

"I'M GONNA PREACH IT, AMEN": DISCOURSE
FUNCTIONS OF FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS IN
AFRICAN AMERICAN SERMONS

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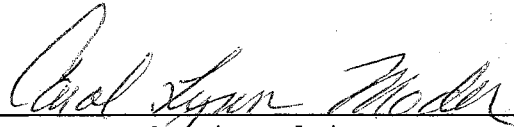
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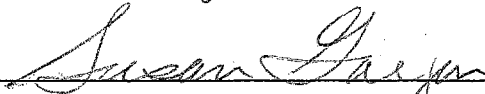
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background

"Hallelujah," "Praise God," "Glory to God", "Amen".

What do these expressions mean? Who uses them? When and where are they used? Why are they used? Upon seeing the four expressions at the beginning of this paragraph, most readers will place these expressions in the category of religious discourse; most would probably not be reminded of rock concerts, math classes, parties, athletic events, etc. Furthermore, these terms are also associated more with spoken religious discourse than with written, although the terms are used in religious documents (e.g. Bible). While "Amen", for many, might be used solely as a closing for prayer in church and/or nonchurch settings, the other expressions mentioned above do not generally serve that purpose but have other roles (which "Amen" also plays) and they appear most frequently in the context of animated church services.

One church group that is perhaps most noted for its lively services and for congregational use of these formulaic expressions is the African American church

(although I now make reference to "the African American church", this is not to suggest a lack of diversity, and the variation within Black churches is discussed in Chapter 3). In the context of the preaching event in these churches, the congregation's use of both formulaic expressions (e.g. amen) and more idiosyncratic ones (e.g. you sho' 'nough preachin' now) as backchanneling cues for the preacher are important for the production of an effective sermon; this is somewhat analogous to the importance of feedback in conversation. The larger speech event in which these expressions appear is not that of conversation though; it is the sermon discourse genre that serves as the frame for an African American preaching event.

The members of the audience (congregation) are not the only ones who use these formulaic expressions during the preaching event; the preacher also uses them frequently. No linguistics research has been done to examine the role that the preacher's use of these expressions has, although several researchers have mentioned the call and response format of African American church services as partial support for the claim that African Americans have retained much of their West African heritage (See Smitherman 1977, Pitts 1989, Mitchell 1975, Spencer 1987). Their point is that the congregational involvement during the preaching

event in African American (AA) churches is actually a "response" to a "call" that is made by the preacher and that the preacher and congregation produce the sermon together. So the preacher's saying "Amen?" with question intonation would fall into the category of preacher's call; in essence, the preacher is asking the audience to verbally respond (with "Amen", "Hallelujah," "Praise God", etc.). Discussion of call and response as evidence of African survivals or retentions in the Americas is not limited to the preaching event; it plays a major role in African American Vernacular English (AAVE) origin research as well (See Smitherman 1977, Kochman 1981, Baugh 1983 for discussion and extensive examples of call and response in nonchurch settings). In many African American church settings, not only does the audience's use of these formulaic expressions have similarities to conversational discourse but the preacher's use of these expressions has both conversation and lecture-like features. While recent analyses of lectures show that even this genre is "interactional" in the sense that listeners provide nonverbal backchannel cues (e.g. nods), there is a remarkable difference in the extent to which the "audiences" of lecture and of African American sermons delivered in African American church services have obligatory participation for successful production of

"performance". The importance of verbal participation of church members in many African American churches and its relevance to discourse genre descriptions of conversation and lecture will be addressed in following chapters.

It is through the combined contexts of discourse genre (conversation, lecture, sermon) and discourse community (i.e. specific African American church communities) that answers to questions about functions of expressions such as those described at the beginning of this chapter, can be explained. One recent concern for discourse analysts has been the extent to which utterances are or are not genre-linked; the degree to which formal boundaries of discourse genre control or influence what individuals say and how they says it is an ongoing concern. This exploration has led to descriptions of specific components of genres and, more specifically, to explanations of functions of utterances that are tied to different purposes and goals of distinct genres (Chaudron & Richards 1986, Ferrara 1994, Schegloff 1982, Schifffrin 1985). In addition, researchers have shown that socially constructed knowledge and language are interconnected (Hymes 1974, Kochman 1981, Smith 1993, Ziel 1991). This means that any analysis of discourse must address not only genre with respect to text alone but should also consider the "shared knowledge" of the seldom static

culture of the users of specific genres being examined.

Unfortunately, studies of functions of utterances have too often failed to address at length the discourse communities in which utterances are made. While discourse studies have offered invaluable contributions in showing the import of analyzing naturally-occurring contextualized language and in identifying structural patterns in different discourse genres, too little extratextual analysis has been utilized.

Not only is there a need for greater discussion of the discourse communities from which the utterances we examine have come, but there is also a need for study of a greater diversity of discourse genres performed in different communities. Conversation and lecture have been the major genres of study for discourse analysts. Similarly, while sociolinguists have done a great deal of research on African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and its community of speakers in informal settings, considerably less attention has been paid to the more formal African American sermonic discourse genre.

Two studies that examined sermons from a discourse perspective (Smith 1994 and Ziel 1991) analyzed seminary trained white preachers. Smith examined how males and females enrolled in a Southern Baptist seminary framed their

sermons and established themselves as authorities on the texts they presented. Results of this study showed that men tended to use discourse strategies that established them as "exegeters of written text" more often than women preachers did. Ziel's study noted gender differences in recorded sermons of white male and female preachers. Using syntactic differences found in recorded sermons, Ziel constructed test sermons, recorded and played them to mixed-gender white congregational study groups. Results of this study showed that female listeners responded more favorably to sermons using features associated with women's speech (more participative verbs and more quantifiers of a personal nature) than did male listeners. Female subjects viewed these sermons as more logical, powerful, confident, and decisive than male respondents did. Ziel suggests that women's language should not be rejected because it is an effective means for women to speak from and to their own experiences. She argues that women's language is rooted theologically in partnership rather than in oppression.

While these studies have provided important insight for the role that gender can play in sermonic discourse and in perceptions of preachers' authority, the specific communities involved in these studies were different in a number of ways from the community of preachers in my study;

those in my study are not seminary trained and their views of what makes a good sermon performance are different from those in the Smith and Ziel studies because the preachers and church goers in this study have beliefs about sermon performance that are shaped by African American church community norms (this will be addressed in following chapters). Furthermore, these studies did not explore the formulaic expressions being examined in this study.

There are volumes of work on African American religious experience, but research on the most prominent discourse genre within Black churches is quite limited (See Chapter Three for a discussion of studies about "the Black Church"). Mitchell's (1970, 1975) contribution to our understanding of the cultural context for the unique Black preaching style has been invaluable, and Davis' (1987) work has done much to establish the African American sermon as a discourse genre. Walter Pitts' (1986, 1989) analysis of Black Baptist sermons provides excellent empirical evidence of the genre's West African oral poetic roots. Several studies have discussed the strong "call and response" aspect of many African American church services and have suggested that the purpose of congregational responses such as *well, amen, preach it is* solely call and response related. No textual analysis has been done to test this. It is generally assumed that

preachers use these expressions as calls for congregational response or simply as verbal fillers, but no textual analyses have been done to test these functions.

This study explores specific functions of expressions found in a discourse genre that has received very little attention. Through a textual and cultural examination of discourse markers in African American sermons produced by a group of preachers, some of whom are geographically separated but who have shared religious beliefs and experiences, it is expected that both textual and cultural analysis will lead to better understanding of one of many African American religious communities. This is stated with the understanding that there is great diversity in what Baer and Singer (1994) say has been termed a misleading "the Black church". This study is conducted also to contribute to discourse studies a set of markers that have textual functions that are both conversation and lecture-like and that have an additional function that is more strongly culturally-linked.

Chapter Overview

The following chapter, Chapter Two, reviews literature on discourse analysis in general and more specifically on discourse markers. Chapter Three provides general cultural information on African American religion; this includes a

discussion of the relationship between African American preaching and the oral tradition and the role of formulaic language. Chapter Four introduces the rationale for the textual analysis and cultural description used in the study, describes selection of subjects and instrument and discourse analysis procedures used, and provides information on transcription and coding. Chapter Five includes a qualitative look at sermonic formulaic expressions based on the researcher's observations as a member of the African American church community examined in the study and based on the researcher's correspondence with preachers in the study. A quantitative report of four discourse functions of these expressions is included in the second half of the fifth chapter. Chapter Six concludes the study with a discussion of the role of both textual and discourse community analysis.

CHAPTER TWO
DISCOURSE STUDIES

Discourse Analysis

The discourse analysis (DA) approach, used in this examination of formulaic expressions, is comparatively new in the field of linguistics. Of all areas of linguistics, DA is perhaps the most difficult to categorize because it touches on such a broad range of fields; sociolinguistics, psycholinguistics, cognitive linguistics, as well as other fields, all analyze discourse. Perhaps the simplest definition of DA would be "the study of language beyond the sentence level." This definition stems from the introduction of DA as a reaction to traditional approaches to the study of language in which linguists focused solely on phonemes, morphemes, and sentences in isolation and in which many of the linguistic constituents under investigation were not real or naturally occurring language; they were items constructed by the researchers themselves. Schiffrin (1994) states that the classic "language above the sentence" definition of discourse belongs to the formalist school of thought, which tends to view discourse in terms of "units", and the unit most commonly cited as the building blocks of discourse is the sentence. This view seems

problematic because people often do not speak in sentences. Chafe's (1980, 1994) work is especially influential in this regard; he argues that the most effective analysis of spoken discourse would examine intonational units rather than sentences (which are a convention of written language). Schiffrin (1994) claims that another drawback to this formalist definition of discourse is that the hierarchical notion of language (morpheme to clause to sentence to discourse) does not truly match real language; "discourse structures are not always the sort of hierarchical structures to which linguists are accustomed at other levels of analysis" (p. 29).

While formalist definitions of discourse focus on text, Schiffrin (1994) notes that a functionalist definition of discourse as language use emphasizes the importance of context; functionalist views of discourse tend to stress the interrelatedness of discourse and situational context. Functionalists argue that language should not be examined without purposes and functions upon which it is dependent. The language use approach to discourse offers a clear contribution to discourse not seen in formalist approaches; the role of culture in language is foremost. The functionalist approach that perhaps stresses culture most is ethnography, an approach from which discourse analysts can

gain important insight about language (i.e. discourse).

Johnson (1992) identifies the following common characteristics of ethnographic research. She first states that the goal of ethnographic research is "to describe and interpret the cultural behavior...of a group" (p. 134), so there's an emphasis on shared experiences rather than on individuals. Ethnographers' primary goal is to get an "emic" rather than an etic view. That is, the researcher attempts to gain an insider's perspective. To achieve emic ends, ethnographers use the naturalistic techniques of participant observation and interviewing over extended periods of time (often a year and longer but typically unspecified). A great deal of attention is paid to context. Finally, specific hypotheses develop from broad onset questions as ethnographers do fieldwork.

Van Maanen (1988) states that ethnography ties together fieldwork and culture. Fieldwork is viewed as a means to an end; ethnographers, usually nonmembers of the community being studied, become what Freidlick 1970 (cited in Van Maanen 1988) calls "marginal natives" and what most ethnographers refer to as "participant observers" in order to produce an account of the knowledge that a specific group shares (to varying degrees). Hymes' (1974) *ethnography of communication* has added an important dimension to both

anthropology and linguistics. Pre-Hymesian ethnographies tended to focus on extralinguistic culture, and linguistics researchers predating Hymes focused on language study without examining the cultural contexts within which discourse functions. Hymes' work was partly aimed at linguists who tended to view the study of language as an isolated field. He argued that linguists should view other fields such as social anthropology, sociology, education, etc. as having important contributions for language study. With his *ethnography of communication* he sought an interdisciplinary approach in which *speaking* was also considered a major component of ethnographic research. To linguists, he urged that a native speaker's competence of a language goes beyond linguistic form; native speakers are also competent in appropriate purposes and social contexts for using their language. That is, they have sociolinguistic or "communicative" competence. In order to move beyond linguistic competence to communicative competence, Hymes informed linguists that an ethnographic approach was needed. To social anthropologists, he argued that although there were numerous ethnographic accounts of such areas as religion and kinship, the role of speaking and communication was remarkably nonexistent in ethnographies. Since communities vary in their ways of communicating (e.g. asking

questions, making commands, use of silence), Hymes believed that speaking must have a more central role in ethnographies.

It is Hymes' focus on the integration of language and culture and his emphasis on the role of context for comprehension of speech that is still relevant for today's discourse studies. Hymes designed the following acronymic checklist of features for ethnographers to consider when analyzing a speech event; he proposed that the following factors were all relevant for understanding how particular communicative speech events are achieved:

S (setting & scene- time and place)

P (participants- who is involved?)

E (ends- outcomes or goals of the participants)

A (act sequence- specific form and content of exactly what was said, how it was used)

K (key- tone of the message as humorous, serious, pompous etc.)

I (instrument- channel or register used as in spoken vs written or formal vs informal)

N (norms of interaction or interpretation- specific groups' expected behaviors for particular speech events)

G (genre- message form; e.g. chat, debate,

sermon, lecture)

With this type of emphasis on context, it is expected that a researcher can better comprehend the larger cultural significance of various speech events.

Schiffrin (1994) classifies Hymes' ethnography of communication as an exemplary strong functionalist approach to the study of discourse. As mentioned earlier, this approach is contrasted with strong formalist approaches that do not consider situational context. Schiffrin argues though that even functionalist approaches like ethnography of communication are limited in that they do not allow for a way to examine specific relationships between utterances. Furthermore, she states that because functionalists consider discourse to include **all** uses of language, they do not offer a way to differentiate *discourse* from other forms of language such as morphemes, phrases, or sentences.

She claims that a better definition and approach to discourse than the strong formalist or functionalist positions is one that views discourse as "utterances." For her, utterances are units of inherently contextualized language and viewing discourse as utterances implies both syntactic (or "sequential goals") and pragmatic goals; that is, both the order of utterances and effect of organization, meaning, and use within specified contexts on communicative

content are considered in an utterance approach.

Chafe (1992), in an excellent overview of discourse analysis, which he says "emerged as a distinct and established branch of linguistics only since the 1970s" (p. 356), also alludes to the complexity of this field. Pointing to major journals and books emerging between 1977 and 1983 (e.g. Discourse Processes, Text, Coulthard 1977, Stubbs 1983, Brown & Yule 1983, Van Dijk 1985), Chafe states that the heterogeneity of approaches to discourse analysis along with its overlap with other disciplines may suggest that discourse constitutes more than a distinct subfield of linguistics. However, he adds that most approaches which analyze stretches of language beyond the sentence do have shared research experiences with regard to data types (i.e. always naturally occurring language), methodology (i.e. recorded data and/or hermeneutic approaches), and interpretation of findings (i.e. more emphasis on functional explanations than on abstractions). Interesting to note is the point that although in other studies Chafe (1980) stresses looking at intonational units rather than sentences for analysis of spoken discourse, he still refers to discourse as "language beyond the sentence". While he uses what Schiffrin would classify as a formalist definition, in practice his work is much more functional and his overview

of discourse in the 1992 work is informative. In this study, he concludes that the diversity of DA, "reflecting as it does the diversity of language and the human mind, offers a liberating challenge to a linguistics freed of the bonds of parochial concerns" (p. 358).

Similarly, Tannen(1989) argues that DA will never be monolithic and that attempts to achieve a homogeneous discipline with a unified theory would actually defeat the interdisciplinary purpose of DA; she says DA is interdisciplinary by nature, as is language (discourse) itself. She states that criticisms of DA's lack of uniformity are no different from criticisms aimed at all interdisciplinary approaches. Tannen clearly concludes that her refutation does not preclude clearly defined theories and/or frameworks.

DA's strength, then, could lie in the fact that it is not strongly confined to any single field or methodology; its interdisciplinary aspect along with general common experiences that Chafe (1993) describes makes possible a great variety of approaches to analysis of discourse. Just as Hymes' ethnography of communication called for a narrowing of gaps between disciplines and a merging of approaches for researching communication and humanity, so does discourse analysis, at least in theory, allow for such

synthesis and multiplicity. In practice, however, individual discourse studies have tended to give only superficial treatment to cultural descriptions, producing detailed analyses of texts but creating very vague images of the producers of those texts. Clearly, we have made progress in that real contextualized language is being examined rather than isolated phonemes , morphemes, and phrases. However, still lacking are an adequate number of studies which explore the various discourse genres and discourse communities which shape language and which lead to varieties of discourse.

Conversation and Lecture

Contextualized language (this is actually a redundancy since all real language is contextualized) is rule governed. Just as all languages have phonological and syntactic boundaries, so do the larger stretches of language in context that we call "discourse". Discourse analysts have been attempting to identify and describe those patterns of discourse. The areas that have received a considerable degree of attention in this area are conversation and lecture. (These are the two discourse genres to which I will later compare the African American sermon.)

Ferrara (1994), in a study on "therapeutic discourse" - the type of discourse used in psychotherapy sessions,

proposed a seven part model which she says can be used to differentiate conversation (which she terms the "unmarked form of discourse") from other types of discourse. Her model includes the following components: parity, reciprocity, routine recurrence, bounded time, restricted topic, remuneration, and regulatory responsibility. For each of these components, I will explain the role that Ferrara says they have in conversation and then will discuss whether the lecture and sermon are similar to or different from conversation on these points.

The *parity* principle refers to the agreement among participants to equally share power and responsibility. In conversation all participants agree that no one person will be held responsible for the success or failure of the conversation and that each person comes to the conversation with equal power. With lectures, this kind of agreement is clearly not present; even in more community-oriented classes the lecturer is still viewed as having more power and as having ultimate responsibility for what happens during the lecture. With sermons, we may assume that as with lecturers the preacher is given greater power and responsibility; it may also be the case that because of the notion of the preacher having been "called by God", many church members give preachers an even more elevated status than that

afforded lecturers.

The concept of "reciprocity" points to the knowledge that participants will share the floor by negotiation; in conversation, turn taking is negotiated. Although the role of reciprocity may vary in lecture according to the lecturer's style (See Dudley-Evans & John's 1981 discussion of different lecture styles), the degree of negotiation allowed to take place in lecture is comparatively limited, even in the "conversational style" of lecture. In some African American sermon contexts, the notion of joint production of the sermon (including call and response) makes this genre different from both lecture and conversation with regards to negotiation. That the congregation can decide to "go up in praise" causing the preacher to put his/her sermon on hold could be viewed as the preacher giving up the floor. But this is very different from what happens in conversation; when someone takes a turn in conversation he/she actually does what the previous floor holder was doing--speaking. Members of a congregation will not begin to preach.

Ferrara says that conversations lack the *routine recurrence* feature. This component deals with the tendency of a discourse to take place at a preplanned time and location. While conversations typically do not occur at a

preplanned location or time, lectures and sermons do. Although we do find cases of people who, in the midst of a conversation move into "lecturing" or "preaching", these cases are marked and will get such responses as "Oh, don't lecture me" or "Oh, you preachin' now; we 'bout to have church up in here!"

The dimension of *bounded time* refers to a prescribed duration of a speech event. While conversations do not have prescribed durations, lectures are prescribed in this way (50 min, 75 min etc.). With sermons, this dimension varies with different churches. In more Pentecostal-based churches, the preacher has a great deal of flexibility, but they should be "really preachin'" if they want the audience to find a three hour sermon acceptable. The longer sermons tend to be those in which the congregation is highly active verbally.

Ferrara's fifth dimension of *restricted topic* is a feature that typically does not exist for conversation. She points out the fact that most conversations can cover a variety of topics. Both lectures and sermons differ from conversation in variety of acceptable topics. Academic lectures must have topics that are relevant to the courses in which the lectures are delivered. Similarly, in order for talk to be classified as sermon, it must deal with sacred or

spiritual matters; the discussion of secular is allowed only if contrasted with the sacred. Davis' (1985) treatment of sacred-secular themes in African American sermons is addressed in the following chapter.

While there is typically no *remuneration* for conversations, lecturers usually receive monetary payment for their services. Similarly, most preachers receive offerings for delivering sermons. The amount of money that preachers receive is often not preestablished though. This varies greatly with denomination and specific church. While some churches pay pastors a salary, other pastors receive a certain percentage of weekly offerings, which can vary greatly. Similarly, churches may take up special offerings for guest preachers; the preacher's remuneration is often based solely on the offering collected after his/her sermon.

Ferrara's final dimension of *regulatory responsibility* addresses which participants are responsible for keeping the discourse going, ending the discourse, etc. Ferrara notes that in conversation, participants negotiate turn taking, openings, closings, etc. Unlike conversation participants, lecturers take responsibility for regulating the lecture. Similarly, preachers tend to take general responsibility for when they will begin and close the sermon, and there are preset patterns that suggest when a sermon should begin

(e.g. after singing , after prayer, and after testimony service). However, church members who understand these rules can negotiate to delay the beginning of the sermon by lengthening testimony service or by allowing the Holy Ghost to "move" via dance or praise. Discussion of acceptable guidelines for what should precede an African American sermon appears in the following chapter. Although the participants in many churches like those in this study may have more influence on the preacher's decision to close or continue preaching than listeners of lectures, the degree of negotiation allowed is far from what happens in conversation.

While conversation is characterized by negotiation for floor, interchanging of turns, spontaneity, and general verbal participation by two or more members, lectures are defined by Goffman (1981) as an "extended holding of the floor" (p. 165) in which a single speaker's primary goal is to impart his/her text to an audience. He says that what makes lecture different from conversation is that lecturers must have competence in their topic; he says this gives the lecturer an elevated position not generally given to conversationalists. He identifies lecturers as having the following three roles: "author"-the person who created the text being presented, "principal"- one who believes and

supports what is being presented, and "animator"--the vessel through which text is spoken (p.167).

Dudley-Evans & Johns (1981) have divided lecture styles into three categories which move from a stricter, more formal style in which the *reading style lecturer* is or appears to be reading from notes to a more expressive style in which the *performance style lecturer* puts on a show. The *conversational style* falls between these two in degree of intonational restriction and formality. Both the conversational and rhetorical styles may suggest that the boundaries between lecture and conversation /performance may not be as definite as expected. That is, it is not necessarily the case that lectures are devoid of features that typically appear in conversation, and vice versa. Most studies dealing with lectures have focused on only two of these styles--reading and conversational.

It is the rhetorical style of lecture that the African American teacher in Foster's (1989) study utilizes. With the understanding that performance (i.e. stylized communication and expressive behavior) (p. 31) varies across speech communities, Foster explores one African American preacher's use of repetition, rhythm, imagery, gesture, intonation, and symmetry between students and teacher. This performance analysis shows how the teacher uses performance strategies

throughout her lecture to create a spontaneously interactive class in which African American students learn through shared performances characteristic of their own speech communities. Foster states that this teacher's style of lecture was largely shaped by her association with Black preaching. This teacher's "lecture" would be classified as Dudley-Evans & Johns' "performance style", but her style is also clearly shaped by the norms of a specific speech community (the Black church).

While there may be different styles of lecture and different definitions for it, the one common feature that distinguishes lecture from other genres is that its primary purpose is to instruct. Chaudron & Richards (1986) identify the purpose of lecture as "to instruct, by presenting information in such a way that a coherent body of information is presented, readily understood, and remembered" (p. 114). Foster (1989) says of the teacher in her study: "the focus of these performances is instructional, the content intellectual, and it is through performances that explanations and learning takes place" (p.20).

The preceding discussion has highlighted lecture, conversation, and sermon as distinct discourse genres but has also shown that characteristics of these genres

sometimes overlap. While lectures are different from conversations in that the former's primary purpose is to instruct thereby leading to the formal characteristic of lectures having a definite lack of parity, it has been noted that some lecture styles are more conversation-like. Sermons have been viewed as having a joint function of instructing and inspiring and as also lacking parity between preacher and congregation, making them more lecture-like. But as will be explained in the following chapters, in many African American churches sermons are more conversation-like because of an emphasis on both congregational and preacher roles for successful sermon production.

Discourse Markers

Within the larger discourse genres are specific utterances with specific functions. One area of discourse analysis that involves examination of linguistic contexts in which certain utterances appear is the study of discourse markers (DMS). The following are common questions addressed in DM research : What role do specific utterances play in discourse? What do they mean? In what contexts (the who, when, and where) are they used and/or not used? These types of questions contain a common assumption that all utterances serve some purpose and that a single utterance may have different functions for different people or in different

contexts (linguistic and extralinguistic). Some utterances have specific roles that signal something about what is happening in a given discourse; that is, they "mark" discourse. Blakemore (1987), identifying "and," "after all," "but," "you see," "moreover," "furthermore," and "so" as "discourse connectives", proposes that these markers function to constrain relevance of segments of discourse; that is, the relevance of one utterance is often dependent upon other segment(s) of the discourse, and "discourse connectives" are the indicators of this connection.

While Blakemore's work takes a pragmatics approach in focusing on discourse connectives as constraints on implicatures within a text, Schiffrin (1987) takes a comparative sociolinguistics approach and emphasizes the way that these "discourse markers" contribute to the coherence of the overall discourse in which they occur; this claim includes an implicit role of indicating relevance of utterances, but it also suggests that DMS add to the overall coherence of texts. Using her analysis of the use of such utterances as "and," "but," and "y'know" in interview conversations, she suggests that DMS function as contextual coordinates: markers point, in a deictic sense, to both participants (speaker/hearer) and textual (prior/upcoming segments) coordinates of discourse. That is, all DMS have a

two part function; all markers point either to speaker or hearer and all DMS point to either upcoming or prior text or both. The DM *oh* focuses on the speaker in showing that the speaker has received information. *Well* focuses on both speaker and hearer in that it signals that the speaker has received information but that the speaker of *well* has some point of disagreement with prior discourse; it also points to the hearer as it serves to warn the hearer that the discourse that will follow will be unexpected, so the hearer must prepare to change her/his expectations. Schiffrin further classifies *oh* and *well* as pointing to textual coordinates. *Oh* points to prior text; one uses *oh* to refer to information previously mentioned. She says that *well* focuses on both prior and upcoming discourse in that it points back to previous discourse with which the speaker disagrees and points to upcoming discourse signaling that it will be unexpected.

Fraser's (1993) analysis of discourse markers differs from Schiffrin's in that he provides a much more narrow definition and uses a more restrictive framework. He argues that each marker has linguistic environment constraints and has a central meaning that signals how the speaker intends the utterance to function in relationship to prior discourse. Definitive aspects of discourse markers,

according to Fraser, are that they carry meaning that is separate from sentential propositional content, that they are detachable from the sentences within which they appear without loss of meaning, and that, as an initial indicator of message meaning, they signal sequential relationships.

He first provides a framework which distinguishes content from pragmatic meaning. **Content meaning** tells what the sentence is literally about while pragmatic meaning tells the messages the speaker intends to convey through sentences. This distinction is similar to the direct and indirect distinction made in speech act studies. In the sentence "Here comes the teacher!", the content or direct meaning could be viewed as simply providing factual information that the teacher is coming into the classroom. Indirect pragmatic meaning may be something more; the illocutionary force (speaker's intention) could be to warn students to stop talking negatively about the teacher or to stop cheating on their exams. Although the sentence is in declarative form, its function is something different.

Fraser places discourse markers in the **pragmatic meaning** category. He identifies three types of markers that provide pragmatic meaning: basic pragmatic markers, commentary markers, and parallel pragmatic markers. Basic pragmatic markers are syntactic or lexical structures that

signal basic messages in which the propositional content of the sentence is the same as the message content. They are meanings conveyed or messages given when sentences are used directly. For example, the declarative syntactic structure (e.g. Mary Luso is the chair.) is a basic pragmatic marker which signals the speaker's intent to convey a belief in the propositional content of the sentence. An imperative (e.g. Make Mary Luso chair) or interrogative structure (Is Mary Luso chair?) would signal that the speaker wishes for the listener to perform some action or that the speaker wishes to get an answer. Fraser does not discuss what a speaker's using the declarative, imperative, or interrogative structures to achieve something beyond making a declaration, getting the hearer to act, or getting information (e.g. using declarative syntax/intonation but desiring action from the hearer) would be classified as or what types of pragmatic markers would signal this kind of message.

The second type of pragmatic marker, which is the subcategory that includes discourse markers, is the commentary pragmatic marker. While basic pragmatic markers are always present, he says commentary pragmatic markers do not need to be present and that they signal a message that is separate from the basic message; they make a comment about the basic message. In "Frankly, I don't think he

likes you," "frankly" is not necessary for the basic meaning of the sentence, but it does provide a great deal of information about both the basic message and the speaker's intention for making the utterance. It signals that the speaker is aware that the message that follows this marker will not be received with pleasure.

The final pragmatic marker identified is the parallel pragmatic marker. Similar to the commentary marker, the parallel one is not necessary for the basic meaning of the sentence and it is separate from the basic meaning; it is parallel to the basic or commentary message. In "She left her stupid jacket at their house," the jacket is clearly not "stupid", and "stupid" is not really a part of the basic meaning of the sentence. This word signals that the speaker is angry or disappointed. This is different from commentary markers in that "stupid" and other parallel pragmatic markers do not say as much about the entire message (about both speaker's intention and about content meaning). He classifies *frankly* in "Frankly, I don't think he likes you" as a commentary pragmatic marker but *stupid* in the sentence above as a parallel marker. His support for the former marker is that it makes a stronger comment about both speaker's intention (to warn the listener that the information that follows will be in disagreement with the

previous statement and it expresses the speaker's awareness of this fact). Fraser explains that *stupid* suggests only that the speaker is angry.

As stated previously, Fraser states that discourse markers are one type of commentary marker. He identifies four major criteria of DMS as commentary markers. The first DM criteria is that a DM is separate from the propositional content of the sentence in which it occurs and is detachable without meaning loss. Fraser's example below shows not only that a DM is separate and detachable without meaning loss, but that a single word can in one context be a DM while in another function as an adverb.

EXAMPLE : a. Now [DM], where are we?

(Looking at a map) Now [ADV] where are we?

b. However [DM], you can do it.

(answer) However [ADV] you can do it.

c. Well [DM], is how I feel important?

Well [ADV] is how I feel. (p.4)

Although Fraser provides no contextual clues for example "b" above, his point seems to be that as an answer to a question such as "How would you like me to arrange these?", "However you can do it" begins with what he calls an adverb and not a DM because if *however* is left out of the sentence, the rest of the utterance makes no sense. His point is that adverbs

are not detachable and DMS are.

But his second characteristic of DMS is that DMS "are not simply schizophrenic adverbs, sometimes functioning as adverbs, other times as a discourse marker" (p.4). His point here is that DMS are drawn from traditional grammar categories other than adverbs (e.g. verbs-*look* and *see*, interjections-*well*, literal phrases-*as a result* and *to repeat*, idioms-*by and large*, conjunctions-*but* and *so*) and that the meaning of a marker can be significantly different from the meaning of the expression when it is used as an idiom, adverb, verb, etcetera. He argues that the meaning of "look" in "Look, I don't like what is going on here" is quite different from the verbal meaning of *look*; the verb and DM uses are only remotely related. Similarly, the temporal meaning of "now" in "Now, where should we go from here?" is only minimally present (p.5); this is not nearly as strong as the temporal emphasis in "Come here now!"

Fraser's third DM component deals with "privileges of occurrence." A discourse marker is not restricted to the sentence-initial position; it can also occur in medial and final positions. More importantly, the reason that this distribution is possible is that DMS signal both a commentary message **and** the scope of the message. In the following example, we see that different positions of

"however" signal different scopes of the commentary message.

EXAMPLE: I'm willing to ask the Dean to do it.

1. However, you know he won't agree.
2. You, however, know that he won't agree.
3. You know, however, that he won't agree.
4. You know that he won't agree, however. (p.6)

Number 1 shows a scope most commonly associated with DMS in other studies; "however" functions to signal a relationship between preceding and following information, that what follows the marker is problematic in relation to what precedes the marker. Number 2, however, has only the addressee "you" as the scope of the message. Number 3 emphasizes the speaker's knowing while the fourth DM highlights the disagreement.

The final DM criteria involves "core meaning." Each DM has a core meaning associated with it, and this meaning serves only as a lead to the interpretation of a given commentary message. A major part of the core meaning is to signal sequences between the current and prior message. Such sequences signaled could be change of topic, parallelism, consequence, and contrast. In the example below, the DM "so" differs from the subordinate conjunction "so" in the number of messages being conveyed rather than in the meaning of the word "so."

EXAMPLE: a. John was sick. So [DM], don't expect him.

b. John was sick, so [SCJ] he went to bed.

In a, the message that follows the DM is based upon the information that precedes the DM; in this case there are two different messages: 1. John was sick and 2. Don't expect him. In example b above, the subordinate conjunction relates two propositions within a single message: John's being sick and going to bed are causally related. A second aspect of the core meaning role of DMS is that since the core meaning serves as only a starting point for the interpretation of a given message, it is up to the hearer to utilize contextual clues to further understand the discourse meaning of an utterance. Fraser does not discuss the role that intonation plays in signaling the differences he's suggesting here.

While Fraser believes that all discourse markers are similar in that they have the four aforementioned characteristics, he also classifies them differently according to three types: discourse topic markers, discourse activity markers, and message relationship markers.

Discourse topic markers signal a different discourse topic (e.g. *back to my original point, by the way, before I forget, just to update you, moving right along, to return to my original point, on a different note*) or signal a reemphasis of the current topic (e.g. *again, alright, but ,*

here, indeed, in fact, listen, now, well, y'see, say, OK).

Discourse activity markers deal not with topics but with the type of discourse work being done such as clarifying or sequencing. Seven activity markers identified in Fraser's work are: clarifying (*by way of clarification, to clarify*), conceding (*admittedly, after all, anyhow, anyway*), explaining (*by way of explanation, if I may explain, to explain*), interrupting (*if I may interrupt, to interrupt, not to interrupt*), repeating (*at the risk of repeating myself, once again, to repeat*), sequencing (*finally, first, lastly, next, to begin, to conclude, to continue, to start with*), and summarizing (*in general, in summary, overall, so far, thus far, to sum up, at this point*).

The final class of DMS, **message relationship markers**, is divided into four subcategories: parallel, contrasting, elaborative, and inferential. All message relationship markers signal a relationship between the current utterance and a prior one. Parallel markers signal that the present message is parallel to a part of the prior discourse (e.g. *also, and, by the same token, equally, likewise, similarly*). Conversely, contrasting discourse markers signal contrast

between current and prior discourse (e.g. *all the same, but, contrariwise, conversely, despite, however, I may be wrong but, never/nonetheless, notwithstanding*). Elaboration discourse markers signal that the current discourse is an elaboration of prior discourse (e.g. *above all, besides, further(more), more precisely, moreover, that is, what is more, for instance, for example*). The discourse that follows these markers will provide more content related to the information that precedes these markers. Finally, inferential discourse markers signal a consequential relationship between the prior and current discourse (e.g. *accordingly, as a consequence, hence, of course, so, then, therefore, thus*).

Fraser's work has focused on establishing definite criteria for classifying discourse markers, and he claims that discourse markers which meet the four criteria that he has proposed can probably be found in all languages. Unpublished studies of discourse markers based on Fraser's framework have been found in eight languages: Arabic, Bulgarian, French, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Mandarin, and Spanish.

In a more comprehensive study of specific

discourse markers (oh, well, now, then, you know, I mean, so, because, and, but, and or) found in sociolinguistic interviews, Schifffrin (1987) initially defines DMS generally as "**sequentially dependent** elements which bracket units of talk" (p.31). After analyzing the functions of these expressions, she makes suggestions of four specific conditions which allow an expression to be used as a discourse marker:

- it has to be syntactically detachable from a sentence
- it has to be commonly used in initial position of an utterance
- it has to have a range of prosodic contours
e.g. tonic stress and followed by a pause,
phonological reduction
- it has to be able to operate at both local and global levels of discourse, and on different planes of discourse (p.328)

The basic criteria of "detachability" for Schifffrin and for Fraser seems to be that a discourse marker must be capable of being removed from a sentence without causing the sentence to lose its content meaning. This criteria helps to distinguish DMS from such items as adverbials as in : "Well

(DM), I don't care if he's the boss" versus "He's simply not mentally well (Adverb)". Removing *well* in the first would not affect the general meaning of the unit, but removing the adverbial *well* would result in considerable meaning loss.

Schiffrin's second criteria, that DMS must be commonly used in the initial position of utterances suggests that they can be used in other positions but that the utterance - initial position is the most common position. Fraser states that DMS are not restricted to sentence-initial positions because discourse markers function to signal not only a commentary message but that the placement of DMS in different positions highlights different "scopes" of a message. Schiffrin and Fraser differ in their views of frequency of DMS appearing in noninitial positions. Fraser holds that DMS appear in medial and final positions more often than previous studies have suggested and that the different placement of DMS in units signals different functional scopes of the marker. His example of *however* mentioned previously illustrates this point.

While Schiffrin's location criteria for DMS appears more restrictive than that of Fraser, her third criteria, that DMS have a range of prosodic contours (e.g. tonic

stress, phonological reduction) is an important allowance not addressed in Fraser's work. In his discussion of *now* as a DM exhibiting the obligatory "core meaning" versus the adverbial *now*, he fails to note that intonation of both *now* and the utterances that follow offer the listener important clues to the function of the utterance (See example on page 27 of this text).

Schiffrin's final criteria for DMS is that they must "be able to operate on both local and global levels of discourse, and on different planes of discourse" (p. 328). That is, on one level, DMS that have one discourse function can also become a marker of some other discourse component. This criteria relates to the multiple function aspect of DMS in that a marker like *uh huh* may inform one participant that the other is attentive and has heard the prior information while also letting the speaker know that the listener wants more information and is prepared to do more listening and pass up his/her opportunity to gain the floor. Not only does this marker have a participant function (speaker/hearer) but it also has an organizational function whereby it lets one of the participants know whether or not s/he should continue talking and whether or not this continued talk should

include a repair of previous discourse. Fraser's "core meaning" component suggests a similar coherence aspect in that it points to an integration of prior and upcoming discourse, but he does not provide a model that explains the more specific and different kinds of structures within which these DMS function in terms of participation, management of information etc.

In Schiffrin's analysis if *you know*, *I mean*, and *oh*, we find explanation of these kinds of structures. She states that **y'know** and **I mean** function in both what she calls "information state" and the "participation framework." **Y'know** calls for a hearer to adjust his/her knowledge and attention in order to better receive the speaker's talk. This marker signals the speaker's knowledge about the hearer's degree of shared knowledge with the speaker. The following example from Schiffrin (p.269-270) illustrates a speaker's awareness that the hearer does not share knowledge with the speaker.

EXAMPLE: Zelda: a. Well right now she says, 'I'm so:
lonely.'

b. She said, 'Everyone went on the
boardwalk.'

c. And she's ti:red.

d. She- just got a job: oh I didn't
tell you!

Debby: e. Oh no!

Zelda: f. She got-she-she had applied eh: for
a job at the drugstore, as a
counter girl?

g. **Y'know** lunch eonette? As a
waitress.=

Debby: h. Yeh.

Zelda: I. And they called Sunday.

j. So she's workin', she's been
working.=

Debby: k. Oh great!

Zelda: l. =and she says, 'I'm so tired!'

In d, Zelda first realizes that Debby does not know about the new job. **Y'know** in g suggests that the speaker wants further response from the hearer about the specific type of job (that of waitress). The surrounding rising intonation for "counter" and "luncheonette" is additional proof that the information unit is not finished. Once Zelda gets the

response from Debby in h, she continues with her story knowing that the hearer has adjusted her knowledge base; now that speaker and hearer have shared knowledge, the speaker can continue.

Like **y'know**, **I mean** has an information state and participation function. This marker focuses on the speaker's adjustment in the production of talk, rather than on the hearer's adjustment. While **y'know** has relevance primarily for information state and secondarily for participation framework, **I mean** has directly reverse relevance; it functions primarily in the participation framework as a marker of the speaker's orientation and functions secondarily as an indicator of salient information (information state). In the example that follows, Jack switches participant roles in an interview setting. He is the interviewee, but he asks the interviewer's opinion; this is prefaced by **I mean**.

EXAMPLE: Debby: a. Um that's interesting.

b. It's probably true.

Jack c. **I mean** what's your opinion? Or
shouldn't we ask.

Debby: Um no

Freda: She's interviewing you, Jack

(p.305).

Oh differs from **I mean** and **y'know** in that the latter are semantically and grammatically based items while **oh**, as well as well, is not. **Oh** has an organizational role for information state. In Schiffrin's example below, **oh** is used to signal a speaker's shift from one information unit to another, but more specifically highlights conflicting understandings of new vs. given information.

EXAMPLE: Irene: How can I get an appointment t'go

down there t'bring my son on a tour?

Debby: **Oh** I didn't even know they gave tours!

I'm not the one to ask about it.

(p.86)

In this example Irene has assumed that Debby knows about tours that her university gives, but this is new information for Debby. **Oh** signals that the prior information given was not shared but new, and it simultaneously lets Irene know that she has misconceived their shared knowledge.

In my analysis of formulaic expressions functioning as discourse markers, I have used criteria taken from both Schiffrin's and Fraser's definitions of DMS (i.e.

detachability without meaning loss--Schiffrin and Fraser, ability to appear in initial, medial, and final positions--Fraser, possibility of having a range of prosodic contours--Schiffrin, and possibility of having multiple functions--Schiffrin). However, as discussed in the following chapters, these criteria are useful as a starting point for identifying markers, but to best understand the variety of functions that these DMS may have, researchers must consider specific discourse community factors. This is not to suggest a deemphasis on discourse genre.

In the last two decades there have been a number of studies dealing with discourse functions and roles of a variety of discourse markers; these studies reinforce the belief that seemingly insignificant utterances may provide remarkable insight concerning various aspects of discourse. Most of these analyses have been presented in relation to specific discourse genres, such as the conversation genre. Much of this research has suggested that the occurrence of different utterances or expressions is influenced to varying degrees by specific discourse genres; genres such as conversation and lecture call for different strategies and the utterances produced within these genres are at least partially shaped by constraints of the genre.

Conversation has received a great deal of attention from discourse analysts. While Tannen (1984, 1990, 1994) has highlighted the relationship between conversation and coherence, the pervasiveness of repetition in discourse, and gender-linked differences in informal and workplace conversation, others have focused more specifically on particular discourse markers and their functions in texts. Schegloff (1982) analyzes the specific utterance "uhuh" and concludes that this unit serves as a backchannel device in conversation to show recognition that a statement has been heard, to act as a continuer, to show other-initiated repair, and to show agreement. Following are examples that Schegloff offers for two of the four functions of *uh huh*, *mm hmm*, *yeah* etc.:

1. Bee: hh This feller I have- (iv-) "felluh";

this ma:n.

(0.2)t- hhh He ha::(s) -uff -eh- who-

who I have

fer Linguistics is real ly too much, hh

h=

Ava: Mmhm? Mmhm, (p.80)

In the above example, Schegloff shows that after the listener, Ava, recognizes the person to whom Bee is referring, the linguistics teacher, she lets Bee know by

saying *mm hm*. Though Schegloff uses this example to highlight the recognition function, this same example shows a continuer function as well. The *mm hm* also lets Bee know that she can continue talking, that she can "hold the floor". Following is one of Schegloff's examples for the "continuer" function:

- 1 B: Now listen, Mister Crandall, Let me ask you
this.
- 2 A cab. You're standing onna corner. I
heardjuh
- 3 talking to a cab driver.
- 4 A: Uh::huh
- 5 B: Uh was it- uh was a cab driver, wasn't it?
- 6 A: Yup,
- 7 B: Now, yer standing onna corner,
- 8 A: Mm hm,
- 9 B I live up here in Queens.
- 10 A: Mm hm,
- 11 B: Near Queens Boulevard,
- 12 A: Mm hm,
- 13 B: I'm standing on the corner of Queens
Boulevard a::nd
- 14 Uh::m () street.
- 15 A: Right?

- 16 B: Uh, I- a cab comes along. An I wave my
arm, "Okay,
- 17 I wancha I wancha." You know,
- 18 A: Mm hm,
- 19 B: Uh::m, I'm waving my arm now. Here in
my living room.
- 20 hhh!
- 21 A: heh heh!
- 22 B: A:nd uh, he just goes right on by me.
- 23 A: Mm hm,
- 24 B: A::nd uh-two::, three:, (.) about three
blocks,
- 25 beyond me, where- in the direction I'm going,
there
- 26 is a cab stand.
- 27 A: Mm hm,
- 28 B: Uh- there is a hospital, (O?) uh, a block
(O?) up,
- 29 and there is a subway station, right there.
- 30 A: Mm hm.
- 31 B: Uh now I could 've walked, the three or
four blocks,
- 32 to that cab stand,
- 33 A: Mm hm,

34 Bud I, had come out -of where I was,
right there

35 on the corner.

36 A: Right?

37 B: Now is he not suppose' tuh stop fuh me?

38 A: If he is on duty (p. 82-83)

In this example, there is a presequence introduced in the first line. "Let me ask you this" suggests that the speaker will ask a question. Therefore, A's utterances are almost entirely composed of *mm hm* kinds of vocalizations that encourage B to continue talking. Speaker A uses these "continuers" until B finally asks the question in line 37. In line 38, A does not give a "continuer"; s/he answers the question.

Schegloff does not provide contextualized examples to illustrate the "other-initiated repair" and "agreement" functions of *uh huh*, but he argues that tokens like these may function to pass up an opportunity to suggest a correction or clarification. He states that a speaker's passing up such an opportunity may also suggest an absence of disagreement; hence, no need for other-initiated repair. This in turn can be taken a step further as an indication of "agreement" with the speaker.

In a study of a different DM that appears frequently in

the conversation genre, Schiffrin (1985) shows that *well* is used in conversation to preface a dispreferred response. It lets the listener know that the speaker understands a question being asked or a response being called for but that the response that follows *well* is an unexpected one.

Schiffrin examined this discourse marker in question-answer and request-compliance adjacency pairs. Her results show that when the expected confirmation (yes) or negation (no) is not given in response to a yes-no question, the answerer is likely to preface the response with *well*. Following is one of Schiffrin's example of this occurrence:

Zelda: Are you from Philadelphia?

Sally: Well I grew up uh out in the suburbs. And then I lived for about seven years in upstate New York. And then I came back here t'go to college. (p. 645)

Not only is *well* typically used when the answerer fails to give a single confirmation or negation but Schiffrin points out that even in cases where a "yes" or "no" answer is given, if that answer is followed by additional information that is dispreferred or unexpected, then *well* is often used as in Schiffrin's example below:

Debby: That's quite a neighborhood, isn't it?

Irene: Yeh well I don't really have too much

trouble. (P.646)

Note also that in this example a tag question, which is even more restrictive than general yes-no questions; negative responses are preferred answers to affirmative tag questions (Q: He is not very kind, is he? A: No, he isn't) and affirmative answers are expected responses to negative tags (Q: He is very kind, isn't he? A: Yes, he is). In Schiffrin's example above, Irene gives the preferred "yeah" but she qualifies it with her following negative remarks; this negation is prefaced by *well*.

Studies of specific discourse markers have shown that a variety of functions exist and that these markers can be used as an aid to coherence of texts. The studies in this chapter have pointed to the larger field of discourse as interdisciplinary and to the study of different types of discourse (e.g. lecture and conversation) as having both distinctive and similar characteristics.

What is not clear from these previous studies is the extent to which sermons, particularly African American sermons, fit or diverge from criteria established for conversation and lecture. Hymes has stressed the importance of speech community as a major component of culture and has also stressed that the forms of speech are strongly influenced by the communities to which speakers belong.

While sociolinguistic and anthropological studies have examined "community" at length, discourse genre and marker studies have often drawn conclusions about textual functions without adequate examination of the communities who are producing these texts.

In the following chapter, Chapter 3, I provide information about African American religion and preaching to provide a cultural context from which to view the sermonic formulaic expressions examined in the study.

CHAPTER THREE

AFRICAN AMERICAN RELIGION

African American Church

Research on the African American church is extensive. Works dating as far back as the late 1800s and early 1900s dealt with this institution as a refuge and social /political arena for slaves and their descendants (Brawley 1890, Dubois 1903, Sutherland 1930, Jackson 1931, Mays & Nicholson 1933, Allen 1937). Later studies followed a similar trend as they focused on a general role of the Black church as comforter for a depressed and frustrated people in need of a place for emotional release and escape from an oppressive society (Pipes 1951, Weatherford 1957, Campbell 1959, Frazier 1963, Lincoln 1974, Baer 1984, Holloway 1990). A longstanding question in the research of Black religion has been that of the existence of African religious survivals in the U.S. Herskovitz's (1958) seminal work on African cultural survivals sparked a great deal of interest in the issue of Black slaves being stripped of their African heritage (including religious roots); Herskovitz argued that there were numerous West African cultural retentions in the U.S. (e.g. call and response, ritual-like dancing). The most popular source refuting the notion of African cultural

survivals has been that of Frazier (1964), who claims that the way Blacks were captured and enslaved tended to weaken their social bonds and African ties rather than strengthen them. He says "It was not what remained of ... African religious experience, but the adoption of the Christian religion, the religion of white masters, that provided a new basis for social cohesion among slaves." He adds that this religion unified Blacks but it also tended to break down moral barriers between slaves and their masters; this common view of morality between slave and master was clearly a goal of slave owners. Frazier emphasizes the point that the religion of African Americans was not that of their West African homeland. His view suggests also that religious practices we see in the African American church today are not African survivals. C. Eric Lincoln (1974) argues that Blacks brought their religion with them from Africa and that later they "accepted the white man's religion, but they haven't always practiced it in the white man's way. It became the black man's purpose ... to shape, to fashion, to re-create the religion offered to him by the Christian slave master, to remold it nearer to his own heart's desire, nearer to his own peculiar needs" (cited in Mitchell, 1970, p. 6). Many other researchers have strongly refuted Frazier's position, illuminating similarities between

African American religious practices and West African rituals; these studies suggest that slaves were not stripped entirely of their African religious heritage (Robert 1972, Raboteau 1978, Barrett 1974, Mitchell 1975, Simpson 1978, Blassingame 1979, Jules-Rosette 1980, Sernett 1985, Twining 1985, Pitts 1986, 1989). Raboteau (1978) argues that African religious retentions in the Americas have not survived as "static Africanisms" but have survived because of the dynamic nature of the forms or the "adaptability of the African elements." He speaks of African folklore, music, language, and religion being transplanted into the New World while also being shaped by a new environment. The great majority of empirical research tends to support Rabateau, Herskovitz, etc. in their refutations of Frazier. The striking similarities between such practices as "shouting" (dance)/ call and response format of preacher and congregation and West African dance and rituals has not been adequately explained by those who claim that there are no West African retentions. Viewing African American religious practices from at least a partial West African survival perspective provides a context for better comprehension and explanation of numerous linguistic and nonverbal activities that take place in traditional African American churches.

Oral Tradition and African American Preaching

Accepting that West African cultural retentions do exist among African Americans, it would be difficult and erroneous to discuss any aspect of the Black church without mention of orality. West African people (and African Americans) have been described as having an oral culture (Seinkewicz, 1991). This is not to suggest that African Americans are illiterate, but that African Americans have tended to value the spoken word and "oral performance" much more highly than do cultures that are closer to the literate end of the continuum. In an insightful work linking the epic poet Homer to African American rappers via a common emphasis on orality, Edwards & Sienkewicz (1991) identify the following as common to all oral cultures: audience plays a central role in all performances, different audiences have different ways of expressing their approval or disapproval of the speaker, referential structure is used to unite audience and performer and to create dialogue between the two; distinct textual features of rhyme, tempo, pitch, and formulaic language are present; aesthetic strategic elements such as elaboration, exaggeration, and metaphor are very evident. The African American preaching event is characterized by these major "oral culture" features; especially evident is the emphasis on unity between the

audience and preacher demonstrated by congregational responses throughout the preaching event. That African American preaching suggests an oral heritage of African Americans is well documented (Abrahams 1970, 1976; Mitchell 1970, Smitherman 1977, Dundes 1981, Kochman 1981, Erickson 1984, Pitts 1986, 1989). African American preaching, the most prominent and stable discourse event (performance) in African American churches, can be generally evaluated according to how well the performers (preacher and congregation) meet major oral tradition criteria. The call and response format so characteristic of traditional Black churches meets oral formula criteria. Smitherman (1977) says that the dialogue between preacher and congregation (call and response), which begins with the preacher responding to a prior call from God to preach, serves to unify the preacher with his audience. In fact, if a Black preacher does not get congregational responses (e.g. "Amen", "Das right", "You sho' preachin',") , (s)he feels a sense of separation from the audience. Either (s)he has "lost" her/his audience by speaking "above their head" or by boring them or (s)he is presenting things with which the audience totally disagrees. Silence in traditional Black churches is generally not viewed as indicative of a mesmerized or attentive audience; instead, it carries negative

connotations. This call and response format used to unify participants is not only evident in the preaching event but is also seen in most other Black speech events (See Kochman 1981 for examples and explanations of Black speech styles contrasted with white styles). My own informal interviews with Black preachers show that when many African American preachers speak to audiences who do not use call and response, they are often uncomfortable with delivering their sermons. This discomfort results because in most Black churches the audience's expressive responses actually assist in the formation of spontaneous sermons. It is a combined effort of preacher and congregation that results in the production of an effective speech event, the preached sermon.

Mitchell's (1970) and Davis' (1987) works on African American sermons have been quite useful in describing general components of a Black sermon framework. Mitchell's popularly quoted work on Black preaching identifies two major principles crucial to Black preaching: (1) The gospel must be presented in the language and culture of the people—the vernacular and (2) The gospel preached must speak to the contemporary man and his needs (e.g. Black spirituals). Mitchell says that it is impossible to provide an outline for the Black sermon, given the individuality, imagination,

and spontaneity of Black preaching; he focuses on describing such aspects as cultural context, reasons for use of BVE in sermons, and descriptions of climax of Black sermons. On the other hand, Davis (1987) gives a detailed description of the overall structure of the African American sermon as a narrative event. He identifies five major components of traditional Black sermons: (1) Preacher tells the congregation that the sermon was provided by God (2) Preacher identifies the theme followed by a Bible quotation (3) Preacher interprets the scripture literally and then broadly (4) Each unit of the sermon contains a secular versus sacred conflict and moves between concrete and abstract (5) Closure is absent; sermon is left open-ended (p. 67-90).

While the formal components of the African American sermon, as described by Mitchell and Davis, appear to hold true for most traditional sermons, what appears to be most distinctive of African American sermons is call and response, an oral tradition characteristic.

Oral-Formulaic Theory and Formulaic Language

Closely related to the call and response oral tradition of Black preaching (and of African American Vernacular English) is the concept of formulaic discourse. Black preaching and Black speech in general, is often thought of

as being relatively "free" discourse. The term "formula", however, suggests well-defined structure. Lord's (1960) work on the composition and performance of the oral epic showed that Yugoslav gulsars' ability to sing very lengthy poems with tight metrical schemes was due to their use of formulas, which he defined as "a group of words which are regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea (p. 30). Davis (1987) argues that while African American performed sermons are formulaic (composed of a series of formulas), Lord's definition of formula, and that of his student Parry, does not work for African American sermons. He says, "The essential element of the Parry concept is the notion of meter, or regularly employed metrical patterns in oral performance. The essential elements in the primary African American sermon unit are performed phrases of irregular length stretched or shortened to fit an oftentimes arrhythmic sensibility" (p. 50). He later refutes Rosenberg's (1970) claim that the African American oral (folk) preacher "subordinates everything he has to say to the demands of meter." Davis argues that Rosenberg's attempt to explain the spontaneity of Black preaching via the Lord-Parry oral formula theory is erroneous. He suggests that while Black sermons appear to have uniform meter, the lengths of sermon lines in a formula

vary widely. It is not the irregularity of lines (made rhythmic through emphatic repetition, dramatic pause, etc), though, that Davis believes is the most important characteristic of the African American sermonic formula, but the groups of lines shaped around a central theme.

Using a general definition of formulaic language as a structured stretch of discourse with room for individuality or relative creativity might be most applicable to the African American preaching performance. Pawley's (1992) discussion of the paradoxical role of speech formula in the creative use of language is most interesting:

In the production of extended discourse, formulas are essential building blocks: ready-made units which free speakers and hearers from the task of attending consciously to each word. Thus freed, they are able to focus on the larger structure and sense of the discourse, or on nuances of wording or sound. In speech as elsewhere, people prefer their novelty to come highly structured, in the form of subtle variations on familiar themes. Formulaic constructions provide schemas for saying new things without breaking conventions of idiomaticity and good

style- something that grammar alone does not do (p. 23).

This notion of formulas as providing schemas which allow for creativity is not foreign to oral tradition perspectives of Black speech, and particularly Black preaching; the idea of African American speakers expressing individuality/ uniqueness within the framework of call and response seems related. Furthermore, just as the concept of "schema" is dependent upon background knowledge (related to different cultural experiences), so is call and response a clearly culturally influenced practice specific to oral cultures. Just as expressions and interpretations are generally guided by schemas, so may individual expression in Black preaching be guided by call and response format and a basic sermon framework.

Does cultural knowledge (specifically, call and response) fully explain the formulaic expressions used in sermons though? Or can textual analysis complement cultural knowledge by providing more specific information about the emerging discourse of the African American sermon and the role that formulaic expressions play? The following chapters will address these questions.

Diversity in African American Religion

In the previous discussion, African American churches

and preaching have been treated as a single unit. This is not meant to suggest though that there is not a variety of different church and discourse communities within "the (larger) Black church". Unfortunately, most of the research in the area tends to focus on the historical commonalities which may tend to lead readers to focus solely on the monolithic view of African American churches. Clearly, that "the church" has been the most powerful institution socially and politically for "the African American community" is a valid claim. Anthropologists Baer & Singer (1992), however, have argued that the tension between deciding to accommodate to white domination and choosing to protest against this oppression has been a major source of diversity within African American religion since the time of slavery in America. They claim that all Black-controlled religious organizations function as a response to the racial inequalities of the larger American society and that the specific kind of church formed is directly tied to different attitudes and social action strategies for dealing with societal injustices. Based on this theory, Baer & Singer created a two dimensional typology which places African American churches into four categories. A group's response may be either instrumental (attempts to improve material and social status) or expressive (releases emotional tension

resulting from oppression) AND a group may have a positive (i.e. accepts values and behaviors of white society) or a negative (i.e. rejects values and behaviors of the "oppressors") orientation. The four categories established based on these factors are the following: *mainstream denominations, messianic-nationalist sects, conversionist sects, and thaumaturgical sects.*

Thaumaturgical (e.g. "Spiritual" churches, "Reverend Ike") and mainstream denomination churches (e.g. African Methodist Episcopal or AME, AME Zion; National Baptist Convention, USA) both have a positive attitudinal orientation in that they both accept the cultural patterns of the larger society, but while mainstream groups tend to use instrumental strategies such as supporting protests, sponsoring UNCF scholarships, and raising funds to fight discrimination; thaumaturgical groups tend not to get "politically" involved but choose to practice religious rituals that they believe will help them to gain financial prosperity, health, etc. Thaumaturgical groups, unlike mainstream groups, focus on individual responsibility for personal gain instead of trying to effect larger societal change.

Messianic-nationalist and conversionist sects have negative attitudinal orientations in that they both tend to

reject mainstream societal cultural patterns. While conversionists (e.g. Church of God in Christ, Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ, Pentecostal Assemblies of the World) have expressive/escapist (e.g. spiritual conversion, living a "sanctified" or "holy" life, "speaking in tongues") strategies of social action; messianic-nationalist groups (e.g. Nation of Islam, "Black Jews"), the most radical of the four groups described, focus on political, social, and economic autonomy of Blacks.

The churches being examined in the following chapters of this work would belong to Baer & Singer's second most popular group among African Americans, the *conversionist* class, but this group seems to have combined instrumental and expressive strategies. A more detailed description of the group appears in Chapter Five.

This study takes from Baer & Singer's work the theory that while African American religious groups may have a common feature of being formed, at least in part, as a response to racial injustices, there is a great deal of diversity in African American churches related to choices regarding the specific kinds of responses taken. The following chapter covers the methodology used to explore formulaic expression functions found in sermons preached by preachers who belong to one of many speech communities

within the larger African American religious community.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The research design used to gain insight concerning the roles of formulaic expressions was integrative; I observed a religious discourse community and analyzed formulaic expressions using a technique similar to Schifffrin's (1987) analysis of discourse markers.

No full understanding of any utterance can be gained without consideration of cultural knowledge and, alternatively, cultural knowledge alone (without direct textual analysis) is not sufficient for explaining intricacies of relationships among utterances within a text. Hence, I used a combination of experientially based participation and observation along with specific textual analysis in the study.

The approach borrows from concepts of ethnography of communication and textual analysis. While the concepts of getting an emic view of the culture under examination, observing the group of people using language, and interviewing participants for contextual/cultural understanding are based on ethnographic research, the approach used in this study involved a researcher who had

personal childhood experiences with the kind of community being examined. Although ethnographic fieldwork typically involves researchers functioning as "participant observers" to study groups of which they have not been members (for purposes of objectivity), I maintain that analysis of discourse can be enhanced by researchers who have had previous "insider" experiences with the discourse community being examined. To provide an emic view of the specific "conversionist" (using Baer & Singer's 1992 classification) group, I reflect on my childhood experiences with conversionist thought and practice. Other parts of the study include church descriptions based on participant observation, questionnaire responses from preachers whose sermons are the texts being examined in the study, and direct textual analysis. This provides an integrated approach to the analysis of sermonic discourse markers.

The following section includes scenes from my childhood that serve as background and context for understanding the discourse community (i.e., the subjects) being examined in this study. Though many of these descriptions may seem "strange" or "primitive" to researchers, they are not unusual at all for the preachers and church goers described in this study. Furthermore, they are representative of a conversionist theme of trust in God for needs as basic as

food and as spiritual as "deliverance from Satan."

My most memorable religious experiences begin at home with my mother's prayers. I remember quite vividly the rhythmic sounds of Mom praying downstairs in the living room late at night while my older siblings and I were sleeping upstairs. Mom's prayers were musical and emphatic. She was a dedicated "prayer warrior." Not only did she pray literally for hours every night, but her prayers were loud and powerful; she was not "ashamed of her God." All five of us children knew that Mom meant what she was saying in prayer and that she knew the God to whom she was speaking.

Mom did not always pray alone. She would often wake up the children to "come and pray." I must admit that as a young child, I was not always enthusiastic about being awakened at night, not even for prayer which I knew was important. The kinds of things that we often prayed about were getting physical needs met, such as getting money for the electric bill, for the gas bill, and for oil. We were not as poor as those who lived in "the projects," but Mom was a single parent with five children, and she lived on a high school teacher's salary. I remember often sitting in front of an open heated oven for warmth when Mom didn't have enough money to pay for oil (and those Maryland winters were cold). But what I remember most is that when we prayed, God

would always answer and money would come from somewhere unexpected or the bill collectors would miraculously have no record of Mom's account being unpaid. Mom had great faith in God and she always told her children, with great enthusiasm, about each time that God would "bless us" as a result of "two or three people gathering together to pray."

I believed in Mom's prayers and in my own prayers, but there were some things that Mom had us do as a gesture of faith in God that took me longer to comprehend and that embarrassed my older teenaged brothers and sisters. One such practice was walking downtown to the telephone company and the electric company and "laying hands" on the buildings while praying that God would provide money to pay bills. I remember my brothers and sisters lowering their faces in attempts to prevent any of their friends from recognizing them. Fortunately, for them, there weren't very many people downtown during the late night hours when Mom usually took us there. Although my siblings were embarrassed and I was not sure exactly why Mom had to touch the buildings, we all knew that God would answer our prayers. Mom had explained to me that her faith was strengthened when she "touched and believed." I understood her and believed as she did, especially since those bills were always paid after those prayers.

Not all of my memories of religious experiences in my home were as serious as the late night (or early morning) prayers; the spiritual "shouting" (religious dancing) was a very joyful practice for Mom and her "prayer warrior" friends and a very humorous experience for the kids. Although the children were not allowed to participate in the prayer meetings Mom had with her friends (usually three or four women from church), we were certainly entertained by the "shouting" that usually signaled the end of their prayers. I'm not sure if Mom was aware of her children peeping through the front porch window or through the living room door, but we loved to watch them "have church" in there. What was so funny to us kids was that these women, who were large, would cause the floor to shake and dust to fly from the carpet when they "shouted." Apparently, the Holy Ghost wasn't bothered by the dust. We didn't have a vacuum cleaner, and the broom didn't always work so well. Of course, we also enjoyed watching the different ways that these ladies danced when they were "in the Spirit." I think that I tried to imitate them on the porch a few times, but I always felt guilty because I knew that they were "holy" dances. I enjoyed watching them shout not only because it was humorous but also because this dancing meant that God was blessing them. I knew that there were times for praying

for miracles and times for "rejoicing in the Lord."

I have begun my discussion of religious background with my home because although we went to church consistently, my childhood religious experiences were not confined to the church. My recent participant observations and past experiences confirm that this is an important concept for conversionists. There was very little difference between practices that took place in my home and those in the church services that I attended. There were no curse words used in my home, and no smoking or drinking was allowed. These were viewed as "sinful" in the church, and Mom had the same rules for our home.

My first experiences in conversionist churches were at a Pentecostal Holiness church. Although I had visited my grandmother's country Baptist church frequently, I always thought that those services were boring. This is mainly because most of the members there were elderly, mostly our relatives. I think the preacher was a fourth or fifth cousin. It was also always hot in that little church (everyone had paper fans), and the songs that they sang were always old hymns or spirituals. There was no "shouting" there, and even though there was an abundance of congregational *Amens*, they did not seem to me to be enthusiastic ones. People in that church would not dare

jump out of their seats to say *Hallelujah* to the preacher. Those kinds of things happened at the "sanctified" church where Mom always took us when there was no family reunion, musical, or funeral (there were lots of them) at Mama Sister's (my grandma's nickname) church. After church let out, some of the men would actually smoke cigarettes on the church grounds. That practice wasn't allowed in my home or at the "sanctified" church. Also, Mom had told us kids about how she "got filled with the Holy Ghost" in one of those living room meetings while she was still a member of our family Baptist church. She told us about a time when she shouted, spoke in tongues, and was "slain in the Spirit" during a service at my grandma's church. She said that because the deacons of the church did not understand what was going on, they gave her smelling salts to try to wake her up. This event had happened when I was an infant, so I didn't get to observe this. But when Mom told me this story, I had heard already that no one could "stop the Holy Ghost" with smelling salts. My immediate family continued to go to that family church for special occasions because we had a very close extended family. Mom continued to pray, though, that God would "save" our relatives. She would even ask for prayer for them at the sanctified church down the street from our house.

We were not members of that holiness church, but that is where we went most frequently. We were members of a different conversionist church in Annapolis, a two-hour drive from our home. Since that was such a long drive, we went to services at a holiness church in town during the week. The pastor of that church was a lady in her forties or fifties. It was a small church with about fifteen members, mainly women and children.

The services usually began with a 45-60 minute prayer meeting in which everyone would kneel at their fold-up chairs and pray like Mom did at home. I think Mom was one of the prayer leaders because the tone of the unified prayers seemed to follow patterns that Mom began. I imagine that it would be difficult for most people to fall asleep during this part of the service because of the high volume and intensity of these passionately delivered prayers. I was used to those prayers though, and was so comforted by them that I sometimes fell asleep on my knees. Perhaps this was tied to hearing my mom's late night prayers at bedtime. I didn't fall asleep during church prayer very often because I had things to pray about during those sessions. The most important prayer was that God would help me not to get "beat up" after school. I was not allowed to fight back when someone hit me because "saved people don't fight." Needless

to say, I was a good runner, the fastest in the neighborhood --I had prayed for that gift too.

After prayer ended, someone would go to the front of the church to lead testimony service. The leader would open testimony service with a joyful song and then give a personal testimony of God's goodness. Testimonies often contained such utterances as the following: "I want to praise and thank God for saving me and filling me with his precious Holy Ghost. I thank and praise God for waking me up this morning and starting me on my way. He didn't have to do it , but he did.... You know, I didn't have any food in my refrigerator last night, but God told me to trust Him. And you know what? This afternoon, God sent somebody by my house to give me some STEAKS. Not no gov'ment cheese. Steaks! Oh, God is good!" Another person might get up to tell about how God saved her husband, whom the church members have been praying for for years. Some people chose to sing a song before they gave their testimonies. Mom sometimes sang a song whose main theme was "Without God I can do nothing, but with Him I can do anything." When she sang that song, she would "get happy" (i.e., dance) and this would cause others in the church to do the same. It was not unusual for these kinds of testimonies to lead to praise and shouting. The purpose of this part of the service was to

inspire members and to renew their faith in God, and it did.

Although choir music has been very important in most African American conversionist churches, this church did not have a choir. I am not sure why. I do not think that it was because of the small number of members because I have seen seven member "choirs" in other small churches that I have observed. In this church, one or two people would sing solos after testimony service.

The pastor would preach after the solos. This was a very powerful and often frightening preacher. She would usually preach about hell and the importance of getting saved to avoid eternal fire. I remember quite well her sermons about wearing makeup, jewelry, and pants; she preached that wearing these things would send a person to hell. She told us that the only way we could "live saved" was to REPENT and to get "filled with the Holy Ghost." This preacher was definitely a "fire and brimstone" preacher. I did not realize just how true this was until we had been away from that church for a number of years and returned to visit when I was a teenager. For this visit, I wore red earrings, not really remembering that the people in this church believed this was sinful. The preacher looked directly at me as she spoke about Jezebel and prostitutes who "walk around wearing red earrings." I felt both

uncomfortable and disappointed.

The church that was our "home church," the one in Annapolis, was a conversionist church too. The pastor there was not a "fire and brimstone" preacher though. Mom began attending this church when she heard a preacher on the radio in Annapolis where she had taken her first teaching job. This radio preacher had founded several churches (called Christ is The Answer Deliverance Centers--CITA), one of which was in Annapolis (others were in Los Angeles, Kansas City, and Houston). The founder of these churches appointed another man to pastor the Annapolis church. This pastor, like the one in the "storefront" holiness church, wanted people to "get saved" and "live holy," but his style and the topics of his sermons were different. He focused more on the love of Jesus, the sacrifice that Christ made so that we could live better lives. He would often have tears in his eyes when he preached. He talked more about community involvement and about "being a witness." Being a child, what I liked most about that church was that there were so many children and teens who were involved in the church services. They testified during testimony service, sang in the choir, and prayed with passion. Some of them even "shouted" and many said *Amens* during the preaching event.

Every summer, the CITA organization held a week long

national convention, in a different city each year. I attended the Kansas City convention when I was nine. This convention, unlike others, was held in a huge outdoor tent where we had three services per day. I remember the mosquitoes, the smell of insect repellent, and the long dresses and bonnets that everyone wore for the "Let Us Go Back to the Old Landmark" theme of the convention. But there were a lot of other things at that convention that were rather exciting for a nine-year-old child. Although I had seen shouting, speaking in tongues, rhythmic prayers, and testimony services, at this meeting I saw a few drunk people straggle into the tent (attracted by the music perhaps). I think that at least one of them went to the front to "get saved", by the end of the week. I also saw several preachers pray for a man who they said "had demons." I saw this man hit and utter profanities to the four or five preachers who were praying for him and trying to get him "delivered." The preachers said such things as "In the name of Jesus, I command you to come out of him devil!" At this time, most of the people in the audience were on their knees praying more intensely than I had ever heard. I was frightened at first because I had heard that demons could get into people who were not "prayed up." Well, as you can imagine, I suddenly found the ability to pray as loudly and

as boldly as adults. Everyone in Missouri must have learned that I knew how to say "the name of Jesus." It was the power of the name of Jesus that would offer protection from the devil. After ten or fifteen minutes (or longer) the demon possessed man let out a loud screeching sound, fell to his knees, raised his hands in the air, and began to cry out loud to God for forgiveness. That man's "conversion" experience was different from any I had seen.

In another CITA church service, I observed a pastor tell his members about a change in his views about "holiness." After going on a forty day fast, the preacher informed his members that God told him to release them from "legalism." That meant that there would be a change from focusing on physical appearance as a sign of holiness (e.g., no makeup, no pants for women, no jewelry) to emphasizing showing love and not being judgmental of others. While most members were pleased that they could now wear makeup, jewelry, etc., a few older members did not accept it. One church mother stood up in the middle of the preacher's announcement, in church, and said that she thought that he was being led by the devil to make such worldly changes. She walked out of the service that day, but I found out that she later apologized and came to accept the pastor's position.

These scenes from my childhood "lived experiences" are most relevant because they show that conversionist churches are diverse and that most of the members in these groups have strong commitment to their faith and are not ashamed of what they believe. Also, the churches that I observed in this study have views similar to the CITA churches but different from the storefront "sanctified" church and my grandmother's Baptist church. That is, I observed such things as speaking in tongues, energetic prayers, testimonies of strong belief in God, laying on hands, and women wearing makeup and jewelry at the churches examined in this study. (See Chapter Five for a more detailed representation of their views and Chapter Six for a discussion of the connection between those views and sermonic discourse).

Two of the sermons in this study were preached at CITA churches. Sermon #1 (Appendix A) was delivered at a CITA convention by a preacher who has his own conversionist church but who has spoken at CITA churches frequently. Sermon #5 (Appendix E) was preached by a CITA preacher at the Los Angeles CITA church.

The other four sermons were delivered at conversionist churches that are not CITA churches. Sermon #2 (Appendix B) was delivered by a pastor of a former COGIC church. He

preached this sermon at his home church. I have observed a number of his performed sermons which he delivered as guest speaker at different churches. The beliefs and practices of this preacher and of members at his church are similar to the CITA churches that I attended as a child.

Sermon #3 (Appendix C) and Sermon #6 (Appendix F) were delivered at churches that I visited on a monthly basis for two years. I would go to each church once a month. I also attended special revivals at these churches, where I was able to observe a number of different preachers and members from different conversionist churches.

Sermon #4 (Appendix D) was preached by a guest speaker from Los Angeles. The message was preached at a COGIC church in Kansas City. I visited this church a few times, but I also observed this guest evangelist at different churches.

The first part of the following chapter provides a SPEAKING (based on Hymes' 1974 ethnography of communication model) report of the subjects' (preachers) views of sermons, preaching, and church services in general. These qualitative results are based largely on personal interviews with preachers and their responses to a questionnaire (See Appendix G).

Following preachers' comments is the quantitative textual analysis; this part of the analysis is similar to

that of Schiffrin (1987). What discourse analysts like Schiffrin offer is a more specifically textual approach to the analysis of discourse produced by various speech communities. As stated in the previous chapter, while cultural knowledge is imperative for high comprehension of utterances, this knowledge alone is not sufficient. Clearly, we know that native speakers cannot always explain why they use language the way they do or when they use specific types of utterances; they are not all linguists. This is where textual analysis comes in. Transcribing extended texts, keeping in mind different conventions of spoken and written channels, makes possible intensive analysis of specific utterances.

Combining high level cultural knowledge and textual analysis provides a much needed balanced insight into the roles of utterances. It is with this understanding that I conducted the following interdisciplinary study of formulaic expressions in African American sermonic discourse.

Subjects

The subjects were six African American preachers who were 50+ years of age. These three males and three females were selected because of their popularity as "good African American preachers"; their styles of preaching are representative of traditional African American preaching

based on descriptions of African American preaching offered by Davis (1987) and Mitchell (1975) and based largely on personal participation and observations as a long time member of the community in which African American preaching takes place. The preachers selected are frequently invited to speak at state and national conventions of a variety of African American church groups. All of the subjects have preached regularly at predominantly African American nondenominational churches for at least ten years.

Denominations to which preachers belonged prior to pastoring and/or preaching in inter- (or non-) denominational settings were mainly Baptist and/or Church of God in Christ (COGIC). Their current beliefs place them closest to Baer & Singer's conversionist groups (described in Chapter Two).

Instrument

Tape recordings of six sermons which ranged from sixty to ninety minutes were used (See the **Ethnography of Communication Report** section of the following chapter for a description of instrument using Hymes' "SPEAKING" model). Several of the sermons were untitled. The topics of the six sermons were: power of positive confession, rejoicing in unity, the Passover, restoration, knowing God, and knowing the tricks of the devil. Unlike other studies in which researchers influenced the construction of linguistic items

in sermons prior to their delivery (Zeil 1991) and in which the researcher gave preachers a common topic to preach on for the research project (Smith 1994), the sermons for this study were delivered unaffected by the researcher. These sermons were performed without the preacher having any knowledge that a researcher might be studying their discourse. Most of the sermons were delivered before preachers were asked to participate in the study. The years in which the sermons were delivered are: 1977, 1986, 1990, 1990, 1991, and 1993. In the churches where these sermons were delivered, it is a common practice to record Sunday services and services that are a part of church revivals. They are recorded so that church members who were not able to attend the service can listen to the tape. Also, many members who are present for taped services often enjoy the service so much that they want to buy tapes to hear the message again and to give to others.

A questionnaire (see Appendix G) was used to get background information and to determine the subjects' views of preaching and roles of formulaic expressions in their sermons. The first six questions of the questionnaire were prompts for biographical data such as age, level of education, and religious affiliation. Questions 7-9 asked subjects to describe components of good and bad sermons and

important features of a good church service. Other items asked about seminary preparation, views of seminary training, degree and type of preparation for sermon delivery, frequency of formulaic expressions subjects believed they use in their sermons, subjects' views of purpose of formulaic expressions, and what subjects do to "hold their sermons together." As stated previously, qualitative results of this questionnaire appear in the following chapter.

Procedure

As described in the introduction to this chapter, a two-part integrative approach was taken. Though not considered a specific "method," my lived experiences as a member of the community being examined are most relevant for explanations of contextual aspects of the speech events examined. I used both my past experiences as a community member and results of the questionnaire described previously for the first part of the study.

The second stage of the research involved specific attention to sermonic discourse and the environment in which it takes place. Characteristics of this part of the study were: observations of more than 20 different sermon performances, and collecting and listening to taped sermons that fit the model described earlier in this paper.

Once observations were made and tapes were collected and selected based on criteria described above, the textual analysis part of the procedure was conducted. The six tapes selected for analysis all fit Davis' (1987) and Mitchell's (1975) criteria for good African American sermon performances and they all had ample cases of sermonic formulaic expressions to allow for examination of discourse functions.

Transcription

Prior to transcribing, I identified the first twenty cases of sermonic formulaic expressions that appeared in each of the six sermons. For purposes of this study, these expressions were defined as fairly set religious words and phrases used during the sermon event that are commonly viewed, though not necessarily accurately, as preachers' devices for elicitation of audience participation or as audiences' backchannel cues (e.g., Amen).

To gain insight into the actual function(s) of the expressions identified, I then transcribed two to five intonation units preceding and following the first twenty formulaic expressions that occurred in each sermon. A specific equal number of tokens were chosen instead of analyzing portions based on time because the preachers' rates of speech varied and because the quantity of formulaic

expressions varied among the subjects. While comparative analysis of number of formulaic expressions used is interesting, the emphasis of this study is on determining which function(s) these expressions have or do not have in discourse. Twenty tokens for each sermon provided enough roles to test the hypothesis that these expressions would not be restricted to call and response but would have multiple functions. Furthermore, the first twenty tokens identified represent the range of expressions used in each of the sermons; that is, listening to the sermons in their entirety did not reveal any formulaic expressions different from the first twenty.

Speech representation is created best by using an intonational transcription system. As alluded to earlier, transcribing according to sentences with written conventions can be a bit misleading. The definitions of "intonation unit" that underlie the unit boundaries for this study are those of Chafe (1993) and Dubois et al. (1993). While Chafe defines the intonation unit, for transcription purposes, as any segment of speech that ends in a terminal contour, he further characterizes an intonation unit as a "verbal representation of just the information that is in the speaker's focus of consciousness at the moment it is uttered" (p.39). Chafe suggests that there are two main

types of intonation units: substantive (units of speech containing content/ideas) and regulatory (units which regulate information flow, e.g., discourse markers). He further identifies subcategories of regulatory units: interpersonal, textual, and cognitive. Interpersonal regulatory units involve a speaker and hearer interacting (e.g., backchannel cues), textual units serve to link various intonation units (acts as cohesive ties), and cognitive units signal a speaker's mental activity (e.g., pause filler). Chafe adds that in transcription the most common length of substantive intonation units is five words while the most common length for regulatory ones is one word.

Dubois et al. (1993) broadly define an intonation unit as "a stretch of speech uttered under a single coherent contour" (p. 47). They add that it is often marked by a pause with pitch rise at the beginning and lengthening of the final syllable. This lengthened final syllable followed by a rising pitch of a following intonation unit is similar to Chafe's "terminal contour" ending.

To represent these intonation units, a carriage return is used so that only one intonation unit exists in a single line. Not only does highlighting intonational units in this manner provide a fairly close picture of natural breaks a

speaker uses and not only does this provide clues to the amounts and types of information that may be in the conscious focus of a speaker's mind, as Chafe (1980) suggests, but this method of transcription makes more prominent formulaic expressions that serve alone as an intonation unit. If Chafe's (1993) suggestion that regulatory intonation units (with their distinct roles) usually have a single word acting as an entire intonation unit while substantive (with their non discourse marker roles) usually do not stand alone in a unit is valid, then the identification of roles of the expressions in the study will be greatly aided with this format. Furthermore, this would support a strong connection between intonation units and utterances' functions.

From Chafe (1993), the transcription conventions that I used were:

words- separated by space

intonation units- preceded by pause and separated by
new line

yes-no question intonation- ?

intonation suggestion finality- .

intonation suggesting nonfinality- ,

noncompleted word- ~

short pause-..

longer pause-... (p. 43).

From Schiffrin (1987), the conventions used in this study were as follows:

animated tone- !

lengthened syllable- :

discourse markers (for this study, formulaic expressions)- **bold type** (p.x).

Following are examples of transcriptions used in the study:

1. ...I'm gonna talk on a general loose theme,
 .. my help cometh from the Lord.
 ...**Amen.**
 ...My help cometh from the Lo:rd.
 ...If there is any one thing that I'm convinced of,
 ..in the church world today,
2. ...we are under the discipline of Go:d,
 ..developing our human character,
 ..our own spirits,
 ..our own nature,
 ..is being transformed by the power of Go:d **Amen.**
 ..the scripture said that we might be confo:rmed,
 ..to the image of the son of God.
3. ...look at your neighbor and believe it now.

...thank you Je~ every child of God know,
 ..that we're in battle.
 ..every every perceptive child of God kno:w,
 ..that the real,
 .. devil is out here today.

The three examples above demonstrate single line intonational units, continuing and final intonation, short and long pauses, vowel lengthening, a noncompleted word, and bold typed formulaic expressions. These examples also show that where each formulaic expression is placed in the transcription (begin, middle, or end of line) is solely based on the intonational units in which these expressions appear. This pattern of transcription was used for all tokens.

In a preliminary transcription not based on intonational units, it was quite difficult to determine when to place strings of formulaic expressions in the same sentence and when to separate them with periods or commas; it was very difficult to avoid arbitrariness and to remain consistent. Using intonational units seemed to solve this problem. Below is an example of the two transcriptions (the second being the one finally selected):

1. (end of prayer) Praise God (pause). Oh God is good
 Praise God. Somebody repeat after me 'God is good'
 (audience repeats). God is faithful (church

responds with praise). Hallelujah, Glory to God, Thank you Lord. When I was meditating on yesterday. I didn't come last night if you noticed. Huh Praise God, but I do want to say I praise and thank God for being here.

2. (end of prayer) **Praise God.** (Preacher searches through scriptures)
- ...O:h God is good.
- ..**Praise God,**
- ..Somebody repeat after me, God is good! (audience repeats)... God is faithful! (church repeats)
- ...Hallelujah,
- ..**Glory to God.**
- ..**Thank you Lord.**
- ...when I was meditating on yesterday,
- ..I didn't come last night.
- ..if you noticed,
- ...Huh, **Praise God.**
- ...but I do wanna say,
- .. I praise and thank God for being here.

The transcription of the consecutive **Hallelujah, Glory to God, Thank you Lord** expressions in the second representation shows that all three serve as a single intonation unit. Unlike the first transcription, the second

also shows that **Hallelujah** ends with an intonation that suggests nonfinality while **Glory to God** and **Thank you Lord** have intonations that suggest finality. The first transcription does not show these three expressions as being distinct intonation units and it suggests that the intonations of **Hallelujah** and **Glory to God** are the same; this was not the case in though, and the second transcription makes the distinction clear.

Coding

The selection of discourse marker tokens was based, in part on criteria established by Schiffrin (1987) and Fraser (1993). The expressions selected for examination had to be detachable without meaning loss; could appear in initial, medial, or final position of an intonation unit; had a discourse meaning that could be significantly different from its meaning when used in some other "traditional" part of speech; had a range of intonational contours, and functioned on both local and global planes of discourse.

Identification of formulaic expressions was not without complications. While identification of single word expressions were fairly straightforward, some of the longer ones were more complicated. Another step in the identification process involved selecting religious expressions that, using Chafe's (1993) terminology, would be

viewed as regulative rather than substantive. For example, in one preacher's utterance:

...I didn't come last night.

..if you noticed,

..Huh, **Praise God,**

..but I do want to say,

..I praise and thank God for being here.

"Thank God" or "praise and thank God" in the last line would not be included as one of the formulaic expressions to be examined; the context within which it appears shows that it has "content" significance and would therefore be a substantive unit. In this case, the preacher is informing her audience that she is glad to be in church; she gives praise and thanks to God for such an opportunity. Prior to this statement, she had told the audience that she did not get to come to church on the previous night. "Praise God", in the third line, would be coded as one of the formulaic expressions whose roles are examined in the study. As an intonation unit, it is clearly more like regulatory units than like substantive ones; this intonation unit serves more to regulate information flow (especially as the cognitive role of expressing mental activity on the part of the speaker). This unit stands out as being different from the two preceding and following ones in the example.

More difficult to classify were cases in which multi-word units appeared to be direct imperatives or indirect imperatives in question form as in the examples below:

- 1) ...most people offer absolutely no: resistance,
 ..when the enemy comes in like a flood,
 ..they accept whate:ver the devil brings,
 ..against them and into their lives,
 .. and they offer no resistance. (congregational responses)
 ...**Say Amen.** (congregational responses)
 ...I want you to kno:w,
 ..that when we realize the power of wo: rds,
 ..and the power of a positive confession,
 ..the power of a positive acknowledgment,
 ..things are going to begin to happen,

- 2) ..we try to understand everything. (audience gives Amens)
 ..and there're some things in this life,
 .. that you just absolu:tely,
 .. not gonna understand.
 ...**Will you say Amen?** (congregational responses)
 ...there're some things you're not gonna understand,
 ..you will just have to,

.. believe it,

.. and do it.

The greatest difference between this **Say Amen/Will you say Amen?** units and the **Praise God** case previously mentioned is that while the latter may be classified as Chafe's textual intonation unit subtype, the **Say Amen** type cases can be viewed as fitting interpersonal regulatory intonation subtype (suggests speaker-listener interaction). In the **Say Amen/Will You Say Amen?** units, the preacher is clearly interacting with the audience. In the first case, **Say Amen**, the audience has already given responses before the preacher says **Say Amen**. The preacher says **Say Amen** (perhaps the preacher is actually responding to the audience) and the audience continues to respond. In the second case, **Will You Say Amen?**, the preacher may be calling for a response; there were no congregational responses for the preceding three intonation units. While these two may have different functions in terms of whether they are calls for responses, they are similar in that they both fit Chafe's interpersonal regulatory intonation subtype; they involve speaker-hearer interaction. Conversely, the **Praise God** example has a textual function. The formulaic expression here appears after the preachers mention of not appearing in church on the previous night and before the adversative cohesive tie

"but" followed by a contrastive positive statement of praise and thanks to God for being able to attend on the current night. Both of the above intonation types were included in the study.

Once the first twenty formulaic expressions were identified and transcribed along with immediate contexts, the researcher began the task of identifying functions of these expressions. With the goal of determining whether these expressions had multiple roles or whether they simply functioned as a call for audience response, I used contextual clues from surrounding intonational units previously transcribed. Considerations in determining roles were topics and subtopics preceding and following the expressions in question, surrounding pauses, cohesive clues (synonymy, repetition, collocation, adversatives, additives) and congregational responses. But situational context was also used (e.g., the preacher who uses formulaic expressions while trying to find a certain page in the Bible more likely than not uses those expressions as verbal fillers.). Consideration of Schriffrin's local and global plane functions (i.e., speaker/hearer and upcoming/prior discourse orientation) was also a factor.

The following chapter includes personal observation results, qualitative ethnography of communication results

(results of preacher interviews and questionnaire response, using Hymes' SPEAKING model), and frequencies and examples/ explanations of discourse functions of expressions detected (textual boundary marker, rhythmic marker, verbal filler, and call for congregational response).

CHAPTER FIVE

RESULTS

General

Qualitative findings and quantitative textual analysis show that there are a variety of functions of sermonic formulaic expressions and that comprehension of these functions is aided by knowledge of the discourse community's emic reality and by direct textual analysis. Not only does examining both textual and extratextual/contextual aspects of discourse provide a broader comprehension of a particular discourse community, but also an absence of contextual analysis can lead to erroneous identification of formulaic expression functions. (This will be discussed further in the final chapter). Overall results of the study suggest that the functions of the formulaic expressions examined in the study can be linked to similar functions found in both conversation and lecture. Furthermore, at least one function appears to be not simply conversation or lecture-like but is more specifically connected to the discourse demands of the African American "performance" aspect of preaching.

Qualitative Results

What follows is the researcher's informal personal description of the community of preachers and church congregations involved in the study. I use results of a

questionnaire (See Appendix G) and of personal observations to illuminate aspects of this nondenominational "conversionist" African American church community that will give the reader a better context for comprehending linguistic behavior (e.g. preaching event) that takes place in churches of the type described in the study.

Personal Observations

What makes the preachers and churches in this study a "discourse community" is that although the preachers and churches are geographically distant (California, Florida, Tennessee, and Maryland), they have similar views of the roles of their churches and of expected behavior (nonverbal and verbal) during church services. Perhaps one of the most important characteristics is that all of these preachers have backgrounds in denominational Black churches (i.e. Baptist and Church of God in Christ) but because they have had personal spiritual experiences that were not shared by members of the former denomination, they chose to form their own churches. The preachers who left their former Baptist churches had disagreements with their former churches about the function and physical manifestation of the *Holy Spirit*. Mainly, though not the case with all Black Baptist churches, their former Baptist churches did not condone "speaking in tongues" and "shouting" (i.e. church dancing). Several of

the preachers who had Baptist backgrounds, left the Baptist church and joined the Church of God in Christ (COGIC) (a Black formed denomination with Pentecostal orientation but that has not allowed women to serve as pastors or to preach from the pulpit) before forming their own independent churches. While all of the preachers in this study have and continue to speak at Church of God in Christ churches (some use COGIC Sunday School books), they are not confined to any denomination and they seem to take pride in their belief that they are free to "go wherever the Sprit leads". Classifying this group as "conversionist" (discussed in Chapter Three) is partially problematic because although they do emphasize spiritual conversion, speaking in tongues, and living a "holy" life (as do conversionist churches like the COGIC church and the Apostolic Church of Jesus Christ), they do not have a completely escapist strategy of social action.

While they do believe that salvation and the "Holy Ghost" are obligatory tools for surviving in a historically unjust society, they share with the "messianic-nationalist" group a belief in the importance of self-empowerment of Blacks; they often preach against economic reliance on the government (e.g. "welfare"). They are different from most messianic-nationalist groups in that they do not promote

racial separatism. This group believes that having a combination of Holy Spirit guided life AND having practical knowledge to be able to operate within the society is important; members of the churches in this study tend to strive for balance in these areas. Examples of this emphasis are seen in one church's having a Christian retirement home and school and another having a community center where musicals and educational events have been held.

All of the churches in the study are composed of members from a variety of socioeconomic classes (lower, middle, and upper), but in my experiences with these churches socioeconomic class does not seem to play a role in members' status within the church. The most highly esteemed members tend to be those who are "good prayer warriors" (frequently church mothers who are usually elderly women who have been diligent members of the church and who often act as counselors for young church women) or "anointed teachers or preachers". We say that these prayer warriors and preachers are "anointed" because of their commitment to living holy lives, but a remarkably similar characteristic of those deemed "anointed" is that they are excellent masters of African American "performance". I am not questioning the validity of the members use of the term "anointed" but I am suggesting that there has seldom (if

ever) been a person in the community who was called "anointed" and thus esteemed who did not also master the techniques of good African American preaching. In fact, most members of this community would agree that R.W. Shambach, a white Pentecostal minister, is "anointed". Members of the community have also said that "Shambach preaches like a Black preacher;" this may explain why he has such a great number of Black followers, many who belong to the churches in this study. What Shambach and his audiences share with the preachers and churches in this study is the emphasis on congregational participation in the preaching event, along with physical evidence of the "Holy Ghost" (e.g. speaking in tongues, shouting, healing through prayer). On the other hand, while members of this group may view "charismatic" preachers like Oral Roberts as "anointed healers" we would not say of his preaching what was said of Shambach's, though both may be viewed as "having messages from God". Roberts' preaching does not include the rhythmic and call and response components.

A good public example of the Black preaching rhetorical style is that of Martin Luther King Jr., whose denominational background was Baptist. While all of the members of this study speak highly of Martin Luther King, they would probably not have been members of his church

because of their emphasis on the "Holy Ghost". This group would support social activism for the social and economic betterment of African Americans but would possibly argue that it is meaningless without an emphasis on a strong "relationship with God" that leads to living a "saved" life. They would also argue, however, that simply living an isolated "holier than thou" life that focuses solely on being happy "when I get to heaven" is counterproductive.

The aforementioned views have an effect on nonverbal and linguistic behavior within the churches described in the study. Not only do the discourse topics of the sermons (e.g. spiritual restoration, references to lack of black owned businesses, knowing God) focus on these views, but the actual performance of the sermon (including preacher and congregation) also reflects these beliefs. The deemphasis on obvious use of notes, the willingness of preacher to "leave" in order to join an audience member and congregation in praise and the congregation's acceptance of this, and the preacher's use of formulaic expressions (instead of silence) while "the Holy Ghost is moving" with members of the congregation are a few examples.

Questionnaire

While the previous discussion is based on personal experience and observation, below are preachers' responses

to questionnaire items designed to reveal their views of sermons and formulaic expressions within them. Questions about characteristics of sermons and church services included identifying components of good and bad sermons, identifying the three most important components of good church services, stating beliefs about whether preachers should plan their sermons, and explaining whether there is a difference between "preaching" and "teaching" (See the questionnaire in Appendix G).

Responses to a prompt to describe components of good and bad sermons suggest that the preachers in the study are concerned with both information and inspiration. Specific preacher responses concerning components of good sermons included the following:

"One that outlines the Gospel:

1. death
2. burial and
3. resurrection of Christ, which brings the believer to a full understanding of Christ's purpose of coming to earth and his mission presently sitting at the right hand of the Father."

(Preacher #3, sermon text in Appendix C)

"1. A subject that inspires and motivates.

Sometimes the title of the message will tell it all; Example 'Hang By the Tongue.'

2. Scriptures, illustrations, examples to support the topic.

3. A message that is informative.

4. A message that will encourage further study or a change in character, lifestyle, etc."

(Preacher #5, sermon text in Appendix E)

"clarity, substance, conviction" (Preacher #6,

sermon text in Appendix F)

Responses regarding features of sermons classified as "not good" included:

"1. Poorly constructed or prepared messages.

2. A message (sermon) that leaves the audience wondering what was preached.

3. A sermon from the bible bookstore read line by line by the speaker." (Preacher #5, Appendix E)

"One that does not minister to the immediate needs of the listening audience; one that is not spirit-directed; one that only serves to be the satisfaction of the ego of the spokesman." (Preacher 3, Appendix C)

"1. Does not make a definite point

2. One filled with religious expressions without purpose
3. One that does not lead to a final life changing decision" (Preacher 6, Appendix F)

Responses to the question regarding the three most important components of a good church service included mention of sermon, praise & worship, and fellowship. For one preacher (Preacher 3, Appendix C), praise & worship was listed as most important, followed by "a sermon that ministers to the heart of people" as second. Another preacher (Preacher 6, Appendix F) listed "Holy Spirit controlled" as the first component and "clarity and understanding of message" as second. Preacher 5 (Appendix E) wrote "a good sermon-well delivered" as most important, with "an inspiring worship service (music, choir, etc)" as second. My own experiences with these kinds of services also support the role of music as a very important criterion for effective services. In some cases, it is not at all unusual for the sermon to be accompanied by organ playing. This was not the case for all of the sermons in this study though, and in the ones that did have organ music, the organist had to respond to the preacher's moves.

While one of the preachers has some formal Bible school training, all of the subjects place a much greater emphasis

on "calling" and on Holy Spirit guidance than on formal training. As one preacher stated in response to a question about the role of seminary, "If the seminary is a spirit-filled one, it serves to ... equip and prepare one for the ministry". In an interview with one of the preachers, a point was made that although seminary could be helpful, it is not essential for preparing anyone to preach. The one preacher who had seminary training was quoted as saying that seminary did not even begin to approach adequate preparation for preaching; an emphasis was then placed on the importance of the Holy Spirit as the preparer.

The subjects believe that planning of sermons is important but that during the planning stage, the direction of the Holy Spirit should be primary for both planning and delivery of the sermon. One preacher (Preacher 6, Appendix F) states "preachers definitely should prepare their sermons; however, they must be open and sensitive to the directions of the Holy Spirit for each message individually, for the Holy Spirit knows what is needed at the hour." Another preacher (Preacher 3, Appendix C) answered that preachers should plan but that the plan involves largely, the "spirit": "a sermon should reflect the revelation of the Spirit as given by God to help men bow to the ...power of God to bring about deliverance." That the Holy Spirit

should lead in planning and during the entire service is a common view for all subjects in the study. It would not be unusual to attend any of the subjects' services and find them making changes to what might have been planned because the Holy Spirit has chosen a different path. None would be opposed to devoting a great portion of the sermon to all church praise, a situation in which the majority of the people in the church stand and express gratefulness to God with hands raised and with loud voices. Hence, while these preachers may have outlines and may have spent a great deal of time planning, the plans are not static.

All preachers stated that they used "expressions like Amen, Hallelujah,..." in their sermons, and most stated that they used them frequently. Responses to a question about the purpose of these expressions included the following:

"I believe these expressions help to emphasize a given point. At times, expressions like *Hallelujah* and *Praise God!* invites the audience to worship God, also to get or keep their attention." (Preacher 5, Appendix E)

"Sometimes these expressions are merely used to help the speaker to remember his next point; however, I feel that God should be praised often even in the midst of a sermon. Sometimes God is relaying to me such

precious pearls of his word til I'll tell him *Thank You* in the midst of preaching." (Preacher 3, Appendix C)

In a telephone interview with one COGIC preacher (his sermons not examined), the preacher stated that he knows he uses those expressions too much and that he is always trying to work on not using them so much. While I had anticipated this kind of response from the nondenominational preachers with COGIC backgrounds in this study, none believed that these expressions were a hindrance to their sermons.

Responses to the question "What kinds of things do you do to make all the ideas in your sermon stick together?" included:

"I try to use illustrations and scriptures, personal testimony, that refers to the subject throughout the message. Sometimes a song or poem is used." (Preacher 5, Appendix E) Note: this is the same person who listed "music and choir" as a part of the second most important component of a good church service.

"Depend on the Holy Spirit" (Preacher 6, Appendix F)

Preacher 3 (Appendix C) writes: "Repetition! A common practice in school systems that I find helpful. Key words and phrases are helpful too."

Questionnaire results show that the preachers in this study tend to value both spiritual guidance for delivery of sermons and for other parts of the church service. They believe that scriptural and personal examples to support a specific sermon topic and a sermonic effect of inspiring and getting listeners to change are important as well. One interesting note is that organization (general or a specific order of sermon) was not listed as a distinctive factor for good or bad sermons; Holy Spirit direction, addressing immediate needs of audience, and effecting lifestyle changes had priority status.

SPEAKING Summary

Following are contextual descriptions for the six sermons used in the study. The descriptions cover aspects of Hymes' SPEAKING model, presented in Chapter Two. Parts of the model not included for individual sermons were: A (act sequence), G (genre), I (instrument), and N (norms of interaction). Act sequence is not included in this section because for all six sermons, form and content are covered in the textual analysis section of the paper. Similarly, G is not included here because the African American sermon discourse genre is discussed in detail in chapter two, and all sermons in the study met the criteria established in that chapter.

The instrument (I) is also the same for all six sermons; the channel is spoken discourse and the register is formal. While the African American church services in this study could be viewed as much less formal than what would be found in a number of other churches because of the increased volume and action in the services where the six sermons were performed (e.g. certain people in the audience jumping up to say their Amens, use of nonstandard dialect), these services are nonetheless formal. There is still a great deal of order in what to some may appear to be chaotic or nonstandard. For further discussion of this, see Davis (1987), Frasier (1964), and Mitchell (1970, 1975).

The norm of interaction (N) between preacher and congregation is also a group, rather than individual, factor. Both preacher and audience, for all six groups studied, expect the preacher to pray and give a scripture prior to "getting into" the sermon. As discussed in chapter two, it is also the norm for the congregation to be actively involved with the preaching event and to show this involvement verbally (at the least). It is also understood by all participants that the preacher will have the floor during the preaching event. There are sometimes cases of a single individual in the audience standing up and "going up in praise" during the sermon, but this is usually viewed

negatively as moving against the Holy Spirit; it is not a "norm of interaction" but an exception. In cases like this, the preacher may make mention of the Holy Spirit being orderly. Furthermore, there is a great difference between a single person giving loud praise during the preaching event (interruption) and a majority of the congregation giving praise (viewed as the norm and as supportive of what the preacher is trying to accomplish). There are cases in which an individual could stand during a preaching event and not be viewed negatively. During two of the sermons examined in this study, there were cases of an individual who jumped up (in a very sudden manner) and then just shook her/his head from side to side (with no utterances made); this is a symbol of full support/agreement with what the preacher has just said. Usually, others will take the initial person's lead and vocalizations will be made.

Although A, G, I, and N have been described in group terms, S (scene), P (participants), E (goals), and K (key) have important characteristics that can be described for individual speakers and their performed sermons. Following are selected contextual features from different church services.

Preacher #1 (Appendix A)

S- This sermon was delivered in Houston, Texas . It was

one of many sermons given by different preachers during an annual one week Christ Is The Answer Deliverance Center (CITA) convention. The sermon was preached in a large hotel convention room to an audience of approximately six hundred members of a variety of ages and from the five CITA nondenominational churches. The five churches represented were from the following U. S. cities: Houston, Los Angeles, Kansas City, Annapolis, and Birmingham. This sermon was delivered at one of the night services, meaning this preacher was one of the "main" speakers; morning and afternoon services were typically reserved for less accomplished or less popular preachers.

P- The participants were the evangelist, in his late forties at the time, who delivered this sermon about Christians who need to be transformed so that they no longer fight "battles that are already won." This pastor, from Los Angeles, was not a member of CITA but was a frequently invited guest speaker. The audience consisted mostly of members of the five churches previously mentioned. Since the convention had been announced on the radio in Houston, there were a number of visitors from the Houston area as well.

E- The preacher's goal seemed to be mainly to get his "saved" audience to become more spiritually mature (See

Appendix A, #4). It is quite evident that the preacher is speaking to an audience of "believers" because he is not giving a "salvation message", which he probably would have given had he viewed his audience as consisting of a considerable number of "unbelievers". Also, the preacher states clearly that his goal is not to preach but to "ta:lk" (#16). In essence, he stresses his emphasis on instruction rather than on emotionalism. Although he "slips into preaching", he tries to get into a teaching mode. During several parts of this preaching event, both the preacher and congregation have become fairly emotional and have offered periodic loud praises; given this particular convention context, this is not at all unusual. But the preacher seems to feel that he is getting away from his "teaching" goal. He wants to provide the audience with a great deal of information, but the high energy level of the service is taking the preacher in a slightly different direction. It is not clear that the congregation's goal is solely to be "taught." Certainly, the audience expects to be "spiritually fed" at the convention and at this particular service, but they also are interested in praising God and in letting the preacher know that they are present. They want to leave the service informed as well as inspired or uplifted.

K- Although the key (or tone) is generally serious, there are a number of humorous sections in the sermon (See # 9, 10, 17-20). This preacher comes across as being very serious at first, and perhaps this is closely tied to his view of "teaching" (his stated goal) vs "preaching." However, it seems that both the high energy level and the "have a good time" atmosphere present during the preceding worship service is still present during the preaching event.

Preacher #2 (Appendix B)

S- This Sunday morning sermon is set in Memphis, where the pastor is preaching to 600-700 people in his home church. This message follows a fairly lengthy testimony service and choir selections. Testimony service involves a leader opening with a song and words of thanks to God for specific events in the person's life. Once the leader opens, other members of the congregation voluntarily stand and consecutively give their testimonies. Often children will stand and say "I thank and praise God for saving me." Although adults too will often open with a formulaic line (e.g. "I praise and thank God for being here" "Giving honor to God and our precious pastor"), what follows the openers are personalized praise reports designed to inspire/encourage both the speaker and listeners. Although this part of the service is an event separate from the preaching

event, it (along with choir and solos) helps create an uplifting atmosphere, making the preacher's task somewhat easier because s/he is then not faced with a depressed, inactive audience.

P- The pastor is in his fifties, but his congregation is composed mostly of younger people of different ages. This preacher has pastored this church for more than fifteen years as a member of the Church of God in Christ (COGIC) organization. He recently broke away from that organization, so that his church is an independent one. This pastor is one of the more frequent travelers of the pastors in the study. He is known as a pastor/evangelist.

E- This preacher is also best known for his preaching-teaching style; he is noticeably skillful at providing a great deal of information while maintaining a prolific African-American preaching style designed to keep his audience engaged. His goal for this particular preaching event appears to be to persuade the audience to believe his claim about just how powerful words can be and to get them to use their words carefully. He uses scriptural and present-day examples to support his point. He uses phonological prominence (See #3 Appendix B line 11, #4 line 6, and the last line of #7) and a great deal of repetition to enhance the rhythm of the sermon and to stress the major

theme; these are also strategies for his goal of keeping his audience's attention (Notice repetition of "power" and "words" in units 10-13).

K- The tone of this preaching event is one of high involvement begun prior to the preaching event (See S above). The preacher maintains a serious tone though, and this is reinforced by the topic of his sermon, life and death in the power of the tongue.

Preacher #3 (Appendix C)

S- This preaching event takes place in Jacksonville, Florida, where the pastor is speaking at his home church to a congregation of 1200-1300 members. This, too, was a Sunday morning service.

P- This pastor is in his early fifties, and similar to preacher #2, his congregation is composed largely of younger people. The members of this congregation are in the church service with plans of staying for a while. Several people typically take their shoes off at this church. While the other five church services typically last three hours (with sermons lasting about 1.5 hours), this church's Sunday morning service often lasts four or more hours; they have no Sunday night services like the others.

E- The preacher's goal seems to be largely to inspire his congregation. He is clearly a "ball of energy"; he jumps,

sings, walks into the aisles, and singles out members in the audience (all during the preaching event). How challenging this would be for a less experienced preacher; this preacher successfully performs and stays on topic. The congregation is equally active. It seems that the congregation's goal is to "have church!" These members came prepared to be actively involved in the service, and they are.

K- It would be very difficult for anyone to fall asleep in this service. I think that outsiders could possibly hear the music, preaching, and congregational praises. The preacher uses decreased volume and slower rate for emphasis.

Preacher #4 (Appendix D)

S- This preaching event takes place in Kansas City, Missouri. This Saturday night service is part of an annual three day "Pastor's Dedication" service. The 1500 seat church sanctuary is packed.

P- The preacher, in her early fifties, is a special guest from California. She is the best known pastor/evangelist of all speakers in the study. She pastors a several thousand member church. The audience consists of both members of the Kansas City church and guests from a variety of states.

E- It seems that the preacher's goal for this sermon was to give a "wake up call" to members of the audience who have

negative attitudes about themselves and who do not support their home churches. Another goal seems to be to provide inspiration for the pastor of the church, to whom the service is dedicated; she seems to be purposely addressing specific situations that have occurred at the church where she is speaking, and she shows her support for the honored pastor by putting responsibility on members, instead of preachers. She also provides a great deal of inspiration for her specific audience along with her warning (see Appendix D, units 13-16).

K- The message that this preacher brings is a serious one, and she seems to "step on a lot of toes," but she is such a skillful preacher that hearers leave inspired and happy. Much of this is perhaps due to her frequent use of humorous personal examples and her ability to keep the audience involved.

Preacher #5 (Appendix E) (I did not personally observe this preaching event. I had only the tape recording. The following information is based on a conversation with the preacher)

S- This preaching event takes place on a week night during a two week revival in California. The preacher is a guest speaker and the wife of the preacher who first established this church. The church is an independent one, no longer

under the leadership of its original apostle, but the husband-wife team frequently speak at the church.

P- The participants are the guest speaker, in her late fifties, and a congregation of approximately 200 members. The audience is composed of a number of children, teenagers, and "young adults," along with a few "church mothers".

E- The goal of this preaching event is to provide inspiration for the audience and to inform.

K- The tone of this sermon begins as humorous. The preacher makes comments to elicit laughter from the audience and to serve as a warm-up. The rest of the sermon has a serious tone.

Preacher #6 (Appendix F)

S- This Sunday morning service takes place in Jacksonville, Florida. This church, located in a fairly secluded wooded area, is consistently "standing room only."

There are probably 400-500 people in the sanctuary, with twenty to thirty people in the tv room (where latecomers go to watch the service in progress). During the year when this sermon was preached, a larger church building was being built. They now have a large church with plenty of space.

P- The preacher, also the pastor, is in her early fifties, and the congregation consists largely of people in their

twenties, thirties, and forties. Unlike the other five churches in the study, this one does not have children present during the preaching event. Instead, children go to "children's church." This is a noticeably dedicated group. Most of the members of this congregation attend church five or six days a week. They are also a very active group, but not so active that they can't take notes.

E- This preacher's goal for this sermon is clearly to inform and to bring about change in her congregation's views and behavior. She does not "hold back" for fear of offending people, and she has consistently delivered messages designed for effecting change. This particular sermon's goal appears to be to lead hearers to strive to know God on a level beyond salvation. She informs her audience of characteristics of one who knows God, as opposed to one who has just met God.

K- This preaching event is information-packed. Although the audience is very verbally involved with the sermon, there is not an atmosphere of entertainment here. There are many congregational verbal *Amens* and there are cases of people shaking heads and making comments to neighbors, in agreement with the pastor. But there are also people taking notes, while showing verbal and nonverbal support for the preacher's statements.

Table I below provides a summary of the SPEAKING descriptions described above. Not included in the table are Act, Genre, Instrument, and Norms; this has been explained in detail in the previous section of this chapter.

Table I
Summary of SPEAKING Results

	Scene	Participants	Ends	Key
Sermon #1	Houston, TX annual CITA convention	male guest evangelist; late forties; mixed age and gender audience of CITA members	to teach and not preach; to provide information to aid spiritual maturity	mostly serious; occasional humor
Sermon #2	Memphis, TN Sunday morning service	male pastor; mid fifties; mixed gender audience of mostly young adults, some teens and children, a few church mothers	to persuade audience to believe his claim about power of words	high involvement very serious
Sermon #3	Jacksonville, FL Sunday morning service	male pastor; mid fifties; mixed gender audience of mostly young adults, teens, and children	to inspire, to "have church"	very high involvement entertaining environment
Sermon #4	Kansas City, MO Saturday night pastor's anniversary message	female guest evangelist/pastor early fifties; mixed gender and age audience of members and many visitors	to inspire to encourage members to support the pastor	serious message with an abundance of humorous personal examples very high audience involvement
Sermon #5	Los Angeles, CA midweek revival message	female guest evangelist speaking at church founded by her husband; late fifties; mixed gender and age audience	to inspire and to inform	humorous introduction serious body and conclusion
Sermon#6	Jacksonville, FL Sunday morning service	female pastor, mid fifties; audience of mostly young adults; no children-they're in children's church	to inform and to encourage changed behavior	very serious high audience participation note taking

Textual Analysis Results

To understand more fully the way(s) that the formulaic

expressions in the study are used in sermons, it is important to first indicate which expressions were found (see Chapter Three for an explanation of the selection process) and the extent to which preachers used each expression. Do all preachers use the same sermonic formulaic expressions? Are there some that are used by most preachers and others used by only one preacher?

Specific expressions observed were varied. As can be seen in Table II, each of the six preachers used at least four variations of formulaic expressions. Speakers #1 and #2 used four different expressions, Speaker #3 used 5, Speaker #5 used 6, Speaker #4 used 8, and Speaker #6 used 9 different expressions. The total number of different expressions used among the six preachers was twenty-one. These included: *Amen, Thank You Jesus, Hallelujah, Thank You Lord, Will You Say Amen?, Somebody Say Amen, Say Amen, Lord Have Mercy, Yeah Lord, Praise God, Glory to God, Thank You, Hey God, Oh Glory, We Bless His Name, Hallelujah to God, Hallelujah to the Lamb, Praises to God, Blessings to Him Forevermore, We Bless the Lamb Forever, and We Praise the Lamb Forever.*

TABLE II
FIRST TWENTY FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS USED BY PREACHERS

Preacher	Formulaic Expression	Number of Occurrences
#1	Amen Thank You Jesus Hallelujah Thank You Lord	15 3 1 1
#2	Amen Will You Say Amen Somebody Say Amen Say Amen	15 3 1 1
#3	Hallelujah Lord Have Mercy Yeah Lord Thank You Lord Amen	10 4 3 2 1
#4	Amen Thank You Jesus Thank You Lord Hallelujah Praise God Say Amen Glory to God Thank You	6 4 2 3 2 1 1 1
#5	Praise God Hallelujah Glory to God Thank You Lord Hey God Oh Glory	6 5 4 3 1 1
*#6	We Bless His Name Hallelujah to God Hallelujah Hallelujah to the- Lamb Thank You Lord Praises to God Blessings to Him- Forevermore We Bless the Lamb-Forever We Praise the Lamb-Forever	3 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
TOTAL TOKENS		112

* Because preacher #6 had only 12 cases of these expressions in her entire sermon, it was not possible to get a "first twenty" from her text.

While Table II shows that preachers used a variety of formulaic expressions, Table III highlights differences detected in the specific category of expressions each preacher tended to use more. That is, some preachers clearly tended to rely on a single type of expression more than others.

TABLE III
INDIVIDUAL AND TOTAL RAW FREQUENCIES OF EXPRESSIONS

Preacher	Amen	Hallelujah	Yeah Lord & Hey God	Praise	Thank	Glory	Bless	Mercy	TOTAL
#1	15	1	0	0	4	0	0	0	20
#2	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
#3	1	10	3	0	2	0	0	4	20
#4	7	3	0	2	7	1	0	0	20
#5	0	5	1	6	3	5	0	0	20
#6	0	4	0	2	1	0	5	0	12
TOTAL	43	23	4	10	17	6	5	4	112

Table III shows raw frequencies of expressions used by each preacher based on the following categories: *Amen (Amen, Will You Say Amen, Somebody Say Amen, Say Amen)*, *Hallelujah (Hallelujah, Hallelujah to God, Hallelujah to the Lamb)*, *Praise (Praise God, Praises to God, We Praise the Lamb Forever)*, *Thank (Thank You Jesus, Thank You Lord, Thank You)*, *Glory (Glory to God, Oh Glory)*, *Bless (We Bless His*

Name, Blessings to Him Forevermore, We Bless the Lamb Forevermore), Mercy (Lord Have Mercy), and Yeah Lord/Hey Glory (Yeah Lord, Hey God). These categories were formed based on the semantic likeness of the expressions. Specifically, all expressions that contained the word *Amen* were placed in an "Amen" category. Expressions containing *Hallelujah* were placed in a "Hallelujah" category,....*Yeah Lord* and *Hey God* were placed together because of the interjection aspects of "Hey" and "Yeah," not because of collocational connections of "Lord" and "God." References to Jesus, Lord, and God appear not only across nondeity categories established but they also appear in numerous other parts of the sermon in ways that are clearly not of discourse marker quality (e.g. I want to thank God for being here, Jesus said...) (See Chapter Three's discussion of formulaic expression selection for a more detailed discussion of this point). These results show that some preachers tended to rely more heavily on a specific semantic category of formulaic expressions than did others. As Table III shows, all of Preacher #2's expressions fall into the *Amen* category, but Preachers #5 and #6 have no expressions in this category.

Table IV shows the percentages of formulaic expressions used in each category by each preacher.

TABLE IV
 PERCENTAGES OF FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS USED BY EACH PREACHER

EXPRESSION	PREACHERS					
	#1	#2	#3	#4	#5	#6
Amen	75%	100%	5%	35%	0%	0%
Hallelujah	5%	0%	50%	15%	25%	33%
Yeah Lord/ Hey God	0%	0%	15%	0%	5%	0%
Praise	0%	0%	0%	10%	30%	17%
Thank	20%	0%	10%	35%	15%	8%
Glory	0%	0%	0%	5%	25%	0%
Bless	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	42%
Mercy	0%	0%	20%	0%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

As Table IV shows, while *Amen* represents 75% of Preacher #1's and 100% of Preacher #2's expressions, Preachers 5 and 6 did not use *Amen* at all. Chi square analysis shows that the observed differences between types of expressions and individual preachers are statistically significant (Chi square=171.62, df=35, $p < .001$; Cramer's $V = .57$). Not only is there a significant difference between

particular preacher and the specific formulaic expression type, but Cramer's V statistic also suggests that this relationship is a strong one.

Previously discussed results show that preachers used a different variety of expressions; that is, they used different combinations of sermonic formulaic expressions. This suggests either that there is an element of individual difference with combinations of expressions or that there is some connection between the performance of specific sermon texts and the use of specific expressions. The latter does not appear to be the case because the contexts in which these expressions appear do not relate to the literal meanings of these expressions. For example, Preacher 1 (Appendix A, section 17,18) uses *Amen* in "you know, whether they're wearing a wig, and..*Amen* check out that dress..." not to suggest a meaning of "so be it" or to suggest finality. There is also no evidence of the preacher responding to the audience to suggest such a meaning. This preacher uses a number of *Amens* in his sermon about the theme "my help cometh from the Lord". This preacher also uses *Hallelujah* and *Thank You Jesus*, but the topic of this sermon does appear to lend itself easily to "gratitude" or a theme of "the highest praise". Furthermore, there are a number of cases in which different expressions are used

consecutively; there is nothing about the sermons themselves to elicit one expression over another. Preacher #5's third, fourth, and fifth formulaic expressions (Appendix E) are an example of this:

...Somebody repeat after me,
 `God is good!' (congregation praise)
 ..`God is faithful!' (congregation repeats)
 ...Hallelujah,
 ..Glory to God, (sporadic congregational response)
 ..Thank You Lord. (a few people respond)
 ..when I was meditating on yesterday,

Here the preacher is "warming up" and attempting to get the audience involved and she moves into a narrative about how she was given, by God, the message she is about to preach. She uses a variety of expressions to help her accomplish this transition.

This still does not indicate whether certain expressions are generally more commonly used than others or are more likely to occur in sermons. Examining frequency of total tokens of individual expressions, without regard to preacher, will indicate which expressions are more likely to appear overall. Table V below shows frequencies of expressions by all preachers combined.

TABLE V

FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES OF EXPRESSIONS USED BY ALL PREACHERS

	Raw Frequency	Percentage of Tokens Used
Amen	43	38%
Hallelujah	23	21%
Yeah Lord/Hey God	4	4%
Praise	10	9%
Thank	17	15%
Glory	6	5%
Bless	5	4%
Mercy	4	4%
Total	112	100%

When analyzing all of the preachers' tokens together (Table V above), we find that **Amen** (38%) and **Hallelujah** (21%) are the most frequently used expressions. Those two expressions represent 59% of all expressions used while the other 41% is represented by six different expressions (i.e. yeah lord, praise, thank, glory, mercy). Interesting to note is that 35 (Table III) of the 43 (Table V) *Amens* were used by only two preachers; this means that two preachers accounted for 81% of the *Amens* used in the six sermons. While *Amen* and *Hallelujah* were the two most frequently used expressions for the group of preachers combined, these expressions were not equally distributed; As Table III and

IV show, preachers 5 and 6 never used *Amen* and Preacher 2 never used *Hallelujah*.

The previous results show that preachers select different formulaic expressions and that some use a greater variety of expressions than others. Preachers' use of one sermonic formulaic expression over another does not seem to be tied to sermon topic or situational context. The following chapter provides further discussion of preachers' selection of sermonic formulaic expressions that may contrast with the sermon topic. What is more important, and the purpose of this study, is to know why these expressions are used.

Roles of Expressions

The previously discussed results report on types of expressions and their frequencies of occurrence. Frequency of occurrence for expressions is rather meaningless if there is no follow up analysis of why those expressions are used. This part of the textual analysis results addresses my initial set of textual-oriented questions about the examined formulaic expressions: What are their functions in discourse? Do they function mainly as calls for congregational response? Do they act solely as verbal fillers? Can and do individual formulaic expression types have multiple discourse functions?

Four major discourse functions were detected, along with one case of an utterance having several roles simultaneously. As explained in the preceding chapter, the researcher examined utterances surrounding formulaic expressions and situational context to determine if these expressions functioned solely as elicitations for congregational responses or if they more text-based functions. The four roles detected were labeled textual boundary marker, verbal filler, rhythmic marker, call and response, and multiple role.

Table VI shows the frequencies and percentages of roles for all expressions combined. This table shows that the textual boundary role, which has the function of signaling some type of change within the text, was by far the most common role. Verbal filler (i.e. pause filler), rhythmic marker (tied to African American performance) and call for response (preacher using these expressions to get the audience to "Say Amen") were less frequent roles.

TABLE VI
 FREQUENCIES AND PERCENTAGES OF ROLES FOR COMBINED
 EXPRESSIONS

	Raw Frequency	Percentage of Expressions Functioning in Indicated Roles
Textual Boundary	77	69%
Call For Response	1	1%
Verbal Filler	23	21%
Rhythmic Marker	10	8%
Multiple Roles	1	1%
Total	112	100%

Results show that there are a number of different functions but that the textual boundary marker is clearly the most frequently occurring one (69%). Call and Response was not a significant function (1%) (See Table VI). The verbal filler role appeared more frequently than expected, but as explained later in this chapter, preachers' use of sermonic expressions for verbal fillers instead of numerous "uhs" suggests a genre-specific function.

Following are examples and explanations of these five discourse roles.

Textual Boundary Markers

Items which were placed in the textual boundary category included markers of : 1) text type changes (changes

or moves from one text type or speech event to another e.g. narration to evaluation, constructed speech to statement of proposition, scripture reference to personal experience) 2) topic or subtopic boundary (changes from one discourse topic to another e.g. change from talking about legalism in the church to speaking about having riches) and 3) topic continuity (used for cases of returns to previously introduced topics after a digression). Although there are differences in the three markers identified, they share a role of signaling change within the text.

Following are examples of the three types of textual boundary markers.

Text Type Change

Example 1: none of us today,
 that I know of,
 is in jail! (congregational response)
 Lord Have Mercy, (congregational response)
 ..so we shouldn't be:,
 in prison,
 in our mind.

Although the preacher continues with the "prison" subtopic introduced earlier in the text, **Lord Have Mercy** appears between a literal presentation of "jail" and a figurative or abstract concept of "prison in our mind". The preacher has

clearly not uttered this expression to elicit a response, as the congregation has already responded. This textual boundary is reinforced by the short pause and "so." Even if one argues that the preacher may have used this utterance to extend time for formulation of following words (verbal filler role), an explanation of why he uses this utterance at this point in the discourse can be given based on the change that takes place, the move to the abstract.

Following is a similar case of formulaic expression functioning as a marker of text type change:

Example 2: ...to be restored in the spirit.

 ..a spi:ritual restoration.

 ..a spi:ritual revival.

 ..a spi:ritual resurrection.

 ..a spi:ritual refreshing. (congregational
response)

 ..a spi:ritual revitalization.
(congregational response)

..Praise God.

 ..a spi:ritual rejuvenation. (congregational
response)

..Thank You Lord. (congregational response)

..Glory to God. (congregational response)

..Hallelujah.

..the word "restoration" comes from the word
 "restore",
 ..which means turn ba:ck,
 o:r,
 to rebuild.

What is perhaps most outstanding about this portion of text is the preacher's effective use of lexical and phonological repetition (alliteration); the "spiritual r..." unit is similar to units Tannen (1989) selected from Martin Luther King Jr. and from Jessie Jackson as exemplary involvement strategies used in oratory. The focus here though is on the placement and function of formulaic expressions in the text. There is a noticeable difference between what precedes the *Thank You Lord, Glory to God, Hallelujah* string of utterances and what follows. Not only is there a move from synonymous statement of the preacher's sermon topic to definition, but the sound (especially rhythm) of her "spiritual r..." unit is strikingly different from "the word 'restoration'" section; with the definition section, the preacher decreases speech volume, congregational responses temporarily cease, and a less heightened emotional atmosphere is created. This change is introduced by the three formulaic expressions along with phonological prominence.

Items in the "text type change" category do not signal major changes in the topic or subtopic of the sermons examined, which is the most common type of textual boundary marker for conversations. Instead, this kind of discourse marker signals a change from one speech event to another. The next section explains the better known "topic boundary marker" function.

Topic Boundary

The examples that follow are cases of formulaic expressions appearing not between different textual types but between different discourse topics or subtopics.

Example 1: you say "well this is mind over matter".

no this is the word of Go:d,
over matter. (congregational response)

..this is the word of God over the problem.

this is u:sing the word of Go:d,
over the negative.

this is using the word of Go:d,
over..**Amen** the strategy and the tricks,
of the enemy. (congregational response)

...**Amen**. (congregational response)

...so then,

...as a person with blood pressure says,

The second **Amen** in Example 1 appears after the preacher has just completed a "this is ...word of God" unit with high congregational involvement. The end of this unit is signaled by a lowered volume, a long pause, **Amen**, a following pause, and "so then." This is not a change in the larger sermon topic but a change in the speaker's subtopic from the theoretical "using the word of God" to his specific example of a person with high blood pressure who uses "the word" to get healed.

A second example of subtopic boundary marker shows an even stronger content contrast. In the example that follows, the speaker sets up a contrast between Black legalistic churches and white charismatic (more lenient) churches and places **Thank You Jesus** at the boundary between the two groups being contrasted.

Example 2 ...I look good 'cause I don' covered
up a few things.

(congregational response)

...and y'all gonna put me in hell,
you ain't gon' put me in hell behind
that foolishness.

(congregational response)

I ain't goin' to hell behind that.

(congregational response)

Thank You Jesus. (congregational
response)

you go right over,
and I'm gon' preach it,
and I I don't mean to put nobody-
-down,
but you go to Morris Cerullo's-
-meetings,
you go to uh uh Marilyn Hickey's-
-meetings,
you go to any of these meetings,
you know who's sitting up there?
thousands of you:r people.

(congregational response)

...and I don' went to see them,
for myself. (congregational response)

..and you know who's writing checks-
-for five hundred dollars,
and a thousand dollars?
and supporting they ministry?

..yo:ur people. (congregational
response)

...and they be there with pants on,
they be there with lipstick on,

they be there everything on,
 but you know what,
 cancer's being healed,
 congregational responses through
 next seven intonation units)
 high blood pressure being,
 all kind of miracles is being-
 -wrought,
 'cause they up there talking about-
 -nothing but the power!
 of the living God!

In the unit preceding the preacher's **Thank You Jesus**, she complains about Black church members judging people for wearing makeup. What follows the expression is a strong contrast to the legalistic attitudes and behaviors of Black churches; she discusses both the different way that Blacks behave when they attend White churches (as opposed to their behavior at their own churches) and the absence of legalism at the White churches being visited. She says that there are miracles at some white churches even though they "be there with pants on, they be there with lipstick on, they be there [with] everything on."

While the topic boundary marker signals a change from one discourse (sermon) topic or subtopic to another topic

not previously occurring in the current discourse, the following section provides examples of a third type of textual boundary marker, the topic continuity marker.

Topic Continuity

While the previous two types of textual boundary markers (text-type change and topic boundary) are similar to the third, topic continuity, in that all three function to signal textual change, topic continuity suggests a return to something previously mentioned in the text. In the example that follows (example 1), the preacher utters a formulaic expression after a diversion and before a return to the topic that appeared before the diversion.

Example 1 ..now there are two points in-
 -the Bible,
 that are very important,
 in your understanding.
 I don't wanna preach.
 I said "God shall I preach or-
 -teach?"
 God says.."you just open your-
 -mou:th." (congregational response)
 ...I don't wanna preach.
 ..I wanna tal:k
 ...Amen.

...listen.

...uh,

..there are two points,

Beginning with the fourth line in this example, the preacher creates a diversion in using metalanguage; he comments about his delivery of the sermon. Earlier in the sermon, the preacher had had several units of talk with high volume and pitch. He now wants to "calm down" a bit and just "teach," but after his constructed speech of his talk with God the congregation gives praises again. It must have been the "you just open your mou:th" line that triggered a response. After the praise, the preacher says again that he doesn't want to preach but that he wants to teach instead. This is followed by a pause and **Amen**. After **Amen**, other signals of textual change appear (e.g. pause and "listen"). This is not a topic change though since he is just repeating the point he mentioned at the beginning of this unit (i.e. there are two points) before the diversion.

The following example 2 shows a formulaic expression appearing before a return to a topic and after a related subtopic.

Example 2:..and the scripture teaches,

that there is power,

..the power to get you over,

...Amen.

and get you through your valley.

..power,

to restore your health.

..power,

to bring success..and the blessings-

-of God into your life.

..power to turn your situation-

-around.

...and it is all in the power of the-

-words that can come out of your-

-mouth.

..o:r,

..on the other hand,

power to cast you down to the lowest-

-hell.

power to impoverish you,

power to send you to an early and a-

-premature grave.

power to rob you of the blessings-

-and the privileges of sonship.

and,

uh **Amen** association with Christ.

power to bind you,

power to curse you,
 power to defeat you,
 a:ll in the power of the to:ngue.
 (congregational response)
 ...**Somebody Say Amen.** (congregational
 response)
 ...words! (congregational response)
 ...words. (congregational response)

The first two expressions in the example above appear to function as fillers, with the first **Amen** appearing as the preacher is trying to set up what will be a very effective rhythmic "power" series and the second appearing at a place in the "power" units after the preacher's intonation unit is considerably longer than other units in the series. **Somebody Say Amen** is clearly different from the first two formulaic expressions in this example. It appears immediately after the preacher finishes his "power to" unit and before a return to an emphasis on "words", mentioned 15 lines earlier and previously in the sermon. While this expression may appear to be a call for response if viewed without context, looking at both the congregational expressions preceding this expression (suggesting no need to call for a response) and the falling intonation of the utterance suggests a different function. **Somebody Say Amen,**

along with pause and intonation changes, signals a return to a previous lexical theme.

As stated previously (Table VI), it is the textual boundary role that appeared most frequently. Sixty nine percent of all expressions identified functioned as textual boundary markers, to signal some type of change within the text. Table VII below shows that for all expressions examined, except *praise*, the textual boundary marker was clearly the most frequent.

TABLE VII
RAW FREQUENCIES OF EXPRESSIONS BY ROLE

	Textual Boundary	Call For Response	Verbal Filler	Rhythmic Marker	Multiple Roles	Total
Amen	28	1	12	1	1	43
Hallelujah	16	0	2	5	0	23
Yeah Lord/ Hey God	4	0	0	0	0	4
Praise	4	0	6	0	0	10
Thank	12	0	1	4	0	17
Glory	5	0	1	0	0	6
Bless	4	0	1	0	0	5
Mercy	4	0	0	0	0	4
Total	77	1	23	10	1	112

As seen in Table VII above and Table VIII, although

along with pause and intonation changes, signals a return to a previous lexical theme.

As stated previously (Table VI), it is the textual boundary role that appeared most frequently. Sixty nine percent of all expressions identified functioned as textual boundary markers, to signal some type of change within the text. Table VII below shows that for all expressions examined, except *praise*, the textual boundary marker was clearly the most frequent.

TABLE VII
RAW FREQUENCIES OF EXPRESSIONS BY ROLE

	Textual Boundary	Call For Response	Verbal Filler	Rhythmic Marker	Multiple Roles	Total
Amen	28	1	12	1	1	43
Hallelujah	16	0	2	5	0	23
Yeah Lord/ Hey God	4	0	0	0	0	4
Praise	4	0	6	0	0	10
Thank	12	0	1	4	0	17
Glory	5	0	1	0	0	6
Bless	4	0	1	0	0	5
Mercy	4	0	0	0	0	4
Total	77	1	23	10	1	112

As seen in Table VII above and Table VIII, although

Amen (28 of 43, 65%), *Hallelujah* (16 of 23, 69%), *Yeah Lord/Hey God* (4 of 4, 100%), *Thank* (12 of 17, 71%), *Glory* (5 of 6, 83%), *Bless* (4 of 5, 80%), and *Mercy* (4 of 4, 100%) functioned most as textual boundary markers; only 4 of 10 (40%) *Praise* expressions had this function. *Praise* functioned more as a verbal filler (6 of 10, 60%) (See Table VIII below). This *Praise* difference is not statistically significant though (Table VII, Chi square=34.2, df=28). Chi square results suggest that there is no significant difference between type of expression and role, meaning that all expressions tend to serve similar discourse functions.

Table VIII shows percentages of individual sermonic formulaic expressions functioning in specific discourse roles.

TABLE VIII
PERCENTAGES OF INDIVIDUAL EXPRESSIONS BY ROLE

	Textual Boundary	Call For Response	Verbal Filler	Rhythmic Marker	Multiple Roles	Total
Amen	65%	2.3%	28%	2.3%	2.3%	100%
Hallelujah	69%	0%	9%	22%	0%	100%
Yeah Lord/ Hey God	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%
Praise	40%	0%	60%	0%	0%	100%
Thank	71%	0%	6%	23%	0%	100%
Glory	83%	0%	17%	0%	0%	100%
Bless	80%	0%	20%	0%	0%	100%
Mercy	100%	0%	0%	0%	0%	100%

That the textual boundary role is the most frequent came as no surprise, but the second place position of the verbal filler function was not expected. The following section discusses this function.

Verbal Filler

The verbal filler role is the role that Stubbe & Holmes (1995) claim is one of the more simplistic functions of pragmatic devices. While they agree that utterances previously identified by some linguists (i.e. Brown 1977 and Lakoff 1975) as verbal fillers or as hedges may have the suggested functions of allowing time for verbal planning or of creating a hedging effect (suggesting insecurity of disempowered groups), Stubbe & Holmes claim that closer contextual analysis of these expressions (e.g. you know, I mean, sort of) reveals a greater and more complex range of meanings.

The results of this study support Stubbe & Holmes in that a number of roles were also found for the formulaic expressions examined and that there were consistently fewer cases of items functioning solely as verbal fillers than those signaling textual boundaries.

Example 1: ...God wrote his fi:rst word to-
-mankind,
in stone.

..he didn't write it on paper,
 he didn't write it on (?),
 he didn't write it on anything that-
 -was transitory,
 that could fade away,
 that could be uh,
 ..Amen uh,
 ..smudged over,
 but he wrote it on sto:ne.

In example 1, the preacher appears to be searching for words. It was not highly unusual to see formulaic expressions that did not appear at textual boundaries and that were not elicitation of audience responses to be accompanied by "uh." Although this expression is surrounded by other hesitation markers, this is not a requirement for the verbal filler role. In some cases, as in example 2 below, a religious formulaic expression may be used instead of "uh" to replace a pause or to shorten the length of pause.

Example 2:..this is the word of God over the-
 -pro:blem.
 this is using the word of Go:d,
 over the negative.
 this is using the word of Go:d,

over..Amen the strategy and the-
 -tricks,
 of the enemy. (congregational
 responses)

In this example, the formulaic expression is preceded by a pause and followed immediately, without pause, by the rest of the intonation unit members. It would not seem strange if this speaker had used "uh" here instead of "Amen". Using **Amen** helps the preacher to avoid what could have been a noticeably lengthy pause that might disrupt the flow of his sermon.

Although a verbal filler function was detected, only 21% of the expressions used functioned solely as verbal fillers (Table VI) and for no preacher in the study did more than 40% of expressions examined function as fillers alone (Table X).

Rythmic Marker

Another discourse function identified was one that on a surface level appeared to be a verbal filler but that upon further examination of both textual and situational context seems clearly to function in an interestingly different manner. The rhythmic marker or enhancer function is the role a preacher may use to either strengthen the rhythm of a set of utterances or to keep her or himself "in tune" with what

the audience is doing by letting the intonation pattern match the "flow of the service." In the latter sense, the preacher is responding to the audience. Although the use of formulaic expressions as rhythmic markers was evident in only two of the six sermons, the significance of this marker lies in textual-cultural connections (discussed in the next chapter) and more specifically points to a function that may have genre implications. As discussed in Chapter Three, Davis (1987) has shown that African American sermons have irregular lines that are made rhythmic by such devices as dramatic pause and repetition. Results of my study show that formulaic expressions are also used to aid in the establishment of that rhythm. Rhythmic markers make up a total of 8% of all markers used in the study (See Table VI).

In example 1 below, we find **Hallelujah** being used as a rhythmic enhancer; these strategically placed expressions appear in a climatic part of the preacher's sermon. They are used in places where some preachers might take audible and rhythmic breaths throughout the most intense parts of the sermon. While these could be classified as verbal fillers, the purpose for filling the pauses is strikingly different. The use of these expressions in this unit are by no means "simplistic." The preacher ("performer" comes to mind here) is catching his breath in a rather rhythmic way that

actually enhances the high emotional level of the preaching event; he is not just "tired" and in need of taking a breath nor does he appear to be searching for words.

Example 1:..some of our mi:nds,
 are so narrow. (congregational
 response)
 to fee:l,
 that Go:d,
 only have,
 yo:ur people, (congregational
 responses follow each of the
 following intonational units in this
 section)
 as being,
 his church.
Hallelujah.
 Je:sus,
 suffered too lo:ng,
Hallelujah.
 to die for a few people.
Thank You Lord.
 He die:d,
 That the whole wo:rld,
 would have an opportunity,

to be saved.
 but what he sai:d,
Hallelujah,
 he sai:d,
Hallelujah,
 he said to Peter.
Hallelujah.
 fee:d,
 my lamb.

In example 2 below, we have another type of rhythmic marker, but it is one that could be labeled more specifically as a "flow gager" rather than as an "enhancer" (as in example 1 above). As a rhythmic marker, the formulaic expressions used tell us something about the rhythm of the utterances or signal prominent rhythmic activity. This use shows the speaker's greater attention to the audience's behavior rather than a seemingly intentional creative performance strategy.

Example 2: I want you to ..speak to me,
 and God said "they're fighting-
 -battles that are already won.
 (congregational responses begin
 and gradually lessen in
 intensity throughout the next

four intonation units)

...**Tha:nk You Jesus.**

...**Tha:nk You Jesus.**

...**Tha:nk You Jesus.**

...**Thank You Lo:rd.**

...And so, (much higher pitch)

..we find today..that,

the spirit of God is,

show:in us the way.

As the congregation "goes up in praise" when hearing his "fighting battles already won" point, the preacher uses the formulaic expressions highlighted above. Interesting to note is that the fourth token (**Thank You Lo:rd**) has intonational and lexical changes. Instead of stressing **Tha:nk**, the first word of the formulaic expression unit, he places emphasis on the last word and changes from **Jesus** to **Lord**. The **Tha:nk You Jesus** expressions appear to be functioning to show the verbally active audience that the preacher is "with them"; complete silence of the preacher might have weakened his perceived support of the congregational praises. He is essentially following the audience's lead. The preacher's intonational and lexical change with the fourth token (**Thank You Lo:rd**) have a different function though; this phonologically prominent

formulaic expression is not a rhythmic marker but seems to function as a textual boundary (specifically, topic continuity) along with the following "and so". It signals a move from praise and a return to the sermon topic.

Unlike the textual boundary marker and verbal filler functions, the rhythmic marker role is clearly tied to "performance" (in an oral tradition sense). As discussed in Chapter Three, one of the important criteria for good African American preaching is that the preacher be a good "performer"; it is important that the preacher not "lecture" or "teach" but "preach". This function is not likely to appear in conversation or lecture (excepting Dudley-Evans & Johns 1981 performance style of lecture). If this kind of performance is found in conversation, it is more likely than not an AAVE occurrence (e.g. playing the dozens) (See Baugh 1983 & Kochman 1981).

Similar to the call and response function in that it can be tied to African American discourse community norms, the final single role identified was that of call and response. This infrequent role for the sermonic expressions examined in this study is discussed in the following section.

Call and Response

As stated previously, the call and response function is

the label used for formulaic expressions used by a preacher to elicit a response from the audience.

Only one of the 112 expressions in the study functioned mainly as a call for congregational response. This example is provided below.

..we try to understand everything

(congregational response)

..and there's some things in this life,
that you just absolutely not gonna-
-understand.

...**Will You Say Amen?** (congregational
response)

...there are some things that you're not-
-gonna understand,

..you will just have to,

..believe it,

..and,

..do it. (congregational response)

While the preacher received responses to his statement of people trying to understand everything, there were no responses to the following line, which is really the main point. The speaker pauses and then says, with question intonation, **Will You Say Amen?** This gets a response, and the preacher repeats the main point. An important note is

that there were other cases of expressions with "Say Amen" that did not function as calls for audience responses.

That only one formulaic expression functioned as a call for response does not suggest a lack of importance for call and response in African American churches. Instead, this may indicate that the preacher has other strategies for "calling". Most often, the preachers in this study appear to rely more on phonological prominence and nonverbal tools for this elicitation.

Multiple Roles

One formulaic expression, **Amen**, was used as both a textual boundary marker and as a call for congregational response. See example 1 below.

Example 1 ...the word of Go:d,

has to

Amen,

be the rule and the guide of your-

-life.

your very sou:l,

and you have got to recognize the-

-final authority of the word,

Amen,

the integrity of the word,

Will You Say Amen? (congregational response)

...so he,
 ...went out to the service,
 ..you know what that man did?
 ...that young ma:n,
 ..bought that tape.
 .."God Can".

While the intonation of *Will You Say Amen?* in the unit above suggests a call for response (question intonation with implicit superlative speech act) and the preacher gets the intended response from his audience as in the case of the example in the **Call and Response** section, the expression also appears at a juncture as the preacher moves from his topic about the word of God and returns to a narrative about a person who went to church and applied the principles about which he is preaching. This suggests an additional topic continuity change (return to previously mentioned topic). This could mean that the preacher wants an *Amen* before he returns to his story. The *Amen* signals both an elicitation for verbal participation and a continuation of the "God Can" narrative.

Results of discourse function analysis for preacher show that all preachers in the study used formulaic expressions most frequently at textual boundaries. Table IX shows raw frequencies of roles for combined formulaic

expressions of individual preachers. Chi square analysis of Table IX raw data suggests that there are significant differences between speaker and role (Chi square=46.45, $df=20$, $p<.05$; Cramer's $V=.32$). Cramer's V results show that although there are significant differences, the relationship between preacher and role is not a very strong one; since there's only a 32% overlap between the two variables (speaker and role), a remaining 68% is not accounted for. We can safely state that variables other than individual speaker, to be discussed in the following chapter, must account for frequency of discourse role.

TABLE IX
RAW FREQUENCIES OF ROLES BY PREACHER

	Textual Boundary	Call For Response	Verbal Filler	Rhythmic Marker	Multiple Roles	Total
Preacher #1	13	0	4	3	0	20
Preacher #2	10	1	8	0	1	20
Preacher #3	14	0	0	6	0	20
Preacher #4	17	0	2	1	0	20
Preacher #5	12	0	8	0	0	20
Preacher #6	11	0	1	0	0	12
Total	77	1	23	10	1	112

For all preachers in the study, a minimum of 50% of their formulaic expressions functioned as textual boundary markers (Tables IX and X). Table X shows the percentages of roles for individual preachers.

TABLE X
PREACHERS' PERCENTAGES OF ROLES FOR ALL EXPRESSIONS COMBINED

	Textual Boundary	Call For Response	Verbal Filler	Rhythmic Marker	Multiple Roles	Total
Preacher #1	65%	0%	20%	15%	0%	100%
Preacher #2	50%	5%	40%	0%	5%	100%
Preacher #3	70%	0%	0%	30%	0%	100%
Preacher #4	85%	0%	10%	5%	0%	100%
Preacher #5	60%	0%	40%	0%	0%	100%
Preacher #6	92%	0%	8%	0%	0%	100%

Table X shows that the textual boundary role represents the greatest percentage of roles used by preachers. A remarkable 92% of all of Preacher 6 's expressions had a textual boundary function, and as stated earlier the lowest percentage of expressions with a textual boundary function was 50% for Preacher #2; this was still the most common role of his expressions.

Quantitative results show that formulaic expressions can function as discourse markers, with textual boundary

marker being the most frequent role. However, the same formulaic expressions can have other roles (i.e., rhythmic marker, call and response, verbal filler). Also, while some functions are similar to those found in lecture, others are much like those typically found in conversation.

Results of qualitative analyses show that the preachers in the study value highly Holy Spirit direction for delivery of sermons. While planning is important to them, Holy Spirit guidance has priority status. Organization is not mentioned as an important criterion for good sermon production. Instead, preachers value using scriptural and personal experience examples to inspire their audiences to change their lives. Additionally, preachers are often not aware of the functions that formulaic expressions have as discourse markers in their sermons.

Combined textual analysis and cultural analysis results show that detection and comprehension of some discourse marker functions in African American sermons require knowledge of discourse community norms. While some functions are more text-based (e.g., textual boundary markers), others have stronger discourse community links (e.g., rhythmic markers and call and response).

Chapter Six further addresses the findings described in this chapter in the following sections: interpretation of

textual analysis findings, effect of discourse community on formulaic expressions, and the cultural-textual connection. Finally, suggestions for further study are provided.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

Interpretation of Textual Analysis Findings

General results of formulaic expression analysis suggest individual speakers tended to have favorite formulaic expressions that they use more than others so that, as Tables II-IV show, one preacher might use *Amen* consistently (e.g. preacher #2) while another might rely more heavily on expressions that include *Bless* and *Hallelujah* (e.g. preacher #6). This points to an individual difference element in which although all of the formulaic expressions in the study are semantically related (religious discourse collocation), preachers have a great deal of freedom in selection of expressions within the given framework. Even though preachers may tend to use an expression like *Amen* or *Bless* frequently, (s)he will often use a variation of the expression (e.g. *We Bless His Name*, *Blessings to Him Forevermore*, *We Bless the Lamb Forever*). There is a great deal of repetition in the sermons, and the formulaic expression repetition includes both exact word and variations of the word, what Tannen (1989) has called exact and paraphrase forms of self repetition.

That preachers use a variety of expressions and that they select different ones does not mean that there are no

genre or performance restraints. Clearly the expressions examined in the study are **formulaic**, suggesting both constraint and flexibility. Interesting to note is that we do not find cases of formulaic expressions referring to Satan or evil. Even these kinds of themes would fall into the general religious discourse theme, but the preachers in the study tended not to use formulaic expressions with negative connotations; this is true even when the sermon topic or the immediate discourse topic is about negative things. In Appendix B (Speaker 2), the preacher speaks of hell, impoverishment, curses, and defeat; he does not use, as a formulaic expression, *the devil is a liar*, instead we find *Amen* and *Somebody Say Amen*. Similarly, Preacher #4 (Appendix D) is preaching a sermon about spiritual wickedness and the spiritual battle field, but we do not find formulaic expressions related to the negative or to warfare. Instead we find examples like unit #3 of Appendix D in which the preacher speaks about the devil and says "the enemy *Praise God*, is as real as I'm standing up hear before you tonight." Why has she used "Praise God"? Clearly, she does not want to literally praise God for the devil. In unit 6 of the same sermon, why does she choose *Thank You Lord* as a textual boundary marker appearing between the themes of fighting the devil and preachers criticizing her? Is she

pleased that she has to fight the devil? Is she truly thankful to God for the preachers criticizing her? There appear to be definite constraints on connotative aspects of the formulaic expressions a preacher tends to choose; that all of these expressions are positive and/or related to God may be tied, to some degree, to the sermonic constraint of sacred vs secular conflict. That is, one of the key components of good African American sermons is that there be moves throughout the sermon from spiritual to secular themes. It is possible that this pattern is being used with discourse markers as well. That is, formulaic expressions sometimes appear at boundaries between secular and sacred themes. The point being made here is that regardless of the function that the expressions take (e.g. textual boundary marker, rhythmic marker, verbal filler, call and response), the specific expression used to perform the given discourse function is restricted by the discourse genre. Further study of this phenomenon could prove fruitful.

Results of role analysis show that the textual boundary role was clearly the most frequent one (Table VI) and that these expressions were usually **not** used as calls for congregational response. That 69% of all expressions examined functioned as textual boundary markers may show the importance of genre-specific expressions (sermon) for aiding

in coherence of sermons and thereby assisting listeners, and possibly the speakers themselves, with following the discourse. That is, using these expressions to signal that there is a change between subtopics or to signal that the preacher will return to a previous topic after a diversion could make the transition a smoother one for listeners and speakers. That preachers' questionnaire responses showed that preachers were generally unaware that these expressions had such a function may suggest that using these expressions at textual boundaries has become such a "natural" practice that the preachers are not conscious of this verbal behavior. This kind of phenomenon has been found in lectures as well. Lecturers are often unaware of their use of textual boundary markers to assist listeners. An interesting follow up to this might include having preachers preach two sermons, one with these formulaic expressions and one without them, and having the audience rate the sermons for coherence and for cohesiveness of certain parts of the sermon. It would also be interesting to note which strategies the preachers used instead of the formulaic expressions. A similar study could explore the extent to which listeners of these sermons (i.e. church members) indicate a textual boundary function for these expressions.

Formulaic expressions in the study tended not to

function as calls for congregational response. This is possibly due to the fact that the preachers in the study tended to provide numerous phonological calls and that the audience automatically responded to such phonologically prominent features as increases or decreases in volume and pitch. Audiences also responded to such nonverbal calls as a preacher leaving the pulpit and moving into the audience, a preacher shaking her/his head, stomping her/his feet, etc. What was noticed in the study is that often there was no need for the preacher to use verbal formulaic expressions to get the congregation to respond. In most cases, the congregations were already verbally and physically active. Another factor may be that the preachers selected in the study were popular and good preachers whose subtle performance strategies may have precluded a need for the more overt formulaic expression "calls". Another follow up study might explore differences between "not so good" African American preachers and more successful ones. The researcher would test to see if the less successful preachers had to rely more on verbal calls for congregational responses than did the better preachers. This study would have as a hypothesis that the better a preacher is ranked (by African American church community members and by researcher standards of good African American **performed**

sermons) the less likely the preacher is to use verbal calls for response.

Although the verbal filler role was clearly not the most frequent, 21% of expressions did have this function. This percentage is actually higher than I had expected but possibly lower than some of the preachers expected. In talking to one preacher about his use of formulaic expressions, he stated that he uses them too much to fill spaces. It seems that the use of formulaic expressions as fillers is perhaps tied to the discourse genre. In cases in which a preacher needs to fill a pause, the filler may be viewed more positively by the audience if the speaker uses *Praise God, Hallelujah, Amen*, etc. instead of *uh* or instead of extended silence. An exploration of the extent to which preachers think these expressions are viewed more favorably and the extent to which the audience actually views these kinds of expressions favorably or unfavorably would be a worthwhile study.

The rhythmic marker function is one that appears to be clearly culturally and genre related. Expressions that have a rhythmic enhancer function are those that are used to enhance the high emotional level of the sermon. Usually, these expressions appear during the climactic parts of the sermon, those places where the preacher and audience have

reached an emotional high. This is usually accompanied by increased volume and intensity. When this kind of event is taking place, the preacher is expending a great deal of energy; while some preachers take rhythmic breaths throughout the sermon climax, several preachers in this study used formulaic expressions instead. The key function of rhythmic enhancer appears to be skillful performance maintenance. As stated in chapter two, the preacher as performer is an important concept in many African American churches. A preacher who cannot "perform" is, in casual discussions, often referred to as something less than a preacher; (s)he is **just** a teacher. This is not the case for all African American churches, but those African American churches that devalue "performance" in exchange for "teaching" are viewed by other churches as upper class sell-outs; that they "act too white" would not be an uncommon view. It is also not the case that there are no predominately white churches that have a strong performance emphasis. The emphasis of this study though is on describing aspects of a specific group of African American churches. Another study might focus on comparing sermonic discourse in charismatic white churches with that of conversionist-like African American churches.

While it is clear that the textual boundary marker role

is the most commonly used role for all preachers (Table X), chi square analysis shows that there are statistical differences among preachers and in the role types used (Table VIII). This, again, points to individual difference. All preachers used formulaic expressions as textual boundary markers most, but we find a greater degree of variety with the other functions. All of the other roles have cases of at least one preacher not using any formulaic expressions for that role.

One of the most important findings of the study is the existence of roles that are specific to the African American sermon genre described in the third chapter (note that when I use the term "African American sermon genre" I am combining genre with discourse community). The rhythmic marker role is influenced by the expectation of drama-like performance of African American preachers. Similarly, the call and response role, though not mainly achieved via formulaic expressions, is tied to the African survivals described in Chapter Three.

Another unique characteristic of this discourse genre is that African American sermons have characteristics that are similar to both conversation and lecture. The discourse marker function analyses show that the formulaic expressions used in this genre also have some functions that are more

like those typically appearing in conversation and others like those likely to be found in lectures. Still other functions are unique to the sermon genre. Within the category of textual boundary marker, the topic boundary marker function is most commonly found in conversation because of the greater number of topic changes (compared to lecture).

The text type change function highlights specific kinds of changes that are likely to appear in sermons (e.g. signaling moves from sacred to secular, from scripture reading to supporting narrative). Shaw (1994), in a discussion of "focusing members" and "sequences" in business and engineering lectures, highlights functions similar to what I have labeled "text-type change markers." He uses Montgomery's (1975) hierarchy of lecture structure in which lectures are composed of transactions (similar to discourse topics), which contain sequences (similar to text-type changes). Sequences are marked by "focus members" (i.e., discourse markers). One of the transactions that Shaw identified for business lectures was the "problem-solving transaction". Examples of focus members identified as introducers for the problem sequence of the transaction were "okay, let's do homework" and "first one was." "Well" was one marker of the solution sequence of the transaction.

Problem-solving is one kind of transaction typically found in business lectures, and specific discourse markers are used to signal changes from one sequence (e.g. problem) to another (e.g. solution) within the transaction. Similarly, African American sermons have such "transactions" as secular-sacred contrast and scripture reading-personal experience examples. The sermonic sequences (different "text types") are often marked by formulaic expressions like those examined in this study. An interesting follow up to this would be to explore whether formulaic expressions that are clearly tied to religious discourse (e.g. Amen, Hallelujah) are more effective markers of specifically sermonic text-type changes than discourse markers that are more generic (i.e., "well", "now").

African American discourse community knowledge of the general kinds of text type changes that typically take place in these sermons make this formulaic expression marker role easier for members of the community to detect. Although this role is described as a genre-linked one, it is also very much tied to culture (i.e. shared knowledge). Moreover, as stated in other places in this work, the genre itself is culturally-tied. A preacher's using a formulaic expression as a continuity marker to move away from a "teaching" diversion and to return to "preaching" is easily understood

by members of this discourse community because of their shared distinction between these two kinds of speech events. Not only do they have a common understanding of what the boundaries are between these two events, but they also have shared beliefs about which is preferred in church (what they have defined as "preaching").

The rhythmic marker function is an interesting one not only because of its community-linked function but also because it is a function not discussed in previous research. While the rhythmic enhancer function is clearly "performance-based" in that a preacher may use formulaic expressions in a systematic way to create a dramatic effect, the flow gager type of rhythmic marker shows the preacher using formulaic expressions to respond to something that the congregation is doing; s/he uses these expressions as a form of backchannelling but changes the intonation of these cues according to the "flow" of the church service. This latter type is much more dialogic than roles typically found in lectures and is different from typical conversational backchannels because of the "African American preaching" intonational patterns of the utterances.

Effect of Discourse Community Norms on Formulaic Expressions

Did results of the questionnaire and of personal observations of the six preaching events and churches where

the sermons were preached reveal any useful information about the language analyzed in this study? If we believe that language and culture are inseparable concepts, then the answer to this question should be a resounding "yes."

Perhaps the questionnaire responses of greatest interest for the specific examination of formulaic expression roles are preachers' reports on their use of these expressions.

Clearly, we know that most speakers are not always aware of **what** they say, much less **why** they use certain words, but some of the preachers' comments are revealing. While several preachers stated that they felt these expressions had a purpose and that this purpose included preachers using them to actually praise God during a sermon, the same preachers also cited functions described in the textual analysis portion of this study: "Sometimes these expressions are used to help the speaker remember his next point" suggests a verbal filler function; "at times expressions like *Hallelujah* and *Praise God!* invites the audience to worship God, also to get or keep their attention" suggests two roles examined in the study (call for response and possibly rhythmic marker). No preacher stated as purposes for these expressions, the most frequently detected one, textual boundary marker. This does not necessarily mean that the high percentage of textual boundary functions is inaccurate

or that the preachers are wrong; how many nonlinguists are aware of the various textual functions that simple words like **y'know** or **well** have in their own discourse? The preacher who stated that he knows that he uses these sermonic formulaic expressions too much and that he is trying to do away with them might be surprised to know that his use of these expressions is actually not distracting to his audience; he is using expressions that may make his sermon a more effective one.

The Cultural-Textual Connection

How important were 1) textual analysis and 2) background cultural knowledge for comprehension of discourse functions of the formulaic expressions in the study? This study shows that both were equally important. While it would have been possible to analyze the formulaic expressions without having first obtained an emic view of the African American church community and without having considered nonverbal and situational context features, both the classification and interpretation of textual roles would have been much too limited and possibly erroneous. A case in point would be the rhythmic markers whose functions are strongly culturally tied to performance values in African American communities. As stated in the preceding section, text-type change functions are more easily understood if there is knowledge

of community expectations about which kinds of sermonic components are acceptable.

Also, some expressions could have been wrongly identified as having call and response functions (e.g. Say Amen) had the researcher not considered the situational context of the expression. While noting intonation patterns of expressions and surrounding events within the text are useful, even this kind of analysis is limited if the researcher is not able see and feel what is taking place as the sermons are produced. Intonation and textual environment alone could not tell a researcher that "Will you say Amen?" in one part of a sermon is a call for response but in another part it functions as a textual boundary marker and is not a call for response. This kind of comprehension is best gained by a combination of textual analysis and observing the extent to which the congregation is or is not verbally active.

The overall results of the study show that not only do formulaic expressions in the study function in a variety of ways, with textual boundary marker being the most common role, but that both genre and discourse community are related to the types and roles of expressions used.

Suggestions for Further Study

Perhaps the greatest limitation of the study is the

small number of subjects used. In order for the results of the study to be applied to a greater population, more subjects are needed. Using more male and female subjects would also make it possible to explore the effect or noneffect of gender in the strategies used to form coherent sermons and the role that formulaic expressions play.

Another follow up to the study would be to explore further other genre specific and culturally-tied discourse features of conversionist-like African American sermons. The researcher might ask "To what extent do discourse markers relate to the sacred-secular theme of African American sermons?", "In what ways do genre and culture affect African American preachers' strategies for producing coherent sermons?" Other suggestions have been mentioned previously in the paper.

This work has provided support for the current move in linguistics to analyze specific utterances in the discourse contexts in which they appear, but it has also stressed the importance of a more integrative approach to the study of discourse markers, suggesting that having an emic view of the discourse community is important for accurate analysis of discourse markers. The study has focused on one of many diverse African American religious groups, a non-denominational group that has not received attention from

linguists. For discourse studies, this work adds a set of new discourse markers that are genre specific (sermon genre) and that have functions similar to and different from the widely studied discourse genres of lecture and conversation.

This study began with a joyful *Hallelujah* (See p.1), but I conclude with a call for response-- respons-ibility, that is. I make this call to believers in the power of discourse. The call is a simple one: Remember that the Spirit of discourse comes alive only when its believers have enough faith to step beyond the cover of its sacred texts and into the communities where it lives. Only then can we be saved from the hell of linguistic isolation and hope to enter the pearly gates of discourse heaven. What a wonderful day it will be when all genres and markers will come together in unity to offer praises to the one and only high priest--DISCOURSE.

Those saints who do not need this reminder can ignore it or simply say *Amen!*

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APPENDIX A

SERMONIC FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS USED BY PREACHER #1

- 1 ...I'm gonna talk on a general loose theme,
..my help cometh from the Lord.
...Amen.
...my help cometh from the Lord.
...if there is any one thing that I'm convinced of,
in the church world today,
- 2 ...we are under the discipline of Go:d,
developing our human character,
our o:wn spirits,
our o:wn nature,
is being transfo:med by the power of Go:d.
Amen.
..the scripture said that we might be confo:med,
to the image of the son of God.
- 3 ...you can shout and rejoice,
and still not have the victory in your life.
..you can shout and speak in tongues,
and still go home and fight,
..Amen,
..blow for blow with your hu:sbands and your wi:ves.
..you see,
you can speak in tongues and still be having things-

- in your lives,
that's not like the Christ of God that's dwelling in you.

4 ..so then,
in reality,
we need to come into the full realization,
into the full maturity,
of intellectual understanding,
of what this thing is all about.

...Amen.

..because you see it is the will of God that we grow up.
..into the full measure of the stature of the son of God.

5 Go:d has not left us,
to walk in darkness,
guessing and summarizing and,
..Amen,
..and using reasoning and rationalizing,
the word of God is crystal clear,
when we take time to understand what God is saying to
us.

6 ...God wrote his first word to mankind,
in stone.
..he didn't write it on paper,
he didn't write it on (?),
he didn't write it on anything that was transitory,

that could fade away,

that could be uh,

..Amen uh,

..smudged over,

but he wrote it on stone.

7,8 you say "Lord just let me do it,

just turn me loose,

and I'll get the job done."

that's what Peter said. (congregational responses)

...Amen,

"I know exactly how to handle this problem Jesus.

step aside.

I'll take care of it. (congregational responses)

...all I want you to do is just back me up.

..just back me up Jesus.

..stand beside me,

anoint me,

and I'll get it done. (congregational responses)

...Amen.

...and then when we pray and push and pull and -

-sweat and fast and go through all of these things,

and it doesn't come to pass like we desire,

9,10 ..then we begin to (? mumble at) the Lord.

..and get dissappointed discouraged cast down-

-and disgusted,

depre:ssed!

..A:men.

and down and out.

...and then you get nervous.

...take it out on your husband,

take it out on your wife,

take it out on your children,

take it out on your job,

take it out on your pastor,

take it out on your members (congregational responses),

...I'm the best friend a preacher ever had.

(preacher/congregation laughter)

...outside of Jesus.

...Amen.

...you see,

..frustation sets in,

..because when you're doing it in discord,

11-15 ..I want you to speak to me,

something that will help the people as they go-

-back where they're going.

..Hallelujah (preacher "speaks in tongues")

I want want you to give me something that will,

stre:ngthen them,

enli:ghten them,
 ..and empow:er them,
 and that will
 help them grow up into the spirit of the living God.
 ..gi:ve me something that people can live by,
 and can ..grow by,
 and can be developed by,
 and become fruitful and meaningful Christians in this
 world,

I want you to..speak to me,
 and God said they're fighting battles that are already
 won.

(congregational praise)

...Tha:nk you Jesus.

...Tha:nk you Jesus.

...Tha:nk you Jesus.

...Thank you Lo:rd.

...And so, (much higher pitch)

..we find today..that,

the spirit of God is,

show:ing us the way.

16 ..now there are two points in the Bible,
 that are very important,
 in your understanding.

I don't wanna preach.

I said "God, shall I preach or teach?"

God says.. "you just open your mou:th."

(congregational praise)

...I don't wanna preach.

..I wanna ta:lk.

...Amen.

...listen.

...uh,

..there are two points,

in the word of God,

17,18 you know,

whether they're wearing a wig,

and.. **Amen** check out the dress they have and say-

-maybe that came from Macy's,

and maybe that one came from over there somewhere.

..Amen,

that's..impolite.

it's ru:de.

...to gaze upon people as they come in the service.

19,20 ...you got a lot of people in the church like that.

..I was like that one time.

...Amen.

I was so holy until when the saints smi:led,

I said they carnal minded. (congregational response)

... Amen.

if they fellowship after service,

I said they need to go pray,

'cause Jesus is coming and they,

this is a se:rious matter we involved in. (cong.&preach
laugh)

APPENDIX B

SERMONIC FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS USED BY PREACHER #2

- 1 ...the scripture says,
 ..life and death,
 ..are in the to:ngue.
 ..either one.
 ..either one.
 ..life,
 ..or death,
 ..are in the tongue.
 ...Will you say Amen?
 ..I recently read,
 ..about a doctor,
 ..who to:ld one of his patients,
 ..that she needed,
 ..an operation.
- 2 ...so he dismissed her.
 ..and sought other means..to affect..her .. cure and-
 -healing,
 rather than,
 ..subject her to an operation,
 after she had made..such a confession.
 ...Amen. (congregation responds)
 ...I want you to kno:w that,

the word of God,
attaches mu:ch importance and significance,
to: spoken words.

3. ...and ama:zing things,
are happening.
..that's astounding the medical profession,
as these people.
..he says he: does not understand,
how it happens.
..or exactly wha:t is happening,
but the power of the spoken word,
and uh,
a positive confession and acknowledgement,
is absolu:tely..bri:nging..hea:ling..and health to-
people.

(congregation responds)

...Amen.

...now he says,
you don't have to understand ho:w,
this happens.

- 4 but the word of Go:d,
long time ago said,
..that life or death,
..is in the tongue.

...the word of God also..says that,
 ..the heart of the wise will tea:ch hi:s mou:th,
 and will add learning to his lips.

...you can cha:nge your destiny,
 by what you.. sa:y. (congregational response)

...Amen. (congregation responds)

..you say "well it's unthinkable that mere words could-
 -bring healing to me."

words created your bo:dy.

words created this world,

words created this universe. (congregational response)

5,6 you say "well this is mind over matter."

no this is the word of Go:d,

over matter. (congregation responds)

..this is the word of God over the pro:blem.

this is u:sing the word of Go:d,

over the negative.

this is using the word of Go:d,

over..Amen the strategy and the tricks,

of the e:nemy.(congregational responses)

...Amen. (congregational responses)

...so then,

..as a person with blood pressure says,

my blood pressure is 120 over 80,

- 7 ...most people offer absolutely no: resistance,
when the enemy comes in like a flood,
they accept whate:ver,
the devil brings,
against them and into their lives,
..and they offer no resistance. (congregational
responses)
...**Say Amen.** (congregational responses)
...I want you to kn:ow,
that when we realize the power of wo:rds,
..and the power of a positive confession,
the power of a positive acknowledgement,
..things are going to begin to happen,
..in..our..lives.
- 8,9 ..we try to understand everything (congregational
responses)
..and there's some things in this life,
that you just absolutely not gonna understand.
...**Will you say Amen?** (congregational responses)
...there are some things that you're not gonna-
-understand,
..you will just have to,
..believe it,
..and,

..do it. (congregational responses)

...Amen. (congregational responses)

...Jesus said,

..if ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed,

10-13 ..and the scripture teaches,

that there is power,

..the power to get you over,

...Amen.

and get you through your valley.

..power,

to restore your health.

..power,

to bring success..and the blessings of God into your-
life.

..power to turn your situation around.

...and it is all in the power of the words that can come-
-out of your mouth.

..O:r,

..on the other hand,

power to cast you down to the lowest hell.

power to impoverish you,

power to send you to an early and a premature grave.

power to rob you of the blessings and the privaleges of-
-sonship.

and,

uh **Amen** association with Christ.

power to bind you,

power to curse you,

power to defeat you,

a:ll in the po:wer of the to:ngue. (congregational
responses)

...**Somebody say Amen.** (congregational responses)

...words! (congregational responses)

...words. (congregational responses)

...**Amen.**

..how did Jesus,

..deal with situations and problems,

..when the sto:rm,

14 ..so he brought deli:verance,

..**Amen**..by spea:king..po:sitive..wo:rds.

15 the word of God must be in your heart,

and then you must speak out of the assu:rance,

Amen that is hi:d,

down,

in your heart.

16-18...the word of Go:d,

has to

Amen,

be the rule and the guide of your life.
 your very soul,
 and every atom of your being,
 must be permeated with thus saith the Lord,
 and you have got to recognize the final authority-
 -of the word,

Amen,

the integrity of the word,

Will you say Amen? (congregational responses)

...so he,

...went out to the service,

19 ..you know what that man did?

...that young man,

.. bought that tape.

.. "God Can".

...now he's gonna teach his mouth,

..**Amen,**

..a positive confession.

...he took that tape,

20 ..you see he,

could just,

he could have mentally assented to it the first time,

say "oh the preacher said 'God can'",

and like you all do,
get happy and go off in the shout .(congregational
responses)

Amen.

"God can!"

Amen, (#21-not counted for data analysis)

and you know how you all do.

APPENDIX C

SERMONIC FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS USED BY PREACHER #3

- 1 ...they believe that they can,
..partake in this race,
..and be a part of the great kingdom of God,
..but they haven't taken that gigantic step,
...Amen. (congregation responds)
...I know some of the reasons that can,
..hold you in your seat,
..of procrastination. (various members respond)
- 2 ..that's why..we have..mi:nisters. (congregational
response)
...not just to earn a salary,
..and preach some soothing message on Sunday,
..to satisfy the flesh of ma:n. (congregational response)
..but mi:nisters, (congregational response)
..that would please the almighty God, (congregational
response)
..that have entrusted them, (congregational response)
..with, (congregational response)
..his eternal word.
..that would remind the preacher, (congregational
response)
..that God's son suffered, (congregational response)

..too lo:ng, (congregational response)
 and too severe, (congregational response)
 for men,
 to have,
 these little soo:thing messages. (congregational
 responses)
 ..that would not convict,
 and nei:ther convert. (congregational response)
 ...**Hallelujah.** (congregational response)
 ...but ne:ver is a message to be presented,
 without it being coupled with lo:ve, (congregational
 response)
 and faith.

- 3 ..it's good ..to know.. that prea:chers, (congregational
 response)
 don't mind,
 getting together and si:nging. (congregational response)
 ..**Lord Have Mercy.** (congregational response)
 ..God wa:nts all!,
 ..of professed believers, (congregational response)
 ..to make melody not only in your heart, (cong. response)
 but,
 make a jo:y..ful noise, (congregational response)
 unto the Lord. (congregational response)

4-6 ..one writer said,
that it's a good thing,
to give thanks to the Lord. (congregational response)
Hallelujah. (congregational response)
I know,
sometimes,
you may feel,
a little down, (congregational response)
Yeah Lord, (congregational response)
but,
none of us today,
that I know of,
is in jail! (congregational response)
Lord Have Mercy, (congregational response)
..so we shouldn't be:,
in prison,
in our mind.

7 ..and the Phillipian jailer,
became a convert. (congregational response)
of this great church,
called,
Phillipian. (congregational response)
..Thank you Lord. (congregational response)
..the church got to start,

somewhere. (congregational response)

8

..but,

I found out, (congregational response)

that where two,

or three ga:thered together, (congregational response)

gathered! (church repeats)

gathered. (church repeats)

I wish I had somebody. (congregational response)

ga:thered together, (congregational response)

in,

the name,

of Je:sus. (congregational response)

Yeah Lo:rd, (congregational response)

not just congregated, (congregational response)

but ga:thered, (congregational response)

in unity.

9-12 ..that's one thi:ng,

when any church is formulated, (congregational response)

huh?

we must have an understanding, (congregational response)

that Go:d,

is not the author,

of confusion. (congregational response)

Hallelujah. (congregational response)

that Go:d,
sent the minister, (congregational response)
to lea:d,
his people. (congregational response)
and to fee:d,
his people. (congregational response)
..I hea:rd,
..what the Lord said to Peter. (congregational response)
and he said,
upon thi:s rock, (congregational response)
I'll build my: church,
Lord Have Mercy,
and I wanna put emphasis,
many people put emphasis on the rock.
but the rock need emphasis,
but the my church need some more emphasis. (congregational
response)
that the church belong to Je:sus.
Yeah Lord, (congregational response)
and he told Peter,
I':m,
giving you keys, (congregational response)
to:,
open the doors,

of my: church. (congregational response)
 and I found ou:t,
 in the church,
 of the Lo:rd. (congregational response)
 can I get a witness? (congregational response)

Hallelujah. (congregational response)

the church of the Lo:rd, (congregational response)
 his church constituted, (congregational response)
 the church at Jerusalem, (congregational response)
 as we:ll as the church at Cornelius' house.

(congregational response)

13-18..some of our mi:nds,

are so narrow. (congregational response)

to fee:l,

that Go:d,

only have,

yo:ur people, (congregational responses follow each of
 the following intonational units in this section and a
 few people make utterances that cover several intonation
 units)

as being,

his church.

Hallelujah.

Je:sus,

suffered too lo:ng,

Hallelujah.

to die for a few people.

Thank you Lord.

he di:ed,

that the whole wo:rld,

would have an opportunity,

to be saved.

but what he sai:d,

Hallelujah,

he sai:d,

Hallelujah.

he said to Peter.

Hallelujah.

fee:d,

my lamb.

19 ..so since we don't have,

but a few people, (congregational response)

you got to feed a few, (congregational response)

just like,

you would fee:d,

many. (congregational response)

Lo:rd Have Mercy. (congregational response)

I: found out,

that,
you don't abandon faith, (congregational response)
20 ..and when they see a crowd,
they'll cater,
to sister so-and-so.
or whoever she think she: is.
or we don't wanna lo:se,
deacon whomever.
or whoever he think he is.
but you got to be fai:thfu:l,
to the calling of Go:d.
to feed the people,
adequately.
do I have a saved sanctified born again believer?
to say Amen.

Hallelujah.

..ye:s, (rate of speech slows considerably to a rate
close to that that occurred prior to token #8 and the "I
found out" section)
let me take my time.
.. I'm not through.
...where there's two or three,
..gathered together,

APPENDIX D

SERMONIC FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS USED BY PREACHER #4

1-2 (congregation has just finished repeating preacher's words)

...look at your neighbor and believe it now. (a few congregational Amens)

...Thank you Je~

every child of God know,

that we're in battle. (congregational response)

..every every perceptive child of God know,

that the real devil,

is out here today.

..and I want y'all to know,

the root of the battle,

Amen.

for the scripture say 'for if the trumpet give a certain-sound,

who shall prepare himself to battle?'

..and there is no place,

I want you all to know tonight,

for negative or uncertainty,

on the battlefield for God.

..now everyone that's gon' gon' fight for God,

you got to know,

the roo:t of the battle.(congregational response)

..you gotta know it.

3 ..now the de:vil,

is not walking around here wit no horn and no tail.

(congregational response)

..he is not comming in here looking ugly.

(congregational response)

...the enemy **Praise God,**

is as rea:l as I'm standing up here before you tonight.

(congregational response)

...the devil is rea:l. (congregational response)

4 ..most of the saints just talk ne:gative.(congregational response)

..that's why I don't associate with most of y'all.

'cause you al:ways sitting around,

talkin a bunch of negative stuff, (congregational response)

a bunch of down stuff,

A:men.(congregational response)

always sittin' somewhere puttin yourself down.

(congregational response)

...`I'm fat,

I'm ugly,(congregational response)

.. I'm poor,
..I'm black, (congregational Amens with laughter continued
until end of this section)
...ain't never had a chance,
...my mama never did have nothing,
...nobody in my family got nothing,'
5 ..and I don't care what you say,
we pastors know it better than anybody else,
you think **Praise God** ,
you got one part of the church going,
you say,
'Lord thank you the choir's on fire. (congregational
response)
oh hallelujah,
the choir's on fire.'
..by time you get the choir on fire,
the usher board fall apart. (congregational response)
6 ...I tell you what,
I laid hands on him,
and ca:st! the devil out, (congregational response)
because it's a ba:ttleground!,
and I'm gon fight the devil. (congregational response)
..I'm gon fight the devil. (congregational response)
...Thank you Lord.

..preachers can criticize me if they want to.
 ..but the sick is not gonna get healed,
 on the street.(congregational response)
 7 and God said go into the
 hi:ghways!(congregational response)
 and into the
 (?)(congregational response)
 and he said,(congregational response)
 compel men to come. (preacher & congregational praise)
 ...**Thank you Jesus.**
 ...**Thank you Lord.**
 ..and I hope we wake up,
 because what we doing,
 and a lot of you ministers don't like it,
 but we're sending our people to the white churches.
 (congregational praise begins here and continues through
 next five intonation units).
 that's all we doin,
 is sending them,
 to the white churches.
 our people are leaving us,
 going to the white churches,
 `cause you can't wear no makeup,
 you can't wear no this,

you can't wear no that,

8,9 ...I look good 'cause I don covered up a few things.

(congregational response)

...and y'all gonna put me in hell,

you ain't gon put me in hell behind that foolishness.

(congregational response)

I ain't goin to hell behind that.(congregational
response)

Thank you Jesus. (congregational response)

you go right over,

and I'm gon' preach it,

and I I don't mean to put nobody down,

but you go to Morris Cerullo's meetings,

you go to uh uh Marilyn Hickey's meetings,

you go to any of these meetings,

you know who's sitting up there?

thousands of yo:ur people.(congregational response)

...and I done went to see them,

for myself.(congregational response)

..and you know who's writing checks for five hundred-
-dollars,

and a thousand dollars?

and supporting they ministry?

..yo:ur people.(congregational response)

...and they be there with pants on,
 they be there with lipstick on,
 they be there everything on,
 but you know what,
 cancer's being healed, (congregational responses through
 next seven intonation units)
 high blood pressure being,
 all kind of miracles is being wrought,
 'cause they up there talking about nothing but the-
 -po:wer!

of the living Go:d!

..and this,

Hallelujah !

we're on the battle ground!

and we don't need to fight these ism and cism.

we don't need to fight this foolishness.

10-12 ...see,

..it's illiterate and retarded,

to to to react toward mentally ill people.

(congregational verbal responses with laughter)

...and then we got a lot of people in our church-

-that's inferior. (congregational response)

...**A:men.** (congregational response)

..we got a lot of inferior people.

they they competing,
and they got a complex, (congregational response)
and they don't wanna recognize somebody else's gift.
(congregational response)
and so they run run to the pastor,
and tell him a whole bunch of garbage, (congregational
response)
and try to tear you down,
and, (congregational praise)
...whole bunch of retarded women that don't like each- -
-other,
and gossipping about it, (congregational praise, organ)
..church is
..church is loaded with them.
..just loaded with retards and rejects. (congregational
response)
..A:men.
..and then the poor little minister,
he got a ego. (congregational praise)
he wants to look big. (congregational praise)
look like he over something. (congregational response)
and he just just reacting to all that garbage.
Amen.
instead of preaching the word,

he reacting to a bunch of garbage.

13-16 well,

the ki:ngdom of Go:d,

is not welfare. (high intensity praise and organ playing

begin and continue throughout this section)

the ki:ngdom of Go:d,

is not ragedy.

the ki:ngdom of Go:d,

got streets of go:ld.

the ki:ngdom of Go:d,

got gates of go:ld.

the kingdom of Go:d.

...your kingdom come.

...on earth.

...help me,

help me,

help me preachers.

Thank you.

if you get your mentality u:p,

God will get you off the welfare.

get your mentality u:p,

God'll put you in a Seville.

he'll put you in a Merce:des.

he'll put you in there!

Hallelujah!

`cause he said your kingdom co:me! (congregational
praise)

Thank you Jesus.

...so you know what?

...it's a raw devil,

...that comes in our congregation,

...and puts our people down,

..and fight these minds,

..fight these spirits,

..A:men.

..I I we gonna move on here,

and we gonna have,

Faith..Mission..University.

...Faith Mission University.

..Faith Mission High School.

..Faith Mission Elementary School.

..Faith Mission Senior Housing.

...we gon have it.

..we ain't gon stop here

17,18...God's got it!

..and we can have it! (congregational praise)

..Hallelu:jah.

..Glory to God.

..and you know why our preachers have to stop,
with just a store front and just a church?

19 ..the Jewish people done got rich,
and they done moved out,
and you know who got it now?

..the Koreans, (congregational response)
the Vietnamese, (congregational response)
...**Say Amen.** (congregational response)

you go into these same neighborhoods,
where the Jews used to own them,
he done made his money,
he done moved out,
and look at us,
sitting up here.

I don't how many years we come over here from Africa.
(congregational response)

20 ..and he (J.Baker) done made probably two billion-
-dollars,

off of that one hotel. (congregational response)
...and I'm not I'm not envious,
or jealous of him,

Amen ,

it's a blessing and I thank God for it,
but I just wish you all would have some kind of faith,

and realize we're not wrestling against flesh and blood,
(clapping)

but against spi:ritual wi:ckedness in high places.

(congregational response)

APPENDIX E

SERMONIC FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS USED BY PREACHER #5

1-8 (after prayer) ...**Praise God.** (preacher searches through bible)

...O:h God is good. (congregational response)

...**Praise God.**

... Somebody repeat after me,

'God is good!' (congregation repeats)

..'God is faithful!' (congregation repeats)

...**Hallelujah,**

..**Glory to God,** (sporadic congregational responses)

..**Thank you Lord.** (a few people respond)

...when I was meditating on yesterday,

..I didn't come last night as you noticed.

..huh,

...**Praise God.**

...I do wanna say,

..I praise and thank God for being here.

..I fee:l the mo:ve of the Holy Ghost. (sporadic responses)

hey hey. (sporadic responses)

..**Glo:ry to God.**

.. O:h he's moving by his spirit Sister Rucker.

Praise God.

...I was meditating on yesterday,
 and you know,
 uh,
 as missionaries or as evangelists,
 there are many,
 to:pics and subjects that God gives us from time to time.

9,10 and the Lord said to me,

'how da:re you give them people that stale message.'
 (congregation and preacher laugh)

Hey God! (more laughter and congregational backchannel)

...O:h Glory!

so uh,

I'm learning to pray and say 'God what are you saying?'
 (congregational response)

..what a:re you say:ing? (sporadic responses)

11-20 that's the second chapter of Joel the Lord gave me.

..O:h Glory to God.

...I need God to confirm his word. (congregational
 response)

..and I just heard Elder,

uh,

Pastor Jearnagin say something about,

'God is in the restoration business.'

in the,

and,

uh,

restoring business. (congregational response)

..so I'm gonna talk about spi:ritual restoration.

..Thank you Lord. (sporadic congregational responses)

..you pray with me,

Praise God.

..Hallelujah.

...to be restored in the spi:rit.

..a spi:ritual restoration.

..a spi:ritual revival.

..a spi:ritual resurrection.

..a spi:ritual refreshing. (sporadic responses)

..a spi:ritual revitalization. (sporadic responses)

...Praise God.

..a spi:ritual rejuvenation. (sporadic responses)

..Thank you Lord. (congregational responses)

..Glory to God. (congregational response)

..Hallelujah.

..the word 'restoration' comes from the word 'resto:re,'

..which means turn ba:ck,

o:r,

to rebuild.

Hallelujah.

..bring back again,

..to repair, (sporadic responses)

..to retrieve, (sporadic responses)

..**Hallelujah.** (several people clap)

..Thank you Father. (sporadic responses)

..Glory to God.

..God wants to restore his people,

to our rightful place in him (congregational response)

NOTE: The last two formulaic expressions above (Thank you Father and Glory to God) are not in bold type because they appeared after the 20th one and were not included in the analysis. They are included here for contextual purposes.

APPENDIX F

SERMONIC FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS USED BY PREACHER #6

NOTE: only 12 formulaic expressions of the
type under examination were found in this
sixty+ minute sermon.

1 (congregational praise) **We Bless the Lamb Forever.**

...for those of you that's visiting with us today,
..it doesn't happen like this all the time.
..but when we turn the services over to the Holy Ghost,
and tell Him to do what he wants us to do,
that's what he will begin to do.

2 and this morning,
this is what we want to endeavor to do,
..get understanding,
we want to get wisdom and knowledge,
..and understanding.

..We Praise the Lamb Forever.

...we,
..mentioned a passage of scripture that says that,
the people..that know their God.

3-5 (congregational praise)...that's what I: did.

(congregational response)

..and I got sa:ved.(congregational response and praise)

...just let it go.(congregational praise continues)

...We Bless His Na:me.

We Bless His Name.

..now,

toda:y,

we want to look in the book of Isaiah.

first in the book of Isa:iah,

and we want to see what God would say to us today.

...Hallelujah.

...the people that kno:w their God.(congregational
response)

..they're gonna be able to sho:w what they kno:w.
(congregational response)

6,7 and when he takes the church out of here,
we're going on to be with the King of King,
and the Lord of Lord.

I don't care if you don't believe it.

It's true anyhow.(congregational response)

It's true a:nyhow.(congregational response)

..Praises to God,

and Blessings to Him Forevermore.

so we find here,

uh,

that Je:sus made it explicitly clear,

uh,

after,
 uh Isaiah had prophesied,
 about the one that was to come.

8 so many of us,
 we have much,
 ..but we are miserable with much,
 ..because we didn't get it as a blessing from Go:d.
 (congregational response)

Thank you Lord.

so the Bible says through Isaiah,
 that thi:s Jesus,
 is going to be the one.

9 you don't sing the blues when you know-
 -Hi:m. (congregational responses next five intonation
 units)

you a person that sing victory!
 you shout victory whether you see it or not.

..Hallelujah to God.

..when you kno:w who God is!
 so it makes a difference.

10 we wanna decla:re that we kno:w God,
 but salva:tion,
 is no:t kno:wing Go:d.

that's mee:ting Go:d. (congregational response)

...Hallelujah to the Lamb. (congregational response)

now,

let me show,

there's something that we wanna see.

11 now,

Jo:hn eight and thirty one.

flip there with me just a minute.

...We Bless His Name.

we wanna look here.

..Kno:wledge,

is something that is significant,

for the simple reason that it li:berates,

the so:ul from error. (congregational responses)

it liberates the so:ul I said,

from error.

12 your heart will tell you anything. (congregational
response)

anything! (congregational response)

and it will turn around and justify it. (congregational
response)

...but Je:sus is the only one that can justify what is
true.

look with me in John.

where's my praying partner? (congregational response)

Hallelujah to God.

eight and thirty one.

it says here,

APPENDIX G

This questionnaire will serve as a part of my study on analysis of church services and preaching . Results will be used to determine what preachers and/or church members think are important components of a good church service and of good sermons. Please answer all questions as honestly and as thoroughly as possible. All responses will remain anonymous. I, Cheryl Wharry, greatly appreciate your cooperation.

1. How would you describe yourself?
 - a. African American
 - b. Hispanic American
 - c. Caucasian
 - d. Other (please specify) _____
- 1b. Are you male or female?
2. To which age group do you belong?
 - a. teenager
 - b. 20-29
 - c. 30-39
 - d. 40-49
 - e. 50 or older
3. What is the highest level of formal education that you have had?
 - a. elementary school
 - b. high school
 - c. college degree
 - d. Other (specify) _____
4. What is your current religious affiliation?
 - a. Interdenominational
 - b. COGIC
 - c. Baptist
 - d. Other (please specify) _____
5. How long have you been a member of the above affiliation?
 - a. less than 1 yr.
 - b. 1-5 yrs
 - c. 6-9 yrs.
 - d. 10+ yrs.
6. Circle all other denominations with which you have been associated and tell how long you were a part of that organization:
 - a. Interdenominational _____
 - b. Baptist _____
 - c. COGIC _____
 - d. Other(s) (specify) _____
7. Describe the components of a "good sermon" :

8. What kinds of sermons would you classify as NOT good?
9. List what you think are the three most important components of a good church service:
1. MOST IMPORTANT _____
 2. 2ND MOST IMPORTANT _____
 3. 3RD MOST IMPORTANT _____
10. Which sentence below best describes your view of seminary or formal preparatory schools for preachers?
- a. It helps preachers to deliver good sermons.
 - b. It causes preachers to get too much book knowledge and has a negative affect on their ability to preach God-sent or anointed messages.
 - c. It should be required of all preachers; preachers who have had formal training usually preach the best sermons.
 - d. It neither helps nor hinders preaching ability.
11. Should preachers plan their sermons? Why or why not?
12. Do the terms "preach" and "teach" have different meanings for you? If yes, please explain the difference:
13. Are you a preacher? a. Yes b. No
If yes, please list your preferred title _____
14. Are you a pastor? a. Yes b. No
- IF YOU ANSWERED YES TO QUESTIONS 13 OR 14, ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:
15. Did you go to seminary?
a. Yes b. No
16. If you are an "ordained" minister, explain the criteria and process of becoming ordained.
17. How often and to what kinds of congregations do you preach?
18. To what extent do you plan your sermons? Explain how you prepare for delivering a message.

19. What would you say are the major parts of the sermon? That is, what occurs at the beginning, middle, and end?

20. Do you use expressions like Amen, Praise God, Hallelujah...in your sermons?_____ How often: frequently, occasionally, seldom, never?

Do you think these expressions serve some purpose? Please explain.

21 What kinds of things do you do to make all the ideas in your sermon stick together?

PLEASE MAKE ANY ADDITIONAL COMMENTS, SUGGESTIONS, ETC. ON THE BACK OF THIS FORM. AGAIN, I AM TRULY GREATFUL FOR YOUR WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

2

VITA

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FUNCTIONS OF FORMULAIC EXPRESSIONS IN
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