever saw."

(2) Compliments raise the status of the hearer (B & L 1978), e.g., "Every time that I can I wanna acknowledge a very, very special family and very special human being."

(3) Apologies are represented in "You may get bored with these meetings," or "I'm not making light of that." Such comments are threats to the speaker's face as well (B & L).

(4) Deferential terms of address have been recognized by Ervin-Tripp (1972), B & L (1978) and others. They include, e.g., "Madame/Mr. Chairman," "Dr. Jones." Other expressions counted in this category are: "rather than assume anything one way or the other," "with all that you people have on your minds," "unless someone has ideas about something else."

3.2.4.2.3. Distancing Mechanisms The third and final general category of negative politeness involves distancing mechanisms. These are ways the speaker distances him/herself from being the agent of the FTA. B & L (1978) describe these as impersonalizing. Included here are passive voice, figures of speech, reading a letter and giving another source as reason for performing an FTA.

3.2.4.3. Exemplification of Politeness Features in Discourse. Examples of mitigating politeness features in the FTA-related speech of ministers, chairs, and group members follow. These examples serve several purposes: (1) to indicate the occurrence of the same feature in the speech of speakers in three roles, (2) to indicate a combination

and different numbers of feature types in the commission of individual face-threatening acts, and (3) to provide a sense of the types of face-threatening acts which characterize the meetings. Politeness features used by each minister and chair are detailed in Chapter Five, where I also make a comparison of frequencies of mitigating features which co-occur with FTA's by FTA-category and by speaker role. (Features in focus are asterisked; all other politeness features are coded below the FTA).

1. Positive politeness features

    (a) familiar terms of address

      (1) minister--A comment,   *Mary, I visited Tim Williams tonight. And he was asking if any of our youth were going caroling and I said I hoped so, but you know heh heh cause I have some friends and we would like to go with them [a hint for Mary to make sure the youth go caroling] (6 mitigations)

    1 address   3 lexical content   5 first person

    2 if clause   4 you know   6 modal

      (2) Chair-- *Bill, do you want me to contact her and have her call and do this or do you wanna? [request for Bill to contact committee member] (2 mitigations)

    1 address   2 contraction

      (3) group member-- *Max, we're talking about other bequests coming in possibly in the future so we shouldn't

say that the goal is met.   [disagreement about financial
report terminology] (4 mitigations)

    1 address   3 lexical content

    2 first person   4 first person

    (b) elliptical forms

    (1)   minister-- *Can't¹ do that [schedule   classes
according   to   which worship service people are attending]
with everybody,   though, but the material we² have there³ is
there   is a page for the coordinator of membership and   it's
very clearly stated right there as to the things that would⁴
be   most helpful⁵ for that person to do,   and   we⁶ can   give
you that page to look over.   [subject deleted; disagreement
about scheduling of membership classes] (6 mitigations)

    1 ellipsis   3 clutter   5 lexical content

    2 first person   4 modal   6 first person

    (2)   chair-- Richard¹ *trustees² [verb deleted   in
assigned turn to give a report]. (2 mitigations)

    (3) group member--   *Could^{1,2} call em a facilitator
[subject deleted; suggestion for title of position] (2
mitigations) 1 ellipsis   2 modal

    (c) contracted forms

    (1) minister--(a) It's¹ a simple² little matter,
but we³ gotta⁴ update that [make a new film introducing the
church to prospective members] (4 mitigations).

    1 deferential form (minimizing task)   3 first person

    2 lexical content   4 contraction

                       1   2   3

(2) chair-- <u>Joe,</u> you *<u>wanna</u> give <u>us</u> an update on the nominating committee? (3 mitigations)

    1 address   2 contraction   3 first person

                                 1   2

(3) group member-- <u>Yeah,</u> but what <u>if</u> everybody else is <u>gonna</u> be bringing meat?[disagreement about potluck planning] (3 mitigations)

    1 partial agreement   2 if clause   3 contraction

(d) marked lexical items

(1) minister--When you talked to this company did you inquire whether or not they have a *<u>throne?</u> [laughter] I'm tired of sitting on that metal folding chair up there. I think it <u>oughta</u> have about a *<u>nine-foot</u> back to it. [disagreement and suggestion about better seating for minister] (4 mitigations)

    1 marked item   3 contraction

    2 lexical quasi-content 4 marked item

(2) chair-- You weren't paying attention, <u>Sue.</u> You <u>gotta</u> *<u>shape</u> <u>up</u> here (3 mitigations)

    1 address   2 contraction   3 marked item

(3) group member--1 <u>If</u> it looks like the thing looks good, <u>just</u> <u>sign</u> <u>a</u> <u>hunk</u> <u>of</u> <u>paper</u> and tell em to come and do it [suggestion about contracting for some electrical work] (3 mitigations)

1 if clause   2 lexical quasi content

3 marked item

(e) you know

(1) minister--That [hiring another staff person] [1] needs to be looked at to [2] really, do what is being done magnificantly but not ask the clergy person, the second person on the staff to be that [3] *you know part-time layperson [4], I'm not sure (4 mitigations)

1 passive   3 you know

2 lexical content   4 lexical content

(2) chair--But [1] *you know [2] I think they [3] would hesitate [to park in the church parking lot] because there aren't that many places available there (3 mitigations)

1 you know   2 lexical quasi-content   3 modal

(3) group member--[1]What about making it [a working bee to care for church lawn] a regular [2] like the second Saturday or the first Saturday [3] *you know, and then everyone that's available the second Saturday in the month, then you know that it's [4] gonna come up and you [5] can plan on it (5 mitigations)

1 Why don't type   3 you know   5 modal

2 lexical content   4 contraction

(f) lexical repetition

(1) minister-- The $\underset{1}{\underline{\text{record}}}$ $\underset{2}{\underline{\text{would}}}$ $\underline{\text{show}}$ that those churches who like missions have at least two or three durable, capable, exciting lay and clergy that keep the church very successful. The other thing is getting people to the mission fields themselves, and not just bringing missionaries in. I $\underset{4}{\underline{\text{would}}}$ like to see more people go to the mission field. $\underset{5}{\underline{\text{I}}}$ $\underline{\text{think}}$ it's time to send people to work camps, $\underset{6}{\underline{\text{if}}}$ $\underline{\text{not}}$ $\underset{7}{\underline{\text{to}}}$ *Alaska [lexical repetition of group member's comments about vacation in Alaska] then to [lists three countries, unclear], $\underset{8}{\underline{\text{I'm}}}$ $\underline{\text{not}}$ $\underline{\text{sure}}$ where, then come back. Cause the mileage you're $\underset{9}{\underline{\text{gonna}}}$ get out of that knowing where they're going to be going, and what they need to support them; part of what makes it successful is the preparation that everyone has: "we're $\underset{10,11}{\underline{\text{gonna}}}$ $\underline{\text{need}}$ $\underline{\text{tools,}}$ we're $\underset{12,13}{\underline{\text{gonna}}}$ $\underline{\text{need}}$ $\underline{\text{money,}}$ we're $\underset{14,15}{\underline{\text{gonna}}}$ $\underline{\text{need}}$ $\underline{\text{prayers.}}$ We're $\underset{16,17}{\underline{\text{gonna}}}$ $\underline{\text{need}}$ $\underline{\text{hugs;}}$ we're $\underset{18}{}$ $\underline{\text{gonna}}$ need all of that." $\underset{20}{\underline{\text{We're}}}$ proud of them before they go, when they go, while they're there and when they get back. That has a lot of residual effect on the rest of the church. And $\underset{21}{\underline{\text{if}}}$ $\underline{\text{you}}$ $\underline{\text{do}}$ $\underline{\text{that}}$ $\underline{\text{with}}$ $\underline{\text{some}}$ $\underline{\text{adults,}}$ you don't have to have a lot of information brought in. You either $\underset{22}{\underline{\text{gotta}}}$ go to missions or bring the missions to $\underset{23}{\underline{\text{us.}}}$ I don't see any other way to do it, $\underset{24}{\underline{\text{yeah,}}}$ so there are $\underset{25}{\underline{\text{other}}}$ $\underline{\text{ways}}$ of doing it (25 mitigations; each direct quote is marked).

1 distancing	8 lexical content	19 contraction
2 modal	9 contraction	20 first person
3 lexical content	10/11 contraction/marked item	21 if clause
4 modal	12/13 contraction/marked item	22 contraction
5 lexical quasi-content	14/15 contraction/marked item	23 first person
6 if clause	16/17 contraction/marked item	24 agreement
7 lexical repetition	18 marked item	25 lexical rep.

(2) chair--[minister has just praised a group member for receiving an award, noting: the fact that he has done it and the spirit in which he received it [unclear clause] We'll make more of it later [chair says: Well, let's *make a little of it right now [Everyone claps]. (4 mitigations)

1 hesitation   3 lexical repetition

2 first person   4 lexical content

(3) group member--[discussion has been about how to generate interest for an upcoming program]

GM 1: We've gotta give them something to sink their teeth into so that they'll know what it is

1 first person 2 contration   3 marked item   4 modal

GM 2: Some kind of little tease or

GM 1: A *little teaser or or something that will hopefully strike a responsive chord with an interest pattern of some kind. I mean that's what I think

(Total 9 mitigations)

    5 lexical repetition   6 clutter   7 lexical content

    8 lexical content 9 lexical quasi-content

    Chair: All right, do you do you realize what has been
going on to get--I thought of *the teaser... [continued
explanation to support chair's disagreement that the
"teaser" had alrady been provided by her as chair because
she had been publicizing through bulletin boards, etc.]

    (g) Terms of partial agreement
                          1   2
        (1) minister-- Well, *yes and no. The way that
works is that traditionally the Golden Cross Sunday is the
                          3   4
first Sunday in May and *there IS a formula whereby, um
part of it's supposed to go to the Methodist Children's
Home, part of it for the retirement homes, part of it you
keep in your own community for working with senior citizens
[acknowledges previous comment of chair that funds are
shared in some pre-designated way, i.e., according to some
                5   6
formula] but um for the last several years, what we've
done instead was to shift that from the first Sunday of May
on Golden Cross Sunday to the second Sunday in May and take
                                                 7
the   special offering on Mother's Day and and designate it
specifically for Chelsea Home because of the campaign that
8
we're involved in right now. (8 mitigations)

    1 hesitation   5 hesitation

    2 partial agreement 6 first person

    3 partial agreement 7 clutter

    4 hesitation   8 first person

(2) chair-- *I¹ know [that no estimation of the value of certain goods has been made] but that's the first thing the insurance people are gonna² ask them (2 mitigations)

1 partial agreement   2 contraction

(3) group member-- *Right,¹ but the total annual cost? [of increased advertising for the church] (1 mitigation)

1 partial agreement

(h) terms of reciprocity and mutual concern

(1) minister-- If¹ you² will allow³ about three minutes, which will⁴ stretch into five as⁵ you all know. I have some *sharing,⁶ I would⁷ like to do. (7 mitigations)

1 if clause   5 you know

2 modal   6 reciprocity

3 lexical content 7 modal

4 modal

(2) chair-- Actually,¹ I know you² have some concerns.³ Why⁴ don't you just⁵ go ahead and *share⁶ em now? We're⁷ pretty informal. The minutes can⁸ wait (8 mitigations)

1 lexical quasi-content   5 reciprocity

2 deferential term   6 first person

3 why don't   7 lexical quasi-content

4 lexical quasi-content   8 modal

No group member used any of these terms.

(i) Why don't will be illustrated under the results of hypothesis one, part one.

(j) Inclusive first person pronouns

    (1) minister--Now, do [1]*we need to check further with the city assessor when [2]*we're ready to do this, [3]Barb? [to allow parking in the church lot; minister directs this to chair, who will do the checking] (3 mitigations)

1 first person 2 first person 3 address

    (2) chair--You [1]oughta check the date on when [2]*we have to make that payment (2 mitigations)

1 contraction 2 first person

    (3) group member-- [1]*We better make sure in [2]*our [3]own minds that *we've got enough money to pay for the [4] [5]security system cause *we're still gonna have to buy it. (5 mitigations)

1,2,3,4 first person 5 contraction

(k) Because terms of defense are so rare, they are illustrated only in the section of Chapter Five on individual styles of ministers and chairs. No group member used this feature of politeness.

2. Negative Politeness Features

(a) hesitation markers. These are amply illustrated in other examples of this section and will be illustrated below as well.

(b) lexical content items

(1) minister-- Um *I wonder how you will follow up how we will follow up on the planning session in the spring of '85 (6 mitigations)

1 hesitation   3 modal   5 first person

2 lexical content   4 false start   6 modal

(2) chair--Yet *I feel that we lose something when we hire it done. Un there are times when I don't find it convenient for myself, but I still enjoy getting over here with the fellows and doing some of these projects, working at em. (4 mitigations)

1 lexical content   3 first person

2 first person   4 hesitation

(3) group member-- *I wonder if just you know explaining I mean I wasn't aware of it, maybe they're not aware they can be *a little more careful on the number of copies made (7 mitigations)

1 lexical content   5 lexical quasi-content

2 if clause   6 lexical quasi-content

3 lexical quasi-content 7 lexical content

4 you know

(c) lexical quasi-content

                                    1   2   3

(1) minister-- *Maybe what we wanna do is

prepare something special that would be a kind of sketchy

summary of the highlights of our ministry beyond our local

church and prepare it so that it'd be enclosed with the

first prospects and then make enough copies to use with the

rest of the congregation (8 mitigations)

1 lexical quasi-content	5 lexical content
2 first person	6 first person
3 contraction	7 first person
4 modal	8 modal

                             1   2 3

(2) chair-- *I think what we oughta do is put

this in a word processor and as these are complete *I think

I'll have a completed list [of maintenance projects] that

they'll go on, so they'll get out of the way and we'll

put that on the bulletin board up there, the big one (9

migitations)

1 lexical quasi-content	6 modal
2 first person	7 modal
3 contraction	8 first person
4 lexical quasi-content	9 modal
5 modal	

                           1 2   3

(3) group member-- We *just *I guess I'm only

speaking to the point up here by the door. It seems like

this spot in particular where it is a walkway through and it

5   6
<u>could</u> have attention done by <u>our</u> staff or whoever.

[disagreement about shoveling snow] (6 mitigations)

    1 first person   4 lexical content

    2 laxical quasi-content   5 modal

    3 lexical quasi-content   6 first person

    (d) <u>if</u> clauses
                             1   2
      (1) minister--What they're <u>really</u>. <u>I</u> <u>think,</u>
          3   4 5 6
asking from <u>us</u> at this point is that *<u>if</u> <u>we</u> <u>think</u> <u>that</u>
     7   8 9   10
<u>there</u> <u>may</u> <u>be</u> <u>something</u> <u>that</u> <u>we</u> <u>would</u> <u>consider</u> <u>doing</u> <u>as</u>
           11
<u>a</u> <u>church.</u> *<u>If</u> <u>they</u> <u>have</u> <u>something</u> <u>they're</u> <u>going</u> <u>to</u> <u>ask</u>
12   13   14,15
  <u>us</u> they <u>may</u> get further input--say <u>we'd</u> like all
                          16
the churches to do this instead of <u>just</u> saying "Do this";
                      17
they'd like to be able to say <u>we</u> all agreed to do this.
18   19   20
  <u>I'm</u> <u>not</u> <u>sure</u> that <u>we're</u> overcommitting <u>overly,</u>
          21   22   23
committing <u>ourselves</u> by naming someone who <u>would</u> <u>just</u>
                      24   25
be the receiver of information. <u>We</u> <u>may</u> not have
        26   27
anything to <u>share</u> back with them nor they with <u>us,</u> but
28   29
  <u>at</u> <u>least</u> <u>we</u> have contacts, fellowships [suggestion to

name a representative to the local sesquecentennial

committee] (29 mitigations)

1 lexical content	11 if clause	21 first person
2 lexical quasi-content	12 first person	22 modal
3 first person	13 modal	23 lexical quasi-content
· 4 if clause	14 first person	24 first person

5 first person	15 modal	25 modal
6 lexical quasi-content	16 lexical quasi-content	26 reciprocity
7 modal	17 first person	27 first person
8 first person	18 lexical cont.	28 lexical cont
9 modal	19 first person	29 first person
10 lexical content	20 false start	

(2)   chair Ok,   *if this is the $\overset{2}{\underline{feeling}}$ $\underline{of}$ $\underline{the}$
$\underline{trustees}$ shall $\overset{3}{\underline{we}}$ put it in the form of a motion so that I
$\overset{4}{\underline{can}}$ go back... (4 mitigations)

1 if clause   3 first person

2 lexical content   4 modal

(3) group member- $\overset{1}{\underline{Evelyn}}$, $\overset{2}{\underline{*if}}$ $\overset{3}{\underline{we're}}$ $\underline{going}$ $\underline{to}$ $\underline{be}$
$\underline{spending}$ $\underline{that}$ $\underline{much}$ $\underline{on}$ $\underline{additional}$ $\underline{copies}$ you $\overset{4}{\underline{just}}$ $\overset{5}{\underline{wonder}}$
$\overset{6}{\underline{*if}}$ $\overset{7}{\underline{maybe}}$ $\overset{8}{\underline{we}}$ $\underline{shouldn't}$ $\underline{invest}$ $\underline{in}$ $\underline{a}$ $\underline{copier}$. $\overset{9}{\underline{We're}}$
putting money down the drain. (9 mitigations)

1 address	4 lexial quasi-content	7 lexical quasi-content
2 if clause	5 lexical content	8 first person
3 first person	6 if clause	9 first person

(e) sub-class of modal verbs

(1) minister-- $\overset{1}{\underline{*Will}}$ you colorkey the nonmembers
so you $\overset{2}{\underline{*can}}$ easily tell which is which? (2 mitigations)

1 modal   2 modal

                            1   2
            (2) chair-- Bob,   *can you pursue that, then, and
3
uh follow through with the bill? (3 mitigations)

        1 address   2 modal   3 hesitation

                           1   2
            (3) group member-- If it doesn't if it doesn't
                               3   4
get much use,   [the church van] it might be worth cashin' in
(4 mitigations)

        1 if clause   3 modal

        2 clutter   4 marked item

        (f) non-compelling tags and tag-type questions
                               1
            (1) minister-- And uh also be alert the rest of
2   3
us for possibly of getting names [for a new secretary]   to
4   5   6
uh Bob Laidlow and to Jane so that she can help us.   *ok?
6 mitigations)

        1 hesitation   3 lexical content   5 first person

        2 first person   4 hesitation   6 tag

                      1   2   3
            (2) chair-- Well, let's let's see how this works
                      4   5   6
for awhile and see how we get along with it.   *Is that
agreeable with everyone? (6 mitigations)

        1 hesitation   3 lexical content   5 first person

        2 first person   4 lexical content   6 tag-type
                                                   question

                           1
            (3) group member--Since we have such a small
                                                 2
number there participating in the dinner--normally we line
                                              3
the wall in large numbers--to make sure that you know that
4   5   6
we have a balanced meal, would it be advisable just to

7
<u>see</u> <u>how</u> <u>many</u>   through whatever it was   in   the   three
                                                  8
different   occasions,   rearrange   that   <u>a</u> <u>little</u> <u>bit.</u>
9,10
     *<u>Would</u> <u>that</u> <u>make</u> <u>any</u> <u>sense</u> <u>at</u> <u>all?</u> (10 mitigation)

     1 first person   6 lexical quasi-content

    ·2 first person   7 lexical content

     3 you know   8 lexical content

     4 first person   9 tag-type question/modal

     5 modal   10 modal

     (g) <u>please</u>
                            1   2
          (1) minister-- <u>Would</u> you stand,   *<u>please?</u> (2

mitigations)

     1 modal   2 please

                        1   2   3
          (2) chair-- <u>Would</u> you *<u>please</u> take <u>a</u> <u>couple</u> <u>of</u>
                                   4   5
minutes at this time and <u>uh</u> make <u>us</u> aware of any
                      6
adjustments that <u>might</u> be necessary? (6 mitigations)

     1 modal   3 lexical content   5 first person

     2 please   4 hesitation   6 modal

                        1   2
          (3) group member-- <u>Uh</u>, I must have <u>uh</u> in March,
3
 *<u>please</u>, a letter of intent form the <u>uh</u> pew renovation

committee (4 mitigations).

     1,2,4 hesitation   3 please

     (h) self-effacements
                           1   2   3
          (1) minister--But <u>we</u> can't <u>just</u> say <u>we</u> did
        4   5
that, <u>we</u> did that.   Planning is something <u>we</u> do every
                                  6   7
year.   It isn't something you can <u>just</u> get away with, <u>you</u>

know? Otherwise, you let things slide. [8] *I do, anyway. So

I pledge myself to [9] help you as a Council on Ministries and

other leadership to look at what are [10] we are going to do in

'86 to plan for the future, instead of [11] just saying " [12] We

did it in '86 and it's time to do it again." (12

mitigations)

    1,3,4,5,10,12 first person

    2,6,11 lexical quasi-content

    7 you know

    8 self-effacement

    9 reciprocity

(2) chair-- I [1] would like to zero in on each work area's

major and [2] I don't know how you define that [3] exactly, major

but within the framework of your area, the major programs

you are considering for the coming year or what major

programs should be considered for the coming year to make

the coming year even more exciting and challenging and

rewarding than the current year. So many times [4] as a church

[5] we say well, [6] we did it last year, [7,8] we'll do it again

next year. [9] We don't [10] really say should [11] we do something

else in lieu of this, should [12] we do this or do it

differently next year? And what about a whole new topic of a

different kind? That's what [13] I'd like [14] us to pay

attention to, [15] *and I must admit that a financial analyst

[16] is maybe not the best sort of person to be directing
          [17]   [18]   [19]
this heh, but I know that you folks have some good

thoughts on programming, so [20] I'd [21] sorta like to throw it
open for general discussion, [22] probably as it affects your
own area (22 mitigations)

    1 modal   8 modal   16 lexical quasi-cont

    2 lexical cont.   10 lexical cont.17 lexical cont.

    3 lexical quasi- 13 modal   18 compliment
      content

    4 reciprocity   15 self-   19 address
                     effacement

    5,6,7,9,11,12,14 first person   20 modal

    21,22 lexical quasi-content

    (3) group member-- I [1] could use some suggestions
for those classes [church school classes] [2] if there's
something you're interested in [3] um for the class on [word
unclear] and also the class for sociables. [4] *I'm running
out of ideas here (4 mitigations)

    1 modal   3 hesitation

    2 if clause   4 self-effacement

    (i) compliments

    (1) minister-- [1] I'd like to ask you to do something
[2] as a board member. [3] *You [4] probably do it and don't even
realize you're doing it, but I want you to pay attention and
that [5] would be [6] just to [7] take a swing on one of these days
home from work or on the weekend to realize that even around
[8] us within a two-mile, three-mile radius, how many homes are

still going up. There are apartments and condos and homes.
Construction is still happening, and $\underset{9}{\underline{we}}$ do have still a
ripe harvest [opportunities to invite people to church] (9
mitigations)

    ·1 modal   4 lexical content   7 marked item

    2 reciprocity 5 modal   8 first person

    3 compliment 6 lexical quasi-cont.   9 first person

    (2) chair--...$\underline{*I}$ $\underline{know}$ $\underline{you}$ $\underline{folks}$ $\underline{have}$ $\underline{some}$ $\underline{good}$
$\underline{thoughts}$ $\underline{on}$ $\underline{programming}$... (compliment) [part of (2) under
self-effacements, above]

    (3) group member--[this only instance of "thank
you" was counted in this category] But, $\underset{1}{\underline{basically}}$, $\underset{2}{\underline{uh}}$ $\underset{3}{\underline{if}}$
$\underset{4}{\underline{if}}$ $\underline{you}$ $\underline{feel}$ that you $\underset{5}{\underline{could}}$ spend a half a day with us
whichever half day, $\underset{6}{*\underline{thank}}$ $\underline{you}$ (6 mitigations)

    1 lexical quasi-content   4 clutter

    2 hesitation   5 modal

    3 if clause   6 compliment

    (j) apology

    (1) minister--That is very good. You have 2000
people there and you do. You have 25 people... $\underset{1}{*\underline{I'm}}$ $\underline{not}$
$\underset{2}{\underline{making}}$ $\underline{light}$ $\underline{of}$ [3 unclear words] I am saying $\underline{let's}$ [is
interrupted] (2 mitigations)

    1 apology 2 first p.pl.

(2) chair--But what I want you to do after the
                        1   2
meeting tonight after <u>we</u> have chosen from that <u>wish</u> <u>list</u>
                       3
some of the things that <u>we</u> think that the committee should

be working on ever year---some of them are going to take
                                    4
more time. That's all right. <u>We've</u> got three years that
5   6
<u>we're</u> going to be working together. *<u>I'm</u> <u>sorry</u> <u>about</u> <u>that</u>
7   8   9
<u>Susan</u>. You're <u>gonna</u> have to <u>put</u> <u>up</u> <u>with</u> me in 1986, in
                                                         10
1987, in 1988. do you think you could stand it? You <u>put</u>
                                 11   12
<u>up</u> <u>with</u> <u>Bob</u> all these years. You <u>could</u> <u>put</u> <u>up</u> <u>with</u> me.
13   14
   <u>Well</u>, what <u>we</u> want you to do after you take this wish

list from the meeting, look it over (14 mitigations).

1,3,4,5,14 first person   8 contraction

2 marked item   9,10,12 marked item

6 apology   11 modal

7 address   13 hesitation

No group member apologized.

(k) deferential forms (address forms have been

illustrated above).
                         1
     (1) minister-- *<u>Rather</u> <u>than</u> <u>assume</u> <u>anything</u> <u>one</u>
               2   3
<u>way</u> <u>or</u> <u>the</u> <u>other</u> I <u>thought</u> five or six minutes here <u>would</u>
                        4
be profitable. Do <u>we</u> as a church want to name somebody to
              5
represent <u>us</u> at the sesqui-centennial? (5 mitigations)

1 deferential form   3 modal

2 lexical content   4,5 first person

(2) chair-- Rather than take a chance of tearing
it down and not having it get fixed back up in time for when

1   2   3   4
we need em, it might be better if we waited 'til summer.
5   6
*that way, maybe Joe won't have as much work this summer.

(6 mitigations)

1, 4 first person   3 if clause

2 modal   5 deferential form

6 lexical quasi-content

No group member used any deferential forms.

(1) distancing mechanisms

   (1) minister--in one example, the minister reads a
letter which asks for a representative to a city-wide
council.   It becomes clear in later discourse that he wants
the council to name a representative, e.g., "I'm not sure
that we're overcommitting overly committing ourselves by
naming someone, etc."

   (2) chair--In one example, the chair quotes from
the Bible that "wherever there are two or more of you
gathered together I will be there also" in order to support
having a New Year's Eve service even if only a few people
attend.

   (3) group member--"I think there should be copies
written to the Mrs. Warren and also to Fred" [use of passive
voice, instead of directly telling chair to write].

3.2.5 Uncoded Features

As noted earlier, time constraints kept me from formally considering certain other features which might count as features of positive and negative politeness. These include non-verbal features, such as gaze or body posture, interactional features such as interruptions or turn-completions and phonological features such as intonation and stress. The fact that these features were not included in this study, however, in no way indicates I consider them unimportant. It does mean, though, that, in general, I consider them redundant cues which typically co-occur with the features I have identified.

Redundancy is important because it helps ensure understanding where miscomunication might otherwise result. Due to this consideration, in Chapter Five I will mention certain non-verbal and paralinguistic features which co-occur with several of the politeness features coded in this study.

Chapter Three Endnotes

1

In this study I did not code each FTA for addressee, primarily for the reason that the majority of directives are directed to group members in total, and it was often difficult to distinguish if certain group members were to be the more direct recipients of an FTA than others. Where this factor was judged to make a difference, I have tried to take this into consideration. A more detailed analysis might have proven beneficial, however.

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CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

4.1 Results of Hypothesis One, Part One: Directive Types

The frequencies and distributions of directive-types which occurred in the data of this study partially supported Hypothesis One, part one. This hypothesis stated that ministers would perform a higher percentage of less coercive directive types, i.e., hints, (Category A) and question directives (Category B), than chairs, who would, in turn, display a higher percentage of these types than the group members. The hypothesis also stated that ministers would use lower percentages of the more coercive types, i.e., embedded imperatives and let's , need and strong modal statements (Category C) and imperatives (Category D), than would chairs, who would use lower percentages of these types than group members.

As Table 3 indicates, directives in categories A, B and D, i.e., hints, question directions and imperatives, respectively, were distributed as hypothesized, with higher percentages of hints and question directives (Categories A and B) and lower percentages of imperatives (Category D),

for ministers relative to other speakers. Although percentage differences between roles are not great, the outcome does indicate a tendency in the hypothesized direction.

Directives of Category C (embedded imperatives and let's, need, and strong modal statements), on the other hand, were not distributed as hypothesized. Chairs performed the highest percentages, followed by ministers and then by group members. This outcome is explained below in a discussion of the distribution of sub-types of Category C across the three roles. (Distributions of directive-types for individual ministers, chairs and group members are in Appendix C).

Table 3: Frequencies and Percentages of Directive Categories of the Total Number of Directives Performed by Ministers (M), Chairs (C), and Group Members (GM)

	A	%	B	%	C	%	D	%	Total
M	77	45.0	34	19.9	51	29.8	9	5.3	171
C	98	43.3	46	19.4	77	32.5	16	6.8	237
GM	65	41.4	19	12.7	41	27.3	25	16.7	150

NOTE: A-hints; B-question directives; C-embedded imperatives, let's, need, and strong modal statements; D-imperatives.

4.1.1 Distribution of Hints (Category A)

Looking first to the distribution of hints, Category A, in Table 3, we find that the percentage of hint directive types, of all directives performed by speakers in each role, was highest for ministers at 45 percent, second highest for chairs at 43.3 percent and lowest for group members at 41.4 percent.

The distribution of subtypes, however, Table 4, reveals that ministers performed a higher percentage of the agentless hints, (AH) at 9.9 percent, (17), the least coercive type of hint, than did chairs, 3.8 percent, (9) or group members, .7 percent (1).

Both premitigated hints (P) and non-coercive modal hints (NM) had quite even distributions across all roles. Premitigated hints comprise 16.4 percent, (28), of the ministers' directives, 16 percent, (38), of the chairs' and 26 percent, (39) of the group members'. Non-coercive modal hints comprise 14.6 percent, (25) of the ministers' directives, 11.4 percent, (27), of the chairs' and 16.7 percent, (25), of the group members'.

Wanna statements (WA)were very few, occurring mostly in the ministers' speech, 7 (4.1 percent). Chairs performed 2 (.8 percent), but none occurred in the speech of group members. Turn-assignments comprised 9.3 percent, (22), of the directives performed by chairs. This type, of course, was not an option for speakers in other roles. These two

categories, <u>wanna</u>-statements and turn-assignment statements, are so infrequent as to bear no further discussion here.

Table 4: Frequencies and Percentages of Hint-Directive Subtypes for Ministers (M), Chairs (C) and Group Members (GM).

	AH	%	P	%	NM	%	WA	%	T	%
M	17	9.9	28	16.4	25	14.6	7	4.1	-	-
C	9	3.8	38	16.0	27	11.4	2	.8	22	9.3
GM	1	.7	39	26.0	25	16.7	-	-	-	-

Note: AH-agentless hints; P-premitigated hints; NM-non-coercive modal hints; WA-wanna statements; T-turn-assignments. Percentages are listed directly following the absolute frequencies.

4.1.1.1 <u>Agentless Hints</u>. As noted, although agentless hints were relatively few in number, they were distributed very differently across the three speaker roles. Ministers performed the highest percentage, followed by chairs, then group members. Examples from the ministers' speech indicate this very off-record usage: (1) "It doesn't necessarily the agenda doesn't necessarily have to include every person that's going to report on the Council of Ministries, though it could." (2) "And um Ann Smith's name should be in there

you know um she's not working for them, [a local group] but she is indirectly." (3) "It just seems like a mounting kind of program that we have that would indicate some kind of on-site person to help facilitate the work of the church. But that's that's I just had that sense and I got support from a lot of different people, but we haven't pinned it down to say what that would look like specifically" [recommending hiring a new custodian].

Chairs occastionally use these indirect forms: (1) "So we will look for all of you"[to attend an upcoming meeting]. (2) "But just all I want is a word from everybody" [about missions]. (3) "We would like to get your input as to some of the things you feel should be a part of the evangelism work area." The only agentless hint by a group member: "Now, from my standpoint, it's something that I thoroughly enjoy. I understand that's a lot of work for the new people." [She wants to have an extra church service]. This type is distributed differently, then, across the three roles.

4.1.1.2 Premitigated Hints and Non-Coercive Modal Hints
These two categories of hints, premitigated hints and non-coercive modal hints, were both rather evenly distributed across speaker roles, although group members did perform a fairly high percentage of premitigated hints relative to other speakers (i.e., GM-26 percent; M-16.4 percent; C-16 percent). However, when these two types are further subcategorized according to whether there is no agent or the

agent is "we" or "you", an interesting comparison is revealed.

Again, following Ervin-Tripp (1976), "no-agent"-types represent "agent indirection", and are therefore hypothesized to be the least coercive. "We" types are less coercive than directives with "you". The most important fact about the distribution of premitigatd hints in Table 5 is that ministers never used the agent "you", but it occurred in 18.4 percent of the premitigated hints for chairs and 28.2 percent for group members.

Table 5:   Frequencies and Percentages of Subtypes of Premitigated Hints for Ministers (M), Chairs (C), and Group Members (GM)

	No Agent	%	We	%	You	%	Total
M	8	28.6	20	71.4	--	--	28
C	14	36.8	17	44.7	7	18.4	38
GM	18	46.1	10	25.6	11	28.2	39

The high percentage of the indirect "no-agent" types in the speech of group members (46.1 percent) seems to be partly an effect of the implicit addressee. That is, five of the agentless, premitigated hint directives issued by group members imposed upon the minister rather than upon group members, although the speaker addressed everyone in

the group. For example, one directive was a suggestion that prayer requests be made a part of the service. "With that maybe if they were brought into the service maybe people would make a connection to that to the prayer calendar. I'm just wondering maybe people would you know make the connection a little better." This speaker might assume this suggestion to be an imposition on the minister because the minister manages the worship service and must keep a strict time schedule. Indeed, soon the minister mildly disagrees: "I hadn't thought of it the way Marion mentioned it. It [the prayer list] means a lot to us in the morning when we're when Mary [the minister's wife] and I are together to have that list you know. It's right in our Bible and in The Upper Room and uh I think there's a risk of getting too many things in the service on Sunday morning um but then I'm usually heh the one that has to remember them all, so maybe that's just a feeling of you know I hope I don't forget something." Understandably, hints, as a relatively non-coercive directive-type would be chosen to express this impingement on a superior. For the same reasons, "you" might be avoided.

Non-coercive modal hints display a similar distribution of agent forms, as shown in Table 6. That is, "you" agents occur in highest percentages for group members at 88 percent (22), over chairs at 51.9 percent, (14), or ministers at 32 percent, (8). And ministers use a higher percentage of "we"

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statements, 68 percent, (17), than do either chairs, 48.1 percent, (13) or group members, 12 percent (3).

Table 6: Frequencies and Percentages of Subtypes of Non-Coercive Modal Hints for Ministers (M), Chairs (C), and Group Members (GM)

	We	%	You	%	Total
M	17	68.0	8	32.0	25
C	13	48.1	14	51.9	27
GM	3	12.0	22	88.0	25

Each of the following sets of examples of non-coercive modal hints illustrates general indirection on the part of speakers in all roles. However, the ministers' hints are longer and more mitigated, an issue which is discussed fully in Chapter Five: (a) ministers: (1) "Another possibility that occurs to me and we have to be careful with this um we heve a number of organized groups within the church that are often looking for some special project to fund in a given year and we might encourage them to consider this project; now you have to be careful with that so that the people in that group didn't feel that if they got contacted, 'Well, we've already given at the office'." (2) "Marie, one of the things you might do to encourage people to come [to church school] would be to have someone that's been in the adult church school um just have a couple of minutes in the 9:30 a

little testimony and an invitation rather than just the newsletter. I think sometimes people don't read it carefully." (b) Chairs: (1) "I trust[1] you will take back the apprehensions." (2) "Um Clyde, I would appreciate it if you would follow through and see if these people have any service personnel they can get out here and take a look at this," (c) Group Members: (1) "I think you might mention also that this year there was a 5 percent increase in the budgeted apportionments too, I think." (2) "But basically, uh if if you feel that you could spend a half a day with us whichever half day, thank you." [helping move food to a mission].

4.1.1.3 Summary. As a category, hints were used frequently by speakers in all roles, comprising almost half of all directives performed. However, the ministers did use higher percentages of hints and theirs were distinctive in several ways. First, more of the ministers' hints were of the agentless type, the least coercive type of hint. Second, in premitigated hints, the ministers never used the pronoun "you", but chairs and other group members did. Third, for non-coercive modal hints, the ministers used "you" less and "we" more than speakers in either of the other two roles. Finally, in some cases the ministers' hints are longer and more mitigating, points developed in Chapter Five.

4.1.2

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19.4

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close

Table

M

C

3M

Note

R=es

R=es

acro

Type

4.1.2 Question Directives

Question directives, Category B, were hypothesized to occur in higher percentages in the ministers' speech, followed by chairs, then group members. Table 7 indicates that this hypothesis was supported. Question directives comprise 19.9 percent, (34), of the ministers' directives, 19.4 percent, (34), of the chairs' and 12.7 percent, (19) of the group members. Ministers and chairs patterned very closely.

Table 7: Frequencies and Percentages of Question Directives Performed by Ministers (M), Chairs (C), and Group Members (GM)

	Q	%	T
M	34	19.9	171
C	46	19.4	237
GM	19	12.7	150

Note: Q=Total Number of Question Directives
T=Total Number of Directives
Percentages are listed following the absolute frequencies.

Question directives are subtyped into do-wanna questions, (DW) why don't questions (WH) and all other question directive forms (QD). The distribution is uneven across speaker roles, although frequencies of the first two types, DW and WH, are too low to be meaningful.

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As Table 8 shows, do-wanna questions comprise only about 2 percent (3) of the directives performed by ministers and only about 4 percent of those performed by chairs (9). Even though frequencies are too low to allow generalizations, it seems that do-wanna questions represent a more conventionalized way for the designated leader of a group to manage a meeting, e.g., (1) "Do you and Jack wanna work together?" (2) "Bev, do you wanna talk about the retreat?" (3) "Do you wanna make that in the form of a motion so you'll have that formalized?" and are quite marked in the speech of either ministers or group members.

Table 8: Frequencies and Percentages of Question-Directive Subtypes for Ministers (M), Chairs (C) and Group Members (GM)

	DW	%	WH	%	OQ	%
M	3	1.8	6	3.5	25	14.6
C	9	3.8	13	5.5	24	10.1
GM	3	2.0	3	2.0	13	8.7

Note: DW="do-wanna" questions
      WH=Why don't questions
      OQ=Ordinary question directives
      Percentages follow the frequencies.

4.1.2.2 **Why Don't Questions**. Why don't questions also occurred in higher percentages in the speech of the

chairs, 5.5 percent, (13), but also comprised 3.5 percent (6) of the directives performed by the ministers. However, one minister did not use any, another only three, and two of the three used by the third minister were directed to an associate pastor, someone of a relatively more equal social rank than ordinary group members who, for that reason, might receive a more direct interrogative form. This type comprised only 2 percent (3), of the directives performed by group members. This type of directive, too, seems to be more conventionalized for designated leaders, e.g., (1) "Why don't you go ahead and give your report on that?" (2) "Why don't you get with Bert and Find out what he knows?" (3) "Why don't we add that on as another separate issue?" (4) "Why don't you go ahead and share em [your concerns] now?" although ministers use this type occasionally, too, e.g., "Joe, why don't you talk to Sam Smith because Sam has watched this man and his two boys work. I think he'd have an idea if one of those boys would be able to do that."

As in the case of hints, why don't directives may be subcategorized further into "we" and "you" agent types. But these subtypes are infrequent and reveal no unusual pattern, as Table 9 shows. Speakers in all roles used both types.

Table 9:   Frequencies and Percentages of Why don't
            Question Directive Subtypes for Ministers (M),
            Chairs (C), and Group Members (GM)

	We	%	You	%	Total
M	2	33.3	4	66.7	6
C	7	53.8	6	46.2	13
GM	1	33.3	2	66.7	3

4.1.2.3 Ordinary Question Directives The more general

category of question directives, which usually have the

structure of yes-no questions, occurred in similar

percentages in the speech of ministers, 14.6 percent (25)

and chairs, 10.1 percent (24), relative to group members,

8.7 percent (13) as Table 8 showed. Therefore, this type

seems more characteristic of speakers in (overt or covert)

leadership roles in this social setting:

(a) Examples for Ministers: (1) "Do we as a church want

to name somebody to represent us?" (2) "Do you suppose if it

worked fantastically well we might choose to just leave it

that way all summer?" [the new church schedule] (3) "Bob,

what do you expect to happen that Sunday?" and a longer

example, long because it includes an analogy: (4) "Uh, my son

came home to other night and shared this with me. The

statistics are not important but I think that they said it

in his company when they try to stimulate a little

enthusiasm for the company, said uh that they made a

comparison somewhere in Canada that it takes 280,000 people plus to make the same number of vehicles that the Japanese made with 40,000. This is not boo on Canada or yea on Japan. The next part of that is those 40,000 plus make the same number as those 280,000 right? For suggestions on how to improve the way in which they do what they do, in Canada they receive of those 280,000 people 7,000 suggestions a year. In the Japanese company they receive 3,000 a day. Now I use that as an illustration to say how many does it take in Trinity United Methodist Church to make a program go? And I'm suggesting that it is born out of a sense of God's excitement in this no matter what we're feeling. That all of us the fact that we don't have to do more work, but stick with it, so I just like to share these kind of thoughts" (b) chairs: (1) "Steve, you'll see if you can get another bid?" (2) "Are you gonna add that one to your heating and electrical list, Bill?" (3) "Do you have any input on that, Ralph?" and (c) group members: (1) "What uh is the possibility of making the newsletter, floating every other one in the newsletter?" (2) "Secondly, would it be helpful if there was some good educational publicity to go with this because so many members I think feel that this is a tax on the members and there are specific ways in which that is done." (3) "Can those be put in the evangelism box and anyone who wants one can pick one up?"

4.1.2.4. <u>Summary</u> As a category, question directives were used in similar percentages by ministers and chairs.

They also occurred more frequently in the speech of ministers and chairs relative to group members, and both do you wanna and why don't types are more characteristic of the language of the chairs. These facts indicate certain leadership role dependencies. At the same time, however, all speakers use twice as many of the ordinary question directives as the other two types of questions. This relatively off-record form is thus a favored strategy by a majority of speakers.

4.1.3 Distribution of Embedded Imperatives and Let's, Need, and Strong Modal Statements (Category C)

Category C includes embedded imperatives, let's statements, need statements and strong modal statements. It was hypothesized that ministers would use lower percentages of directives in this category than would chairs, who would use lower percentages than group members. Table 10 shows that this hypothesis was only partially supported.

Table 10: Frequencies and Percentages of Category C-type Directives Performed by Ministers (M), Chairs (C), and group members (GM)

	C	%	T
M	51	29.8	171
C	77	32.5	237
GM	41	27.3	150

Note: C=Category C Directives; %=Percentage of Total Number of Directives; T=Total Number of Directives

Category C comprised 29.8 percent (51) of all the directives ministers performed, 32.5 percent (77) of the chairs' and 27.3 percent (41) of group members'. The percentages for both ministers and chairs are higher than predicted relative to those for group members, with the percentages for chairs the highest.

When we examine the distribution of subtypes, however, we find some expected outcomes, but some surprises as well. (See Table 11). First, strong modals occurred as hypothesized, with percentages for ministers lowest at 10.5 percent, chairs next at 11.8 percent and group members highest at 16.7 percent. But chairs performed a higher percentage of embedded imperatives, 8 percent, than either ministers, 2.3 percent, or group members, 3.3 percent.

Furthermore, need statements occurred in a reverse pattern from the predictions. Ministers performed the highest percentage, 11.7 percent (20), followed by chairs 4.6 percent (11) and group members 4.7 percent (7).

4.1.3.1   Embedded Imperatives   It seems that the embedded imperatives are rather conventionalized for chairs, who assign tasks and call on speakers to report, e.g., (1) "Would you take that responsibility, then?" or (2) "Shall we move on?" The ministers' were of a less direct sort: (1) "Would you be willing to uh to let Mary and Bob talk about what might happen in the preaching part and in the worship part?" (2) "Ok, would you like to put her name in nomination?"

Table 11:   Distribution and Frequencies of Category C
             Subtypes of Directives

	E	%	L	%	NE	%	S	%
M	4	2.3	9	5.3	20	11.7	18	10.5
C	19	8.0	19	8.0	11	4.6	28	11.8
GM	5	3.3	4	2.7	7	4.7	25	16.7

Note: E=Embedded Imperative; L=Let's Statements; NE=Need
         Statements; S=Strong Modal Statements. Percentages
         are listed next to the frequencies.

(3) "Would you like to change your motion?" Those of group
members were all between speakers who were working on the
same project and giving a group presentation at the meeting,
e.g., (1) "Mary, could you speak to that?" or (2) "Mary,
would you care to add something?" a generally
uncharacteristic role for group members.

Embedded imperatives were also realized in two
subtypes, one with the agent "we", the other with "you". As
Table 12 shows, "you" occurs in the major of cases for each
role, but frequencies are low for all but chairs.

4.1.3.2. Let's Statements. Let's statements also
mainly seem to be conventionalized to use by chairs (8
percent or 9), although ministers did use some (5.3 percent
or 9). Typically, let's statements for chairs are of the

Table 12:   Frequencies and Percentages of Subtypes of Embedded Imperatives for Ministers (M), Chairs (C) and Group Members (GM)

	We	%	You	%	Total
M	1	25.0	3	75.0	4
C	6	31.6	13	68.4	19
GM	1	20.0	4	80.0	5

sort which keep the meeting moving, e.g., (1) "Let's move on (2) "Let's look at our minutes," (3) "Let's ask Bob for his pastor's report," (4) "Ok, uh let's just take care of a couple of other business items first and then we'll get on to the program planning." They occasionally involve other subjects, too however, e.g., (5) "Well, let's uh let's reserve judgment on whether that's good or bad. I don't think it's if it isn't creating a big problem for you folks" [scheduling]. For ministers, let's statements were mostly of the second sort and had little to do with the logistics of the meeting, e.g., (1) "Let's pass the word around and encourage people to come to make sure that they get there enough ahead of time" [explanation continues] (2) "Well, let's ponder over it"(3) "Let's move ahead now" [for Jesus Christ]. But some did pertain to procedure, e.g., (4)"Let's nominate and elect her twice if we have to." Those of group

members were also of both types, e.g.,(1) "Ok, now let's look at the current [expenses] and that's the goldenrod sheet," but also the more serious, (2) "I mean if we're going to paint, let's paint it all."

4.1.3.3.   Need Statements.   Need statements were characteristic of the ministers' speech.   Ministers performed 20 (11.7 percent), chairs 11 (4.6 percent) and group members 7 (4.7 percent) as Table 11 illustrated. This outcome supports Ervin-Tripp's findings that need statements are generally issued downward in rank.   Need statements in the present data may be subtyped into "you" and "we" agent forms, as well as "I" and agentless forms. However, typically they have "we" agents, as Table 13 indicates.

Table 13:   Frequencies and Percentages of Subtypes of Need Statements for Ministers (M), Chairs (C) and Group Members (GM)

	We	%	No Agent	%	I	%	You	%	Total
M	17	85.0	--	--	1	5.0	2	10.0	20
C	8	72.7	1	9.0	1	9.0	1	9.0	11
GM	4	57.1	--	--	1	14.3	2	28.6	7

Usually, need statements address either future needs of the church of an immediate need that can be met at the meeting. They are generally weightier in topic, however, than those

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of Ervin-Tripp (1976). In her data, need statements were fulfilled by handing someone an object, for example. In my data, a need may be for a range of things. In examples from the ministers, one need was for a new secretary, e.g., (1) "Every time that I can I wanna acknowledge a very very special family and very special human being. She has been a tremendous asset to our church [the secretary who is leaving] an uh delighted to see Peg here, but also then to let you let that be a means of reminding you that we're in need of someone to take her place." Another need is for a general future direction for a committee, e.g., (2) "And I applaud and totally support the things the education area did, but there are things now the education area just need to go out and do and not wait." However, some need statements are more immediate, e.g., for a clarification of plans . (3) "We need to sharpen that up [who has responsibility to shovel snow from the parking lot] because uh it snows in the night and we park here during the day," or for volunteers or ideas, e.g., (4) "One of the other things that we need, I think, Madame Chairman, is somebody that might be a resource person to help us publicize the Michigan Christian Advocate" (5) "I need input." These directives express a relatively great amount of face threat.

The few need statements performed by chairs ranged from meeting logistics, e.g., (1) "Then I guess we need to have an election" [to requests for a volunteer], (2) "I need a volunteer for next Tuesday evening if any of you can come to

the COM meeting," to advice for future directions (3) "I think that this is something that needs to be reviewed, the adequacy of our sign-up sheet, because as Elaine points out there is no place for them to sign." They were less weighty in topic than those of the ministers.

The need statements of group members were very similar to those of chairs, generally involving procedure: (1) "We need to file a letter of intent, please, from that committee this next month" (2) "What I need is approval from you" (3) "We need to go again over what the responsibilities of this person would be" [before she volunteers].

4.1.3.4 Strong modal statements The last subcategory of Category C consists of strong modal statements. The distribution of this type was as hypothesized, although frequencies indicate small differences among speakers in the three roles: ministers 18 (10.5 percent); chairs, 28 (11.8 percent); group members, 25 (16.7 percent), as shown in Table 11. Strong modals are subtyped into "we" and "you" agent types, also. Table 14 shows that both chairs and group members used a higher percentage of "you" types than did ministers, although all used more "we" types. One group member used an agentless form.

Strong modal statements occur in the speech of speakers in all roles, although ministers use the lowest percentage of this quite coercive type. These directives deal with a range of relatively serious concerns: (a) ministers: (1)

Table 14: Frequencies and Percentages of Subtypes of Strong Modal Statements for Ministers (M), Chairs (C) and Group Members (GM)

	No Agent	%	We	%	You	%	Total
M	--	--	14	77.8	4	22.2	18
C	--	--	16	57.1	12	42.9	28
GM	1	4.0	13	52.0	11	44.0	25

"OK, Mr. Chairman, the other part of this uh is to say to the committee uh we have to keep an accurate record" [explanation continues] (2) "I think that we oughta look seriously at running 220 service in there and putting baseboard heating where there are small children like that" [explanation continues] (3) "I think the church is going to have to look at additional staffing in the next two or three years" (b) Chairs: (1) "I think maybe we should consider priority posting" (2) "And I think that we should say to those people up front I would simply say that I know it's the 60 [thousand dollars] that we have to come through with for this year" [explanation continues] (3) "I think the first and most important thing that we must do and that is to establish a close working relationship with the membership chairman, bless her ever-lovin' heart, alias Elaine Jones;" (c) group members: (1) "I think that's something else that

should be considered" (2) "And it should be The Rev. [as a title] for both of them" [both ministers under discussion], (3) "We've got to swing it financially, though, haven't we?" [downward intoned]. The frequency distribution of topically similar strong modal statements thus indicates a somewhat more overt expression of power for chairs and group members relative to ministers.

4.1.3.5 <u>Summary</u>. In sum, Category C types of directives are distributed differently by sub-types so that certain types are much more typical of speakers in certain roles. Chairs typically perform many embedded and let's directives, while ministers perform many need statements. Strong modals are used less often by ministers relative to chairs and group members, although all speakers use many of this type. Again, certain role differences seem evident.

4.1.4 Imperatives

Imperatives, Category D, are relatively rare in the speech of both ministers and chairs. Group members, however, perform as many imperatives as they do strong modal directives (25 of each). The hypothesis predicted this distribution of imperatives across roles, and is therefore supported. Table 15 shows the distribution.

Although direct imperatives were used by two ministers, in most cases these imperatives were different from those of speakers in other roles. They either (a) did not relate to serious future concerns, e.g., (1) "Don't take it to the

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Table 15: Frequencies and Percentages of Imperatives for Ministers (M), Chairs (C), and Group Members (GM)

	Imperatives	Percentages	Total # Directives
M	9	5.3	171
C	16	6.8	237
GM	25	16.7	150

Jenkins "[a joke about not taking a welcome gift to long-time members of the church], (2) "Check their teeth" [a joke about how to determine the age of prospective members of the church] or (b) seemed to show attention to the hearer's face wants, either positive face wants, e.g., (3) "So, Susan, receive our love," or negative face wants (4) "Stay with me" [while I continue a lengthy report], (5) "You go on with other business" [while I have to leave the room on an errand]. In only two cases were imperatives about a slightly more serious issue, and then it is somewhat mitigated with hesitation and first-naming, e.g., (6) "Well just think about it, Joe" [a storage place for expensive handbells]. However, one imperative was ambiguous in seriousness, (7) "Mark that down" [a joking request for a

group member to make a note that nother group member promised to complete a certain task for the minister].

On the other hand, imperatives issued by chairs clearly requested a specific action, e.g., (1) "Before you leave today, take a look at some of the things that came to me because I'm Missions Chairperson," (2) "Ask Ann to see who we're presently buying paper from," (3) "Now the office has a charge card at Jack's Hardware, so pick that up and use it, then." Some chairs seemed to issue imperatives as a sign of deference and solidarity, e.g., (4) "Any time it gets too quiet [any time you can't hear me], give a holler," (5) "Tell us about it" [a joking, pretended interest in a potentially boring report the minister wants to make].

When group members issued imperatives they always requested specific actions, e.g., (1) "Well, paint one wall black." (2) "Put it on the computer so you can go in there and use it." (3) "Bring your tools" (4) "Now drop down about a half inch there" [in the finance report sheet] (5) "So make a point to speak to her" [a new member]. They did not specifically address attention to the hearer's face wants, although this syntactic form assumes general familiarity.

4.2 Informal Results Concerning Distribution of Disagreements and Disagreement/Directives

Disagreements and disagreement/directives form two additional categories of FTA types which were coded for occurrence and for co-occurring features of politeness, but

not included formally in a separate hypothesis. The most interesting finding is that group members performed a higher percentage of disagreements than speakers in other roles.

As Table 16 shows, directives occurred in higher percentages than disagreements for speakers in each role, which, in turn, occurred in higher percentages than disagreements/directives. 70.7 percent of the ministers' FTA's were directives, 22.3 percent were disagreements, and only 7 percent were disagreement/directives; 84.6 percent of the chairs' were directives, 12.9 percent were disagreements and only 2.5 percent were disagreement/directives. But the distribution was somewhat different for group members. The percentage of directives they performed totaled 52.6 percent, but was also as high as 39.3 percent for disagreements, while 8.1 percent for disagreement/ directives.

Table 16 displays these general results in absolute numbers and in percentages. Individual distributions for ministers, chairs and group members are in Appendix D.

Another role-related finding concerns differences in distribution of certain structural types of disagreements. Out of the total number of disagreements, 202, 172 or 85 percent were statements. The remaining thirty were in interrogative form. Ministers only performed four question disagreements, (7.4 percent), e.g., (1) "Has been?" [a complaint has been filed] you know, that's an assumption. I didn't see it. This is an assumption" (2) "Sylvia doesn't

Table 16: Distribution of Directives, Disagreements, and Disagreement/Directives for Three Roles. M-Minister; C-Chair; GM-Group Member

	#DR	#DS	#D/D	T	% DR	%DS	%D/D
M	171	54	17	242	70.7	22.3	7.0
C	237	36	7	280	84.6	12.9	2.5
GM	150	112	23	285	52.6	39.3	8.1

Note: DR represents directives; DS-disagreements, D/D-disagreement/directives, T-Total number of FTA's for each role

have one?" [a key to the church]. Chairs performed twelve (33 percent), e.g., (1) "Wouldn't that come under Membership and Evangelism?" [speaker is trying to shirk responsibility for a task] (2) "How have you sold the people you're displacing on being displaced?" Group members performed fourteen, (14.3 percent) e.g., (1) "Are we doing projects that are uh gonna have to be undone?" (2) "Jim, what was the idea of going through the closet, the cloakroom area?" Question disagreements were thus more characteristic of the speech of the chairs.

Disagreement/directives, a combination of a disagreement and a directive, as in (1) "But as we finish things, let that list grow," (2) "We can we can do that, but a quicker way would be to co -opt and do it here and then he

*c*ould be replaced," were a similarly infrequent FTA-*ca*tegory for all speakers.

4.3 **Results** **of** **Hypothesis** **One,** **Parts** **Two** **through** **Six:**
           Politeness **Features**

4.3.1 Hypothesis One, Part Two

       Hypothesis one, part two stated that ministers would mi*t*igate a higher percentage of their FTA's with features of pos*i*tive and negative politeness than would chairs. Chairs wou*l*d mitigate a higher percentage than would group members. This hypothesis is supported, as Table 17 shows; however, there was little difference in the mitigation patterns of ministers versus chairs. Ministers mitigated 99.2 percent of the FTA's which they performed, chairs, 97.1 percent, but group members only 78.9 percent.

Table 17:   Percentage of Mitigated FTA's for Minister (M);
            Chair (C); Group Members (GM)

	Total # FTA's	Total #FTA's Mitigated	Percent FTA's Mitigated
M	242	240	99.2
C	280	272	97.1
GM	285	225	78.9

4.3.2 Hypothesis One, Part Three

       Hypothesis one, part three stated that ministers would use more features of positive and negative politeness per

FTA committed than would chairs; chairs would use more than *group* members. This hypothesis is supported, as Table 18 *indicates.* The average number of mitigations per FTA for *group* members is 2.4, for chairs 3.3 and for ministers 7.8.

Table 18: Mitigations per FTA for M-Ministers; C-Chair; GM-Group Members

	Total # FTA's	Total # Mi i·ations	Average # Mitigations/FTA
M	242	1881	7.8
C	280	931	3.3
GM	285	689	2.4

A breakdown of the average number of mitigations for *individual* ministers and chairs is given under hypothesis *two* below. Appendix E lists the distributions for the group *members.*

Many of the FTA's performed at the meetings contain *fewer* than the average number of mitigations, such as the *majority* of those illustrated under hypothesis one, part one *above.* At the same time, many FTA's also contain more than *the* average number of mitigations. This was illustrated in *the* examples in Chapter Three.

Here I will present several more of these mitigated *examples* to further illustrate the occurrence of a mixture

of mitigation types in the speech of ministers, chairs and group members. I will also present examples of FTA's that contain relatively few or no mitigations in order to better show how the average number of mitigations for each speaker role was derived. Politeness features are again underlined and coded by number.

(1) Ministers:

(a) Minister wants to fill a need for social programming (9 mitigations)

$\overset{1}{\underset{}{}}$Uh--the things that $\overset{2}{\underline{jump}}$ $\underline{out}$ at me $\overset{3}{\underline{we}}$ have no programming that has replaced the social need of that which was done by BCAM [a church organization] I haven't had $\overset{4}{\underline{hundreds}}$ of people say that to me, but I've had enough. There's nothing currently that's going on in the life of the church that meets some kind of need in some people's lives like people coming together $\overset{5}{\underline{being}}$ $\underline{with}$ $\underline{one}$ $\underline{as}$ $\underline{Christian}$ $\underline{friends}$ in an activity down in the fellowship hall and whatever else you did $\overset{6}{\underline{right}}$? $\overset{7}{\underline{We}}$ don't need to start that up again, but $\overset{8}{\underline{we}}$ need to look at is that indeed a vacuum $\overset{9}{\underline{I'm}}$ $\underline{not}$ $\underline{saying}$ $\underline{its}$ $\underline{the}$ $\underline{most}$ $\underline{important}$ $\underline{thing}$ but I have had that comment.

1	hesitation marker	6	tag
2	marked lexical item	7	first person plural
3	first person plural	8	first person plural
4	marked lexical item	9	deferential expression
5	reciprocity		

(b) Minister disagrees as to the source of the problem
in overuse of the copying machine (17 mitigations)

```
                1      2                    3
        What  what  I'm thinking  though  you see is when  you
  4
    when you're running 12 copies of this and 17 copies of that
                                        5
and  13  copies for the trustees and  and 9 of something for
the  nomination  committee,  this  is  one  thing  and  they
6        7
 numbers  creep up a little at a time,  but when you run 650
                                                        8
for  a  newsletter for each side and each  page  um  that's
        9        10
where it  really   the  number  of  copies really   jumps
                11
enormously.  Not  not by the dozen,  but by  the  hundreds.
    12            13
You   could eliminate  a whole batch of committees and  all
        14              15
of   the   the work that they   uh do in the copying  things
for  a  whole year,  and you wouldn't equal  the  number  of
copies  that are required for one mailing of the newsletter,
            16                      17
where you're   where you're running  like several thousand.
```

1	clutter	7 marked lexical item	13 marked lexical item
2	lexical content	8 clutter	14 clutter
3	you know	9 lexical content	15 clutter
4	false start	10 false start	16 clutter
5	clutter	11 clutter	17 lexical quasi-content
6	false start	12 modal	

(c) Minister wants to select name for a representative
later. (2 mitigations)

```
        1    2
        Well  let's ponder over it.
```

1 hesitation   2 first person

(d) Minister advises who to see about storage problems

(2 mitigations).

        1   2

You may wanna talk to him.

1 modal   2 contraction

(2) Chairs

(a) Chair of trustees suggests duties to committee

members (12 mitigations).

                            1   2 3 4

Thinking about it from our side uh I would think

5   6   7   8

we as trustees would need to determine if we hire

                                     9 10

somebody full-time, what functions uh maybe even what

       11 12

hours we would want them to work.

1 first person   5 first person   9 clutter

2 clutter   6 modal   10 lexical quasi-
                                            content

3 lexical quasi-   7 if clause   11 first person
   content

4 modal   8 first person   12 modal

(b) Chair of COM asks for committee members to attend a

special meeting (8 mitigations)

            1   2   3

I think it'd be particularly important that as many

                                     4   5   6

members of the Council be present as possible. This is a

                          7

little bit bad to say but we represent the spiritual side

of the church heh heh as opposed to the trustees being less

                8

spiritual, I guess.

1 lexical quasi-content	5 self-effacement
2 modal	6 lexical content
3 lexical content	7 first person
4 lexical content	8 lexical quasi-content

(c) Chair challenges group member about obtaining approval for building ideas (1 mitigation)

    1
I understood you were to have gotten one.

1 lexical content

(d) Chair assigns duties

Go ahead and bring dessert (no mitigations)

(3) Group Members

(a) A group member suggests how to build a ramp at Church for handicapped people. (8 mitigations)

    1   2   3
Steve, you mentioned three alternatives I wonder if
                          4   5   6
You've looked at a fourth which may not be at all
Suitable: is the rise in the number of steps so you
                                    8
Couldn't make a ramp the full the full length of it
instead of having it half the way?

1 first name	5 modal
2 lexical content	6 lexical content
3 if-clause	7 negative question
4 deferential expression	8 clutter

(b) A group member suggests times that classes for membership could be offered (4 mitigiations).

```
1                2    3                           4
I mean, you   could maybe say every other Sunday you
```

know to coincide with [words].

| 1 lexical quasi-content | 3 lexical quasi-content |
| 2 modal | 4 you know |

(c) A group member disagrees with financial report (no mitigations).

I disagree with that, 3000 dollars in the year in the budget '85-'86 and 1500 dollars '86-'87.

(d) A group member is worried that not enough people will come to the program that they are planning. The chair thinks he is too negative and he responds: (no mitigations).

No, I was expressing a concern.

Clearly, the average number of mitigations across all FTA-types according to speaker role (2.4 for group members, 3.3 for chairs and 7.8 for ministers) indicates that the norm is for speakers in each role to use a great deal of mitigation. With small exception, all FTA's are mitigated by both chairs and ministers. Only group members perform some unmitigated FTA's.

4.3.3 Hypothesis One, Part Four

Hypothesis one, part four stated that ministers would use more different types of features of politeness than would chairs; group members would use the fewest different types. As Table 19 shows, this hypothesis was partially supported. Not only ministers, but chairs as well, used all

twenty-three types of politeness, although no one minister
or chair used all of the features. However, one positive
politeness feature type, using terms of defense, occurred
only once for one chair, whereas this type was more evenly
distributed for ministers. These individual distributions
will be illustrated in the discussion of hypothesis two. As
noted in the exemplification of features in discourse of
Chapter Three, four politeness types did not occur in the
speech of group members. They are: terms of reciprocity
and concern, apologies, deferential forms, and defense
terms.

Table 19:   Number of Politeness Types for Ministers (M);
            Chair (C); and Group Members (GM)

	# Positive Politeness Types	# Negative Politeness Types	Total # Types Used
M	11	12	23
C	11	12	23
GM	9	10	19

4-3.4 Hypothesis One, Part Five

        The fifth part of hypothesis one stated that the
overall percentage of positive politeness features relative
to all politeness features used would be higher for the
ministers, second-highest for chairs and lowest for groups.
Table 20 indicates that this hypothesis was partially

supported. The percentage is lowest for group members, as predicted. However, chairs display a higher percentage of positive politeness features than either ministers or group members. As with other distributions, ministers and chairs pattern more closely with each other than with the group members. Such similarity is expected, as they are both in more statusful positions.

Table 20: Relative Percentage of Positive and Negative Politeness for Ministers (M), Chairs (C), and Group Members (GM)

	% Positive Politeness	% Negative Politeness
M	38.5	61.4
C	39.9	59.9
GM	32.5	67.5

4 - 3.5 Hypothesis One, Part Six

The sixth and last part of hypothesis one stated that ministers would do more downward lexical style-shifting from a more consultative style to a more casual style, i.e., use more marked lexical items, in the commission of FTA's than would chairs. Chairs, in turn, would do more than group members. As Table 21 illustrates, this hypothesis was generally supported.

Table 21:   Comparison of Frequencies and Percentages of
             Downward   Style-Shifts   of   all   Positive
             Politeness Features and of all   Politeness
             Features   for Ministers (M), Chairs (C), and
             Group Members (GM).

	# Downward Style Shifts (Marked Lexical Items)	% of All Pos. Politeness Features	% of All Politeness Features
M	117	16.2	6.2
C	20	5.4	2.1
GM	13	5.8	1.9

Ths ministers' styleshifts comprised 16.2 percent of
all the positive politeness features they used and 6.2
percent of all politeness features.   Tnese percentages are
much higher than the comparable percentages for speakers in
other roles.   However, the difference between the shifts of
Chairs and group members is almost negligible. For speakers
in these roles, percentages of both categories of politeness
are roughly equivalent.

      The following example illustrates the occurrence of a
marked lexical item in the commission of an FTA.   The
Chair's use of the casual style item blitz seems intended to
minimize the imposition of having to summarize the minutes
of   the last meeting. "Well, let me blitz through [the
minutes]." Other examples for ministers follow in the
discussion of hypothesis two.

4.4 Results of Hypothesis Two

The second hypothesis referred to variability in usage patterns among the three ministers and among the twelve chairs. It stated that there would be diversity in the types of politeness features and in their frequency of occurrence among the ministers and also among the chairs. It also stated that ministers and chairs would vary among themselves in the average number of mitigations per FTA and in the percentage of positive politeness. This outcome was expected because status or role is not an exclusive determinant of linguistic choice. However, I expected closer patterning among ministers than among chairs, due to the ministers' occupational investment in negotiating support.

All parts of the hypothesis were supported. Variation in average number of mitigations will be illustrated first, followed by variation in percentage of positive politeness. The remainder of the section will focus on the distribution and frequency of politeness features.

4 - 4.1 Average Number of Mitigations

Tables 22 and 23 illustrate the average number of mitigations per FTA for each minister and each chair. (Mitigations for each of the eleven groups are given in Appendix E. Remember that in one group, meeting number

eight only the chair and the minister performed FTA's. That
is why there are eleven instead of twelve groups).

As the tables indicate, there was variation among the
ministers as well as among the chairs. According to Table
22, the average number of mitigations for the first
minister, M-1, was 11.3, for M-2, 7.4 and for M-3, 4.8,
although each minister performed approximately the same
number of FTA's. For ministers, we will recall, the average
number of mitigations per FTA was obtained by totalling
mitigations and FTA's across four meeting types.

Table 22: Mitigations/FTA for Ministers

	Total # FTA's	Total # Mitigations	Average # Mitigations/FTA
M—1	80	905	**11.3
M—2	76	562	7.4
M—3	86	414	*4.8

*Lowest   **Highest

Each chair, however, was observed at only one meeting;
therefore, meaningful generalizations are not possible.
Only tendencies may be suggested. Table 23 displays figures
according to each of the four meeting types. Greatest
variability is evident in the language of chairs of the
Outreach meeting type, with the lowest average number at 2.3
and the highest at 5.1.

Table 23: Mitigations/FTA for Chairs

	Total # FTA's	Total # Mitigations	Average # Mitigations/FTA
Ad.Bd.			
C-1	33	90	2.7
C-2	20	53	2.7
C-3	26	97	3.7
COM			
C-4	23	100	4.4
C-5	17	51	3.0
C-6	16	44	2.8
O			
C-7	30	69	*2.3
C-8	9	46	**5.1
C-9	24	93	3.9
T			
C-10	21	77	3.7
C-11	23	66	2.9
C-12	39	144	3.7

NOTE:
Ad.Bd.=Administrative Board
COM=Council on Ministries
O=Outreach
T=Trustees

*Lowest **Highest

The range of variation was slightly higher for ministers (4.8-11.3 or 135 percent) than for chairs (2.3-5.1 or 122 percent). (It was highest for the groups (1.2-4.4 or 266 percent), as Appendix E shows). Although the numbers are too small to make meaningful comparisons, there is a tendency for ministers and chairs to pattern more closely together than either does with the groups.

4.4.2 Percentages of Positive and Negative Politeness

Tables 24 and 25 illustrate the relative percentages of positive and negative politeness for ministers and chairs. The overall tendency is toward less variability among tne ministers (36.4-41.3 or 12 percent variability) than among chairs (26.1-60.9 or 133 percent).

M-2's FTA-related speech displayed 36.8 percent positive politeness; M-1, 38.5 percent and M-3, 40.6 percent. For chairs, the lowest percentage is 26.1 percent for C-8. Several other chairs, C-3 at 32 percent, C-5 at 29.4 percent, C-10 at 33.8 percent and C-12 at 34.7 percent all displayed lower percentages than any of the ministers. However, C-2 at 52.8 percent, C-6 at 56.8 percent, C-7 at 60.9 percent and C-9 at 50.5 percent displayed percentages higher than any minister.

For both tables, P denotes positive politeness; N denotes negative politeness; T=Total # politeness features.

Table 24:   Percentages of Positive and Negative Politeness
              for Ministers.

	# P Features	# N Features	T	% P	% N
M-1	348	557	905	38.5	61.5
M-2	207	355	562	*36.8	63.2
M-3	168	246	414	**40.6	59.4

* Lowest   **Highest

Table 25:   Percentages of Positive and Negative Politeness
               For   Chairs

	# P Features	# N Features	T	% P	% N
C-1	33	57	90	36.7	63.3
C-2	28	25	53	52.8	47.2
C-3	31	66	97	32.0	68.0
C-4	36	64	100	36.0	64.0
C-5	15	36	51	29.4	70.6
C-6	25	19	44	56.8	43.2
C-7	42	27	69	**60.9	39.1
C-8	12	34	46	*26.1	73.9
C-9	47	46	93	50.5	49.5
C-10	26	51	77	33.8	66.2
C-11	27	39	66	40.9	59.1
C-12	50	94	144	34.7	65.3

*Lowest   **Highest

4.4.3 Distribution and Frequency of Politeness Features

The types and frequency of occurrence of politeness features varied among both ministers and chairs. However, as expected, there was more similarity in the occurrences of politeness features in the ministers' speech relative to chairs. This outcome is in line with the findings of the previous section that there is an overall pattern of more similar percentages of positive and negative politeness for the ministers as a group compared to speakers in other roles. This fact suggests that for ministers, especially, there is a greater abstract commonality of positive and negative politeness, which is realized in different distributions of specific features.

I will present the distribution of features used by the three ministers first, followed by distribution for chairs. Distributions for the groups may also be found in Appendices F and G.

4.4.3.1 Politeness Features of the Ministers.

4.4.3.1.1 Positive Politeness Features. The ministers' use of features of positive politeness suggests their willingness to decrease the social distance holding between them and group members. Table 26 lists the features by type, frequency and percentage of the total number of politeness features which occurred. F denotes frequency. Percentages are listed immediately following each frequency.

Table 26: Positive Politeness Feature Type Distribution for Ministers

	M-1 F	M-1 %	M-2 F	M-2 %	M-3 F	M-3 %
A. Markers of in-group membership						
1. Familiar terms of address	7	.8	5	.9	30	7.3
2. Elliptical forms	5	.6	1	.2	6	1.5
3. Contracted forms	21	2.3	24	4.3	9	2.2
4. Marked lexical items	74	8.2	20	3.6	23	5.6
B. Markers of Cooperation						
1. You Know	16	1.8	6	1.1	9	2.2
2. Lexical repetition	3	.3	1	.2	3	.7
3. Partial agreement	10	1.1	12	2.1	4	1.0
4. Reciprocity/ concern	33	3.7	3	.5	3	.7
5. Why don't	--	--	3	.5	8	2.0
6. First person plural	178	19.8	130	23.1	75	18.1
7. Defense	1	.1	1	.2	1	.2

The most prevalent feature of positive politeness for all three ministers was the inclusive first person plural pronoun. It accounted for roughly 20 percent, 23 percent and 18 percent of the total number of features used by each minister. As explained above, use of this feature indicates that each minister often included himself in prospective actions of other members of the group, although he would not himself carry out those actions. In these cases the first person plural pronoun replaced a "you" pronoun, as in the following examples:

M-3 "It may be, but it'll just take <u>us</u> about three days to get the bill paid when I called them to talk to them about it."

M-3 "Maybe toward the end of the campaign or something <u>we</u> could go to the groups and say..."

On several occasions, a minister used "we" to replace "I":

M-3 [at the completion of a suggestion]: "<u>We</u> can give you that page to look over."

Several times a minister changed from the singular to the plural pronoun in midstream. In such cases, the strategy appears to be more conscious to the speaker. In the following example, <u>we</u> is even stressed.

M-1: "Um I wonder how you will follow up how <u>WE</u> will follow up on the planning session in last spring of '85."

Other occurrences of first person plural pronouns were ambiguous between whether the minister really meant "you" or whether he would be involved himself in carrying out the action he was suggesting, in which case "we" would be the only option. In other words, it was not possible to determine whether the minister would participate in the action or not.

M-1 "Yes, I think sometimes when there's a special need some name we could come up with who would be a good replacement, we could ask them to..."

Other features of positive politeness were less evenly distributed in usage. Turning first to markers of in-group membership, we can see that using familiar terms of address is a significantly more prominent strategy of subject three, (30 or 7.3 percent) although all ministers used the strategy, (M-1, 7 or .8 percent; M-2, 5 or .9 percent).

M-1: "I'm glad you did, Frank, but he will retrieve the most out of it that's possible to retrieve."

M-3: "Marion, one of the things you might do to encourage people to come would be to have someone that's been in..."

Elliptical forms were more frequent for M-1 and M-3 (5 or .6 percent and 6 or 1.5 percent respectively), although M-2 used one also. In all cases, it is the subject which is deleted.

M-2: "Gotta pick and choose where it's gonna count the most."

M-3: "Can't do that with everybody, though."

All ministers used the contracted forms _oughta,_ _gotta,_ _hafta,_ _wanna,_ _gonna_ but these forms occurred more frequently in the speech of M-2 (24 or 4.3 percent) compared to M-1 (21 or 2.3 percent) and M-3 (9 or 2.2 percent).

M-1: "It's a simple little matter, but we _gotta_ update that."

M-3: "I think that we _oughta_ look seriously at running 220 service in there."

Marked lexical items were especially important in the language of M-1, although they occurred in the language of the other subjects also. These items represent downward, lexical style shifts from a more consultative style to a more casual style.

M-1: "Then you go to young adults or you go to the _paunchers,_ as I call em, excuse me, you know."

M-3: "And I think we need to share our experiences periodically with one another, so if _I_ have _a_ _bummer_ and come home with _a_ _long_ _face_ heh heh I'll talk to..."

There is both similarity and diversity in the use of markers of cooperation. _You_ _know_ represents a similar percentage of politeness features for subjects one and three, (M-3, 9 or 2.2 percent; M-1, 16 or 1.8 percent), but M-2 also uses it (6 or 1.1 percent).

M-1: "If you will allow about three minutes, which will stretch into five <u>as</u> <u>you</u> <u>all</u> <u>know</u>, I have some sharing I would like to do."

M-2: "And um Ann Smith's name should be in there <u>you</u> <u>know</u> um she's not working for them, but she is indirectly."

M-3: "I think there's a risk of getting too many things in the service on Sunday morning um but then I'm usually heh the one that has to remember them all, so maybe that's just a feeling of <u>you</u> <u>know</u> I hope I don't forget something."

Lexical repetition was used by all three ministers, but not frequently (M-1, 3 or 3.3 percent; M-2 1 or .2 percent; M-3, 3 or .7 percent). In the first example, <u>Alaska</u> is a repetition from a much earlier comment by a group member about wanting to visit Alaska. (This example was presented in extended form in Chapter Three).

M-1: "I think it's time to send people to work camps, if not to <u>Alaska</u>, then to [name three countries, unclear] I'm not sure where."

In the following exchange, M-2 uses lexical repetition in a disagreement with a previous speaker. The topic concerns failure of the church to meet its financial obligations.

A: "The <u>slate</u> <u>is</u> <u>wiped</u> <u>clean</u> for 1986, but we have a black mark after our name. That's the first time in the history of this church."

B: "Are we talking about paying that $30,000?"

A: "No, no that part's gone. It's too late to even think about it."

M-2: "Well, not necessarily. Not necessarily. I mean it is too late to get it in for the records for last year, but it's conceivable that if this effort were especially successful and we could accomplish the whole thing the the $90,000, we could certainly give $30,000 extra this year and wipe the slate clean."

In a third example, a group is discussing visiting people who are new to the church and to the community. M-3 has just suggested taking a map of the area to these newcomers.

M-3: "That's something that we can share with new people in the community."

A: "It's something we can take especially to the new people in the area."

M-3: "That's the thing, the new people in the area."

In the above example, a second speaker, A, has repeated words of M-3, but used a synonym, area. In the next turn, the minister repeated the intervening speaker's words exactly.

Terms which express token agreement before a disagreement naturally occurred more frequently for M-2 (M-2, 12 or 2.1 percent; M-1, 10 or 1.1 percent, M-3, 4 or 1 percent) because he performed more disagreements (28 compared to 10 for M-1 and 16 for M-3). All of M-1's disagreements were prefaced with partial agreement. In the

majority of prefaced disagreements, the agreement is followed by a contrasting conjunction, in line with the observations of Pomerantz (1984).

M-1: "We <u>can</u> we <u>can</u> <u>do</u> <u>that</u> but a quicker way would be to co-opt and do it here and then he could be replaced."

M-2: "<u>Well,</u> <u>it</u> <u>certainly</u> <u>would</u> <u>be</u> <u>possible</u> <u>to</u> <u>send</u> <u>a</u> <u>separate</u> <u>mailing</u> um but you wanna be careful not to overplay any one aspect of our budget."

M-3: "<u>I'd</u> <u>be</u> <u>glad</u> <u>to</u> <u>follow</u> <u>through</u> <u>on</u> <u>that</u> <u>if</u> <u>you'd</u> <u>like</u> <u>me</u> <u>to,</u> but the trustees are the only ones that can sign for things like that."

Using terms which imply mutual concern or reciprocity is a primary strategy of M-1 (33 or 3.7 percent), although each of the other ministers used such terms several times as well (M-2, 3 or .5 percent and M-3, 3 or .7 percent).

M-1: "I think it'd be appropriate, say, assuming it has to be decided at this meeting, if you would at least <u>share</u> with this group."

M-2: "What what I'm thinking, though, <u>you</u> <u>see,</u> is when you when you're running twelve copies of this and seventeen copies of that and..."

M-3: "We need to <u>help</u> <u>each</u> <u>other</u> to see that doesn't happen, that's what I'm saying."

<u>Why</u> <u>don't</u> was used the most by M-3 (8 or 2 percent), three times by M-2 (.5 percent), but not at all by M-1.

M-2: "<u>Why</u> <u>don't</u> you just run through it and uh we could take notes?"

M-3: "Why don't you help us understand what would be best, Joan?"

Each minister performed an FTA which came to the defense of a previous speaker. In the first example, the chair is trying to obtain volunteers for a subcommittee of the trustees to work on building maintenance. Two people volunteer, but a third is not forthcoming. After this pause, he minister says:

M-1: "I thought we might do some on SITE WORK and I know that First Church Honolulu has an excellent program" [laughter].

This comment supports the chair and is followed by a third person's volunteering.

In the following exchange, a group member has requested that others bring a salad or a dessert for the next senior citizens' dinner. A member of the group jokingly speaks in the name of another member.

A: "Jan could. She makes an orange jello."

M-2: "I don't think you're supposed to volunteer Somebody ELSE, Bob."

The minister's disagreement comes to A's defense.

4.4.3.1.2 Negative Politeness Features. Turning to features of negative politeness, we find that of the three sub-categories--hedges, deferential terms, and distancing mechanisms, hedges have the most uniform distribution across the three ministers. They accounted for over fifty-percent of the total number of politeness features each minister

used.   Distinctively,   M-1 used many more deferential terms and distancing mechanisms than the other ministers.

Table   27 lists these features by type,   frequency   and percentage   of the total number of politeness features used. F   denotes frequency.   Percentages are   listed   immediately following each frequency.

Hesitation   markers occurred with greatest frequency in the speech of M-2 (159 or 28.3 percent),   followed distantly by   M-1   (101   or 11.2 percent) and then   M-3   (48   or   11.6 percent).   The   percentages for M-1 and M-3 are very   close (11.2   and   11.6).   M-1's hesitations were primarily   false starts.   M-2's   were a combination of hesitation   morphemes and clutter.   M-3's were an even split between false starts and hesitation morphemes.

Lexical   content   items   were   much   more   even   in distribution.

M-1:   (excerpts from a disagreement)..."but already I'm beginning   to really get into the personal <u>kinds</u>   <u>of</u>   <u>things</u> - ..I will do it <u>fairly</u> well...I'm beginning to feel a <u>little</u> <u>bit</u> burdened."

M-2:   "I'm   not   sure quite what the motivation   behind that was, but there's always <u>a</u> <u>little</u> iffiness about that."

M-2:   "Let's pass the word around and <u>encourage</u>   people to um to make sure that they get there enough..."

Lexical quasi-content items were used in great   numbers by all ministers.

TABLE 27: Negative Politeness Feature Type Distribution for Ministers

	M-1		M-2		M-3	
	F	%	F	%	F	%
A. Hedges						
1. Hesitation markers	101	11.2	159	28.3	51	12.3
2. Lexical content items	51	5.6	38	6.8	32	7.7
3. Lexical quasi-content items	171	18.9	70	12.5	72	17.4
4. If clauses	32	3.5	19	3.4	18	4.4
5. Modal verbs	116	12.8	61	10.9	46	11.1
6. Tags	4	.4	--	--	4	1.0
7. Please	--	--	1	.2	--	--
B. Deferential terms						
1. Self-effacements	26	2.3	2	.4	1	.2
2. Compliments	21	2.3	2	.4	2	.5
3. Apologies	6	.7	--	--	16	3.9
4. Deferential forms	7	.8	1	.2	16	3.9
C. Distancing Mechanisms	25	2.8	2	.4	4	1.0

M-1: "Well, you know, I don't know the gist of the letter is not to uh <u>in any way,</u> try to pressure the trustees but to explore what it would cost us..."

M-1: "And that, <u>in my judgment,</u> means that the trustees and at some point the staff-parish relations uh and I don't know who else would be I guess just those two groups, <u>perhaps,</u> should then come together if there is a recommendation..."

M-2: "<u>Do you suppose</u> if it worked fantastically well we might choose to <u>just</u> leave it that way all summer?"

M-3: "<u>I don't think</u> you need to talk about it now."

M-3: "Well, <u>just</u> think about it, Joe."

<u>If</u> clauses and modal verbs were used in similar percentages by all three ministers: (a) <u>if</u> clauses (M-1, 32 or 3.5 percent; M-2, 19 or 3.4 percent, and M-3, 18 or 4.4 percent). Tags and <u>please</u> were infrequent for all three ministers, M-1 and M-3 each used 4 tags. M-2 used none. Only M-2 used one <u>please</u> form.

M-1 and M-3 used many deferential terms, whereas M-2 used few. M-1's were much more evenly distributed across sub-types than were M-3's, M-1 used 26 or 2.3 percent self-effacements, 21 or 2.3 percent compliments, 6 or .7 percent apologies and 7 or .8 percent deferential forms. M-3's primary deferential strategy was using deferential terms of address, 16 or 3.9 percent, with only one self-effacement and two compliments. M-2 used two self-effacements, two

compliments and one deferential address form.   Examples of
these strategies follow:

Self-Effacement

M-1:..."I'll be doing that and pretty soon another
month then six months, what you would want to do will slip
by and we don't do the programming and I'll feel like I've
let you down."

M-1: "I get excited about and really ashamed at my lack
of participation with you but I have no excuse for it..."
(followed by a disagreement about being overworked)

Compliment

M-1: "I would hope that we could reach out with the
gospel of Christ and the love that is uniquely Greenville's
to see to let these people know."

M-2:   ..."Now that's a pile o'money that this board and
our   finance   committee and other groups   within   the
congregation have been responsible for, and it indicates
something of the stewardship level of this congregation. It
also indicates ones of the reasons why we're embarrassed
that we missed our payment on apportionments by $33,000."

Deferential terms of address

M-1: "I think, uh, Mr. Chairman, I think this is an
appropriate place just to make a statement about that."

M-3: "One of the other things that we need, I think,
Madame Chairman, is somebody that might be a resource person
to help us publicize the Michigan Christian Advocate."

Distancing mechanisms are much more a strategy of M-1 than of the other two ministers (M-1, 25 or 2.8 percent; M-2, 2 or .4 percent; M-3, 4 or 1 percent). M-1 alone uses four different distancing mechanisms: passive voice, figures of speech, reading a letter that he was written (the letter makes a request. He reads it at a meeting rather than stating the request directly), and attributing the reason for an FTA to another source. However, all ministers use passive voice and noting another source as the reason for performing an FTA.

M-2: "That should really oughta <u>be</u> <u>communicated</u> to the Ad Board."

M-3: "I believe <u>the</u> <u>deadline's</u> tommorrow morning to get that in the paper."

Only M-1 uses figures of speech. The last underlined clause also exemplifies noting another source.

M-1: "The other and I'm <u>planting</u> this wherever I can go I'm trying to <u>Johnny</u> <u>Appleseed,</u> <u>OUT-Johnny</u> <u>Appleseed,</u> if that's possible, <u>outseed</u> <u>him</u>, and that is to say that down the line if FEASIBLE, I'm pushing and so I'll acknowledge it publicly, that we think as a church, going through PROper channels, of uh hiring a full-time custodian uh who would meet some of the needs <u>you've</u> <u>heard</u> <u>Bill</u> <u>and</u> <u>others</u> <u>Outline</u>."

M-1: "A possibility would be to focus for, say, two or three years, to focus, say, instead of on the whole work of United Methodism and Christendom every year heh heh heh,

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which gets SO OPPRESSIVE, to to to take that---I don't like to use <u>rifle versus shotgun</u>---there's a part of me that just sort of rebels at that. Let's try <u>spotlight rather than floodlight.</u> <u>Floodlight</u> means you take "My gosh, did we cover everything?" And then we think of spotlight using our <u>spotlight approach</u> and use just two work areas for two years."

4.4.3.2. <u>Politeness Features of the Chairs</u>. As expected, there is more variability in the chairs' use of politeness strategies relative to ministers. Although frequencies are not high enough to allow meaningful comparisons across the chairs, tendencies can be suggested. Appendices H and I fully illustrate the frequencies and types of politeness features for the chairs.

4.4.3.2.1. <u>Positive Politeness</u>. Inclusive first person plural pronouns are the most frequently occurring feature in the speech of all chairs. As noted in Chapter Three, they were used both when "you" or when "I" was actually meant. When these pronouns were used instead of "you" they were ambiguous, just as in the case of the ministers. That is, it is possible that the chair would participate in the prospective action, but there was no way to determine whether he/she actually intended to at the time of utterance. In this sense, using first person plural pronouns was a weaker strategy for chairs than for ministers. Ministers, as shown above, often used inclusive

pronouns while suggesting actions in which they would
definitely not be participating, an unambiguous replacement
of "you".

C-4: "Well, my first reaction if <u>we've</u> been to that
many places we could start over from the beginning and most
of <u>us</u> would be going for the first time."

C-8:..."where <u>we're</u> going to be asking people for money
and it probably needs to be done in some semi-coordinated
fashion."

C-11: "<u>We've</u> got <u>we've</u> got to do SOMEthing."

Chairs also used inclusive first person plural pronouns
to replace the first person singular, "I". This usage is
not ambiguous. Rather, it is clear strategy to include the
hearer in the commission of the FTA.

C-7: "I think <u>we'll</u> I think <u>we'll</u> let you look at your
minutes."

C-9: "There are some things <u>we're</u> going to ask you to
do..."

The second most frequently occurring feature is
familiar terms of address. All but C-8 used first names.
For C-2, first-naming constituted a high percentage (18.9
percent) of her politeness features. This is probably
because for her as well as for most chairs, many of the
first name usages reflect turn-assignments. But, unlike
other chairs, she did not perform many other FTA's.

C-2: "Uh, <u>Sharon</u> is going to tell us about

Kaleidoscope." But chairs also use first-naming to gain more important support.

C-5: "And I and I guess I share with you, Carla, I would rather say up front that this is the reality, we're $6,000 short of reaching our benevolence budget this year."

C-12: "Are you gonna add that one to your heating and electrical list, Don?"

Among the other markers of informal style, elliptical and contracted forms were variously used. Seven out of twelve chairs used ellipsis, but as many as nine used contractions. The greatest variability arose in use of marked lexical items. Two chairs, C-1 and C-9 used many more than the three other chairs who employed this strategy. Seven chairs used none at all.

C-1: "And again as being a professional salesman you have to get up to bat. Once up to bat, then you're on your own, but uh and it seemed to me that was a positive thing to attract people..."

C-9: "There are some things that we're going to ask you to do that you may not really feel is your bag. We're going to ask that when you go to coffee hour you meet, greet, and introduce every new face that you see. Oh, my goodness, I don't do that easily, do I, John? I have a hard time meeting people."

Markers of cooperation occurred differently and infrequently. Terms of partial agreement occurred most

frequently, but were used by only five chairs. Of the seven chairs who did not use agreement terms, four did not perform any disagreements; two performed only one. You know was sporadic in occurrence, occurring mostly in the speech of one chair. Lexical repetition was used once by three different chairs. Why don't was used by a majority of chairs. Only one chair defended another member against an FTA.

4.4.3.2.2 Negative Politeness. Looking now to the features of negative politeness, we find that hedges were by far the most frequent and uniform in occurrence. For eight out of twelve chairs, hedging constituted over half of the politeness features they used.

Hesitation markers, the first subcategory of hedges, were most frequent in the speech of C-1 and C-3. There were uneven occurrences across the other chairs. All but one chair used lexical content hedges, but only three chairs used more than three.

C-3: "Guess a question I would ask what's the possibility of the trustees coming up with some funds somewhere along the way?"

C-12: "Why don't we try it on one set of em, see how it works out and uh if it works good we'll do the other one, too."

Lexical quasi-content items were high in the speech of a majority of chairs, and especially frequent for C-12.

C-12: "<u>I</u> <u>think</u> we should <u>maybe</u> we get enough information we oughta <u>maybe</u> proceed. We have the money <u>kinda</u> lined up to pay for it."

<u>If</u> clauses and modal verbs were distributed very uniformly, while <u>please</u> and tags were rare.

Deferential terms were used mainly by C-7 and C-9. Only C-9 is responsible for many self-effacements and compliments, as well as for two of the three occurrences of passive voice, the only distancing strategy used by chairs.

Self-effacement and passive voice:

C-9: "I'm gonna pass these out after the meeting. You're not gonna <u>be</u> <u>allowed</u> to look at them and have them distract you while we're meeting. <u>I'm</u> <u>sneaky</u>. Sue Ann knows that."

Compliment:

C-9:"I think the first and most important thing that we must do and that is to establish a close working relationship with the membership chairman, <u>bless</u> <u>her</u> <u>ever-lovin'</u> <u>heart,</u> <u>alias</u> <u>Elaine</u> <u>Jones.</u> <u>I</u> <u>don't</u> <u>know</u> <u>what</u> <u>happy</u> <u>circumstances</u> <u>made</u> <u>that</u> <u>possible,</u> <u>but</u> <u>I</u> <u>can't</u> <u>think</u> <u>of</u> <u>a</u> <u>better</u> <u>person</u> <u>in</u> <u>the</u> <u>world</u> <u>for</u> <u>that</u> <u>position</u> <u>than</u> <u>Elaine</u> <u>Jones.</u> And I'd like for Elaine to give us a report now on what..."

4.4 <u>Summary</u>

The results of Hypothesis One, part one indicated that, as hypothesized, ministers performed a higher percentage of

non-coercive directive-types (hints and question directives) and a lower percentage of the most coercive directive-type (imperatives), than did other speakers.

However, unexpectedly, of the relatively coercive types of directives, (including embedded imperatives, and let's, need and strong modal statements), only strong modal statements occurred as hypothesized, with the highest percentage in the speech of group members. Embedded imperatives and let's statements occurred in highest percentages in the speech of chairs while need statements occurred in the highest percentage in the speech of ministers.

The results of Hypothesis One, parts two through six and Hypothesis Two showed that: (1) ministers mitigated a higher percentage of their FTA's than did other speakers, (2) ministers used a higher number of mitigating features per FTA performed relative to speakers in other roles, (3) ministers used a higher number of different types of politeness features than did other speakers, (4) ministers did more downward lexical style-shifting than did speakers in other roles, and (5) although there is variability among ministers and among chairs as to (a) the relative percentages of positive and negative politeness and (b) the realizations of politeness features, there is more consistency in the speech of ministers relative to the speech of chairs.

These findings indicate role dependencies in the "negotiation of support," as measured in realizations of both directives and politeness features.

These role dependencies are linked to motivations and outcomes. In the discussion chapter which follows, I will argue that the ministers, due to their greater occupational investment in achieving the outcomes they personally desire at the church meetings, are the best and most consistent "negotiators of support" relative to other speakers.

Because I argue that the ministers' language displays both more effort and more skill at negotiating support, the definition of a "support-negotiating style" in the discussion chapter will be based primarily on their speech.

Chapter Four Endnotes

[1]
<u>I</u> <u>trust</u> is an ambiguously powerful hedge, according to Owsley and Scotton (1982). This chair is the only person at any meeting to use three of these types, including <u>I</u> <u>assume</u>.

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the implications of the results of this study. In the first section I will argue that in order to achieve support, speakers at the meetings under investigation simultaneously demonstrate two things: (a) power and (b) accommodation (Giles and Powesland 1975; Thakerar et al 1982). Although ministers and chairpersons express power in their language with less overt negotiation than group members, power is yet evident. In fact, ministers express more power in the number of FTA's per turn at talk and in the lengths of their FTA's[1] than do chairpersons, who, in turn, express more power by these measures than do group members. Also, certain types of coercive directives occur in equal or even higher percentages in the speech of the ministers and chairs relative to group members.

At the same time, however, there is evidence of accommodation of two kinds in the language of meeting participants. First, accommodation is expressed in the

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generally equivalent numbers and kinds of FTA's performed by speakers in all three roles. Secondly, accommodation in a broader sense is expressed in the apparent attempts by chairs and especially by ministers to avoid some overt demonstration of power in two ways: (1) by not disagreeing and (2) by using equal or more amounts of mitigating politeness relative to group members. By not disagreeing and by mitigating their FTA's, ministers appear more equivalent in status and power to ordinary group members. Furthermore, this power-avoiding tactic may actually serve to maintain the ministers' power. That is, by not abusing the privileges of their role, the ministers may preserve those very privileges.

For the ministers, especially, then, accommodation in status, in combination with the power expressed in the quantity and quality of their FTA's, together simultaneously serve their higher discourse goal of influencing the behavior of members of the group.

In the second section, I discuss the importance of positive politeness relative to negative politeness in the negotiation of support. I argue that negative politeness is a more usual strategy, although certain features of negative politeness are more important and effective than others. Positive politeness is the more important strategy in support negotiation for two reasons. First, it is marked in the culture relative to negative politeness and arouses hearers' attention on that count alone. Secondly, it is

marked in its general ability to evoke an emotional response of warmth and/or humor, emotions instrumental in building solidarity, and ultimately, support.

Two kinds of positive politeness features are especially important, the first an object of formal study in this paper, the second noted by informal observation: (a) downward style-shifts by the insertion of marked lexical items and (b) humor. These may overlap in that some style-shifts are also humorous. Downward style-shifting by the use of marked lexical items is a special strategy because it demonstrates both power and solidarity. It is powerful because it projects multiple identities for the speaker (Scotton 1985) and treats listeners as if they were someone else (Bell 984). It is solidarity-promoting because it shows willingness of a more powerful speaker to come down to the level of other less powerful speakers and/or to include them in the higher-status speaker's in-group, both demonstrations of accommodation.

The ministers' use of (negative and positive) politeness shows that they are more highly motivated, if not more skillful, than other speakers, in the negotiation of support. The FTA-related speech of ministers especially, and of some chairs as well, exhibits more and a greater variety of both negative and positive politeness, especially positive politeness, relative to group members. Furthermore, ministers use especially marked positively polite kinesic behaviors and humorous statements. This

marked usage implies that ministers feel they can afford the risk of using this type of marked behavior because they are secure in their roles and trust their own abilities as ministers. By using humor they can simultaneously promote solidarity and demonstrate self-confidence, if not power.

In the final section I define the parameters of a "support-promoting style" of language for speakers in leadership roles. I will argue that the surface variations in the style of each minister (and some chairs), as expressed by patterns in their use of politeness features, are to be expected, even though status and role are major determinants of linguistic choice. Differences in personality, agenda, history of interpersonal relationships and personal motivations, and so on, are all factors to consider. Although detailed explanation for the variation extends beyond the scope of this study, the variation itself helps to fix a "support-negotiating style". Most importantly, in spite of some variation within roles, each leader's style generally includes a mix of "powerful", "non-imposing" and "familiar" features. These features are realized in FTA-type and politeness. The result is a mix which seems optimal for leaders who want to achieve the support of their interlocutors.

5.2 Power and Accommodation

5.2.1 Introduction

In this section I will use several measurements to show that ministers, and to some extent, chairs, both implicate power and accommodate to others in order to negotiate support. Group members, on the other hand, more openly negotiate power. The ability of ministers and chairs to preserve power without overtly demonstrating it is one reason why they are argued to be more skillful negotiators of support. They maintain the power inherent in their roles but also display deference and solidarity toward group members.

Specifically, it will be shown that ministers, followed by chairs, implicate and maintain power. This power is demonstrated in higher numbers of FTA's per turn at talk and possibly in the greater length of the FTA's which they perform relative to other speakers. Ministers also implicate power in the FTA-types they perform. They commit more need statements than speakers in other roles, they do not avoid strong modal statements, and they do use an occasional imperative form, although their imperatives (the most syntactically imposing directive-type) are either joking or deferential. Chairs implicate power in choice of FTA by performing more embedded imperatives and let's statements than other speakers, these directive-types being relatively coercive.

However, the types of FTA's ministers and chairs perform and the degree to which they are mitigated indicate accommodation to speakers in less status/powerful positions.

Specifically, ministers, and possibly chairs, seem to avoid the performance of disagreements, while group members perform many disagreements. Also, although ministers and chairs use similar percentages of FTA's of Category C (the broadly coercive category which includes embedded imperatives, let's statements, need statements and strong modal statements), they mitigate them to a greater degree than do group members.

At the same time, however, speakers in all roles appear to be accommodating to each other to some extent in two kinds of realizations: (a) in the generally similar kinds and percentages of certain directives which all speakers perform, especially hints, question directives and strong modal statements, and (b) in the use of features of both positive and negative politeness to mitigate FTA's, although mitigation is generally used to a greater extent, and with greater variety of realization by speakers in powerful roles, especially ministers.

5.2.2 Density of FTA's

Beginning with a discussion of FTA's, I first note that no formal hypothesis about numbers of FTA's that speakers in each role would produce was included in this study. However, in the process of totaling the numbers of FTA's for

each role across the twelve meetings, I began to consider that power was being expressed differentially across speaker roles. This consideration led to a counting procedure which, in turn, led to the general conclusion that in numbers of FTA's per turn at talk the ministers' speech was more powerful than that of chairs, whose speech was more powerful than that of group members.

Specifically, I found that the summative numbers of FTA's performed by speakers in each of the three roles were roughly equivalent. That is, the three ministers performed 242 FTA's, the twelve chairs, 280 and the much larger number of group members, 285. If we were to measure power in terms of numbers of FTA's performed, we might, at first glance, rank the ministers as exhibiting slightly less power than other speakers. However, a second comparison, that of number of FTA's performed per turn, suggests that the language of the ministers is denser in FTA's than is the language of either the chairs or the group members. On this count, the language of the ministers may be judged to be more powerful.

Admittedly, in an ideal situation, I would have counted the total number of speech acts performed at each meeting and compared the total number of FTA's to the total number of speech acts. This comparison would have been made both for the language of individual minsters and chairs as well as for language of speakers across roles. However, I was

dampened by the arbitrariness inherent in assigning speech acts to a certain type (Levinson 1980), having already encountered difficulties in operationalizing definitions and boundaries of the FTA-types. Furthermore, I had not transcribed a number of lengthy reports given by group members in which no FTA's were performed. Omission of these reports also meant that comparing length of speech-act utterances was impossible.

However, I did try another basis of comparison which I thought would be grossly indicative of the density of FTA's in the overall speech of speakers in the three roles. I counted the total number of turns at talk for each meeting and assigned each turn to a speaker role. A turn was counted when a new speaker assumed the floor. This procedure revealed the comparisons shown in Table 28.

Table 28:   Density of FTA's for   Minister(M); Chair(C);
             Group Members (GM)

	Number of Turns	Number of FTA's
M	635	242
C	1204	280
GM	2314	285

Overall, the ministers had the fewest numbers of turns at talk, 635, compared to 1204 for chairs and 2314 for group members. But ministers performed more FTA's relative to the total number of turns at talk than did either chairs or group members: (M)--242/635; (C)--280/1204; (GM):--285/2314. Chairs fell in between ministers and group members. This pattern suggests a generally greater density of FTA's in the language of the ministers relative to the language of speakers in other roles. It implies that the speech of the minister is generally more powerful than the speech of chairs or group members. So, even though the absolute numbers of FTA's are roughly equivalent for each role, that does not necessarily mean that power is distributed evenly across the roles. (Comparisons for individual ministers, chairs and group members as a unit are in Appendix J).

5.2.3 Length of FTA's

No formal hypothesis about length of FTA was included in this study. However, when the data were coded, it became apparent that many of the ministers' FTA's were longer than those of the chairs, whose, in turn, were occasionally longer than those of group members.

Specifically, out of 242 FTA's performed by ministers, 46 or 19 percent, contained over sixty words. Of the 280 FTA's performed by chairs, 9 or 3.2 percent contained over sixty words. Of the 285 FTA's performed by group members, only 5 or 1.8 percent contained over sixty words. If we

accept the possibility that greater length of utterance implicates greater power, (other studies have also made this suggestion (e.g., Bernsten 1986}), then clearly the ministers' language is more powerful than that of the chairs, whose language is, in turn, more powerful than that of group members. However, the longer FTA's in the ministers' speech also contain many mitigations (of both positive and negative politeness), offsetting the power implicated by both length and force of the FTA.

It is therefore useful to consider that there may be no clear one-to-one relationship between length of utterance and power. Any utterance which is very mitigated, and longer on that count, for example, may express weak indecision on the speaker's part (Wardhaugh 1985:183), even though the same utterance is controlling by virtue of taking up conversational time.

In this study, the main reasons the ministers' FTA were longer may, in a general sense, be considered both "powerful" and "polite" reasons. The ministers' FTA's more often include justification for their performance than do those of other speakers. Justification may be viewed as both powerful and polite. It is powerful in that it controls the talk exchange by using conversational space. It is polite in that it mitigates the force of the FTA. The minister seems to imply that his authority is not enough reason for others to accept his FTA. He must justify it.[2]

Also, some of the ministers' FTA's are performed with long analogy, itself a negatively polite distancing mechanism. In these ways, long FTA's express both power and mitigation. A few examples may help make this clear.

A minister suggests that the group name a representative to a citywide committee. He first clarifies why a representative is needed (so the church is not simply told what to do by people outside the church) and at the end explains that even if the representative has nothing to offer the committee, having a representative still provides "contacts, fellowships" which will benefit the church: "What they're really, I think, asking from us at this point is that if we think that there may be something that we would consider doing as a church, if they have something they're going to ask us they may get further input--say we'd like all the churches to do this instead of just saying 'Do this' they'd like to be able to say we all agreed to do this. I'm not sure that we're overcommitting overly committing ourselves by naming someone who would just be the receiver of information. We may not have anything to share back with them nor they with us, but at least we have contacts, fellowships." His clarification of the reason for the request indirectly indicates that he, too, supports compliance, and the clarification is, therefore, a persuasive means of prefacing his own suggestions to name such a representative.

In a second example, the minister wants to "send people to work camps" and spends a lot of verbal effort in justifying his suggestion, explaining that the church will get a lot of "mileage" out of it and it will have "residual effect": "The record would show that those churches who like missions have at least two or three durable, capable, exciting lay and clergy that keep the church very successful. The other thing is getting people to the mission fields themselves, not just bringing missionaries in. I would like to see more people go to the mission field. I think it's time to send people to work camps, if not to Alaska, then to [three countries, unclear], I'm not sure where, then come back. Cause the mileage you're gonna get out of that knowing where they're going to be going, and what they need to support them, part of what makes it successful is the preparation that everyone has: "We're gonna need tools, we're gonna need money, we're gonna need prayers, we're gonna need hugs, we're gonna need all of that." We're proud of them before they go, when they go, while they're there and when they get back. That has a lot of residual effect on the rest of the church. And if you do that with some adults, you don't have to have a lot of information brought in. You either gotta go to missions or bring the missions to us. I don't see any other way to do it, yeah, so there are other ways of doing it." The taking up of conversational time is controlling, yet using

justification, rather than issuing a direct suggestion, is mitigating.

In a third example, the minister uses an analogy which is not only entertaining (and therefore positively polite in a general way), but also clearly directed to illustrating why everyone in the church should be involved in church programs in order to "make a program go": "Uh, my son came home the other night and shared this with me. The statistics are not important but I think that they said it in his company when they try to stimulate a little enthusiasm for the company, said uh that they made a comparison somewhere in Canada that it takes 280,000 people plus to make the same number of vehicles that the Japanese make with 40,000. This is not boo on Canada or yea on Japan. The next part of that is those 40,000 plus make the same number as those 280,000 right? For suggestions on how to improve the way in which they do what they do, in Canada they receive of those 280,000 people 7,000 suggestions a year. In the Japanese company they receive 3,000 a day. Now I use that as an illustration to say how many does it take in Trinity United Methodist Church to make a program go? And I'm suggesting that it is born out of a sense of God's excitement in this no matter what we're feeling. That all of us the fact that we don't have to do more work, but stick with it, so I just like to share these kind of thoughts." Once again, power is implicated in length of utterance, but the suggestion (that everyone should be involved) is

supported indirectly by captivating analogy which distances the speaker from the suggestion.

5.2.4 Disagreements

Although a certain amount of power may be implicated in length of FTA in the ministers' language, more overt negotiations of power are implicated in the language of group members, in comparison to the language of either chairs or ministers, by a different occurrence--by higher frequencies of disagreements relative to the other two types of FTA's. No prediction was made about how the three general types of FTA's--directives, disagreements and disagreement/ directives, would be distributed across speaker roles in this study. However, group members performed many more disagreements (112 or 39 percent of all FTA's they performed) than did either chairs (36 or 13 percent) or ministers (54 or 22 percent).

Disagreements may be viewed as more overt negotiations of power because, as I noted in Chapter Three, they most likely constitute a stronger threat to face than do directives. It seems that chairs, and especially ministers, try to avoid performing disagreements while ordinary members of the groups perform them freely. That is, it may be that speakers who are negotiating support and who are also in inherently powerful roles, restrain their use of disagreements (very face-threatening acts) in order to avoid

using power, a tactic which simultaneously maintains their power. The higher number of disagreements for group members may therefore indicate their weaker motivation and skill in negotiating support successfully.

Reference to social psychology and perhaps to leadership style would be required to test for determinants of the use (or avoidance) of disagreements. Discourse goals and/or status may not be the only determining factors. However, it seems only natural to assume that disagreement would be avoided by skillful negotiators of support, given that agreement is one basic form of accommodation (e.g., Sinclair and Coulthard 1975) as well as of addressing attention to the face wants of others (B & L 1978).

I observed at least one major instance of what I felt was an intentional avoidance of disagreement by a minister. At one meeting a number of group members were verbally disagreeing about whether the church should build a ramp for handicapped people. The group eventually decided that the ramp would be built. The minister could have settled the disagreement quickly by performing another disagreement which would have supported the opinion of one of the group members. However, the minister did not at any point express an opinion. I knew his opinion because at a prior meeting of a different group, he had indirectly, but unambiguously, expressed the view that such a ramp should be built. It seems that he intentionally avoided openly disagreeing, i.e., committing an FTA, even though his disagreement could

have abbreviated the disagreement between other members. This tactic allowed the group to self-govern. If they had not reached a concluding opinion that accorded with the minister's, then, presumably, he would have had to openly disagree.

Other factors may also influence such decisions, however. One of the ministers, M-2, performed more disagreements than did the other two ministers (28 as opposed to 10 for M-1 and 16 for M-3). Two possible explanations suggest themselves. M-2's higher numbers of disagreements could be a reflection on his longer length of time at the church (seven years) relative to the other ministers (one year). This fact is also a shortcoming I acknowledge in the design of the study. It would have been better if I could have controlled for the history of the relationship between the leaders and their institutions. Although the chairs and people on the committees at all churches rotate regularly, it is possible that this minister, M-2, was more familiar or more solidary with some of the people than were the other ministers with the members of their committees. As a consequence of this solidarity, he may have felt freer to disagree with members of his groups than did the other ministers. In such a case, his relationship with group members would fit Lakoff's (1979:65) definition of camaraderie more closely, i.e., "camaraderie explicitly acknowledges that a relationship

exists and is important, whether one of friendliness or of hostility". This definition suggests that hostility is a mark of familiarity and allows disagreement.

But Lakoff (1979) also notes that camaraderie means the use of very direct language, so hostility would, presumably, be shown very directly, as in bald imperatives. However, M-2's disagreements are all mitigated, e.g., (a) a criticism about a wrong date, "Would you believe the 18th?," where "would you believe" is a conventional, casual, and, therefore, positively polite expression, or (b) a criticism about designations of funds, "that's not quite accurate, Joe because even though you send it to the conference with our apportionment sheet, if it's designated for UMCOR [United Methodist Christian Overseas Relief], then it is given for that, and it doesn't really count toward our apportionment as such. It's still an above and beyond special gift," where M-2 hedges with quite, if, really and as such and also first names his addressee. So even if this minister feels relatively free to disagree, he does not disagree in very direct language. A better explanation for his greater number of disagreements seems to be that he alone had complete knowledge of the issue at hand. He was more or less forced to disagree in order for the group to be well-informed. As in the example (b) above, two meetings at M-2's church dealt with financial management (among other topics). It was evident that only M-2 had a clear grasp of

the overall financial picture. This was naturally so
because only he had studied the relevant information. In
such cases, he seemed compelled to disagree in order for the
group to function effectively.

It thus seems possible to argue that the ministers
tried to avoid disagreements in order to maintain a
supportive atmosphere. In this way, they accommodate to the
lower level of power and status of their audiences, yet
ensure that they maintain their own power by not abusing the
privileges of their role. I argue that this strategy helps
them get what they want.

5.2.5 Mitigating Politeness by FTA-Type

If negotiating by avoiding disagreement is one type of
accommodation in status or power, there may be other
measurements of the same phenomenon. Remember from Chapter
One that accommodation theory (e.g., Giles and Powesland
1975; Giles and Smith 1979) suggests that in order to win
approval, speakers accommodate their speech style to their
listeners. Furthermore, the most usual type of
accommodation is convergence or using language like that of
one's interlocutors. Bell (1984) agrees and bases his model
firmly on accommodation theory. According to him, speakers
make linguistic choices as a response to their audiences.
It is doubtful that speakers who have alternative discourse
goals, such as increasing their power over their
interlocutors, would accommodate their speech styles to

their listeners. But, I argue that accommodation is a natural goal in the negotiation of support. If that is true, there should be further evidence of accommodation in other linguistic realizations. When we turn to an examination of the distribution of FTA's across the three roles, we will find some evidence of accommodation in the fact that ministers mitigate many of the same FTA-tyes with many of the same mitigating forms. But, in addition, they often use _more_ mitigation so that they accommodate by appearing to be equivalent in status to ordinary group members.

Bell (1984) claims that as accommodation increases, power decreases. This paper claims, however, that accommodation, as a strategy to gain compliance, does not erase the power the ministers express in other ways, e.g., in the number of FTA's per turn at talk. Rather, it functions in an additive manner (Bernsten 1986; Scotton 1986). Furthermore, the fact that ministers use more politeness features than speakers in other roles may actually work to preserve their power. Their politeness signals desire not to abuse the privileges of their role.

5.2.5.1 _Disagreements_. Beginning with a comparison of disagreements, we find that the average number of mitigations per FTA is higher in the ministers' and chairs' speech relative to group members, as shown in Table 29.

Table   29:   Average Number of Mitigations for Disagreements
and   Disagreement/Directives for (M) Ministers,
(C) Chairs and (GM) Group Members

	M for D	T # D	M for D/D	T # D/D
M	7.9	54	11.6	17
C	2.4	36	8.1	7
GM	1.8	112	3.6	23

Note: D=Disagreement; D/D=disagreement/directive; M=average
number   of mitigations.   T=total number of FTA's   of
each type

Examples will illustrate that this directive type is at a minimum as mitigated, if not more mitigated (with both positive and negative politeness), in the language of ministers relative to speakers in other roles. On this count, ministers display greater effort at negotiating. However, power is still expressed in the performance of the disagreement itself, a very assertive FTA.

Some disagreements performed by ministers express both mitigation and power: (a) M-1: "I'm glad you did, Ray [express a concern about there not being enough people attending a certain church program], but he [the invited speaker] will retrieve the most out of it that's that's possible to retrieve. That's my confidence in him to do. Thank you. He'd better come!" In this example, the minister includes an opening compliment to this addressee and first name (before the conjuction but which marks the

disagreement), as well as some hesitation, expression of thanks to the group and a final remark, "He'd better come!" The final remark, although not formally counted as mitigating, because it did not fit clearly in any category, is especially important for three reasons: (1) it aligns the minister with the previous speaker because the minister almost tnreatens the outside, invited guest (2) the minister implies the possibility of his own misjudgment, that in spite of his expression of confidence in the speaker, the program may fail; (3) it is accompanied by exaggerated intonation and kinesic facial expressions which make the minister appear less than powerful, even humorous. (This latter observation will be more fully discussed in a later section). Although power is expressed in the commission of the FTA, much effort is expended in negotiation at the same time. The result, in fact, was a cessation of complaining by the group members. That is, compliance was achieved.

In another disagreement, also M-1's, he powerfully challenges the chair's previous remark that a written report has been submitted on fire code violations: (b) "HAS been? You know, that's an assumption. I don't see it. We can tell em to go store all their paperwork in the boiler room and see what happens [laughter]. It's a malicious creeping." In this example, the very direct challenge (although there is a positively polite "you know" and "we") is followed by a marked statement ("We can tell em to go store all their paperwork," etc.) which smacks of a confrontation unfitting

for a minister (like the formulaic "tell em to go to_____")
and implies he isaperson of ordinary status who aligns
himself with parishioners against unfair authority. In this
way, he expresses both power and solidarity.

Disagreements for M-2 also illustrate both positive and
negative politeness in an effort to mitigate a powerful FTA:
(a) A group member (Bill) "volunteers" another group member
to provide food for an upcoming event. The minister
interjects: "I don't think you're supposed to volunteer
somebody else, Bill." Both "I don't think" and "supposed"
are negatively polite hedges, while first naming is
positively polite. (b) "No, it's actually it's it's actually
Irene that does the ordering of things." Hedging and
hesitation are evident. (c) "I wonder if a thousand dollars
is really enough." Several hedges ("I wonder if," "really")
minimize the threat. (d) "Well, well in a sense if they're
(two offerings] both used for the conference world service
and benevolence apportionments it it's the same thing. It
helps to fund that part of our operating budget. But it's
certainly easier for people to get enthusiastic about
supporting that mission program than it is to just give into
the pot, in general, especially at a time like Lent when
you're thinking of making a sacrificial offering. It's a
great time to confront people with the needs of the mission
of the church." The minister hedges in the opening sentence.
However, the entire comment after the conjunction, <u>but</u> is a

partial agreement with the previous speaker, and mitigates the disagreement. <u>Pot</u> was also counted as a marked lexical item in a casual style. In each disagreement, then, both power and mitigation are expressed.

Some examples for M-3 indicate similar mitigation and power: (a) "I'd be glad to to follow through on that if you'd like me to, but the trustees are the only ones that can sign for things like that and if we wanna have them make a check out to them I have a feeling that probably, I just don't know, I'm not that it'd be the same way as you did it for the [word unclear]." There is a partial agreement in the beginning, then an <u>if</u> clause, contraction, hedging in "I have a feeling" "I just don't know," a false start, and so on. (b) "I I hadn't thought of it the way Marion mentioned it it it means a lot to us in the morning when we're when Mary [his wife] and I are together to have that list you know [prayer list]; it's right in our Bible and in the Upper Room and uh I think there's a risk of getting too many things in the service on Sunday morning um but then I'm usually heh the one who has to remember them all, so maybe that's just a feeling of you know I hope I don't forget something." Here the minister defers to Marion with partial agreement. ("I hadn't thought of it the way Marion mentioned it".) He also first names, compliments her by expressing the meaning the list (which she has compiled) gives to him and his wife, then hedges (<u>I</u> <u>think,</u> <u>um,</u> <u>maybe,</u> <u>just</u> <u>a</u> <u>feeling</u>) and also performs a self-effacement in suggesting he may not

have a good memory. The power expressed in the disagreement is mitigated with politeness.

Chairs perform more casual and straightforward disagreements than ministers, but not generally as straightforward as those of group members. Mitigations are underlined in these examples from the chairs. (a) "I mean you must have some idea for alternative solutions to those problems" (b) "I thought you said before that you were going with the logo [design for church advertisement in newspaper]. No?" (c) "Yes, I realize that [that a date is wrong on a letter], but the January 28th is the dating of this letter and we thought it was going out that week." (d) "We aren't going to take that attitude [defeatist attitude]. C'mo , Dave. We're gonna hear from them." (e) "But I think it's gotta be big enough to people see it" [a parking sign]. In each case, power is overtly expressed; there are fewer mitigations than in the language of ministers.

Group members display even less mitigation or more directness, although several older speakers and certain females used more negative politeness features than most group members. This finding suggests that both age and gender are variables which need to be studied independently. Examples for the average group member which indicate relative directness: (a) "I thought that was the excess over budget." (b) "No, I said that we examined those positions." (c) "You have a problem there." (d) "Now, wait a minute, our planning goes from January to December." (e) "No, it's a

Friday evening. That's the only time that Bill Baker's going to be in town." (f) "That was not entirely missions." (g) "I know, but just recently you were gonna try it [new schedule for church services] so they approved of it already." (g) "Well, wasn't this brought up before that you were supposed to work on this?" [programming] (h) "No, my name was not on that list." (i) "No, what I'm saying right now that our our our of our goal of ninety-thousand dollars we have only promised to pay thirty-thousand" (j) "Yeah, but I meant having the lists [of new people] available to various people. That doesn't need to be decided." In these examples very direct language is evident. This directness suggests that group members have less investment in the outcome than speakers in other roles. It also suggests they have less skill in negotiating.

5.2.5.2   <u>Directive/Disagreements</u>.   Directive/ disagreements, a relatively rare type of FTA, nonetheless follow the same pattern of mitigation across roles as disagreements, i.e., they are most highly mitigated by ministers, less by chairs and least by group members. Ministers display a range of (both negative and positive) politeness expressions in the commission of this FTA-type. This variety indicates both effort and skill in negotiation: (a) "I'd like to throw this out. It speaks to our concern. It's though to kinda get that gang together at times. We can we can do that, but a quicker way would be to co-opt and do it here and then he could be replaced." Note the

introductory, "pre-FTA" announcement, "I'd like to throw this out," and justification "it speaks to our concern" [deferential expressions], the marked lexical items "tough", "gang", hedging in "kinda" and "at times", partial agreement: "we can do that," among occurrences of modals and first person plural pronouns. (b) "Well, it certainly would be possible to send a separate mailing um but you wanna be careful not to overplay any one aspect of our budget if we're gonna make a a big pitch for support of the apportionments in an extra way." Here the minister hedges (well, certainly, possible, um) partially agrees, uses contractions (wanna, gonna) and a marked lexical item big pitch.

In examples for chairs, we find less mitigation and less variety of mitigation in general: (a) "I guess I was thinking of a modification of that [method of collecting money] where the churches would agree to take on a fair share and conduct their own sponsor program so if they fell short they'd make up the difference." This chair hedges as a primary strategy ("I guess I was thinking"). (b): "Well, we really shouldn't try to figure out how to do it probably right now during the meeting, I guess, but uh if you call Jane in the morning she could give you that guy's phone number and uh I guess I'd pursue that maybe find out how much it costs to have some of that metal work done." This chair also hedges as a main strategy (e.g., well, really, probably, I guess, uh, maybe). However, one chair displays

more overall effort and skill: (c) "You weren't paying attention, Joan. You gotta shape up there." The chair first names, contracts, and uses a marked lexical item, "shape up." Nonetheless, for chairs as a group, there is less mitigation and the mitigation is less varied than for ministers.

Group members also performed relatively mitigated directive/disagreements. Theirs also display some variety of mitigation, as in: (a) "But we've gotta give them something to sink their teeth into so that they'll know what it is, a little teaser or or something that will hopefully strike a responsive chord with an interest pattern of some kind. I mean that's what I think." The casual style for the first part gives way to hedging; (b) "You know, I think if we open it to the congregation it's great, but I also think we need to have a group of people that we can ask specifically to be a part of this." Here is partial agreement and hedging; (c) "Heh, we could do that [make a bequest] or we could pay more on conference apportionments than what we've budgeted. There's a lot of different areas we could go with that assuming that we have more than what we're proposing here." Again, partial agreement, and also modal verbs. In spite of some variety, as a group, this FTA-type was less mitigated for group members than for speakers in other roles.

5.2.5.3 <u>Directives</u>. The overall patterns of mitigation for disagreements and, to a lesser extent, for disagreement/

directives, point to more features of politeness in the ministers' speech, followed by chairs, then group members. The ministers' inherently more powerful FTA's receive more mitigation. But the force of the act itself and the variety of mitigations, especially features of positive politeness, (discussed below) also express the ministers' power.

This section illustrates that the same pattern is evident with directive types. It also argues that there is some overall accommodation by all speakers in the types of directives performed, although speakers in different roles do characteristically use certain different types of directives.

As Table 30 indicates, speakers in all roles used very similar percentages of the four general categories of directives. Certain sub-types of Category C and imperatives (Category D) are distributed the most differently. They are discussed below. Category A represents hints; B: question directives; C: embedded imperatives; let's, need and strong modal statements; D: imperatives.

Clearly, the use of inexplicit statement, i.e., hints, is the most frequently occurring directive type for all speakers, accounting for 45 percent of all directives performed by ministers, 43.3 percent of those performed by chairs and for 41.4 percent of those performed by group members. Although the percentage of hints is higher for

Table 30: Percentages of Four Categories of Directives of the Total Number of Directives Performed for Ministers (M), Chairs (C), and Group Members (GM)

	A	B	C	D
M	45.0	19.9	29.8	5.3
C	43.3	19.4	32.5	6.8
GM	41.4	12.7	27.3	16.8

ministers, as hypothesized, the differences between percentages for speakers in all roles regardless of social ranking are small.

Likewise, the percentages of question directives are similar for speakers in all roles, although ministers and chairs pattern more closely: 19.9 percent for ministers, 19.7 percent for chairs and 12.4 percent for group members. The percentage is slightly higher for ministers, as hypothesized, but the difference between ministers and chairs is negligible.

When hints and question directives are totaled, these two types acount for 64.9 percent of the ministers' directives; 63 percent of the chairs' and 53.8 percent of those of the groups, a majority in each case. This evidence suggests that speakers in all three roles are using similar

kinds of directives in a majority of cases. That is, there appears to be general accommodation in directive type.

However, the presence of even slightly higher percentages of hints and question directives in the language of ministers and chairs implies that these leaders are making special effort to project less power than their positions inherently allow. In other words, they are also doing more negotiating than group members.

As shown in earlier chapters, these two major directive types, hints and questions, are the most indirect or "off-record" types. In using these types, speakers give greater options of refusal to their addressees than they would by using other types of directives. This observation was pointed out by Ervin-Tripp (1976). So when a chair hints that "We will look for all of you" as a means of telling people to attend an upcoming program or when a minister questions "Do you suppose if it worked fantastically well we might choose to just leave it [the new church schedule] that way all summer?" as a means of suggesting there is much less coercion than if the speakers had said "Be There" or "Let's have the schedule that way all summer." To use other terminology, the high percentages of these two indirect types of directives for all speakers suggests that general negative politeness, or the desire to avoid imposing on one's addressees, is the most usual, (although not the most important, I have argued) strategy in the negotiation of support, regardless of speaker role.

While general accommodation in the use of hints and question directives is suggested across roles, there are sub-variations of these types which indicate role differences. Looking first to the least coercive category of directives, hints, (Category A) we find that two of the four applicable sub-categories display some differences in distribution across the three roles. (Remember there are five sub-categories: agentless hints, pre-mitigated hints, non-coercive modal hints, _wanna_ statements and turn-assignments. However, turn-assignments are not possible for ministers and group members because only chairs officially conduct the meetings, i.e., call on people to report according to a printed agenda). _Agentless hints_ and _wanna_ statements occurred in higher percentages for the ministers (9.9 percent and 4.1 percent respectively) than for chairs (3.8 percent and .8 percent) or for group members (.7 percent and 0)

Wanna statements were too few in number to provide a basis for generalization. Furthermore, 86 percent of them were issued by one minister, so they may simply be characteristic of his style. However, because no group member used even one _wanna_ statement, this directive-type may be more typical of the speech of those in certain roles only. That is, _wanna_ statements may be issued from superior to subordinate more frequently than in reverse. Further data would be necessary in order to test this hypothesis.

The distribution of agentless hints is slightly more revealing. All hints are a compromise solution to the desire to go "off-record" and the desire to go "on-record" (Ervin-Tripp 1976; B & L 1978). A speaker can thus perform an FTA and deny having done so. That makes hints the lowest-risk strategy for performing an FTA (B & L 1978). But the category of agentless hints may be the least coercive type of hint because such hints also make no reference to the action to be performed. (It is this feature which distinguishes them from pre-mitigated hints which occasionally are agentless as well, e.g., certain pre-mitigated hints such as: "It might be helpful to think about a special name for that" are also agentless, but the verb is expressed). So, for example, when a chair says: "We would like to get your input as to some of the things you feel should be a part of the evangelism work area" or a minister says: "I mean it's just a little, dumb little thing" [a broken part on all the paper dispensers in the church] "with all that you people have on your minds, but I'm saying in the meantime we've got paper dispensers that don't function" there is no direct mention of the action, nor explicit mention of who is to perform it. More direct versions, of course, would be the imperative forms: "Give us your input" and "Repair the paper dispensers." Although the data are relatively few, there does seem to be a tendency for ministers to use more of this type than speakers in other roles. This greater indirection again suggests the

minister's desire to achieve support without using power overtly.

Other instances of indirection by issuing hints were noted. Several times in the data I observed a minister giving a hint, the hint not being taken, for whatever reason, and the minister following up the hint with a more "on-record" directive-type. For example, a minister hinted: "Bob, I was in the sanctuary today and uh the very front pew on the left as you look toward the alt r it's off, the one [the Bible and hymnal rack] in that front pew is off." A group member responded. "Oh, is it?" After a slight pause, the minister uses a strong modal form, (but also a lexical content hedge, try and the inclusive pronoun we). "We've got a we've got a Good Friday community service here. We should try to reaffix that." It is as if the most indirect means were the first choice of strategy. This conclusion is parallel to the general argument above that disagreements are similarly avoided. However, in both cases, ministers still seem to perform the FTA in as direct a form as the situation requires in order for them to be understood as performing a certain speech act.

In spite of these (small) variations in the hint category, two other types of hints, pre-mitigated hints and non-coercive modal hints, revealed generally similar distributions for speakers in all roles: pre-mitigated hints accounted for 16.4 percent of the ministers' directives and 16 percent of the chairs', although as high

as 26 percent of the group members'. Non-coercive modals accounted for 14.6 percent of the ministers', 11.4 percent of the chairs' and 16.7 percent of the group members'. This usage also suggests general accommodation in type of directive.

However, two other facts indicate greater effort to negotiate on the part of the ministers. First, with both hint directive types, as shown in Chapter Four, ministers used fewer "you" agents and more "we" agents than did chairs, who used fewer "you's" and more "we's" than did group members. This fact indicates one small measure of more (positive) politeness for speakers in powerful roles. Second, the average degree of mitigation is higher for speakers in more powerful roles. When I performed a computation of average number of mitigations per FTA for these two types, I found that for pre-mitigated hints, the average number of mitigations per FTA for ministers was 9.7; for chairs, 4.3, for group members 3.7. For non-coercive modals the average was 10.5 for ministers, 7.4 for chairs and 3.2 for group members.

So all speakers display accommodation in similar percentages of hints, and more powerful speakers put more effort into negotiating by mitigating their hints to a greater extent. Nonetheless, the ministers' hints are still inherently more powerful.

Typical comparisons of pre-mitigated hints for speakers in the three roles indicate differing degrees of mitigation across roles: (mitigations are underlined) (a) minister: (1) "I guess I guess my feeling is that I'd I'd rather not decide now, and I know you can't put it off forever." (6 mitigations); (2) "I think at the moment it might be helpful for Jane and I to have that [a list of visitors] but not mix it with the group. I mean these are the kind of people that also need our attention so that we see what's going on before we lose them completely." (8 mitigations) (b) chair: (1) "Well I guess those would be the first people to contact." (3 mitigations); (2) "I guess it'd probably be best, tnen, if you worked with Sam to help identify some of the priorities, being as he's the one that knows where they came from" (4 mitigations); (c) group members: (1)"I think perhaps it might be a good idea to contact some of these references" (3 mitigations); (2) "I would be I would think that's worth looking at" [insurance policy] (3 mitigations). In general group members are most direct in these FTA's.

The same pattern is evident in the examples of non-coercive modal hints which follow: (a) minister: (1) "Maybe toward the end of the campaign or something we could go to the groups and say 'now this is where we are. We need just this much to complete the project uh would your group consider uh making a group commitment?'" (12 mitigations) (2)"I think it's neat, Nancy, if you and Jim could do one or two of those so that we could see then how we really could

put it in" [sample art design] (9 mitigations); (b) chairs: (1) "<u>I</u> <u>guess</u> <u>we</u> <u>could</u> work on that and <u>try</u> to work out a system then" [for security] (5 mitigations); (2) "<u>Phil,</u> <u>perhaps</u> you <u>can</u> refresh our thinking by letting us know about what this is all about" (3 mitigations); (c) group members: (1) "<u>I</u> <u>hope</u> that when it comes down to it <u>we</u> <u>can</u> take some positive steps to <u>try</u> to make it happen" [getting enough funds to make budget] (4 mitigations); (2) "I <u>do</u> <u>hope</u> that everyone will take a moment to sign up" (2 mitigations).

Hints, then, are more mitigated in the speech of ministers relative to other speakers, expressing the ministers' greater effort to get what they want.

Turning to the second category, question directives, (Category B) we find that their occurrence is more frequent in the language of speakers in leadership roles than in that of ordinary members, although not greatly. (Ministers: 19.9 percent; chairs: 19.4 percent and group members 12.7 percent). So, while the general distribution of question directives is similar across roles, leaders tend to use more of this directive type.

An explanation of this pattern of use can be suggested. As noted, question directives are both powerful and powerless. A question is syntactically more imposing than a statement because it demands an answer (Goody 1978). Furthermore, questions asked by persons in positions of power are routinely interpreted as being about more than

information. They are also perceived as "fixing responsibility or threatening control" (Goody 1978:59). At the same time, however, a question directive is not powerful for the very reason that the hearer is given the option of treating it as a simple information question rather than as a directive, (excluding very conventionalized question directives, e.g., "Do you mind passing the salt?", which have only one interpretation). By using this directive type, therefore, a higher-status speaker can exploit this inherent ambiguity and perform a powerful speech act which is not "on-record" as powerful. For these reasons, we expect and find more of this "off-record" type in the speech of ministers and chairs.

Further sub-categorization of this category into do-wanna questions, why don't questions and ordinary question directives, suggests that at least the first two sub-categories, do- wanna and why don't are more characteristic of the speech of chairpersons, who seem to use them to keep the meeting moving. These types are also more mitigated for both chairs and ministers relative to group members, implying that leaders do not express power as overtly as group members, even though chairs, especially, could do so legitimately.

Chapter Four gave the distribution of question directives. It showed that only 1.8 percent of the ministers' directives were do wanna questions, only 3.5 percent why don't questions, but 14.6 percent were

ordinary question directives. Similarly, 3.8 percent of the chairs' directives were do-wanna types, 5.5 percent why don't types and 10.1 percent ordinary question directives. However, only 2 percent of group members' directives were do-wanna types, 2 percent why don't; and 8.7 percent ordinary question directives.

In computing the average number of mitigations per FTA by type, we find other differences. For do-wanna types, the average number of mitigations per FTA is 2.7 for ministers, 2.8 for chairs, and only 1.3 for group members. For why don't types, 5 for ministers, 4.8 for chairs and only 1.7 for group members. Ordinary question directives measure 4 mitigations per FTA for ministers, 2.5 for chairs and 2.2 for group members. Table 31 illustrates these averages.

Table 31: Average Number of Mitigations Per FTA of Category B for Ministers (M) Chairs (C) and Group Members (GM)

	DW	WH	OQ
M	2.7	5.0	4.0
C	2.8	4.8	2.5
GM	1.3	1.7	2.2

NOTE: DW= Do-wanna; WH= why don't; OQ=ordinary question directives

Examples of the first two types, do-wanna and why don't questions, illustrate the slightly greater amounts of mitigation in the language of ministers and chairs. This is suggestion, of course, of greater effort at negotiation and less overt expression of power. Mitigations are underlined.

Looking first to do-wanna types, we find a fairly mitigated example for a minister: (a) [ellipsis] "You wanna put it [projector] in the Christian [false start] do you wanna put it in the Christian Education office?" (4 mitigations) but also one with only one mitigation: (b) "Do you wanna get in touch with the office?" (1 mitigation) The difference between these and the same types for chairs and group members is that these are more genuinely interpretable as information questions and may even have been miscoded as directives.

When chairs use this type they most often clearly request an immediate action: (a) "Beth, do you wanna talk about the retreat?" (2 mitigations) and (b) "Do you wanna make that in the form of a motion so you'll have that formalized?" (1 mitigation). But one longer "what about" type was included as well, which was a suggestion about holding a private church service in a few weeks from the time of the meeting. This increased the average number of mitigations: (c) "What about offering the opportunity of of of the few people like Beth who would like that, to have something of their own nature. I don't know I've never been to a watchnight service here. I don't know how formal the

service is, but uh perhaps if it were extemporaneous or whatever it might be even more meaningful than a formal service would be" (12 mitigations). One FTA of a group member, like the chairs', also requested immediate action: (a) "Do you wanna incorporate that into the motion so that it's clear that that's what you intend to do" (1 mitigation). The two other questions of this sub-type of the question direction cateogry did not include do wanna, but rather what about and how about: (b) "What about making it a regular like the second Saturday or the first Saturday?" (2 mitigations) and (c) "How about the roof?" [spending money on the roof] (1 mitigation). They were much more direct than the what about type of the chair in (c) immediately above.

Why don't types for ministers occurred when prompt action was required to run the meeting efficiently and the chair did not take the initiative. Therefore, they might be considered to be polite actions in a broad sense: (a) "Why don't you just run through it" [the budget] "and and uh we could take notes" (5 mitigations) and (b) "Uh if if you close nominations why don't you do this: make the motion to close nominations and elect these persons" (4 mitigations). In two other examples, the minister issued directives in order to elicit explanation from an associate pastor, someone of more equal rank, as a means of answering increasing numbers of requests for clarification from group members; (c) "Why don't you help us understand what would

best, Jane?" (4 mitigations) (d) "Why don't you share with
all of them what we began this last fall?" (2 mitigations).
This minister did not use this type to ordinary group
members. The remainder of why don't directives brought
lengthy discussion to an end, e.g., to a chair: (e) "Joe,
why don't you talk to Sam Smith because Sam has watched this
man and his two boys work. I think he'd have an idea if one
of those boys would be able to do that." (6 mitigations)

Use of the same type for chairs was also generally a
function of desire for immediate action, but did not seem to
be designed to aid members of the group in the way the
ministers' did: (a) "Why don't you go ahead and give your
report on that?" (b) "Why don't you go ahead and talk on it,
Bill?" (c) "Sam, why don't you, can you take care of it and
call him then and tell him that it's there that that leak is
there and maybe he'll remember who it was that did it?" (d)
"Why don't we add that on as another separate issue?" but a
few also involved actions farther in the future. They were
more threatening in terms of weightier topics involving
great expense and were also generally more mitigated, an
indication of greater skill at trying to obtain compliance:
(e) "Why don't we try it [repairing church doors] on one set
of em see how it works out and uh if it works good, we'll do
the other one, too." (f) "Why don't we I guess if we can get
you know I'll volunteer to help on this project." (g) "Why
don't you first, maybe before you appeal it, and spend a

hundred and fifty dollars, is get an idea of how big that one [church bulletin board] looks?"

Because group members performed so few why don't types, it is impossible to generalize, but each FTA is very short and less mitigated than those of ministers or chairs: (a) "Why don't we toss it back to Brian?" [the problem of making a photography backdrop] (b) "Why don't you bring dessert?" (c) "Why don't you get with Bert and find out what he knows?" There is little effort at negotiation.

Ordinary question directives, as noted above, were similar in length and mitigated to very similar degrees by speakers in all roles, with the exception of three longer FTA's by one minister. Apart from these (one of which was given earlier in this chapter, containing a long analogy relating car assembly to participating in a church program), there are few differences, as the following examples will indicate. Ordinary question directives occur with little mitigation, as if the built-in optional surface interpretation as an information question, a characteristic of this directive-type, is enough mitigation in itself.

Ministers question future actions quite simply: (a) "Now, do we need to check further with the city assessor when we're ready to do this, Ann?" (b) "You haven't been to East Side Mission, have you?" but they can also be more indirect in displaying their motives, that is, quite skillful at negotiating: (c) "I just a quick word to you think that we need to get more mileage any more mileage out

of that by some kind of exchange or promotion before we post it say from you [the chair] to the congregation?" [fund-raising for Lenten missions project] (d) "High school, you think, Bruce?" [the minister uses this question to call attention to a previous suggestion by Bruce that custodial help can be obtained from some high school students; Bruce's suggestion had been ignored by the group, but the minister's question highlighted it and subsequently Bruce was delegated to check at the high school. This is a clever "manipulation" on the minister's part].

Chairs display only rather straightforward question directives, with no "hidden agendas": (a) "Do we have any suggestions as to who might take his place on our committee" (b) "And do I hear some volunteers?" (c) "Ok, Jeff, could I ask you to write the next newsletter I mean the next mission article for The Goalpost and say some of these things?" (d) "Guess a question I would ask what's the possibility of the trustees coming up with some funds somewhere along the way?" [for a snowblower] (e) "Do you have any input on that, Steve?" (f) "Are you gonna add that one to your heating and electrical list, Don?"

Group members also use questions which are easily interpreted as directives, but only half as many as either chairs or ministers. As a group of speakers, they seem more content to go "on-record" with other FTA types, to more overtly negotiate power, and therefore, to less skillfully

negotiate support. For example, (a) "Are the trustees considering using these funds for any of those three areas?" (b) "Can those be put in the evangelism box and anyone who wants one can pick one up?" And although some examples of their question directives indicate more indirection: (c) "Jim, you mentioned three alternatives. I wonder if you've looked at a fourth, which may not be at all suitable. Is the rise in the number of steps so you couldn't make a ramp the full length of it instead of having it half the way?" (d) "If they want us to lead [a community service] you know, would there be some possibility to try and advertise it among other churches in the area?",these were not in the majority.

Looking to the next category, Category C, we recall that similar percentages of directives in Category C occurred across roles. This category, again, consists of (1) embedded imperatives, (2) let's statements, (3) need statements and (4) strong modal statements, each a relatively coercive type of directive. However, we also recall that when directives in this category were analyzed by sub-type, certain variations were evident among roles, namely, ministers use more need statements, while chairs use more embedded imperatives and let's statements. So, on the one hand, there seems to be general similarity in percentages of use of these relatively coercive types of directives as a broad category. On the other hand, certain of these types are more typical of speakers in certain

roles. The result is more expression of power by leaders than I had predicted, although these coercive forms are mitigated more highly by speakers in more powerful roles.

Specifically, embedded imperatives and let's statements occur in highest percentages in the language of chairs (embedded imperatives: C-8 percent; M-2.3 percent; GM-3.3 percent·; let's: C-8 percent; M-5.3 percent; GM 2.7 percent). Need statements occur more frequently in the speech of ministers (M-11.7 percent; C-4.6 prcent; GM-4.7 percent). The distribution of strong modals is the only outcome which supports the original hypothesis (M-10.5 percent; C-11.8 percent; GM-16.7 percent). That hypothesis predicted lower percentages of all sub-types of this category (Category C) in the speech of ministers relative to chairs, who would exhibit lower percentages relative to group members. This outcome was predicted because it was felt that ministers would not use these relatively coercive types in order to avoid the open expression of power. As it turns out, ministers and chairs did not avoid these coercive directive types. However, they used more and a greater variety of mitigation as relative to other speakers. So while ministers do express power, they also express mitigation.

Table 32 illustrates that the average number of mitigations for Category C directives is consistently highest for ministers.

Table 32:   Average Number of Mitigations Per FTA of Category
            C for Ministers (M), Chairs (C) and Group Members
            (GM)

	E	L	NE	S
M	3.0	7.3	7.9	10.3
C	2.5	2.7	4.6	3.5
GM	2.2	3.1	3.0	3.1

Note: E= embedded imperatives; L= Let's statements; NE=
        Need statements; S=strong modal statements.

Looking first to embedded imperatives, we find that, as argued in Chapter Four, the embedded imperatives of ministers seem less direct than those of other speakers, because of the occurrences of "be willing" and "would you like". At the same time it is acknowledged, however, that with such low frequencies, the differences may be negligible. Perhaps these should even have been categorized as question directives. Examples: (a) "Would you be willing to uh to let Mary and Bob talk about what might happen in the preaching part and in the worship part?" and (b) "Ok, would you like to put her name in nomination?" (c) "Would you like to change your motion?" A more usual form also occurred, but with mitigation: (d) "Ok, well um would you write them down in order of the people that you think would

do the best job?" In general, ministers do not use typical embedded imperatives.

Embedded imperatives are most often used by chairs to designate individual responsibility to a group member. They are quite straightforward, usually mitigated only by the initial modal and often a first name and/or third person pronoun: (a) "Would you call him, then, Bob?" (b) "Could we hear it?" [the motion] (c) "Would you take that responsibility then?" (d) "Can you tell us something about what you plan to do there, Ann?" although one "would you like" form occurred: (e) "Would you like to change your motion?"

As shown in Chapter Four, the embedded imperatives among group members were only between speakers giving a group presentation. Specifically, a male speaker directed imperatives to his female colleague. He was in charge of the presentation, and only called on her for support, e.g. "Mary, could you speak to that?" So in line with Ervin-Tripp (1976), embedded imperatives mainly occurred downward in rank, from either chairs to group members, or from speakers who were more in charge to those who were not. The fact that ministers used so few may signal their avoidance of overt use of power.

As with embedded imperatives, let's statements also seem most typical of chairs. Others speakers use few of this type. Examples in Chapter Four showed that the function of these directives was mainly procedural for

chairs: (a) "Let's move on" (b) "Let's look at our minutes," while for ministers and group members, there were equal numbers of procedural and weightier FTA-types, weightier types being (a) minister: "Well, let's ponder over it" [choosing a new committee member] (b) group member: "I mean if we're going to paint, let's paint it [the church basement] all."

However, this apparently similar usage of let's directives by ministers and group members may not be the same after all. The use of let's may be more of a strategy for ministers to promote in-group solidarity to gain support for weightier FTA's while for group members it may be merely a mark of the solidarity which already exists between them by virtue of their equal rank.

Need statements were most characteristic of the ministers' speech. This outcome should have been anticipated, as Ervin-Tripp (1976) found that need statements were generally issued to subordinates. I had felt, however, that these would indicate too much power and would be avoided by ministers, who were in rather undefined leadership roles. But, although ministers perform more of this relatively coercive type than do other speakers, they do mitigate their need statements to a greater degree and with greater variety. This supports the suggestion that ministers are applying more effort to negotiate than other speakers are, while simultaneously demonstrating power in the choice of this very coercive directive type. The

following examples will make this clear: (a) ministers: (1) "And I think we need to share our experiences periodically with one another, so if I have a bummer and come home with a long face heh heh I'll talk to Beth Ann and Rachel and if they've had a happy visit it'll help me be more enthusiastic." In this example there is a great variety of strategy, including, for example, hedging (e.g., "I think," markers of cooperation (e.g., "share with one another"), lexical style-shifting (e.g., "have a bummer; long face"), and deference in suggesting group members can help a person of higher rank ("help me be more enthusiastic"). Together, these express accommodation of a higher status speaker to the level of a lower status speaker, but they do not destroy the trace of power in the need statement itself. (2) "Are we talking about our best bet might be to bring in a part-time, I'm just grabbing now, part-time, less than full time lay worker in Christian education? I don't know. That needs to be looked at, to really do what is being done magnificently but not ask the clergy person, the second person on the staff to be that you know part-time layperson. I'm not sure." In this example as well there is a combination of strategy in hedging (e.g., "I'm not sure." "I don't know"), lexical style-shifting (e.g., "best bet", "grabbing"), distancing (e.g., passive: "to be looked at"), "you know" , complimenting (e.g.,"what is being done magnificently") among other mitigating features which co-occur with the powerful need statement.

Need statements of chairs include none which displayed so much variety in mitigation types. They were either (1) more direct and immediate: (a) "I need a volunteer for next Tuesday evening if any of you can come to the COM meeting" (b) "Then I guess we need to have an election" or (2) mitigated with negative politeness only (discounting the positively polite third person plural pronouns): (a) "Uh I think some of you probably had gotten copies ahead of time, but what we need to do is kinda approve those uh or revise em as necessary" (b) "Thinking about it from our side, uh I would think we as trustees would need to determine if we hire somebody full-time, what functions uh maybe even what hours we would want them to work." On these grounds, chairs negotiate power more openly and less skillfully than ministers.

The need statements of group members were much more similar to those of the chairs, but less mitigated: (a) "Uh, I must have [must have was counted as a need form] uh in March, please a letter of intent from the uh pew renovation committee" (b) "We need a file of their intest in order to retain the thousand-dollar gift" (c) "What I need is approval from you" (d) "We need to go again over what the responsibilities of this person would be" [before she volunteers]. So group members again are shown to apply less effort in negotiation and more overt expressions of power.

The last sub-type of Category C consists of strong modal statements. As explained above, these occur in the

speech of all speakers but with less frequency in the language of the ministers. This type of directive is quite coercive, but is also mitigated more highly, if not more skillfully, by ministers. As noted with other types, the mitigation is skillful because of the high frequency and variety of mitigating features, which the following examples indicate : (a) ministers: (1) "We don't have to have a major planning session to last a whole night or even a whole day, but I think two or three hours annually must be set to say 'Here are the 94 things we said we were going to do. Let's get rid of all of them and talk about this'." In this example, the minister makes the task appear small (a type of negative politeness counted under deference), hedges (I think) and exaggerates with "the 94 things" a marked lexical item; (2) "Gotta pick 'n choose where it's gonna count the most" [in what to emphasize in a fund drive]. Here the minister uses contractions and a marked lexical item (pick 'n choose); (3) "Joe, I have a concern about the nursery. I think that we oughta look seriously at running 200 service in there and putting baseboard heating where there are small children like that. With everything open up above, they can get there, I think, with 200 without any problem. I really think that's a safety factor. The inspector comes in and sees a space heater in that room and he's gonna just say, 'you can't do that'." Here the minister "first-names" and uses a sentence to introduce the suggestion, i.e., expresses that he has "a concern" to

introduce before actually introducing it, hedges ("I think")
minimizes the task ("without any problem") uses
contractions, and quotes another authority ("the inspector")
as partial justification for performing the FTA, among other
strategies.

Chairs typically use less variety of politeness
features in their's strong modal statements, mainly hedging,
that is, but there is still an average of three mitigations
for each FTA: (1)"I think maybe we should consider priority
posting" [regarding scheduling of church events] (2) "I
don't think I think that's out of our hands, but I do think
that we should honor this request." (3) "And I and I feel
that that's a must that should be taken care of" [parking
problem (4) "Uh, I think that you ought to, based on your
input, which one you think is the best one and proceed to do
it. That's that's my feeling"[purchase alarm system] (5) "I
think we should maybe we get enough information we oughta
maybe proceed" [with purchasing new equipment for the
office].

Group members also perform strong modal statements and
theirs are similar to those of the chairs, with mitigation
primarily hedging: (a) "I think that's something else that
should be considered" [meeting with sanctuary task force]
(b) "Maybe we should just wash the whole wall and solve the
problem" [about having to paint]. (c) "I think we should get
some that they recognize" [names of places money is being
donated] (d) "Um yes we should go for the 60,000 [dollars

needed to be raised]--is that what you said it was--for the share" (e) "Well, now, this brings up something that's been on my mind for a long, long time: in our minutes when a decision is made of this type [about who is responsible for purchasing church equipment] I think it should be fed into the copier."

In sum, strong modal statements are more characteristic of chairs and group members, although ministers use them almost as frequently. This directive type is more highly mitigated by ministers and chairs than by group members. This tendency parallels the tendencies for other types for which there was also more open expression of power in the language of group members. It further supports the suggestion that group members are putting forth less effort and have less skill in negotiating support.

The distribution of imperatives, as shown in Chapter Four, was as hypothesized. Group members used almost three times as many imperatives to each other (16.7 percent) than did ministers to the group (5.3 percent). Chairs fell intermediately between ministers and group members (6.8 percent). This outcome was hypothesized because speakers who are relative social equals, i.e., group members, would be more likely to use "on-record" directive types to each other than would speakers who are more socially distant from each other.

Ministers use few imperatives, and the ones they used were of an unusual sort. Their imperatives, unlike the

straightforward imperatives of both chairs and group members, were either joking or deferential.

Specifically, only ministers made joking imperatives e.g., (a) "Check their teeth" [about determining age of prospective members], (b) "Mark that down" [a joking threat], although both chairs and ministers performed imperatives that contained features of positive and negative politeness. Only ministers issued strictly deferential imperatives, e.g., (a) "Stay with me a minute more" [concern about a report being too boring, i.e., as if to say, I'm sorry this report is so boring, but it will be over soon. (b)"You go on with other business" [while I have to leave the room, i.e., Don't let me interfere with your affairs or I'm not important enough for you to stop the meeting for]. So, even though the data are few, it seems that ministers are sensitive to the fact that imperatives are powerful syntactically and that this power may be used with strategic ambiguity.

5.3 Role Dependencies of Negative and Positive Politeness Features

The previous section focused on FTA-types and their frequency and length as indicators of power and accommodation. I gave examples of FTA's and their co-occurring features of mitigations to illustrate more mitigation and a greater variety of mitigating (positive and

negative politeness) features in the speech of ministers and chairs relative to group members.

In this section I will focus more specifically on the features of mitigation. I will argue that the occurrence of certain politeness features, especially certain features of positive politeness, is role-dependent.

In terms of politeness features, an argument of this paper is that the negotiation of support requires that higher-status speakers use equal or more amounts of politeness relative to others. In this way, they signal their effort to negotiate and their desire to avoid overt use of the inherent power of their positions. This entails simultaneous adherence to both parts of the maxim stated in Chapter Two: When you want the willing support of others, (1) don't impose: be uncertain, impersonalize, and show deference; (2) be personable: be informal and make listeners feel they are part of your in-group. Adhering to one part of the maxim to the exclusion of the other is not considered to be a successful style of negotiating support.

The results of this study indicated that the majority of speakers adhered to both parts of this maxim. However, ministers and some chairs displayed greater effort in their negotiation of support by their use of politeness features. First, not only did they use equivalent or greater amounts of politeness, but they used certain types of both negative and positive politeness features which group members did not use. Secondly, ministers and chairs used more positive

politeness relative to negative politeness than did group members. Positive politeness, remember, is posited to be more important politeness strategy in the negotiation of support because of its ability to evoke warmth and/or humor, thereby creating a supportive atmosphere.

In this section, I will discuss these differences in distribution of politeness features, especially positive politeness, and argue that ministers, followed by chairs, do display more effort at negotiating support than do group members. I will also claim that, contrary to the conclusions of B & L (1978), positive politeness seems to be more unusual than negative politeness in American culture. In this general way the positive politeness features which occurred in this study are more marked and attention-arousing than the negative politeness features.

More specifically, I will give further support to the argument of earlier chapters that lexical style-shifting, a feature of positive politeness, is a particularly useful strategy for leaders who want others' support because it is both powerful and solidarity-promoting. This useful ambiguity explains its greater use by ministers and some chairs relative to group members.

5.3.1. Negative Politeness Features

Looking first to negative politeness features, we remember that one of the claims of this paper is that even speakers in relatively powerful roles will use marked

amounts of negative politeness when their discourse goal is to negotiate support. The results of this study support this claim. First, although the majority of speakers used negative politeness, ministers used even more than chairs overall, who used more than group members. Table 33 lists absolute frequencies of negative politeness features for speakers in the three roles. It also gives the percentage that each type constitutes of the total number of mitigations and of the total number of negative politeness features for each role. (Appendices G and I list the frequencies for individual chairs and group members).

From this display, we can see that although many percentages are similar across roles, there are some differences. There are much higher frequencies of most features in the speech of ministers relative to group members, and there are higher percentages of several types. Furthermore, the ministers' language contains a greater variety of features. In a majority of cases chairs fall intermediately between ministers and group members in frequency, percentage, and type.

Specifically, hesitations and lexical content features occur in higher percentages in the FTA-related language of the ministers relative group members. Although group members use higher percentages of if-clauses and modal verbs, the ministers use higher frequencies. More importantly, self-effacements, compliments, apologies, deferential forms and distancing features are virtually

TABLE 33: Frequencies of Features of Negative Politeness and Percentages of: (1) Total Number of Mitigations and (2) Total Number of Negative Politeness Features for Speakers in Three Roles

	M			C			GM		
	F	%M	%N	F	%M	%N	F	%M	%N
1. Hesitations	308	16.4	26.8	125	13.4	22.4	86	12.5	18.5
2. Lexical content	121	6.4	10.4	34	3.7	6.1	28	4.0	6.0
3. Lexical quasi-content	313	16.7	27.0	179	19.3	32.1	142	20.6	30.5
4. If clauses	69	3.7	5.9	44	4.7	7.9	61	8.9	13.1
5. Modal verbs	223	11.8	19.2	144	15.5	25.8	130	18.9	28.0
6. Tags	8	.4	.7	2	.2	.4	1	.2	.2
7. Please	1	.1	.08	2	.2	.4	6	.9	1.3
8. Self-effacements	29	1.5	2.5	6	.7	1.1	4	.6	.9
9. Compliments	25	1.3	2.2	7	.8	1.3	1	.2	.2
10. Apologies	6	.3	.5	3	.3	.5	0	0	0
11. Deferential forms	24	1.3	2.1	8	.9	1.4	0	0	0
12. Distancing Features	31	1.6	2.7	4	.4	.7	6	.9	1.3

NOTE: M-Minister; C-Chair; GM-Group Member; %M - Percent of Total Number of Mitigations; %N-Percent of Total Number of Negative Politeness Features; F-Frequency

absent for most chairs and especially for group members. (Tags and please are rare for all speakers). By these measures, ministers and chairs display more effort and skill in using negative politeness.

Negative politeness is much more frequent in the data than positive politeness. Remember, when the frequencies of politeness features were totaled and converted into percentages, it was found that negative politeness accounted for 61.4 percent of the ministers' politeness features, 59.9 percent of the chairs' and 67.5 percent of group members'. The implication is that even though relatively powerful speakers use great amounts of and even more types of negative politeness, negative politeness features will still appear more usual for speakers in all roles than will features of positive politeness. Carried one step further, a second implication is that because negative politeness is more usual, it may be less influential than positive politeness in the negotiation of support. That is, if negative politeness is the overall norm, then using positive politeness implies more risk-taking, more confidence, perhaps more power.

5.3.2 Negative Politenss in American Culture

B & L (1978) dispute the conclusion of the previous section by suggesting that positive politeness is more usual in the U.S. than negative politeness. Because positive politeness indexes a low degree of social distance, the

implication is that most Americans consider themselves relative social equals. From this conclusion, we might expect speakers to use more positive politeness than negative politeness. However, as the data show, this was not the case in the present investigation.

Specifically, B & L (1978:250) argue that "we can distinguish (with immense crudity) between positive-politeness cultures and negative-politeness cultures". The U.S., in comparison with many cultures, they suggest, is a positive politeness culture, "a friendly back-slapping [culture]" where the general degree of face threat is low. Impositions are relatively small, social distance no insuperable boundary, relative power never very great. This view is supported by Scollon and Scollon (1983) who believe that the American emphasis on equality of opportunity has led to an overall positive politeness system. If this view is correct, then it seems that in the present study we would have found that positive politeness features outnumber those of negative politeness.

However, the obtained results, as indicated, run counter to this proposition. Negative politeness is overwhelmingly the preferred strategy of most speakers in the settings examined, hedges, in particular, (features 1 through 7 in Table 33), accounting for a majority of negative politeness features. By this measurement, the U.S., by extension, would seem to be a negative politeness

culture. The use of positive politeness in this culture appears to be very unusual.

Admittedly, other cultural comparisons are needed. In spite of the fact that negative politeness features outnumber those of positive politeness, the relative percentage of positive politeness may yet be higher in U.S. culture than in many others.

Nash (1983), however, on the basis of a comparison study of politeness strategies used by Chinese and Americans (in a situation in which support is being negotiated), claims that the U.S. is a negative politeness culture. He explains the American preference for negative politeness (and the Chinese preference for positive politeness) by referring to individual versus situation-centered ways of life. Americans, he argues, emphasize self-determination, self-interest and self-reliance. Accordingly, they mainly choose strategies which pay attention to the addressee's desire to be unimpeded--negative politeness. Chinese culture, on the other hand, functions by mutual dependence. Chinese, therefore, choose strategies which pay attention to the individual's positive self-image and which stress the addressee's value and place among his/her fellow beings-- positive politeness.

The present study tentatively supports the conclusions of Nash (1983) regarding American society. In the social situation examined, negative politeness seems to be the

unmarked strategy. Furthermore, much research, as reviewed in Chapter Two, also claims that hedging and other forms of negative politeness are pervasive in the English language. Together, these findings lend further weight to the claim that hedges, especially, exist in language in order to fulfill social purposes.

It is also important to note that politeness strategies may be a function of the situation, rather than of the culture. The value of a crude classification of cultures into politeness types, therefore, may be misleading. Certainly, many more studies are needed to determine the merits of establishing this dichotomy.

The data of the present study do suggest, however, that in one American social situation negative politeness is relatively unmarked and positive politeness, marked. It is therefore possible that negative politeness is a less marked strategy in the negotiation of support. I claim that in using positive politeness, the speaker is doing something quite unusual which may be an especially persuasive, even powerful, tactic.

5.3.3 Positive Politeness Features

We can offer one reason why positive politeness from high-status to low-status speakers might be more persuasive than negative politeness: the speaker signals willingness to include the addressee in his/her in-group.

In Chapter Two I argued that when a speaker has the discourse goal of negotiating support, he/she intentionally violates what B & L (1978) call the "balance principle," by using marked amounts of positive politeness. B & L (1978) says that speakers want to preserve equilibrium in conversation. That is, in the commission of FTA's, the reason speakers use face redress, whether positive or negative face redress, is merely to maintain face, to avoid creating undesirable feelings between conversational participants. I argue, however, that when speakers have the discourse goal of negotiating support, they want to do more than maintain face. They do not merely want to preserve neutral, status quo relationships with their interlocutors. Rather, they intentionally work to weight the conversation toward positive feelings and warmth by using positive politeness. In other words, they purposely use positive politeness to upset the "balance" and bring people closer together, at least for the duration of a communicative event. More importantly, positive politeness issued from higher-ranking to lower-ranking speakers is a marked choice which especially closes social distance, redefining the relationship between speaker and addressee (Smith, 1983, Bell 1984). This accommodation of superior to subordinate works toward the creation of a mutually supportive atmosphere.

In specific support of the claim that positive politeness is especially important in the negotiation of

support , ministers and chairs (higher-status speakers) used
higher percentages of positive politeness (M-38.6 percent;
C-39.9 percent) relative to group members (GM-32.5 percent).
(Although the percentage of positive politeness features is
highest for chairs, it would be slightly lower if we
excluded first-naming in assigning turns. Remember only
chairs assign turns according to an agenda, so their
language naturally includes more first names. The higher
higher percentage for ministers is thus even more
significant).

In addition, ministers and some chairs used more and a
greater variety of positive politeness features. We recall
that several examples of FTA-types in earlier chapters have
illustrated more positive politeness and a greater variety
of politeness features (both positive and negative) in the
FTA-related language of ministers relative to chairs and
group members. Table 34 lists absolute frequencies of
positive politeness features for speakers in the three
roles. (These are also provided for individual chairs and
group members as a unit in Appendices F and H). Percentages
which these features constitute of the total number of
mitigations (%M) and of the total number of positive
politeness features (%P) are also given.

According to the display, five features of positive
politeness seem especially important in the speech of the
ministers and some chairs relative to group members. They
are (1) terms of familiar address, (2) marked lexical items

Table 34: Frequencies and Percentages of Positive Politeness Features of: (1) All Mitigating Features and (2) All Features of Positive Politeness for [Ministers (M); Chairs (C) and Group Members (GM)] Speakers in Three Roles

	M			C			GM		
	F	%M	%P	F	%M	%P	F	%M	%P
1. Familiar Address	42	2.2	5.8	62	6.7	16.6	10	1.5	4.5
2. Elliptical forms	12	.7	1.7	16	1.7	4.3	2	.3	.9
3. Contractions	54	2.9	7.5	34	3.7	9.1	30	4.4	13.5
4. Marked lexical items	117	6.2	16.2	20	2.2	5.4	13	1.9	5.8
5. You know	31	1.7	4.3	7	.8	1.9	28	4.1	12.6
6. Lexical repetition	7	.4	1.0	3	.3	.8	5	1.0	2.2
7. Partial agreement	26	1.4	3.6	10	1.2	2.7	27	3.6	12.1
8. Reciprocity/ concern	39	2.0	5.4	4	.4	1.1	0	0	0
9. Why Don't	8	.4	1.1	13	1.5	3.5	3	.4	1.3
10.Inclusive pronouns	383	20.3	53.0	202	21.7	54.2	105	15.2	47.1
11.Defense terms	3	.2	.4	1	.1	.1	0	0	0

NOTE: M-Minister; C-Chair; GM-Group Member; %M-Percent of Total Number of Mitigations; %P-Percent of Total Number of Positive Politeness Features; F-Frequency

(or lexical style-shifts), (3) terms of reciprocity and concern, (4) first person plural pronouns, and (5) expressions of defense. Two of these features, terms of reciprocity and concern and expressions of defense do not even occur in the speech of group members.

Looking first at first person plural pronouns, as noted in earlier chapters, it was not always possible to disambiguate the referent for these pronouns. Both ambiguous occurrences of the pronoun and those which were clear strategies of including the listener in the activity were counted as positive politeness features. However, when ministers used these forms, even in ambiguous cases, it seemed likely that they were using them as a (conscious or unconscious) strategy. It was somewhat likely that chairs were using them as a strategy and least likely that group members were. On general grounds, then, we can say that ministers seemed to have different purposes in using these pronouns than other speakers did. A more refined analysis would have been desirable and possible if speakers could have been interviewed, although self-reports are not always reliable, either (Trudgill 1983).

Using terms of familiar address was more of a strategy for ministers than for chairs because chairs typically use first names to assign turns. The fact that ministers, especially, used so many more familiar address forms than group members did seems important. It indicates the greater degree of effort in their negotiations and their desire to

decrease the social distance between themselves and group members.

Terms of reciprocity and concern suggest similar motivations. These terms occurred with greatest frequency in the speech of one minister (33), but the other ministers also used several (3 each). One chair used three and one, one, and, of course, none occurred in the speech of group members. Remember these include such expressions as share, help each other, be mutually responsible. Defense of other members also occurred almost exclusively in the speech of the ministers. These features seem to mark the ministers and chairs as putting forth more creative, positively polite effort to negotiate than group members.

5.3.3.1. Lexical Style-Shifting. The most important feature of positive politeness revealed in the formal analysis was downward lexical style-shifting. It is especially unequally distributed across roles. Ministers style-shifted much more when they performed FTA's than did speakers in either of the other two roles. Furthermore, the twenty shifts for chairs are mostly split between two people only (nine for one chair and seven for another). In other words, ten out of twelve chairs virtually did not use these shifts.

As I argued in earlier chapters, style-shifting can index both power and solidarity (Bell 1984; Scotton 1986). By style-shifting so much more than other speakers, the

ministers display both power and the desire to decrease the social distance beeen themselves and their subordinates.

Style-shifting is a powerful strategy because (1) it reveals a multi-dimensional personality (Scotton 1985) and (2)addressees are treated as if they were someone else (Bell 1984). Bell (1984) specifically argues that speakers can persuade intimates by shifting to a style they would normally use for strangers. Conversely, they can persuade strangers by shifting to a style which they would normally use for intimates. Such initiative downshifts, in Bell's (1984) terminology, redefine the relationship between speaker and addressee. And, in Scotton's (1983) terms downward style-shifting is a marked choice which indexes the nomination of a new RO set as the norm. Shifting is a strategy of one "in charge".

In the present study, then, downward shifts index moves toward solidarity. A move toward solidarity is the most usual interpretation of style-shifts toward a casual style (Brown and Gilman 1972, Friedrich 1972). Although ministers and group members are not strangers, they are not intimates, either. Remember, at the meetings, ministers are higher-status speakers who, by shift-shifting, may invite lower-status speakers into their in-group.

But because the strategy also expresses power, the ministers, who are in inherently powerful positions, can maintain the power appropriate to their role and still negotiate support. Furthermore, shifts toward a more

familiar style are generally the prerogative of the socially higher in rank (Brown and Gilman 1972) so we would expect the ministers to do more shifting if they are negotiating support from lower-ranking individuals, and they do. The following examples are FTA's performed by ministers in which style-shifting may be said to express both solidarity and power. The underlined shifts are thus one way the ministers negotiate support for their FTA's.

In the first example, the minister has explained to the trustees that the nursery-day care program attached to the church failed a fire inspection. He wants the trustees to support his decision about complying with the state inspector and having the custodians remove certain disputably flammable items from the designated area, rather than appealing the inspection:

M-1 "I I guess we should try to comply but uh I don't know what recourse we have as long as we're under contract with them and the person seems to have the autnority to close the joint down as far as it being a proper place" (clause unclear).

In another instance, the minister is responding to a request directed to him a few days earlier by the church photographer. The minister wants someone to construct a backdrop so better photographs of church members can be taken:

M-1: "He [the photographer] said that if we could come up with a kind of a little constructed backdrop, made of

some dark material with a little frame to it that could be portably hung in the library it would take care of all of our problems. And I said 'Well, ok, I've got one gang that I can take that to and that would be the trustees'."

In the following example, the discussion has been about getting people to make calls on new members. The minister suggests a way for people to support each other.

M-2: "And I think we need to share our experiences periodically with one another. So if I have a bummer and come home with a long face heh heh I'll talk to Beth Ann and Rachel and if they've had a happy visit it'll help me be more enthusistic."

In another instance, people have been discussing putting up a special parking sign in the church parking lot because too many non-church people have been filling up the lot. The minister suggests:

M-3: "Ok, it it oughta be um firm but friendly. I mean this is being done in the name of the church. And we don't wanna put signs up around saying, 'Uh, absolutely no trespassing, this is the property of the Wesley United Methodist Church'." [very exaggerated intonation at low pitch, and received with smiles and chuckles by group members]. "It sounds grouchy. We'd wanna say parking for uh members of Wesley Church only or something like that."

5.3.3.2. Humor. In addition to the five features of positive politeness discussed in the previous section, ministers use another strategy of positive politeness

differently than do group members. This strategy is humor. Humor was not an object of formal analysis, but was noted in the process of data-collection and felt to be important in the negotiation of support for two of the ministers. By using humor, an even more marked strategy of positive politeness than those discussed above, higher-ranking speakers demonstrate their power while they invoke solidarity. They also imply that they are secure and confident and can therefore afford certain marked behaviors.

Research shows that one of the reasons speakers use humor is to promote in-group solidarity (Bourhis and Giles et al 1976; B & L 1978; Apte 1985). In the present study, promoting solidarity is realized in positive politeness. So even though humor is a very complex social and psychological phenomenon (Giles et al 1976), I argue that the humor which ministers use is at least partially interpretable by general reference to the role that positive politeness plays in the negotiation of support.

Some occurrences of humor in the data of this investigation seem especially relevant to the hypothesis that ministers will use more positive politeness than other conversational participants.

Turning first to humor expressed in nonverbal behavior, I will begin by justifying the inclusion of nonverbal features in this sociolinguistic study. Kinesics has been a subject of investigation within both anthropology and interactional sociolinguistics, as indicated in the

literature review of Chapter One. The models on which the present analysis is based stem from these two disciplines. Brown and Levinson are anthropological linguists; Scotton, an interactional sociolinguist. It seems appropriate, therefore, to include a discussion of certain kinesic features which may be relevant to the negotiation of support. Only the most obvious examples will be noted. Detailed analysis would require video-taping, a procedure that was not followed in this study.

Two ministers (M-1 in particular, but M-3 as well), used certain body movements that seem to be significant reflections of self-effacement, a feature of negative politeness. However, these movements are also humorous. They result in general laughter among group members. Interestingly, just as positive politeness may be used to accommodate or even defer to speakers of a lower-status, negative politeness may be used to accommodate by promoting solidarity. I will give one extended example of kinesic humor used by a minister and offer a possible interpretation. I will also mention several other less marked examples.

At one Administrative Board meeting the topic of discussion was a new format of the newspaper advertisement of the church. A change in the minister's title was among several proposed changes in the design. The board was in the position of having to decide whether to keep the minister's title as "Rev." in the ad or change it to "Dr."

The minister was their first minister to bear the title of "Dr." so the issue had not arisen in past experience at this church.

Apparently, this question had been discussed elsewhere prior to the meeting. At the meeting, a group member moves that "Rev." be used in the ad. However, before putting it to a vote, the chair questions:

C-1: "Now how did you come up with the Rev. versus the Dr.? Did you or did he [the minister] decide?"

A group member: "I I knew it had to be pitched one way or the other because he WON'T decide."

At this point the minister hangs his head, sucks his thumb and looks up innocently to the group. They laugh loudly.

Although the behavior is humorous, a closer inspection of the interaction suggests a certain inherent ambiguity in the minister's kinesic move, as well as in the language of the other participants. In both cases, the ambiguity is between face threat and positive politeness. When the chair questions the member's basis for deciding to use "Rev." he may be interpreted as disagreeing with the group member. The member's comment, "I knew it had to be pitched one way or the other because he won't decide," may be interpreted as a compliment to the minister in that he implies that the minister will not choose the more prestigious title. It may also be a criticism, however, because although the minister did not choose the prestigious title, Dr., he did not choose

the ordinary title, Rev., either, and the ordinary title, presumably, would be the humbler option.

The minister's kinesic response, sucking his thumb, has the profound effect of distancing himself from decision-making. Only children suck their thumbs. In mimicking a child, the minister implies that he is a child who is not capable of the decision under question, someone far removed in status from a "Dr." or a "Rev." The kinesic behavior may thus be viewed as self-effacing and humorous as well, because it is incongruous for a person in a position of authority to relax that authority so completely. In addition, however, the minister seems to view his act as potentially powerful and face-threatening to the group, because when the laughter dies down, he apologizes: "I don't mean to make light of that. I really don't." He seems to recognize that the use of humor may be inappropriately "unserious".

The point of the example is to illustrate the minister's strategic use of nonverbal behavior. The humorous behavior appears to erode his authority, to make him appear less powerful than a minister is, but at the same time it demonstrates his self-confidence as a leader. By sucking his thumb, he, as an inherently powerful person, shows he can afford the risks of using marked behavior. That is, he is willing to put himself in a position of vulnerability in order to achieve a certain discourse goal. Tne specific goal he achieves is a group decision on which

title to use without his having to commit himself to any choice.[4] But in a more general sense his behavior also causes group members to laugh, and, presumably, to become more solidary with the minister.

Goffman (1961:128-9) touches on similar ideas in his discussion of the behavior of chief surgeons during surgical operations.[5] He argues that chief surgeons are under pressure to make sure that those at the operating table feel good about what is happening, and to do this, the surgeon sometimes uses activities that are not expected of one in his dignified position. He may perform "a clown function", "use charm and colorful little informalities", the informalities being "the prerogatives of those in higher office", much as shifting to an informal style (or from "vous" to "tu") is the prerogative of those higher in rank (Brown and Gilman 1972). In the present example, the minister, too, may want group members to feel good about their decision. He may also want them to feel that they have power to make decisions that affect their leader. If he can achieve this, he may secure future cooperation at other meetings as well.

This minister displays self-effacing, humorous and marked kinesic behavior in many other instances. In a complaint about having too much work to do he likens himself to a panting dog and vividly demonstrates that likeness. When suggesting that the church needs to evaluate itself by looking at programming needs of different age groups, he

refers to one older age group as the <u>paunchers</u> and pats his stomach as a seeming indication that he, too, is an overweight, slightly aging, <u>pauncher</u>. He also frequently uses exaggerated facial expresssions, such as lifting of eyebrows. These self-effacting behaviors may all be interpreted as humorous ways to achieve group solidarity and support. People seem to enjoy his display of marked behavior because they laugh, yet they probably would agree that this behavior also enhances his image of a self-confident and competent leader who does not feel threatened by this relaxing of dignity.

Although this minister's nonverbal behavior is the most marked of the ministers, another minister (M-3) also used several mockingly deferential facial expressions. And although no similarly marked behavior was noted for the other minister (M-2), he did promote solidarity by nodding his head while using very frequent back-channel features, i.e., mm-hmm, ok, throughout all the meetings. Chairs and group members, on the other hand, used no particularly observable kinesic behavior.

Looking next to instances of verbal humor, which are generally less marked than the nonverbal examples, I found that group members, chairs and ministers all performed occasional humorous FTA's: e.g., (1) [a disagreement] [the chair has asked for any lengthy and laborious reports to be given first] Group member: "Are you declaring me a bore?" and (2) the chair states: "You're gonna have to put up with

me [as a chair] in 1986, in 1987, in 1988. Do you think you could stand it? You put up with Bob all these years. You could put up with me." Group member: "Yeah, but he's [her husband, Bob] only renewed on a one-year basis."

The fact that humorous comments were made by speakers in all three roles suggests that solidarity is being negotiated in the group as a whole (Diez 1983). However, unlike the humor of chairs and group members, the joking by the ministers is more marked in three ways: (1) it is inherently more marked because joking is uncharacteristic of the typical role of minister; (2) it is marked because the content of the ministers' jokes is often more unusual than the content of humorous reports of other conversatioal participants; (3) The ministers' jokes sometimes seem to be motivated by the desire to save the face of group members. For these reasons, ministers appeared to be more skillful and intentional in the use of humor.

Specifically, there seem to be several possible kinds of markedness in the ministers' humor-evoking comments (which may overlap in one comment, but need not). Two types of markedness fit the reasoning of many researchers in humor, who have generally agreed that humor arises from the linking of two or more incongruous elements (Beattie 1776; Keith-Speigel 1972). The first type is the marked incongruity arising from the semantic cohesion between previous conversation and the humorous comment. This type is related to the second type of marked incongruity, which

also concerns meaning: the content of certain humorous comments highlights an incongruity between the minister's moral and, potentially, immoral self. A third type of markedness is in speaker intent. Some comments seem specifically designed to relieve the emotional tension or threat to face built up after a period of disagreement or discomfort, much as suggested by Goffman (1961). (See also Chapter Two). I will illustrate these types below with examples from the data.

The first example, a comment by M-3, illustrates a special semantic cohesion and possibly a strategic motivation as well. Members of the group had been discussing visiting people who had attended church for the first time. A number of thorny issues related to this procedure had been resolved, but the person in charge of keeping all the records relating to new people has further questions. She asks for clarification of what she should include on each information card, as well as what other duties she would be expected to fulfill. I felt there had been a gradual build-up of tension between her and the chair by this point in the conversation. While the chair was in the process of answering her questions, a member brought up yet another problem (which also meant additional recordkeeping duties for the person asking questions)---how to determine what age group a prospective church member is in. The member asked, "How do you tell?" [how old someone is (in order to record this information accurately). The

minister responded: "Check their teeth." The immediate reaction was intense laughter.

The imperative comment likens humans to domestic animals in that checking teeth is a procedure followed in order to determine how old an animal is. The semantic link is the word "teeth". Because both humans and domestic animals have teeth, the procedure is possible. Presumably, it is this incongruity which evokes humor. Furthermore, the comment appears to be issued in order to lighten the intensity of subvert, mildly antagonistic emotion between the recordkeeper and the chair. The minister's remark promotes solidarity, but it also displays power in the syntactic form of the utterance, a simple, bald imperative which conveys a sense of direct action.

Another comment, also by M-3, appears to promote solidarity by humorously relieving the discomfort of a chairperson. This meeting is the last one at which this chair will officiate. At the end of the meeting she thanks members of the group for their participation and expresses her sadness at leaving. When she is finished the minister says "I hope you go out and enjoy your pension." The comment is greeted with laughter. The incongruity is in the fact that there is no pension for voluntary service on church boards. The emotion of the moment is temporarily lightened, too.

A comment by M-1, also noted in Chapter Four, is both humorous and strategic. It comes to the defense of the

chair by helping the chair obtain a volunteer for a subcommittee to work on building maintenance. Two people have volunteered, but a third person is needed and no one is volunteering. The minister says: "I thought we might do some on site work and I know that First Church Honolulu has an excellent program" [laughter]. The incongruity here stems from the linking of "work" with "Honolulu", the latter commonly viewed as a place of recreation.

Another kind of incongruity is evident in comments by M-1 and M-3. This incongruity occurs in the clash between the upright, moral values expected of a minister and certain different, negative, even immoral, values the comments suggest. The following comment occurs during a discussion about replacing worn pews in the sanctuary. M-1 says: "When you talked to this company did you inquire whether or not they have a throne? [laughter] I'm tired of sitting on that metal folding chair up there." The word "throne" implies that the minister perceives himself as a king, worthy of better seating accommodations. At another meeting he explains that the secretary who is leaving will be interviewing replacements, noting, "I've assigned Mary the task of being very gentle and not very honest." [laughter] The minister, who should uphold honesty, goes on record as ignoring it. This comment may have the additional effect of bringing the minister closer in status to others by revealing his own human imperfections.

Although these comments are subject to various interpretation, they are all clearly marked in the data of this study by intense responsive laughter. I argue that they represent the conscious or unconscious desire of the ministers to use humor to promote solidarity and in the end, to obtain what they want.

One further observation concerning humor seems necessary. Positive politeness is argued to be more important than negative politeness in the negotiation of support. However, even highly motivated negotiators of support do not use great amounts of humor, nor more than roughly 40 percent positive politeness features, relative to all features of politeness. In fact, this percentage was roughly equivalent for all roles. Certain cultural limits, as discussed above, may be responsible for this outcome. It may be that Americans, reflecting certain cultural biases, disapprove of anyone who assumes too much familiarity, regardless of his/her status or role, (excluding very intimate relationships). If so, it is likely that a leader who breaks the 40 percent norm would create an undesirable, reverse effect. Especially for ministers, too much familiarity and/or "joking around" might be inappropriate to the point of eroding their authority and competence.

This interpretation is supported by Owsley and Scotton (1982). Subjects in their study censured Tom Snyder's general style as a TV interviewer because he "joked around a lot", was "not professional", was too informal, humorous,

vague and unfocused.   Owsley and Scotton (1982:29) suggest that these comments derive from a cultural attitude similar to those put forth by Nash (1983). They argue that Americans may be very favorably disposed toward speakers in leadership roles who are business-like and organized.

If that is so, then negotiators of support in leadership positions will use an optimal mix of features which do not violate such cultural norms. They will implicate two things: (1) power, and (2) accommodation in status: by not directly imposing on others and (b) by including speakers of lower rank in their in-group. In the next section I will discuss this optimal mix in the linguistic realizations of a "support-negotiating style" of language for the three ministers who were subjects in this study.   Brief mention will be made of the style of certain chairs as well.

5.4 A Support-Negotiating Style of Language
5.4.1 Introduction

One of the stated purposes of this investigation is to characterize a "support-promoting" style of language by reference to the occurrence of positive and negative politeness features.   I hypothesized that especially for people in leadership roles who have more to gain by negotiation (ministers, primarily, but some chairs as well) a "support-promoting style" would include generally similar types and frequencies of both positive and negative

politeness features. But at the same time, I expected some variation among leaders who were in the same role, i.e., differences among chairs and differences among ministers because discourse goal and status are not exclusive determinants of linguistic choice.

In this section, I will discuss some differences in the ministers' use of politeness features (in both frequency and type). I will also suggest that the style of one minister (M-1) is a particularly inclusive realization of the negotiation of support and may be taken as setting certain parameters of a "support-promoting style". I will conclude the section with a summary discussion of the broader style of negotiating support used by the ministers. This style includes certain kinds and numbers of FTA-types in addition to features of politeness. I will argue that in negotiating support, leaders maintain an optimal balance among "powerful", "non-imposing" and "familiar" linguistic messages. When the ministers implicate power, they give credence to their authority as leaders of the church. But when they implicate deference and familiarity, i.e., when they accommodate to their audiences, they demonstrate their unwillingness to use their authority overtly to make decisions about church management. In this way, they are viewed as warm, humble, yet competent leaders.

5.4.2. Variation in Leaders' Use of Politeness Features

5.4.2.1   Ministers. As hypothesized, there was some variation in the language of the ministers according to two measurements involving politeness features: (a) in average number of mitigations per FTA and (b) in the types and frequencies of politeness features which occurred. These differences seem to be a function of several factors which will be mentioned after the differences are noted.

Looking initially to differences in average number of mitigations per FTA, we find that although two of the ministers (M-2 and M-3) display relatively close average numbers (7.4 and 4.8 respectively), the average number is higher for M-1 (11.3). Second, while ministers generally performed longer FTA's than other speakers, of the 46 very long FTA's performed by ministers, fully 27 were M-1's (M-2 performed 11; M-3 performed 8). This greater length in FTA is a function of M-1's greater expression of (mitigating) justification for the FTA and use of anaology when he performs an FTA.   (Remember the previously cited long example involving an analogy between car assembly and participation in church programs or the long example about sending people to missions; these were both M-1's). In this way, M-1 appears to put more effort into his negotiations, i.e., to be more highly motivated and skillful in the negotiation of support.

M-1's greater effort also seems apparent in types and frequencies of specific politeness features. M-1's speech

contains not only higher frequencies of many features, but within the feature types his language exhibits more variety of expression.

Looking first to features of positive politeness, we find greatest variability across the ministers in two features: (a) the marked lexical items which realize downward style shifts and (b) terms which express reciprocity and mutual concern. The distribution for (a): M-1 (74), M-2 (20) and M-3 (23) and for (b): M-1 (33), M-2 (3), M-3 (3). These features form part of the common linguistic repertoire available to all speakers who want to negotiate support, and all ministers use them, but M-1's language exhibits much higher occurrences of these features as well as more variety in their realization.

In particular, the marked lexical items of downward style shifts in M-1's language include a greater variety of forms: (a) slang, e.g., "paunchers," "whop", "gosh", "boo", "super","hey, "go down the tube", "go with that", (b) exaggeration, e.g., "the 94 things we said we were going to do" "I thought she came here 47 years ago," (c) impersonating, e.g.,"Look at little Billy, isn't he sweet?" (d) an address to God in which M-1 jokingly implies his not wanting to leave his former church appointment because things are so "bad" at the new appointment : "Lord, heh there are things yet to do in Grand Rapids."

Marked lexical items are mainly confined to slang in the speech of the other ministers, e.g., "plunk," "pitch",

"into the pot", "a whole batch", "peeked", "bummer", "brown bag it", although two special incongruous items in the speech of M-2 were also counted in the category of marked lexical items: (1) in a discussion about how many sessions of new membership training classes to hold, the minister suggests that it be offered at two different times, and later, after some discussion, says, "Don't you think one the same thing so if you failed the first one you can take it again?" [laughter] The inapplicability of failure to a no-test situation is marked; (2) There has been disagreement as to whether a special service was held. The minister disagrees: "We had a Covenant Sunday no New Year's night on New Year's Eve and verifies his knowledge with: It was 2:30 when I said to the sheets, 'Get aside, I'm gettin' in'." [laughter] This comment also included a shortened verb form.

Terms which reflect reciprocity and mutual concern were realized in a number of different expressions in M-1's speech, e.g., "being as one with Christian friends", "support each other," "share", "depend upon you", "mutually responsible," "Bob smiled and I'm still smiling" "you and I both know", "as a board member", "as a church", again for a total of 33 such comments. M-2 only used three and they were all sympathetic comments. "I can understand why why it's had to understand" while M-3's three were all "help each other" or "share".

In addition to these features of positive politeness, remember also that it is M-1 who performed the greatest number of humorous kinesic behaviors. But this behavior of M-1 may not be as distinctive as it initially appears, because both M-2 and M-3 performed some humorous kinesic behaviors, and M-3 made an equal number of humorous comments. In fact, I suspect that M-3 would have done more style-shifting and made more humorous comments if certain situational factors had been different. That is, physical features of the setting may have partially determined the relative informality or formality of the meetings and affected language choice. Specifically, all of the meetings for M-1 and M-2 took place in very comfortable, carpeted church parlors. On the other hand, all but one of the meetings at M-3's church took place in more institutional and less plush meeting rooms. The one meeting which was in a more informal and comfortable atmosphere, in the chairperson's home, also, contained the most joking by the minister.

Features of negative politeness are also realized most uniquely in the speech of M-1. Differences were most prominent in the usage of three features: (a) lexical quasi-content forms, (b) deferential terms and (c) distancing mechanisms. These distributions are: (a) M-1 (171), M-2 (70), M-3 (72); (b) M-1 (60), M-2 (5), M-3 (19) and for (c) M-1 (25), M-2 (25), M-3 (4). The lexical quasi-content forms differed across speakers in number rather than

in type. All ministers, for example, used words such as "helpful", "wonder", "feel", but M-1 used more. Some examples for the ministers: M-1: "I am wondering if maybe we can't even the Sunday that gets close to us, for example we could have that physically, that posterboard set it in the back of the sanctuary here and see if we do get responses. Then it'd be a boost to people's thinking. That kind of thing would be helpful." M-2 (a) "It might be helpful just to run through the classes that are available" (b) "My feeling is that it's helpful to involve as many of us as need to be in order to convey whatever information we think the Ad Board ought to have." M-3: (a) "And the other thing that would be helpful, I think, um, we need some younger folks." (b) "I think at the moment it might be helpful for Jane and I to have that but not mix it with the group, I mean these are the kind of people that also need our attention." Expressions of deference and distancing mechanisms, however, were both more frequent and more various in M-1's speech. Deference markers include a variety of (1) self-effacements, e.g., (a) "I'm still learning" (b) "I'm not saying I'm a good counselor" (c) "I'll feel like I've let you down" (d) "I'm feeling more and more embarrassed as we talk about it" (2) compliments, e.g., (a) "I wanna acknowledge a very, very special family and very special human being" (b) "I really trust your judgment" (c) "You could inspire someone to do the marvelous piece of work that you did" (3) deferential terms, e.g.,(a) "unless you

tell me differently" (b) "if you think it's appropriate", (c) "with all that you people have on your minds" (d) "unless someone has ideas, Mr. Chairman" (d) "if I may interrupt enough to say", (e) "we [I] may be wrong" and (4) minimizing the task, e.g., (a) "just kind of be just simple kind of a little frame," (b) "I mean it's just a little dumb little thing", (c) "I'm sure you don't need to do that EVERY YEAR, but..." Distancing mechanisms not used by M-2 or M-3 include reading a letter and using figures of speech and analogy. (In addition to the analogy of car assembly and church programming, recall the "Johnny Appleseed" metaphor illustrated in Chapter Three: "The other and I'm planting this wherever I can go I'm trying to Johnny Appleseed, OUT-Johnny Appleseed, if that's possible, outseed him," etc. and the "spotlight" versus "floodlight approach.")

How can these differences be explained? The source of M-1's motivation may be partially a natural result of the fact that he is in his first year of service at this particular church. However, another minister, M-3, was also in his first year at his church and did not use the same degree or variety of mitigation. It may be that M-1 has certain personal motivations, which keep him more intensely involved in the outcome of the meetings as a whole than the other ministers are. This minister also speaks more rapidly than the people at the meetings and exhibits a greater variety in the tempo of his speech as well.

Especially when it comes to positive politeness, surface differences may be attributed, in part, to personality. Both M-1 and M-3 have been described by their colleagues as having a particularly "good sense of humor". Using marked lexical items and making humorous comments are especially marked ways to promote solidarity and good feelings among group members. They indicate the minister's willingness to risk stepping out of his usual role. These two ministers may rely more naturally on these marked strategies than M-2 does, due to more skills at humor performance (Raskin 1985). However, M-2 pays special attention to the positive face wants of his interlocutors in other, less marked ways which may be equally or more effective in generating and maintaining a warm atmosphere-- by almost constant back-channeling with mm-hmm, yup, yeah and smiling. These features, of course, were not part of formal investigation, because they extended beyond the focus of FTA's. However, it would be interesting to include the entire stretch of discourse in future, more detailed studies in order to take such phenomena into account.

Another possible determinant of the seemingly greater effort to negotiate in M-1's speech may be topic. Although topics across the four meeting types were generally similar, there was one difference. Adding new members to the staff was discussed only at M-1's church. This topic is possibly weightier, and, therefore, more face-threatening than many other topics which deal primarily with maintaining the

status quo in general business affairs of the church. For this reason, the minister may have felt this topic required more mitigation. He may also have felt this topic required him to exercise a wider repertoire of politeness strategies.

Specifically, the minister (M-1) wanted to hire two new staff members, a custodian and a person to do programming. In one example, M-1 suggests taking a recommendation to hire new people to the finance committee first and justifies this reasoning: "Uh the finance committee I think it would be wise to put it before them before we took it to the ad board. We have not done anything comparable in a sense in the history of this church. That's what makes it, you know, a little bit difficult. It isn't as if we're hiring a different person. It would probably be a fairly radical shift from the custodial help we have now. As you well know it's really a contracted cleaning person rather than, and we occasionally use him to do some minor maintenance work but, essentially, you know, it's volunteers that do the maintenance work, as you well know. And he comes at night and it isn't really a convenient kind of thing."

This topic affected conversation at all of the meetings at M-1's church. Due to the administrative structure of the UMC, many groups within the church would be informed of a need for new personnel. Their support is essential because they must either make recommendations to proper committees or actually vote to hire new staff people. For example, the trustees would justify the need for an extra custodian based

on their knowledge of building maintenance. They would voice this need to the Administrative Board, which, in turn, would vote to hire a new person. The COM would justify the need for a person to do programming. They would take this need, again, to the Administrative Board. In addition to this kind of support, hiring new staff means financial commitment as well. Because the church operates by personal donation of funds, the support of people on the councils and boards is necessary. Through them, financial needs may be justified to the congregation. In this way, the same important topic filtered through all four meetings to varying degrees and may have been in part responsible for the higher number of mitigations and variety of types in M-1's speech.

However, topic is only one explanation for the higher frequencies and greater variety of mitigation in this minister's language. The underlying issue in hiring new staff is financial, and most topics at all meetings related in some way to financial considerations. Finance is consistently a major concern, whether it be money needed for new staffing or for paying conference apportionments or for building maintenance.

It is most important to remember that in spite of the differences in politeness realizations, there is still an overall equivalency in total percentages of each broad politeness type. Therefore, discourse goal and role do seem to be the primary determinants of linguistic choice.

<u>5.4.2.2</u> <u>Chairs</u>. Variation in the chairs' use of politeness features was greater than it was for the ministers according to the two measurements of (a) average number of mitigations per FTA, and (b) types and frequencies of politeness features. More variability was expected for several reasons. In addition to the usual differences in situation, personal motivation was expected to be a greater factor than it might be for ministers. It would be likely that some chairs would be less motivated to negotiate support than others, since the position of chair is not a paid position. Furthermore, each chair was observed conducting only one meeting, and such situational factors as meeting format or topic are more likely to intervene than they were in the case of the ministers.

In fact, there was a great deal of similarity in the average number of mitigations per FTA, with those of only one chair much higher than the rest and slightly surpassing the average for the minister with the lowest average number (M-3: 4.8; C-8: 5.1) And this is the same chair who only performed nine FTA's, so it is unlikely that this difference is important. The breakdown of mitigation types into positive and negative politeness, though, reveals that this chair uses a higher percentage of hedges than any other chair.

When it comes to general distribution of politeness features, differences among chairs were greater. As noted in Chapter Four, the greatest variability was in style-

shifting with marked lexical items and in deferential terms, although lexical content items also varied. Two chairs employed these strategies much more than did the other chairs. The difference in marked lexical items seems more attributable to individual motivations than to features of the situation. That is, two chairs seemed much more willing to relax and use more marked language such as the marked lexical items, e.g., "up to bat," "holler", "blitz", "your bag," "burn-out", "fizzled out", "Jiminy Christmas", "wish list", "shape up." One of these same chairs also used more deferential terms, e.g., "bless her ever-lovin' heart," "I love Jane," "as Mary points out," "I can't think of a better person in the world for that." This particular chair therefore appears to be putting forth more effort to negotiate support.

5.4.3 Characterization of a "Support-Negotiating Style"

How, exactly, should we characterize a "support-negotiating style of language for leaders? What are the parameters of this style? To answer that question, I will refer both to general aspects of FTA's and to specific aspects of politeness features. I will argue that a leader who negotiates support uses an optimal balance of "powerful", "non-imposing" and "familiar" features, as summarized in Figure 3.

<u>5.4.3.1</u> <u>FTA's</u>. Turning first to a summary discussion of FTA's as a means of characterizing a support-

MORE POWERFUL FEATURES

High density of FTA's

Need Statements

Strong modal statements

AMBIGUOUSLY (NON) POWERFUL FEATURES

Long FTA's

Lexical style-shifting

Imperatives

(Humor)

LESS POWERFUL FEATURES

Hints

Question directives

POLITENESS FEATURES:

Primary Politeness Features

Negative Politeness	Positive Politeness
Lexical content items	Familiar terms of address
Self-effacements	First person plural pronouns
Compliments	Terms of defense
Deferential forms	
Distancing mechanisms	

Secondary Politeness Features

Hesitations	Elliptical forms
Lexical quasi-content items	Contracted forms
If-clauses	"you know"
Sub-class of modal verbs	Lexical repetition
Non-compelling tags	Terms of partial agreement
Please and apologies	"why don't"

Figure 3. Features of a "Support-Negotiating Style" for Leaders

negotiating style, we can point to two characteristics involving quantity and several involving quality.

In terms of quantity, certain facts demonstrate a degree of power ministers use to guide the decision-making process of the meetings. First, a leader who negotiates support performs approximately the same number of FTA's as speakers in other roles. When all FTA's were totaled, ministers performed 242, chairs, 280 and group members 285. The three ministers each performed a very similar number of FTA's (80, 76 and 86 for M-1, M-2 and M-3, respectively), across the four meeting types. Furthermore, because the frequencies are so close, it is probable that the data express the numbers of FTA's typically performed by ministers.

More importantly, however, the ministers' language was denser in FTA's than was the language of speakers in other roles. Each minister performed more FTA's relative to turns at talk than either chairs or group members. The fact that many of the ministers' FTA's are longer than those of other conversational participants may be both powerful and mitigating.

This demonstration of power in quantity of FTA is a requisite, I argue, to a "support-negotiating style."

In terms of quality of FTA's, it seems apparent that a general "style of negotiating support" for leaders entails few disagreements and imperatives, and many hints, question directives, <u>need</u> statements and strong modal statements.

The percentages of these types of all FTA's performed by
ministers are as follows: (1) relatively coercive types (a)
disagreements and disagreement/directives: 29 percent; (b)
embedded imperatives, need statements, let's statements and
strong modal statements: 21 percent; (c) imperatives: 4
percent; and (2) the less coercive types, (a) hints and
question directives: 46 percent. In other words, there is a
roughly equal balance in occurrences of non-coercive and
coercive FTA-types.[6]

However, it is crucial that the more coercive FTA's be
mitigated with features of positive and/or negative
politeness. They are mitigated either to the same extent as
those of other speakers or, more often, to a greater extent,
as the following section describes.

5.4.3.2 **Features** **of** **Politeness**. A "support-
negotiating style" entails the use of politeness features.
These features are realizations of two marked strategies: a
strategy which is generally deferential or non-imposing and
one which is friendly and casual. The actual repertoire of
features has been delineated throughout this paper. The
major features for leaders are diagrammed in Figure 3.

In general, non-imposing linguistic features include
hesitations, modal verbs, if clauses, and hedges, as well as
expressions which compliment the hearer, lower the status of
the speaker, minimize the task or distance the speaker from
the face-threatening act. Together these constitute a
negative politeness repertoire.

Many, if not all, negative politeness features fall under the broad category of hedging. As B & L (1978:263) suggest, hedges may represent the imprint on grammatical structure left by social pressures. While B & L argue that face preservation is a possible functional source for such linguistic structures, I will suggest that these structures derive more specifically from speakers' desire to negotiate support. In other words, the major non-imposing components of face preservation, i.e., hedges, are more clearly a way for speakers to obtain their larger discourse goal of achieving support.

Negative politeness features which are especially important for leaders are shown in Figure 3, including lexical content items, self-effacement, compliments, deferential forms and distancing mechanisms.

Features of positive politeness may be encompassed generally under the rubric of a casual style of language. This style includes such features as first naming, contracting, repeating lexical items of a previous speaker, using ellipsis and slang, as well as joking. Using terms which imply mutual cooperation and concern and inclusive pronouns are the only exception to this general rule. Joking, the most marked of the positive politeness strategies, seems to depend on the extent to which individuals naturally put their "humor competence" to use in "humor performance" (Raskin 1985:3). This ability varies considerably across individuals, and is not a requisite for

a "support-negotiating style". Generally speaking, the introduction of markers of casual or familiar style into a broadly consultative style of language realizes the specific intention of promoting solidarity in order to achieve support. In this way, as in the case of negative politeness, positive politeness not only preserves face, but preserves it for a specific reason.

Positive politeness features which are especially important for leaders are shown in Figure 3, including terms of familiar address, marked lexical items, terms of reciprocity and concern, first person plural pronouns and terms of defense.

Of equal importance in defining a "style of negotiating support" is the fact that not every speaker utilizes the same sample of the spectrum of politeness features. Yet listeners seem to recognize and evaluate various combinations of these features as negotiation of support. Otherwise, the meetings in this study could not have functioned so smoothly. In line with Owsley and Scotton (1982:32), it seems that our communicative competence "includes a component which can sum incidences of related features and evaluate them as percentages in relation to some probability framework". So, it does not matter whether one negotiator of support within a certain role chooses certain types of politeness features while another (in the same role) chooses different types. All that is required is that an appropriate mix be demonstrated. That mix is

characteristically a rough 60-40 percentage mix of negative to positive politeness features. This mix seems to be dictated by our culture as well as by the discourse goal of achieving support.

Positive politeness is especially crucial in the negotiation of support. This is apparent in the fact that overall percentages of positive politeness in the speech of the ministers were higher and closer to each other than were the same percentages in the speech of others.

Although the exact mix of positive and politeness features may vary for each negotiator, an especially "effortful" style of negotiating support seems to include a larger repertoire of politeness features. This was evidenced in the speech of ministers, especially in the speech of M-1. The larger repertoire for the ministers as a group, relative to group members, may demonstrate an added dimension of power. That is, it may enhance the ministers power or authority as a leader in the same way that style-shifting may reflect power (Scotton 1985). Specifically, using a greater variety of linguistic features of politeness, of both distancing and solidarity-promoting types, may work toward establishing multiple identities for the speaker. The speaker appears to have more "wares" to display.

Relatedly, the ministers' use of a mix of politeness features also projects their multiple perceptions of their relationship with their listeners. This may also be a persuasive, if not powerful, strategy (Bell 1984). In using

both types of politeness the ministers seem to demonstrate their view of other conversational participants as sometimes familiars, sometimes strangers. This variation seems to be an important ingredient in the general style of negotiating support.

In the concluding comments of this study I will discuss the implications of a "support-negotiating" style of language for a model of discourse.

Chapter Five Endnotes

1
    FTA-length refers loosely to the length of the FTA and its co-occurring mitigations and/or justifications.

2
    Young (1982) does a comparison study between Chinese and English discourse strategies in making requests. She finds that because Chinese is a topic-comment language, speakers of Chinese preface their requests with reasons, i.e., justifications, while English speakers follow their requests with reasons or justifications. It would be interesting to further test this hypothesis in the present data as well as in future research.

3
    Levinson (1983:345-364) discusses certain pre-sequences as inherent to conversational structure. These include, for example, pre-announcements, pre-invitations, pre-arrangements, and pre-requests. An example of a pre-request is Do you have hot chocolate? If the listener responds affirmatively, the speaker may then ask more directly, e.g., Can I have hot chocolate with whipped cream? In the present data, permission to perform an FTA seems to fall into the category of pre-request.

4
    In ensuing dialogue the minister invites the chair to express his opinion about the title. This invitation may indicate that the minister is unopposed to, if not in favor of, the title of "Dr".

    M-1: I think it'd be appropriate to say assuming it has to be decided at this meeting if you would at least share with this group. WE have the motion, but you were one of the persons who felt that that ought to be considered.

    The chair then suggests using the title "Rev.", noting that ... inasmuch as (M-1) wears his three stripes on his robe I didn't think he was that uh callous to the idea. The suggestion is brought to a vote and carried.

5
    Scotton, personal communication, notes that Goffman (source unlocated) observed that chief surgeons slouch more than their subordinates, as a sign of their willingness to relax more than their subordinates. This marked kinesic behavior is in line with other observations of this study.

6
    Patterning of the chair's language in terms of the distribution of FTA-types is very similar to that of the ministers. These are cited in Appendix D. The total number of FTA's performed by each chair is also very similar, with the exception of two chairs. The exceptions can be explained by difference in content, however. At one meeting

one of the reasons the chair performed only nine FTA's (compared to 30 and 24 for chairs at the same meeting type) probably is a function of an uninvited interruption to the meeting by an outsider who monopolized meeting time. At another meeting, the chair performed 39 FTA's relative to 21 and 23 for chairs at the same meeting type. At this meeting, the agenda was particularly long, and the pace was faster in order to cover the items within the allotted time.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

In this chapter I will briefly summarize the major findings of this study and discuss some major considerations for an adequate model of discourse. I will conclude with some suggestions for future research.

6.1 Major Findings

This study has argued that speakers use language to convey social meaning and shape conversational interaction. Speakers make linguistic choices that will best serve their conversational goals.

It has been shown that most speakers at the meetings which provided the data for this study make language choices which realize their larger discourse goal of negotiating support. Specifically, they work to get their suggestions or opinions willingly accepted by other conversational participants. In order to achieve this discourse goal, speakers follow a two-part maxim which demonstrates that they are paying attention to the face wants of other interlocutors while they perform face-threatening acts: When you want the willing support of others, (1) don't

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impose: be uncertain, impersonalize, and show deference; (2) be personable: be informal and make listeners feel they are part of your in-group. The linguistic realizations of these strategies include a set of politeness features based on those of B & L (1978), which have been outlined and exemplified throughout this paper.

Although this study uses politeness features of B & L (1978), it is distinct from B & L's study in defining the motivation for the use of such features. For B & L, a general goal of much conversation is face preservation. To achieve this goal, participants use politeness features. I have argued, however, that face preservation is not an end in itself. Rather, it is a means of negotiating support. It is the higher discourse goal of negotiating support that is the major determinant of linguistic choice. This higher order consideration explains the major findings of this study.

This study also found that degree of effort in the negotiation of support is role-dependent. Speakers in each of three roles, minister, chair and group member, used features of both negative and positive politeness, but the politeness features of the ministers represent the greatest amount of effort, followed by chairs, then group members.

Specifically, ministers, who have the most reason to negotiate support and the most inherent power to mitigate in the negotiation, made special linguistic choices relative to speakers in other roles. First, they used higher

frequencies of politeness features per FTA. Second, they used a greater variety of types and sub-types of politeness features. Finally, they used more positive politeness, especially lexical style-shifts.

To use Scotton's (1983) terminology, the choices of the ministers are marked in the circumstances of the situation for several reasons. In the first place, inherently powerful, high-status speakers would not be expected to use generally uncertain and deferential language. However, the majority of the features of politeness which occurred in the ministers' language were of this nature. Secondly, powerful, high-status speakers would not be expected to use features which promote solidarity with speakers of lower status. Nevertheless, ministers use a greater percentage of positive politeness features than speakers in either of the other two roles. In some cases, these positive politeness features are especially marked because they are humorous.

Only when we look to the overall discourse goal can we explain the reason for such choices. In order to negotiate support, ministers (and some chairs) make marked linguistic choices. Given this speaker goal, these choices then become temporarily unmarked for the duration of the exchange (Scotton 1985). That is, speakers arrive at a new norm against which degrees of markedness are measured. This norm will be renegotiated in subsequent conversations when the current conversational event concludes, or, as Bell (1984) suggests, may become a new institutionalized norm.

Listeners recognize and interpret such marked choices as strategies speakers use to negotiate support. This capability is part of our communicative competence. Both speakers and listeners rely on a general theory of markedness which generally allows them to correctly produce and interpret language and thus to participate competently in conversational interaction.

This study also argues that the two marked strategies for leaders, using more and a greater variety of negative and positive politeness are not equal in the negotiation of support. Positive politeness is the more important strategy. This argument runs counter to that of B & L (1978), who equate the effects of positive and negative politeness in the preservation of face. For them, conversation operates according to a "balance principle". Given that maintaining conversational balance, i.e., preserving face, is a major goal of most conversation, speakers maintain status quo relationships. That is, they do not, for example, seek closer relationships. However, I argue that in the negotiation of support, speakers do seek closer relationships and that positive politeness is, therefore, especially important. Negative politeness is possibly the more unmarked strategy in U.S. culture, but even though cultural norms militate against "overuse" of positive politeness, speakers in leadership roles use more positive politeness than other speakers.

We may also take a broader perspective which goes beyond consideration of politeness features in the negotiation of support. The discourse goal of negotiating support also is a determinant of the types of FTA's speakers perform. These choices are also role-dependent in the same way that politeness features are. That is, because ministers put the most effort into negotiating support, they occasionally use FTA-types which would not be expected of speakers in powerful, high-status positions. Many of their choices do not demonstrate much power, while more of the choices of other speakers demonstrate power more overtly. That is, ministers use fewer disagreements and imperatives and more hints and question directives than other speakers.

However, ministers do express power. They perform more FTA's per conversational turn than other speakers, but this fact is not obvious because they do take fewer turns than speakers in other roles. This study argues that a certain demonstration of power by leaders is necessary for effective negotiation. It is simply the case that the expression of power is more subtle, if not ambiguous. Specifically, ministers do use more coercive FTA-types such as need statements, strong modal statements, and embedded imperatives, but they also mitigate them to a greater degree than do other members. And, although they use some imperatives, their imperatives often are humorous or address attention to the hearer in some way. Secondly, ministers perform longer FTA's, but the length is ambiguously powerful

(because it takes conversational airspace) and mitigating (because it consists of added justification and explanation for the FTA).

From an even broader perspective, we may examine the effects of the discourse goal of negotiating support on the group as a whole. There seem to be two kinds of accommodation in operation. First, the majority of FTA-types for all speakers are of the indirect, less coercive sort, i.e., hints and question directives, and most FTA's are mitigated to some degree and in generally similar ways. But secondly, ministers alone do the most accommodating to other speakers by using deference and solidarity. In this way, they imply an equivalent status with other group participants while still performing powerful acts.

It has been shown that the negotiation of support entails a mix of features which at once demonstrate power, non-imposition, and familiarity, although the specific features may vary from speaker to speaker within a certain role.

This study suggests that an adequate model of discourse must, in a majority of cases, recognize the discourse goal of speakers as a primary determinant of linguistic choice. From this higher-order level, an explanation follows, in hierarchical fashion, for general choices such as FTA-types as well as for the more finely-tuned lexical or phonological choices, for example. At the same time recognition must be given to the "macro" influences of role, situation and

culture, for they, too, may affect all levels of linguistic choice. Finally, a model of discourse must explain how it is that listeners are able to recognize and interpret speakers' linguistic choices in relation to all determinants. Interpretation is possible given our competence in a "grammar of interactional consequence", predicted by the markedness model of language use (Scotton 1983).

Our linguistic and communicative competence helps us produce andunderstand conversational choices. Yet we marvel at our own human ability to use language so effectively.

6.2 Suggestions for Future Research

This study was limited to an analysis of language used by speakers as they negotiated support in a religious, collaborative setting. The specific focus concerned the lingu tic realization of face-threatening acts and their co-occurring mitigations. Within these parameters, certain features were identified as partially defining a support-promoting style of language use. However, much more research is needed to characterize completely a style of negotiating support. Several general directions suggest themselves.

First, additional social variables could be studied. The language of speakers in secular social settings where members also unite by voluntary association could be

examined and compared to the language of speakers in other religious settings. Within these groups, attention could be paid especially to those groups which operate under shared leadership and compared to those in which leadership is not shared. Study might further suggest if or how leaders accommodate to each other and to the group. Gender could also be studied as a main variable both in leadership as well as in non-leadership roles.

Second, analysis could be both extended and refined. It could be extended beyond the treatment of FTA's to the data in its entirety. This would allow study of interactional features such as turn-taking and certain other features such as back-channeling (using mm-hmm and other attentive signals). It would also allow examination of the escalation and de-escalation in overt and subvert negotiation of power/support across speaker turns. At the same time, the analysis could be refined to include formal treatment of more levels of features, including phonological and prosodic features, for example.

Third, comparative support-negotiating data from different languages, dialects, and cultures could be collected. Outcomes could test whether certain societies should be labeled positive or negative politeness cultures or if these labels are more situation and discourse-goal dependent. A closer look at specific differences could also reveal potential areas of intercultural miscommunication.

These areas, in turn, could be developed and incorporated into a syllabus for second language learners.

Finally, humor could be studied in order to determine the intent of the speaker in using humor, how humor is realized, and what effect it has on listeners in both intra- and intercultural social settings where support is being negotiated.

APPENDICES

Appendix A

Questionnaire on Degree of Coerciveness
of Directive-Types

A group of people who belong to a local organization are meeting. They have just discussed their finances and the possibility of increasing their donation to The United Way. The leader then makes a suggestion to the group.

Imagine that each of the following sentences is a possible response for this leader. Then rank each response on a scale of 1 to 7 according to how much pressure or coercion you feel each statement produces for the people in the group.

		Little	⟩		Lot

1. We need to give more money to
   The United Way.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

2. Let's give more money to The
   United Way.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

3. Why don't we give more money
   to The United Way?   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

4. Give more money to The United
   Way.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

5. Do we wanna give more money to
   The United Way?   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

6. Our finances are in very good
   shape.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

7. We could give more money to
   The United Way.   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

8. Would you give more money to
   The United Way?   1 2 3 4 5 6 7

9. It's a good idea for us to give
   more money to The United Way. 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

Appendix B
Questionnaire on Coerciveness of FTA-Types

Please read each of the following utterances and imagine a situation in which someone is addressing it to you. Then please indicate, by circling a number, how much discomfort or pressure you feel.

	Little	$\rangle$		A Lot

1. You didn't do that right. 1 2 3 4 5

2. Why don't we set up a committee to work on that? 1 2 3 4 5

3. You need to set a good example for the others. 1 2 3 4 5

4. What time are you coming Wednesday? 1 2 3 4 5

5. You're blind to what the real issues are here. 1 2 3 4 5

6. Turn over to the second page. 1 2 3 4 5

7. You should start working on next year's calendar right away. 1 2 3 4 5

8. But I thought you said you would take care of it. Now I discover you didn't. 1 2 3 4 5

9. Which book are you looking for? 1 2 3 4 5

10. My feeling is it's helpful to involve as many as possible. 1 2 3 4 5

The Results of the Questionnaire

Types of FTA's are ordered generally from least to most coercive. The highest concentrations of responses are underlined. The number of the sentence is in parentheses.

	1	2	3	4	5
1. Least coercive					
(6) Conventionalized directive	35	3	2	2	0
(9) Information question	30	9	2	1	0
(4) Information question	29	7	3	1	0
(10) Hint directive	19	12	10	1	0
(2) Why don't question	23	12	5	1	1
2. Moderately coercive					
(7) Strong modal	12	14	9	4	3
(3) Need statement	5	11	14	12	2
3. Most coercive					
(1) Criticism	0	8	14	18	2
(5) Criticism	0	4	7	17	14
(8) Criticism	1	0	5	21	16

APPENDIX C

Directive-types: frequencies and percentages of total number of directive-types by category for individual ministers (M), chairs (C) and group members (CM).

AH-Agentless hints; PM-Premitigated hints; NM-Noncoercive modal hints; W-Wanna statements; T-Turn-assigning statements; DW-do-wanna questions; WH-why don't questions; Q-question directives; E-embedded imperatives; L-let's statements; S-strong modal statements; I-imperatives.

	A					B			C				D
	AH	PM	NM	W	T	DW	WH	Q	E	L	NE	S	I
M-1	3	13	16	-	-	1	-	11	-	3	7	6	5
M-2	6	5	5	6	-	2	2	5	3	2	2	6	-
M-3	8	10	4	1	-	-	4	9	1	4	11	6	4

	A	%	B	%	C	%	D	%	Total
M-1	32	49.2	12	18.5	16	24.6	5	7.7	65
M-2	22	50.0	9	20.5	13	29.5	-	--	44
M-3	23	37.0	13	21.0	22	35.5	4	6.5	62

	AH	PM	NM	W	T	DW	WH	Q	E	L	NE	S	I
C-1	1	2	4	-	2	-	1	2	1	3	-	1	2
C-2	-	-	7	-	8	-	-	-	2	1	2	-	-
C-3	-	-	2	-	5	2	1	5	1	-	-	-	1
C-4	1	4	3	1	-	1	-	4	1	6	1	1	-
C-5	1	1	1	-	2	1	-	-	1	1	-	3	-
C-6	2	3	1	-	5	2	-	2	-	-	-	1	-
C-7	1	7	1	1	-	-	-	7	-	-	1	1	5
C-8	-	3	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	1	-	3
C-9	1	11	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	-	1	4	-
C-10	-	-	2	-	-	1	2	2	3	2	1	-	3
C-11	2	1	2	-	-	-	2	-	4	2	-	8	-
C-12	-	6	3	-	-	2	5	2	1	4	4	9	2

	A	%	B	%	C	%	D	%	Total
C-1	9	47.4	3	15.8	5	26.3	2	10.5	19
C-2	15	75.0	-	---	5	25.0	-	---	20
C-3	7	41.2	8	47.0	1	5.9	1	5.9	17
C-4	9	39.1	5	21.7	9	39.1	-	--	23
C-5	5	41.7	1	8.3	6	50.0	-	--	12
C-6	11	68.7	4	25.0	1	6.3	-	--	16
C-7	10	41.7	7	29.2	2	8.3	5	20.8	24
C-8	3	33.3	2	22.2	1	11.1	3	33.3	9
C-9	12	54.5	-	--	10	45.4	-	--	22
C-10	2	12.5	5	31.2	6	37.5	3	18.8	16
C-11	5	23.8	2	9.5	14	66.7	-	--	21
C-12	9	23.7	9	23.7	18	47.4	2	5.3	38

	A					B			C				D
	AH	PM	NM	W	T	DW	WH	Q	E	L	NE	S	I
GM-1	-	7	5	-	-	-	-	4	2	-	-	4	3
GM-2	-	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	3	3	7
GM-3	1	4	2	-	-	2	-	2	2	1	-	4	2
GM-4	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2
GM-5	-	9	7	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	2	2	7
GM-6	-	6	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
GM-7	-	2	2	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	2	1
GM-9	-	2	3	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	1	-	1
GM-10	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	3	1	1	-	3	1
GM-11	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	5	-
GM-12	-	4	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	1

	A	%	B	%	C	%	D	%	Total
GM-1	12	48.0	4	16.0	6	24.0	3	12.0	25
GM-2	6	28.6	-	--	8	38.1	7	33.3	21
GM-3	7	35.0	4	20.0	7	35.0	2	10.0	20
GM-4	1	25.0	-	--	1	25.0	2	50.0	4
GM-5	16	57.1	1	3.6	4	14.3	7	2.5	28
GM-6	7	100.0	-	--	-	--	-	--	7
GM-7	4	50.0	1	12.5	2	25.0	1	12.5	8
GM-9	5	55.6	2	22.2	1	11.1	1	11.1	9
GM-10	-	--	4	40.0	5	50.0	1	10.0	10
GM-11	3	33.3	1	11.1	5	55.6	-	--	9
GM-12	4	44.4	2	22.2	2	22.2	1	11.1	9

Appendix D

Distribution of general types of FTA's for individual Ministers (M), Chairs (C), and Group Members (GM), the latter as a combined unit for each meeting.

	Directives	Disagreement	Directive/ Disagreements	Total
M-1	65	10	5	80
M-2	44	28	4	76
M-3	62	16	8	<u>86</u>
			Total (M)	<u>242</u>
C-1	19	15	0	34
C-2	20	0	0	20
C-3	17	3	3	23
C-4	23	0	1	24
C-5	12	4	1	17
C-6	16	0	0	16
C-7	25	5	0	30
C-8	8	1	0	9
C-9	22	1	1	24
C-10	16	5	0	21
C-11	21	2	0	23
C-12	38	0	1	<u>39</u>
			Total (C)	<u>280</u>

	Directives	Disagreements	Directive/ Disagreements	Total
GM-1	25	22	4	51
GM-2	21	11	1	33
GM-3	20	10	4	34
GM-4	4	11	1	16
GM-5	28	13	1	42
GM-6	7	3	1	11
GM-7	8	9	4	21
GM-9	9	11	1	21
GM-10	10	10	4	24
GM-11	9	2	1	12
GM-12	9	10	1	20
			Total (GM)	285

Appendix E

Average Number of Mitigations Per FTA for Group Members (GM)

	Total # FTA's	Total # Mitigations	Average # Mitigations/FTA
GM-1	51	91	1.8
GM-2	33	58	1.8
GM-3	34	63	1.9
GM-4	16	19	1.2
GM-5	42	111	2.7
GM-6	11	48	4.4
GM-7	21	85	4.0
GM-9	21	65	3.1
GM-10	24	58	2.4
GM-11	12	34	2.8
GM-12	20	56	2.8

Appendix F

Distribution of Positive Politeness Features for Group Members.   AB-Ad Board;   COM-Council of Ministries;   O-Outreach; T-Trustees

	AB			COM				O		T			
GM	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	*8	9	10	11	12	Total
Markers of in-group membership													
F	6	1	1	-	-	-	-		1	-	1	-	10
E	-	-	1	-	-	-	-		1	-	-	-	2
C	1	1	2	-	5	-	11		1	4	1	4	30
L	-	3	-	-	4	-	1		2	-	1	2	13
Markers of cooperation													
Y	-	1	2	1	2	10	1		4	3	1	4	28
LR	2	-	1	-	1	-	1		-	-	-	-	5
PA	5	2	-	-	4	-	6		6	2	-	2	27
R/C	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	0
FP	13	14	14	1	13	4	13		7	18	2	6	185
D	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	0

*No group member performed an FTA at meeting number eight

Appendix G

Distribution of Negative Politeness Features for Group Members. AB-Ad Board; COM-Council on Ministries; O-Outreach; T-Trustees

	AB			COM			O			T			
GM	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	*8	9	10	11	12	Total
Hedges													
HM	11	6	7	3	14	1	16		5	5	5	13	86
LC	4	1	2	-	13	2	2		1	-	2	1	28
LQ	17	7	11	6	17	17	16		19	13	11	8	142
IF	4	6	6	2	15	4	6		2	8	5	3	61
M	26	8	16	5	24	8	9		15	4	3	12	130
T	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		-	-	-	-	1
P	-	-	-	-	-	6	-		-	-	-	-	6
Deferential terms													
SE	1	2	-	-	-	1	-		-	-	-	-	4
C	-	-	-	-	-	-	1		-	-	-	-	1
A	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	0
D	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-	-	-	0
Distancing Mechanisms													
	1	1	-	1	-	-	-		1	-	2	-	6

*No group member performed an FTA at meeting number eight

Appendix H

Positive Politeness Feature Type Distribution for Chairs

Politeness features are abbreviated as follows: F-familiar address; E-elliptical forms; C-contracted forms; L-marked lexical forms; Y-you know; LR-lexical repetition; PA-partial agreement; R/C-reciprocity/concern; W-why don't; FP-first person plural; D-defense; AB-Administrative Board; COM-Council on Ministries; O-Outreach; T-Trustees; CH-Chair

	AB			COM			O			T			
CH	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total

Markers of in-group membership

F	2	10	7	6	3	7	7	-	9	5	3	3	62
E	1	-	2	-	2	5	2	3	-	-	-	1	16
C	1	-	1	-	1	4	7	-	7	1	4	8	34
L	7	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	9	2	-	-	20

Markers of cooperation

Y	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	3	7
LR	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	3
PA	1	-	3	-	2	-	3	-	-	-	1	-	10
R/C	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1	-	-	-	-	4
W	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	2	2	5	14
FP	19	18	14	28	6	7	19	6	21	16	17	30	202
D	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1

Appendix I

Negative politeness feature type distribution for chairs. Politeness features are abbreviated as follows: HM-hesitation markers; LC-lexical content items; LQ-lexical quasi-content items; IF-if clauses; M-modal verbs; T-tags; P-please; SE-self-effacements; C-compliments; A-apologies; D-deferential forms; AB-Administrative Board; COM-Council on Ministries; O-Outreach; T-Trustees; CH-Chair

	AB			COM			O			T			
CH	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	Total
Hedges													
HM	23	3	20	8	8	3	3	10	6	15	9	17	125
LC	3	2	6	4	1	2	1	3	-	1	2	9	34
LQ	16	5	18	32	14	3	8	13	6	12	10	42	179
IF	5	-	3	5	3	2	3	2	1	7	3	10	44
M	8	14	17	14	10	7	7	5	19	12	12	15	144
T	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	2
P	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	2
Deferential terms													
SE	-	-	-	1	-	-	1	-	4	-	-	-	6
C	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	6	-	-	-	7
A	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	-	-	3
D	-	1	1	-	-	-	2	1	1	1	-	1	8
Distancing Mechanisms													
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	4

Appendix J

Ratio of FTA's to turns at talk for ministers (M), chairs (C) and group members (GM)

M-1	80/177
M-2	76/259
M-3	86/199

Total 242/635

C-1	34/78
C-2	20/31
C-3	23/67
C-4	24/96
C-5	17/39
C-6	16/78
C-7	30/136
C-8	9/75
C-9	24/84
C-10	21/137
C-11	23/164
C-12	39/219

Total 280/1204

GM-1	51/168
GM-2	33/100
GM-3	34/125
GM-4	16/143
GM-5	42/135
GM-6	11/105
GM-7	21/243
GM-8	0/79
GM-9	21/175
GM-10	24/247
GM-11	12/322
GM-12	29/472

Total 285/2314

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